

Re-Investigating the Migration-Globalisation Overlapped Relations: The Case of Jordan, Amman

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Abstract

Globalisation and migration are non-static topics that change over the years and impact societies differently, seemingly the reason behind the consistent need for further exploration. In this sense, this article aims to reinvestigate the relations between migration and globalisation by studying their characteristics in general and within the specific case of Jordan. The case of Jordan was chosen since it is considered the top country destination for migrants with a high globalisation index. The case discussion highlights that globalisation is not only an extra reason that raised global migrants, but both migration and globalisation share similar characteristics that reveal a similar impact.

Keywords: Migration, globalisation, migrants, economic globalisation, political globalization

1.0 Introduction

The migrant, according to the United Nations International Migration Agency, is a person who moves across international borders regardless of their legal status (Kalita and Chakraborty, 2019). Nevertheless, due to the distinction and diverse nature of human behaviours, migration studies will always require further investigation and evaluation to comprehend the constant change of global social structures (Curran and Saguy, 2001). Globalisation has been known as the process of global standardisation or unification, considering it a severe threat to homogenising countries due to its influence in damaging the cultural particularity of each region (Weinstein, 2005; Salazar, 2010). In the last decade, migration has become a salient feature of globalisation, which was noticed first by Kofi Annan, who stated that “*Over the past decade globalisation has increased the number of people with the desire and capacity to move to other places*” (Annan 2006; p.963). The relationship between both has been interpreted differently among studies. Nevertheless, their constant re-interpretation is always recommended due to the dynamic nature of globalisation and migration, which change from one year to another and from one context to another (Kahanec and Zimmermann, 2008). This paper considers the case of Jordan to be suitable for defining globalisation and migration. On the one hand, the UNSD (2018) has declared that in 2015, Jordan became the highest emigration destination, which corresponds with its historical background, especially for its capital, the city of Amman. On the other hand, the KOF Globalization Index of Jordan by Gygli et al. (2019) estimated the region's high level compared with the world average. Nonetheless, Al-Zyoud (2009) highlighted the recognisable shortage in discussing globalisation within the Jordanian context and recommended further investigation. Accordingly, Jordan becomes a suitable region to investigate the understanding of both globalisation and migration.

2.0 Research Background

2.1 Globalisation in the Context of Jordan

Globalisation is a concept that has been used to describe and explain the world in recent years. It has been widely defined and explained yet remains a hard-measurable phenomenon. Xuζ (2009) explained that this ambiguity is due to the multi-dimensional nature of globalisation that lacks definite boundaries with several dimensions, including political, geographical, and cultural global components of societies. Therefore, ensuring the exact impact of globalisation on a particular aspect is still challenging. In 1990, Giddens defined globalisation as “*the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa*” (p.64). Appadurai (1996) added that it can shrink distances and shift key relationships between processes and

customers. Following this sense, Anheier and Isar (2007) defined it as shifting objects, concepts, or even people across different regions.

Despite the noticeable consensus in understanding the nature of making the world one (small village), several debates have appeared and discussed by Block and Cameron (2002). Firstly, some consider globalisation to be an in-progress phenomenon that changes its aspects over time, while others consider it a done-deal concept. The second disagreement is regarding the impact of globalisation. Some people believe it is a progressive concept towards a better life, and others see it as a burden of late modernity to strip away the authentic meanings in our lives gradually. Thirdly, globalisation was seen as Western domination of the rest of the world, although many people see it as an expansion of American imperialism. Finally, the authors highlighted the argument that globalisation is a way of life that should be adopted, which contradicts the view that it is only one sociological description of events.

Moreover, the historical background of globalisation was also a debatable topic between the two main views. On the one hand, several studies believed that globalisation is a 19th-century phenomenon that followed the Industrial Revolution and developed until the 20th century (Xuζ, 2009). On the other hand, studies highlighted that it goes way back to the 15th century when European countries started their global colonisation map (Block and Cameron, 2002). Each perspective is trying to estimate when the world starts to be influenced by one nation; however, this influence would not be applied without the idea of 'connectivity.' Tomlinson (1999) argued that globalisation refers directly to connectivity by its rapid development of global networks that characterise modern living. This connectivity has increased over the years in ways almost everyone can notice in his/her daily life practices, including our usage of smart devices and the types of food and clothes we consume. These everyday practices clearly show that the global world becomes more connected each year.

People's reactions to such connectivity vary according to their understanding of global culture and its impact on different life aspects, making the world a 'single place', as Robertson (1992) phrased it. From the economic perspective, globalisation has locked national economic affairs into the global economic system, restricted individual states' autonomy and caused local problems to drift to global ones (Tomlinson,1999). With the continuous growth of global connectivity, the world has become more unified economically and politically. This phenomenon has led to the claim that globalisation has become a significant threat to the cultural identity of any region since it tends to drive it towards the global culture.

Despite this negative attitude towards globalisation that cannot be entirely refused, John Tomlinson (1999) argued that the idea of universalising culture is not limited to globalisation, but it has been imagined many years before. For instance, the medieval European map of the world "Ebstorf Mappa Mundi" in 1284 by Gervase of Ebstorf imagined the world through the notions of Aristotelian form and the Roman imperial topographical style (Figure (1)). Tomlinson explained that the map was inspired by Noah's story from the Bible and reinforced the Christian myths of the beginning of life that represented a unified Christian world, indicating the superior thinking that ignored the non-Christian world.



Figure 1: The Ebstorf Map. **Source:** (Pischke, 2014)

Moreover, John added another universalising example of the Communist Manifestation in 1848/1969 by Marx and Engels, who created a bold social image of global culture in the future society, which ignored nations' divisions, religious beliefs and other local attachments visualising the world with a universal language. The author mentioned that Marx's social image combined the power of transnational capitalism with the Eurocentric attitude towards other cultures, which welcomed the destruction of non-European civilisations. Similarly, to the mentioned examples, globalisation tends to prioritise Western culture over other cultures, ignoring the diverse identities of the rest of the world. Tomlinson also emphasised this: "*The dominant cultural perspective on globalisation today is the fear that globality will bring not unity but merely uniformity: a 'homogenisation' of culture deriving precisely from the triumph of capitalist commodification*" (p. 8). Thus, globalisation as an idea to connect the world and unify it within one ideology is not a new agenda. On the

contrary, it is an old tendency that grows over the years and appears with each dominant nation.

Another perspective by Ronald Robertson (1992) considered this image of globalisation as a part of its mythology that misleads the people to understand globalisation as a concentration only on the macro-sociological issues and neglects the micro-sociology or any local matters. Giddens (1991) added that globalisation is an expression aspect of time-space distinction where an event in one pole often creates divergent or opposed occurrences in the other.

Robertson argued that Giddens's discussion might not explain the global-local complexity due to the confusion between globalisation and globality where the first considers the consequence of modernity and the latter facilitates the diffusion of general modernity. In this sense, the complexity and the confusion in understanding globalisation are underlined, especially regarding time and space.

2.2 Migration Trends

Sinha (2005) argued that several studies, such as Clarke (1987) and Demko (1970), explained that migration has elements and causes shaping it as a complex concept and an ambiguous component of population change. This statement has made it a problematic term to define with precise definitions and universal criteria; however, migration, in general, is related to human adjustment in a new location. Dudley (1970) added that population migration is the expression of human interaction in space in terms of commodity, referring to relocating the residential area of a group of people. In the same sense, Ogden (1984) described migration as a crucial aspect in understanding the geographical composition of human society. Similarly, Eisenstadi (1953) interpreted migration as the physical transition from one society to another (either as individuals or groups), which usually combines abandoning specific social settings and establishing a new one in a new region. Through this transition, migrants bring their practices, behaviours, patterns, customs, and languages to the host country. As a result, smaller communities recreate their original culture in the migrated country, like Chinatowns in New York and Los Angeles or Arab Street in Malaysia (Anheier and Isar, 2007).

This multi-ethnicity is more recognisable in urban communities, which normally enriches the city values, but it might also threaten the local community's culture and social structure (Ciarnienė and Kumpikaite, 2008). This threat of superimposed cultural aspects can exceed job security and public safety, where the indigenous community may view migrants negatively as an outsider risk that needs to be avoided and demolished (Kahanec and Zimmermann, 2008). Gang (2010) emphasised migrants' tendency to live together in enclaves, primarily where former migrants have located, to

preserve their lifestyle, language, and communication and ultimately create a cooperative environment. Bharucha, R. (2007) added that this concentration usually leads them to be slum-dwellers, resulting in more discrimination from the native community. Therefore, native citizens tend to be more racist towards migrants (Bodvarsson and Van den Berg, 2009), which might raise the question behind the increased welcoming and encouragement of many countries to new emigrations.

Ciarnienė and Kumpikaite commented on this dilemma that countries open their borders not only for moral and ethical reasons but also for economic reasons, where migrants will contribute to collecting more taxes, sustaining the workforce, and protecting industries, especially those that rely on foreign working labour.

However, the locals' rejection of migrants has led to several issues, including religious pressure where the locals are forcing the newcomers to change their beliefs in the claim of blending within the community, as mentioned in UK Essays (2018). This understanding added other aspects, as Shrivastava (1983; p.157) pointed out, that migration is a tool for cultural diffusion and social assimilation that might create "communities within the community".

Lee (1970) added that it relates to the theoretical explanation of a spatial population movement where people might change their residence permanently (or non-permanently) and voluntarily (or non-voluntarily). Zelinsky (1971) also explained that migration only relates to a permanent or semi-permanent change in residency, excluding any other changes such as students, holidays, etc. Therefore, the term refers to the geographic mobility that follows changing residency to a different political region for a long period (more than a year) (Sinha, 2005). In other words, migration revolves around two main dimensions: space and time, where a group of people shift their social and cultural settings from one region to a different area.

2.3 From Globalisation to Migration

According to Alina Hyz (Xuç), in 2009, people always changed their residence to different areas, searching for a better life, which has increased rapidly after economic globalisation since families usually migrate to enhance their income or decrease the danger of their economic status. Ciarnienė and Kumpikaite (2008) emphasised that emigration has happened since immemorial, but in recent years, they have become more global on an unprecedented scale. Hyz added that through the globalisation of the economy, markets and produced technologies in any district had divided fragile social and economic regulations that replaced the usual sources and created new labor populations who actively sought to raise their incomes. This finding was indicated first by Piore (1979), who explained that international migration results from permanent demand for foreign labour. Additionally, Hyz commented that while poor economies in

developing countries drove the people towards migration, the post-industrial revolution in developed countries produced a new demand for secondary labour markets that the locals avoided. This phenomenon has generated skilled international labour migration, which became a significant element in explaining the link between migration and globalisation, as Ciarnienė and Kumpikaite (2008). The authors added that globalising emigration resulted in different categories of migration, including skilled migrants. This term demonstrates the changeable nature of migration due to the impact of globalisation that brought the globe closer to communication and technological development, which enhanced the network between migrants and non-migrant populations who share information and encouraged global migrations. As such, with the help of globalised communication, several groups of people hear the news of their compatriots who managed to build new lives in the host countries, encouraging the rest to follow. Castles (2002) explained that this idea could be considered one of the global dark sides that resulted in human trafficking and smuggling, not to mention the hundreds who died in the process. The author argues that the impact of globalisation can be recognised in four types of migration. Firstly, the astronaut phenomenon has been considered a new type of migration where the whole family move to a big country like Canada or the United States of America for security or economic reasons, and the breadwinner returns to the home country to work living in a back-and-forth lifestyle.

Secondly, there is return migration, which is not new but has been growing due to globalisation that trended temporary migrations. Retirement migration is another emerging type of mobility resulting from globalised transportation and communication. Rich people from hard-origin environments are looking for more attractive places to live despite the high living costs. The last type is posthumous migration, which reflects the cultural and psychological complex experience of the migrants who plan to return their bodies after they die in their home country. Although this sentimental relation with the original homeland is not new, it has been improved with the ease of transportation.

In the 21st century, global migration has grown rapidly to include the lives of over 160 million people in almost every country of the world, as UK Essays (2018) argued. Several studies relate this rapid global spread with the political conflicts within the last decade, where globalisation has played a negative role. Min and Wimmer (2007) demonstrate the link between globalisation and the surge in violent wars and conflicts that accompanied the Cold War by weakening the state's capacity to uphold controlling violence. Consequently, the impact of geopolitical changes from the Cold War era until the current day has increased the untraceable refugees rates that usually result from political conflicts where refugees cannot return to their homelands (Castles, 2002). Another dimension was also suggested by the authors regarding cultural and

cultural capital. Cultural capital refers to societies' knowledge, which globalisation has made reachable by the world, as in the case of the Western lifestyle. Social capital, on the other hand, represents the migrants' connections to reach a safe and affordable environment, which frequently is linked to their compatriots who managed to create a bridgehead in the host country, making it easier for the newcomers to establish new lives there and find a job opportunity, as mentioned earlier.

Accordingly, it can be noted that globalisation has generated a new demand to accept migrants for economic reasons. In addition, globalisation has affected political violence during the last decades since it was carried out in several cases by ideas, technologies, practices, and capabilities of globalisation (i.e., political globalisation) (Devetak and Hughes, 2007). In this sense, it is noticeable that the Arabian Spring in the Middle East or other countries that faced severe political conflicts have created a significant reason and motive for seeking asylum in Europe, Canada, North America, and other countries seeking a decent life. Therefore, globalisation directly impacts increasing global migration, primarily due to economic and political reasons, which indicate the cause-and-effect relationship between globalisation and migration. This statement suggests that migration can be a consequence of globalisation, as some early studies such as Overbeek (1995) have implied.

2.4 From Migration to Globalisation

Far from globalisation influences, people migrated for centuries to either enhance their income or search for safe shelter, like the previous argument. Ciarnienė and Kumpikaite (2008, p.42) argued that the acceleration of global migrations could identify the migration-globalisation relationship. Ritchey, since 1976, highlighted that the main possible explanation for emigration is the response to the market needs in many countries. Beals et al. (1967) added in their study on Ghana that global migration was directly related to area earnings, which underlines the link between migration and economy again, in line with economic globalisation. This type of globalisation is encouraging free trade across the world, threatening employment, wages, and job insecurities. Consequently, this led to emigration on the international level instead of the domestic ones (Ciarnienė and Kumpikaite, 2008). Hence, migration has become a crucial part of the globalisation process.

Moreover, Gallaway (1967) suggested that migration has two different conceptual distinctions: voluntary and involuntary. Voluntary migration relates to people who have the option to remain in their existing jobs or move to a better one. At the same time, involuntary migrants are workers who have been dismissed from their current jobs, whether for poor performance or any other reasons which might force them to leave the country to search for another job. The latter type is recognisable in the case of Saudi Arabia, where foreign

people who were born in the country or lived most of their lives there got fired from their jobs and were forced to pay high taxes, pushing them to migrate back to their home country. Hence, several studies highlighted that seeking a safe living place has significantly motivated migration over the years. People had to leave their home country to protect their identity, religion, ethnicity, and culture (Sanders, 1982; Hardwick, 1993). This phenomenon is noticeable in history as it resulted in hybrid communities in many countries, including the United States, Canada, European countries, etc., and one country that contains different ethnic and religious minorities is Jordan.

3.0 Migration- Globalisation relation in Amman, Jordan

3.1 Globalisation in Amman

Al-Zyoud (2009) is one of the few studies that discuss globalisation within the context of Jordan Amman. The study highlighted the description of globalisation as an image of Americanization or Westernisation in terms of economy, culture, and even ideology, where the claim of absolute freedom is adopted in every aspect of life. Nonetheless, the author generally explained the common understanding of globalisation from a neutral perspective explaining the impact of globalisation within three dimensions. Firstly, the economic dimensions justified the strong emergence of globalisation, especially in the last thirty years with the technological revolution that enhanced communication means and outside investment.

Secondly, the political dimension replaced authorisation with people's tendency for democracy, political pluralism, and individual freedom. The third dimension is the cultural one, where values, traditions, and habits have become more standardised, consumption patterns have magnified, and peoples' ideologies and ways of thinking have become more unified. Despite these negative impacts of globalisation, several definite objectives were also discussed, including speeding up capital turnover, solving humanitarian problems that need an international response, enhancing the public reaction to environmental and health problems, improving labour mobility, and liberalising the financial sector.

Since the study focused on the teachers' perspective, it investigated their definition of globalisation and its influence on Jordanian society. The results revealed the negative position regarding globalisation, which was defined mainly as an American or Western method to control the Arab's cultural and political life; in other words, a modern approach to indirect colonisation. In this sense, globalisation was considered a process to demolish the Jordanian social and cultural structure. Al-Zyoud elaborated that globalisation did have a negative influence on Jordanian society. It first decreased social and moral local values. It has threatened the new generations' sense of identity to Arabic

and Islamic ideologies, not to mention its direct link to political conflicts in the surrounding countries, which led to rapid migrations in the country. Nevertheless, the author argues that globalisation positively influences Jordanian society, where it has liberalised the community and made it more open and accepting of diversity, besides the development of scientific and economic progress in the country.

Moreover, many Jordanian communities link the rapid architectural development in the capital with economic globalisation that has shifted architectural projects to international style, neglecting the contextual skyline and traditional architecture. This argument is still a live debate among the architectural community, especially after launching the visionary image of the development project (2012) in the Al-Abdali district (Figure (2)) (Al-Azhari and Al-Najjar, 2012).

This image has been considered a wake-up call for professionals to notice the impact of capitalism on the built environment, which has been directly linked to the economic globalisation that is explicitly damaging the city skyline and, ultimately, the city's cultural heritage. Gigli et al. (2019) confirmed the globalisation threat in the Jordanian region by estimating the KOF Globalization Index that compares the globalisation index of the world with Jordan (see the graph of Figure (3)). The graph shows that the globalisation index grew from 1970 to 2015, exceeding the world average and reaching its peak in 2007. Despite the slight decrease, it remained within the high average in the last decade.



Figure 2: The vision of Alabdali's project of high-rise buildings.
Source: (Al-Azhari and Al-Najjar, 2012)



Figure 3: KOF Globalisation Index of Jordan. **Source:** (Gygli et al.,2019)

3.2 Migrations in Amman

Amman is the Capital city of Jordan, and, like any capital city, it contains the country's highest population. Nevertheless, returning to its history, it was built by migrants who created a community of hybrid identities: Jordanian nationalist, tribal, Palestinian, Circassians, Armenians, and other Arab nationalities. Kohlmayer, in his book *Atlas of Jordan* (2013), described Amman's historical layers where Roman remains in Amman (Downtown amphitheatre and other historical sites) were abandoned until the Circassians came to the city and renewed the life there as a village (1878 -1884).

Other villages were founded after that by new migrants of Circassian and Chechen (1901- 1906), which provoked the need to construct new roads to link these villages together. Kohlmayer described Circassians as a mosaic community that combines different languages. These social and economic aspects reached in 1904 over 2250 families (from Muslim Circassians) only around Amman and over 25,000 scattered around Syrian and Lebanon. In 1915, a range of researchers discussed that it was the date when the Armenian Christian refugees arrived, running away from the war in ex-Soviet Armenia. Nonetheless, their population was tiny compared with the Circassians. Therefore, it can be noted that Circassians can consider the founders of Amman city, where they developed the historical remains. In his article, Abu Ghneimeh (2010) described that although they arrived at the area with their primaeval customs and farming instruments, they managed to farm the land and build life in the city. Kohlmayer confirmed that Circassians were the

group of people responsible for agriculture and participated in the armies during the Ottoman time.

The book continued to describe Amman's timeline, explaining that in 1948, the first Arab-Israel conflict occurred and resulted in the foundation of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. As a consequence, over 70,000 Palestinian refugees fled to Jordan, who varied in religion and skills (almost 84% were Muslims, and the rest were Christians besides their varieties as farmers, employees and traders). Another Palestinian group with over 375,000 population fled to Jordan in 1949. As such, the author argued that these several layers have merged and co-existed with the indigenous tribal locals (Bedouins), who gradually moved from living in the wild to the city over time. Each migrant group brought his/her culture, identity, religion, language, and traditions, creating a dynamic social structure where people had to co-exist for years.

From 1975 to 1990, the book mentioned that both political problems created more refugees in the Jordanian area; Lebanon's war resulted in refugee groups along with another 240,000 non-refugee Palestinians. Another political conflict within the Gulf area influenced Jordan in (1989-1991) when 250,000 Jordanians of Palestinian origin were living in Kuwait and moved back to Jordan after the Gulf War. The Syrian-Lebanon crisis in 2000 also brought newcomers from both nationalities to Jordan, while in 2003, almost 13,000 to 34,000 Iraqi residents came to invest in Jordan, noticeably improving the country's economy. A year later, a new group of Circassian minorities, over 20,000 and 80,000 people, moved to Jordan. In 2005, almost 32,000 of the Druze arrived in Jordan, most probably from Lebanon. Lastly, the book mentioned the 2007 Arabs and non-Arabs comers who headed to Jordan searching for jobs and reached almost 900,000 in 2006.

These numbers have generally increased after the Arab Spring, when many families from Yemen, Egypt, Libya, Syria, and other countries fled to Jordan and settled there. Thus, a recent study in 2018 by Division the UNSD declared that by the latest statistical research in 2015, Jordan had become the top destination country where migrants choose to live, work, or settle (Figure (4)). It is noteworthy to mention that Jordan is also considered by every visitor one of the most expensive countries; however, this challenge did not affect the migrants' population growth who, despite their religions, backgrounds, and different identities, still choose the country above the others.

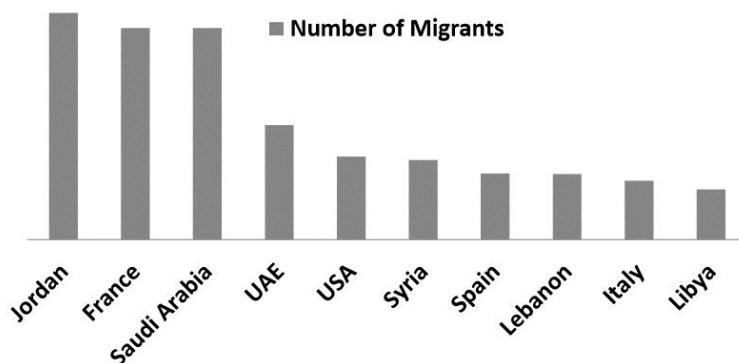


Figure 4: The statistical figure of the top 10 countries for migrants in 2015.
Source: (UNSD, 2018)

4.0 Discussion

Globalisation has been defined differently; nevertheless, a consensus can be noticed in considering it as a global process that shifts ideas, people, cultures, and objects among the countries neglecting the borders. On the other hand, migration can be defined as a group of people shifting from one region to another over borders along with their social structure, cultural ideologies, and traditional skills. Both migration and globalisation go in a parallel direction where globalisation directly affects the countries economically and politically, raising and increasing global migration rates over the years. Sanderson (2009) emphasised that globalising investments and trades integrate human and natural resources of different countries into a global political-economic context, which causes more international migration. Thus, even though globalisation did increase global migrations (Beals et al., 1967), it cannot be said that migration is a consequence of globalisation (Overbeek, 1995) since it has existed from the beginning of civilisations; Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Ottoman, and other empires (UK Essays, 2018).

While Shrivastava (1983; p.157) argued that migrations have created "communities within a community", the case of Jordan suggests a different perspective. Following the case of Jordan in general and Amman in specific, it can be noted that Amman was mainly founded by migrants, starting with Circassians, and ending with groups from almost all Arab countries. Nonetheless, the Jordanian culture and social structure are dominant in the city, which suggests the co-existing of the migrated groups in a way that melts cultural diversity and creates a hybrid culture that a foreigner cannot distinguish easily. Additionally, this combined cultural image did not bury the unique traditions of each group of these migrants since anyone can see the Circassians still preserve many aspects of their traditions until the present day.

Similarly, on the religious level, a person can observe Christians' and Muslims' worship buildings standing next to each other, holding respect for both groups.

Similar to the Iraqis who came to Jordan with their wealth and invested in the country, other migrants with good financial status opened restaurants and several shops and employed others who needed financial aid. This has created a balanced situation where migrants are not a burden but an asset to the country. In addition, Jordan has the highest education level among Arab countries, resulting in many skilled graduates, who generally will occupy the first level of labour markets (Alkailani et al., 2012). This could be the reason why many Egyptian and non-Islamic workers fled to Jordan for years, working in building construction or second-level jobs.

Accordingly, this article argues that migration is a form of globalisation in which people shift their ideas, beliefs, and traditions to a different community and usually to a different region. Additionally, similar to globalisation that might unify cultural diversity, migrants usually blend in the region despite how conservators they are. It seems that every new generation is heading towards merging with the prevailing culture of the community due to the fact of being a migrant and the impact of globalisation. This also emphasises that both globalisation and migration are directly linked and connected.

5.0 Conclusion

Despite the diversity in defining globalisation, a consensus is recognisable in considering it as a global process to move people, products, and ideas across regions, neglecting borders and making the world a small village. According to the literature, globalisation as the idea of unifying the world into one ideology is neither American nor Western, but it was traced back to the beginning of life, which questions the idea of considering globalisation as a recent phenomenon. Moreover, migration is also a situation that starts at the beginning of life due to the human tendency to seek a decent life, yet Overbeek (1995) and similar studies consider it to be a result of globalisation. Investigating the case of Jordan has brought migration and globalisation closer since they share similar characteristics. Both are directly affected by economic and political sectors, shifting people's culture, beliefs, and traditions, influence the social structure, neglect the political borders, and blend different ideologies into one. Therefore, this article argues that migration and globalisation are two sides of the same coin.

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