

## Changing relations between migration and production of space in Amman

Moving through Amman one will obtain consciousness for the strong relationship between Migration and the city over time. Next to the statements about identity and origins of the people, one can find various silent hints in the architecture about the many different groups and their backgrounds in Amman. Despite the problems many minorities always had to cope about, the different migrants built up the city of Amman in the 20th century. The city is grown by flows of migration. On the other side there seem to be a new pattern of migration, which contradicts to the described relationship between the migration and the city of Amman. This new pattern is shaped by neoliberal policies and economic structures. As the first pattern of migration is present in the whole town, the new pattern appears punctually at several places.



The minority of the Syrian population in Amman also reflects the change of migration circumstances. In the twenties of 20th century the city became a magnet for migrants in the region. Also Syrians came to set up new business activities. They pushed trading in the new capital of the newly created state, the Emirate of Transjordan. The well educated Syrians brought innovations and have been a part of the elite in Amman. The city became a metropolis of millions of people due to several migration flows in the 20th century, especially from Palestine in 1948 and after the Six-Day War 1967. Despite the existing poverty and inequalities between the different minority groups in Amman and Jordan, the city must have prepared structures which allowed receiving these enormous flows of people in the lasting way that the city grew by and for the migrants.

As mentioned the new pattern of migration in Jordan is influenced by neoliberal policies and economic principles. International capital is the main force which lets emerge new luxury

housing areas all over the sandy ground of Amman. In Hai Al-Qaisya one can see how poorer neighborhoods are displaced by the corresponding policies. The new migrants of current times are needed to build up the properties as day labourer with low salaries. Integration into the existing society might be hard, not to mention the impossibility of the production of a decent place to stay for those new, poor migrants. At the same time private public partnership projects aim to attract modern enterprises and qualified people to the city center of Amman. The “new downtown” Al Abdali offers a high technical standard, luxury high-rise buildings and spaces for communication. Emigration of start-up enterprises to the Golf States should be prevented by extensive projects like Al Abdali. Meanwhile a new migration flow has emerged due to the war in Syria. But now few migrants can integrate into Amman. Most live in improvised tent settlements, many refugees are settled in camps far away from any city. Saatari in the north of Jordan accommodates 120 000 people, the new camp Asrak was built in the middle of a desert, 50 kilometers away from the next town. Critics arise about the kingdom, which receives big international relief funds but isn't spending all into the targeted tasks.

With regard to the production of urban space in Amman it is evident how migrants are used to generate high profits in real estate businesses. Migrants of the 21st century are building up a city in which they cannot afford to live. Regarding these processes Amman loses its image of an open city to all people. And several questions arise: Under which circumstances it was possible that Amman became an arrival city to so many migrants in the 20th century? Which consequences will proceed from the described changes to the stability of the urban society in Amman?