

Working Paper
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**The Development Impact of Temporary
International Labour Migration
on Southern Mediterranean Sending Countries:
Contrasting Examples of Morocco and Egypt**

MICHAEL COLLYER
Sussex Centre for Migration Research

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Development Research Centre on
Migration, Globalisation and Poverty
Arts C-226, University of Sussex
Brighton BN1 9SJ

Website: <http://www.migrationdrc.org>
Email: migration@sussex.ac.uk
Tel: +44 (0)1273 873394
Fax: +44 (0)1273 873158

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Introduction

In recent years wealthier countries have expressed a growing interest in reviewing and extending schemes for labour migration. This is mainly provoked by falling levels of population growth. The demographic deficit is especially pronounced in Southern Europe, where the population of countries such as Spain and Italy would actually be declining if it were not for migration, though it is common to most European countries (*Guardian* 30.10.2000). The economic implications of this are now well publicised and European countries, keen to find ways of maintaining economic growth, are turning once again to foreign labour. Recent studies by the OECD (SOPEMI 1998) and the European Commission (EC 2004) review existing labour migration schemes in a range of Northern countries and a large survey by the ILO provides details of the range of schemes that have been agreed between 98 ILO member states (Geronimi 2004; Geronimi et al 2004). Schemes that are currently operating are typically targeted at skilled migrants, such as doctors in the UK (Breining-Kaufman et al 2003) or IT workers in Germany (Werner 2001). Although unskilled workers remain in the minority in these schemes, there are clear signs that the need for unskilled migrants is equally pronounced (Doudeijns and Dumont 2003). Apart from relatively common schemes for agricultural workers, new schemes for migration of unskilled labour have recently been introduced in sectors such as food processing and hospitality (Clark 2003) and demand clearly exists elsewhere, especially in construction and domestic work. Possibilities for the movement of unskilled workers are more in line with the priorities of Southern Mediterranean countries which are keen to retain their more highly qualified workers (AMERM 2001) but face a large surplus of less skilled labour. Some recent estimates suggest that the Maghreb countries will require one million jobs a year (Khachani 2002) and Egypt will require between 600,000 and 800,000 (IOM et al 2003a) simply to maintain levels of unemployment at current (high) levels¹. Even those North African countries with more positive economic forecasts, such as Morocco and Tunisia (Gharbi 2004) are having difficulty creating jobs at this level and exporting some of this labour power appears to be an attractive option.

Despite this apparent correlation of interests, the situation is inevitably far more complex than a simple geographical imbalance in the supply and demand for labour across the Mediterranean. There are various possible responses that would match up the needs, concerns and objectives

¹ Migration is now typically linked to high unemployment rates (Guibilaro 1997) but others have criticised this notion of 'migration pressure' (Talahite 1997)

of North and South of the Mediterranean but do not involve migration.² Many such measures already figure in current development strategies of Southern Mediterranean countries, with support from a range of sources (EC 2003). All of these measures have their own problems: they raise new conflicts of interest, rarely achieve a balance between priorities of Northern and Southern countries and require significant amounts of time before potential benefits may be felt. In the short term at least, extended schemes of labour migration will inevitably be required. This paper aims to contribute to the debate on the form and perspectives of this new interest in labour migration by assessing the extent to which similar schemes have addressed the development priorities of the Southern Mediterranean, using the example of Morocco and Egypt.

The chief difficulty that new schemes face from a European perspective is the conflict between the clear economic need and the prevailing political climate towards migration, characterised particularly by a lack of political will to face the social and cultural implications of new schemes for renewed large-scale immigration. Regularisation of undocumented workers is an increasingly popular way of avoiding these issues, particularly in Southern Europe. Legitimising the *de facto* presence of undocumented migrants allows the social and cultural argument to be presented as a *fait accompli* but these schemes have serious drawbacks for all involved. They are far from ideal from the migrants' perspective, since they require a period of undocumented presence with the well-established dangers of exploitation and insecurity that that entails, from the host country's perspective, since management of both the labour market and the immigration system become much more difficult, or from the sending country's perspective, since contact cannot be easily maintained with an undocumented population abroad.

An alternative approach is to introduce new migration schemes and insist on the temporary nature of new migration. This is the focus of existing studies and policy developments (SOPEMI 1998; Clark 2003; EC 2004; Geronimi 2004). The treatment of migrants as no more than mobile labour remains problematic. In particular, enforced isolation from social and family ties in the country of origin would raise human rights issues³ if it were to be prolonged. Nevertheless, at a practical level temporary labour migration schemes appear to offer the best

² These include options for the mobility of capital, such as promoting outsourcing and foreign direct investment, support for the small and medium enterprise sector to encourage greater demand for labour in the South and investment in education to ensure that there is less need in the future to import skilled labour from elsewhere (including Europe).

³ Chiefly under Article 8 (right to private and family life) of the European Convention of Human Rights.

possibility for compromise between the interests of the governments and societies of origin and destination and the migrants themselves.

Of more direct concern to destination governments is the classic problem of how to ensure that temporary migration remains temporary, mindful of the dictum that 'there is nothing so permanent as temporary migration' (Martin 1999). While this is not strictly true, (there are obviously plenty of examples of migrants who have returned), enforcing temporariness inevitably requires significant bureaucracy, a fair share of very awkward decisions and an acceptance that some migrants will inevitably stay anyway. Martin (2003) envisages two significant challenges of new temporary migration schemes to reduce these 'goal-outcome gaps'. These are reducing market distortions, by which labour markets in receiving countries come to rely on cheaper labour, and reducing dependence of families and communities in countries of origin on remittance transfers from workers abroad.

An innovative approach to temporary labour that has received considerable attention recently involves extending commitments to service provision under Mode 4 of the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) which governs service provision through the temporary movement of natural persons (TMNP) (Winters et al 2002; Lavenex 2000). Of the 93 countries who replied to the ILO's 2003-2004 study of labour agreements only 3⁴ mentioned GATS Mode 4 mobility, suggesting that uptake of these Mode 4 schemes is not widespread. Mode 4 offers a useful alternative to the traditional 'top down' pattern of labour migration agreements between government institutions. Winters and his colleagues suggest incorporating existing temporary labour migration schemes into GATS to provide binding, specific commitments which may then be developed further at a later stage. This task depends on preliminary research to catalogue and analyse bilateral and multilateral labour migration schemes.

There are already a number of detailed assessments of existing temporary labour mobility schemes (SOPEMI 1998; Martin 2003; EC 2004; Geronimi 2004; Geronimi et al 2004) and although some of these are expressly concerned with the potential development effects of temporary labour mobility (Barber 2003) they concentrate on policy measures in the destination country. The development priorities of Southern Mediterranean states do not necessarily coincide with the objectives expressed in these schemes (Black 2004), nor are the aims and

⁴ Austria, New Zealand, USA

experiences of sending countries homogenous, even within a single region such as the Southern Mediterranean.

This paper is based on an extensive literature survey of the changing perspectives of labour emigration from North Africa and a range of interviews with key actors in ministries, international organisations, NGOs and research institutes in Egypt and Morocco (see Appendix A), carried out between October 2003 and March 2004. It falls into three sections. The first section traces the intellectual history of research and policy on the relationship between labour migration and economic development in Egypt and Morocco. Significant work in this area dates back to the mid 1960s and many of the themes developed in the earliest work remain surprisingly relevant today. This is developed in the second section which draws out key themes from previous work and brings in interview data to formulate a series of priorities for considering the development effects of future labour migration schemes. The third section turns to existing agreements, using the priorities established in section two to analyse one bilateral agreement governing labour mobility from each country: the 2001 labour migration agreement between Morocco and Spain and the 2001 Integrated Migration Information System Project (IMIS) based on a cooperation between the Italian and Egyptian governments, facilitated by IOM. Finally, in the conclusion, this analysis is related back to current debates on the temporary movement of labour across the Mediterranean, and more widely, with the aim of relating European objectives to a Southern Mediterranean perspective.

2. Debates on Migration and Development in the Southern Mediterranean

Recent, middle range estimates suggest that there are just under two million Moroccans abroad and approximately two and a half million Egyptians. These are only really best estimates, based on a range of statistical sources. Since different sources give very different figures it is difficult to be precise, even to the nearest few hundred thousand people⁵. Emigrant communities represent approximately seven and four percent of the total populations of Morocco and Egypt, respectively. The large scale of remittance transfers suggests that

⁵ There are very significant discrepancies between Egyptian and Moroccan data sources and figures obtained from countries of destination. Authorities from both countries consider individuals who obtain another nationality to remain in possession of their former nationality and this does not always coincide with measurement techniques in countries of destination. This difficulty is exacerbated in Morocco where children of Moroccans born abroad are officially considered Moroccans, whereas they are obviously never considered as immigrants in their countries of birth. Those Moroccan Jews who migrated to Israel (approximately 200,000 individuals) are generally not considered as part of the emigrant community but Moroccan Jews in France frequently are, due to the nature of data collection techniques there. In the US some estimates make an attempt to specify the 'Moroccan Muslim' population, to distinguish them from the significant Jewish migration there (Hamadi Bekouchi 2003).

emigrants remain in very close contact to their home societies; according to IMF data both Moroccans and Egyptians abroad remitted €2.9 billion in 2002 (IMF 2003), representing the largest source of foreign exchange for both countries by a considerable margin. Emigration is clearly extremely significant at the national level. In both countries the size and economic power of the emigrant communities makes them important political and economic actors and both governments have evolved extensive administrative apparatus for maintaining contact with their emigrant communities.

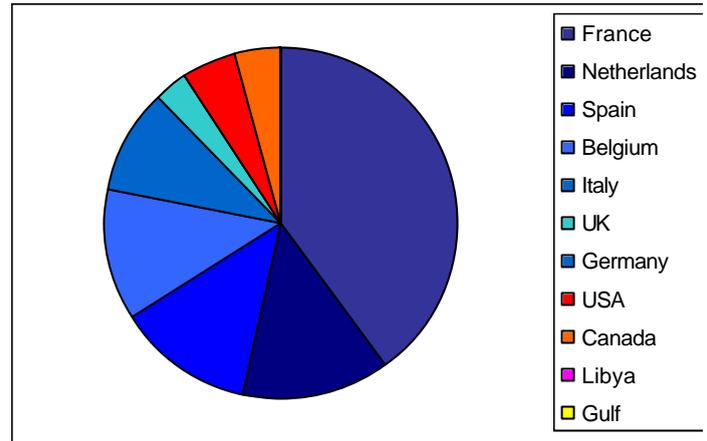
The dominant difference lies in the geography of these two emigrant groups. Almost 85 percent of Moroccan emigrants live in Europe (Figure 1), mainly France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Spain and Italy, though there are now few countries without a Moroccan population. Significant groups of Moroccans also live in Canada and the USA; there is a fluctuating community in Libya and a number of much smaller groups in the Gulf. The picture is very different for Egyptians (Figure 2). Egypt's principle migration legislation, law number 111 of 1983, makes a clear distinction between permanent and temporary migration, though in practice the distinction is simply a geographical one with all migrants to Arab states defined as temporary, even though some have been there many years⁶ and all migrants to Europe, North America or Australia defined as permanent, including those who have arrived very recently⁷. Data for temporary and permanent migration are typically presented separately (IOM et al 2003a; Zohry and Harrell-Bond 2003) but have been combined here for illustrative purposes. There is very little overlap with the distribution of Moroccans. Seventy percent of Egyptians abroad live in Libya or the Gulf, almost half of these in Saudi Arabia. The majority of the remaining thirty percent live in North America, mainly the USA, with only relatively small communities in Europe, the largest in Italy and Greece.

⁶ A phenomenon that has become known as the 'permanence of temporary migration' (Farrag 1999: 55)

⁷ The permanent and temporary classification is accurate for the majority in each location but there is a significant number to whom it does not apply. Although it is far more difficult for Egyptians in the Gulf states to receive citizenship, in countries such as Kuwait many have done (Fargues 1991). Despite this, they continue to be classified as 'temporary', just as the minority of Egyptians in Europe who have no permanent status continue to be classified as 'permanent' migrants in official Egyptian data.

Table/Figure 1: The Distribution of the Moroccan Emigrant Population 2000

Belgium	202,559
Spain	210,751
France	668,000
Italy	162,377
Netherlands	221,051
Germany	?
UK	50,000
USA	85,000
Canada	70,000
Libya	?
Gulf	?
Total	1,669,738

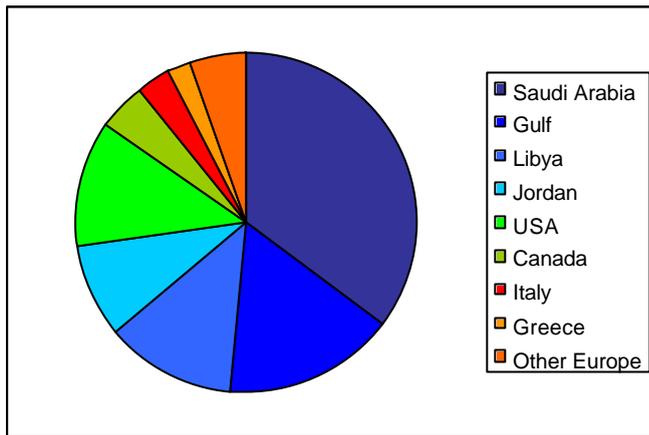


Source: IOM et al 2003b

Given the quantity and significance of emigration in both Morocco and Egypt, the huge amount of academic work on the subject is hardly surprising. Comparative work between the two countries is, however, much rarer, limited to a few articles (Courbage 1994; Schoorl et al 2000; Nasser and Ghoneim 2002). Both countries were included in the Eurostat/NIDI research of 1996-1997 which has produced a tremendous amount of easily comparable data but to date this has only rarely appeared in comparative form in published work (eg Schoorl et al 2000) so the background to the very significant differences in Egyptian and Moroccan experiences of emigration has yet to be fully analysed. Research debates in the two countries appear to have developed largely independently of each other for most of the last three decades yet the similarity of issues faced reveals what can be gained from effective coordination and organised comparative work. This section presents a chronological development of debates in this area for each country as a prelude to a more comparative analysis in the following section.

Table/Figure 2: The Distribution of the Egyptian Emigrant Population 2000

Saudi Arabia	923,600
Gulf	417,179
Libya	332,600
Jordan	226,850
USA	318,000
Canada	110,000
Italy	90,000
Greece	60,000
Other Europe	136,000
Total	2,614,229



Source: SOPEMI 2003; Hamadi Bekouchi 2003

Egypt

The widely quoted comment of Cleland that 'Egyptians do not emigrate' dates from 1936 (Cleland 1936) but it remained broadly true until the mid 1960s. Indeed, for much of the early part of the 20th century Egypt was a significant destination country (Hansen 1985). The difficulty of the transition from immigration to emigration in Egypt mirrors the opposite, more recent shift in Southern Europe and proved as difficult to deal with. From 1956 to 1965 there were very strict controls on emigration, justified by a need to maintain labour and skills, though it is also clear that a significant exodus would have reflected badly on Nasser's ambitious development projects. The little emigration that did take place until the mid 1960s was more relevant to a political project than an economic one, and concerned, almost exclusively, highly skilled individuals, most significantly teachers. The spread of Egyptian teachers, mainly to the Gulf and Iraq but also west, to Libya and especially to the recently independent Algeria, was an important gesture of solidarity promoting Pan Arabism, but also a sign that Egypt remained the cultural centre of the Arab world. Emigration was also authorised during this period for the purpose of post-graduate study principally in the US or Canada. Many of these student migrants did not return and, combined with other forms of highly skilled migration, this provoked concern at the loss of these skilled individuals. Studies of international emigration in the 1960s were sponsored by ministries and responded to this concern by exploring the potential negative effects of a brain drain. Even at this stage Egypt trained more graduates than could find effective employment (this is still the case) and these studies typically reached neutral or cautiously positive conclusions as to the impact of emigration, though with reservation in some sectors (eg Kuraitem and Hamdi 1966).

In 1964 the Committee for Manpower was established and authorised to consider requests for emigration. For the first few years it granted only a few thousand permits a year but in 1967 made a recommendation that emigration should be more broadly encouraged (Dessouki 1981). Emigration gradually increased and some commentators cite 1967 as the beginning of the real brain drain (Zohry and Harrell-Bond 2003). Emigration was suspended briefly in 1969 while its impacts were more fully investigated through the first migration study produced by the Central Agency for Public Mobilisation and Statistics (CAPMAS). When emigration restarted quotas for individual occupations were introduced, administered by a newly opened emigration department based in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. These quotas were arranged in coordination with the department or ministry concerned and were particularly restricted for health professionals, including only 50 doctors a year (Dessouki 1982). The Arab League attempted to broker a multilateral labour migration agreement in 1967 but only Iraq ratified it. Egypt signed bi-lateral agreements with Libya in 1971, Bulgaria in 1972 and Qatar in 1974 but these only described very general principles of cooperation. Throughout the 1960s emigration was very closely managed; passports were extremely difficult to obtain and were often only valid for Arab countries. Emigrants were also obliged to use the national airline, Egypt Air.

Emigration policy under Nasser was always strongly influenced by his pan Arabist agenda and centralised socialist state control. Sadat's arrival in power in 1971 led to a change in ideological position. From 1972 onwards a measure of liberalisation was gradually introduced into the Egyptian economy in a policy known as *infitah*, literally simply 'opening' but usually referred to as the 'open door' policy. This liberalisation process had very significant repercussions for emigration policy (Roussillon 1985; Dessouki 1981; Zibani and Bouchez 1990; Zohry and Harrell-Bond 2003). Central controls were eased and exit visas were lifted completely in 1974. Efforts were made to coordinate emigration more closely with the needs of labour importing countries, particularly in the Gulf (Abdel Aziz 2000). The dramatic rise in oil receipts in 1973 provoked a construction boom in oil producing companies and a huge demand for both skilled and unskilled labour that Egypt was in an ideal position to meet. The 1976 census cited more than 1.4 million working abroad, though some contemporary writers were sceptical of this figure (Birks and Sinclair 1978) and other estimates suggest that the figure was closer to 1 million, still surprisingly high and 10 percent of the labour force at the time (Roussillon 1985). The IMF became involved in Egypt in 1976 and further market liberalisation followed. The Gulf Organisation for the Development of Egypt also provided loans and encouraged further

liberalisation and policies towards emigration that were favourable to the continued need for labour in the Gulf.

The dramatic rise in Egyptian emigration post 1973 provoked significant academic and policy interest from a range of sources. Two large-scale research projects began in the mid to late 1970s that would help frame the debate on labour migration and development for the next decade. The first of these began in 1976 with the involvement of Egypt in the worldwide 'migration for employment' project of the ILO. This project was based on a far-reaching survey of labour migration in countries from Tunisia to the Gulf (Morocco and Algeria were not included as they 'would never be very significant in the Arab labour migration system', according to Birks and Sinclair 1980: 3). Other smaller studies of the time focused on the use of remittances, frequently setting up a polarised opposition between positive and negative results and concluding that the reality was somewhere in between (eg Hadley 1977). The ILO work investigated use of remittances, typifying the negative strand of interpretation that continues to be cited. They concluded that remittances were not likely to be permanent, fuelled external dependence and encouraged inflation as they were spent on consumption.

Remittances were certainly the major issue at this time. In 1978 remittances were greater than revenue from Egyptian exports for the first time and by 1980 were greater than all other foreign revenue sources, including oil, tourism and the Suez canal. The government experimented with a range of policies to fully exploit this resource but met with little success. Egyptians were allowed to hold foreign currency accounts in Egyptian banks from 1964 and were initially obliged to repatriate a proportion of their income at 25 percent for single people, 10 percent for those with families with them (Roussillon 1985). This proved unsuccessful and exchange rates were altered in 1968 and 1972 in an effort to encourage further remittances (Dessouki 1982). By the end of the 1970s the government was issuing bonds for Egyptians abroad as a new way of tapping their income for development investment (Birks and Sinclair 1978). None of these policies resulted in significant growth of access to remittances by official sources. Hadley (1977) advocated enforcing the channelling of remittances through official channels 'by law' but this was not re-introduced. A 1982 study found that only a small percentage of remittances entered official channels and was exchanged for Egyptian currency (cited in Roussillon 1985). Initiatives involving emigrants themselves typically achieved more positive results, including the establishment of an Egyptian investment bank in the United Arab Emirates in 1977 (*Middle*

East Economic Digest 1.7.77) and the construction of an Egyptian consulate in Kuwait in 1986 (*Middle East Times* 14.12.86).

Work on the use of remittances (then, as now) was rather limited as conclusions could only really be based on empirical evidence which varied with a wide range of individual preference factors. The significant contribution of the ILO study for Egypt was the analysis of the structure of the national labour market. Birks and Sinclair identified 10 separate categories of labour with very little occupational mobility between them and almost none across three 'major' barriers to occupational advancement. The implications of this for emigration were that employed individuals who left the country could not easily be replaced by people from other sectors of the labour market, meaning that skill shortages became severe while unemployment remained high, inequality was exacerbated and emigration only produced more emigration (Birks and Sinclair 1978). They concluded: 'It is probable that the limited benefits of remittances, when weighed against the potential drawbacks which might accrue from the losses of Egypt's most highly qualified manpower, do not in themselves justify the migration' (Birks and Sinclair 1978: 29). The ILO study concluded that the most profitable way forward was through an organised, regional cooperation on labour that attempted to respond to labour needs rather than manage supply (Birks and Sinclair 1980: 125).

The second major study of this period arose through a cooperation between MIT and Cairo University. Roussillon (1985) cites 25 separate papers and research reports that were published from 1977 to 1981 as a result of this research. Like the ILO study, these identified remittances as the chief benefit of emigration and concentrated on exploring effects of emigration on the labour market to identify any potential costs. They focused on the construction and education sectors, avoiding agriculture where they felt there was significant flexibility in the labour supply to allow for under employment. Within the education and construction sectors they found that the impact of emigration was more often positive than negative. Particularly in education they found that the considerable surplus of teachers meant that emigration had a strongly positive effect on the Egyptian labour market and helped maintain national demand (Choucri et al 1980). Further work went on to re-examine the negative view of remittances, countering the broadly expressed view that remittances mainly funded consumption which was bad for the economy. It was argued that consumption was only inflationary if demand could not be met and that consumption itself had important welfare and development impacts which should not be ignored (Choukri 1986). The broad conclusions of

the MIT-Cairo University work were to support the continued development of the emigration sector and respond to the need to develop some national economic coordination to better record and understand economic flows from remittances.

In 1985 the National Population Council (NPC) carried out the first nation-wide large scale survey of emigration, interviewing 12,000 households spread across 96 urban districts and 108 villages. This was also the first Egyptian survey to prioritise the household as an important unit in migration. It was also the first attempt to conduct a systematic comparison between emigrants and non-emigrants. Until then it had been assumed that emigrants developed patterns of socio-economic behaviour that were somehow different from non-emigrants. The NPC study found this not to be the case: 'Emigration was, for emigrants, the means of financing the patterns that permeated the entire society, at slightly higher levels' (Fergany 1986: 149). The study also provided the first reasonably authoritative estimation of the size and distribution of the emigrant population. Previously even government sources had cited figures ranging from 1.79 million to 4.5 million as the total number of Egyptians to have emigrated (including those who had returned). The NPC study established a figure of 3.4 million emigrants, of whom 2 million had returned (Fergany 1986). Ninety-five percent of emigrants were male and were much more qualified than the population as a whole. The most important destinations at that time were Iraq (424,000) and Saudi Arabia (361,000). The instability of these emigrant groups was illustrated by the mass deportation of Egyptians from Libya in 1985 when up to 80 percent of the 100,000 Egyptians resident in Libya returned.

The NPC survey identified return migration as an important potential development resource that had until then gone largely unnoticed in the focus on remittances. A number of key considerations of return migration were gradually highlighted by research from the mid 1980s onwards. Nader Fergany (1991) used the data from the NPC survey to characterise return migration as either individual, relating to individual reasons for return, or part of 'reflux' migration larger scale returns responding to a change in conditions in the country of emigration. Reflux migration could have potentially negative effects on the Egyptian labour market due to the sudden, and typically unpredictable, increase in unemployment, often in similar sectors. Returns from Libya in the mid 1980s or Iraq at the onset of the war with Iran were very significant events, involving tens of thousands of individuals returning within the space of a few months. Fergany also highlights the difference between the geographical distribution of departures to returns, with a loss of population in rural areas and large cities and a growth in

medium sized towns, a pattern similar to ongoing internal migration (Zohry and Harrell-Bond 2003).

Further research examined the effects of savings and skills acquired by return migrants while abroad. Gunter Meyer conducted research in the mid 1980s on returning entrepreneurs. He examined the skills and savings that return migrants had gained abroad that were of use to them in their new ventures in construction, small scale service and large scale manufacturing (Meyer 1991). Results overall were very positive with approximately one quarter of entrepreneurs interviewed reporting significant help from their time abroad. Similar results were obtained from an analysis of the 1988 labour force survey (McCormick and Wahba 2001; 2003). In contrast work done in rural areas, or on migrants who had returned to work in agriculture was less positive suggesting that emigration increased inequality (Adams 1989) and provided few resources that were reinvested into agriculture (Amin and Awany 1985). Reichert (1993) suggested that the Egyptian government did very little to channel remittances and return investment into agriculture.

Towards the end of the 1980s interest grew in the social process of migration. The hugely imbalanced gender profile of migrants and the typically temporary nature of migration was due to the almost exclusive reason for emigration being labour. By the mid 1980s some researchers found evidence of more durable migration from Egypt. Based on work in Kuwait Fargues (1991) cited a changing profile in the immigrant population with a much larger number of women in the 1985 census than was expected. Ralph Sell (1987; 1988) compared Egyptian migration to processes occurring in Mexican-US and Turkey-Germany migrations where research on the social importance of migration was well under way (eg Massey et al 1987). In 1988 Sell concluded that Egyptian communities in Iraq and Kuwait were developing permanent structures. The traumatic returns of these migrants following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait illustrates the fragility of residency of Egyptian migrants, and the difficulty of making international comparisons of this nature.

The 1991 Gulf war and continued disturbances throughout the Middle East significantly affected new research on migration in the region. Some recently published material is based on surveys or data collected before 1991 (eg McCormick and Wahba 2001; 2003) and Nader Fergany has recently lamented the 'loss of interest' by migration researchers in the region (Fergany 2001). A very significant exception to this is the NIDI study carried out in 1997 as part

of the larger 'push and pull factors of international migration' research sponsored by Eurostat. Of the five countries investigated for this project Egypt was found to be the one where intentions to migrate were lowest. Interviews with 2,000 households served to confirm many patterns and processes suggested by earlier research. There were no clear policy recommendations made by the NIDI study, since this was not its purpose. Fergany's recent article returned to the same ground as the MIT Cairo University study, calling for regional coordination of the Arab migration system. Sadly this possibility seems more remote today than when the MIT-CU team suggested it in the early 1980s. The most recent developments in the Ministry for Manpower and Emigration at least provide a more stable administrative framework on which greater cooperation could conceivably be built, when the political will arises. These developments are the fruit of a significant restructuring and capacity building operation financed by the Italian government, in cooperation with IOM. This cooperation provides an exciting model for development in this field and is discussed in detail in section three. The following section turns to Morocco's experience of managing migration in preparation for the comparative study in section two.

Morocco

Although migration within Morocco was integral to the livelihoods of members of poorer communities from large, mostly rural, areas of Morocco during pre-colonial times, international migration was instigated directly through the French, and to a much lesser extent, Spanish colonial presence. It therefore arose through an already imbalanced relationship that was not found in the origins of Egyptian international migration. The few research studies produced during the colonial period explained migration through an imbalance between population and resources, ignoring the fundamental inequalities that were at the origin of these movements. International migration began in the 19th century and involved the mostly seasonal movement of agricultural workers to the large colonial landholdings in Algeria. There were also significant movements to France during the First and Second World Wars but virtually all migrants returned and most academic studies start considering emigration from the 1960s.

Although France dominated Moroccan emigration, other Northern European countries were significant from the early 1960s, in stark contrast to migration patterns from Tunisia, and particularly Algeria. Labour migration agreements were signed between Morocco and Germany (May 1963), France (June 1963), Belgium (January 1964) and the Netherlands (May 1969). Following the 1963 agreement with France the French *Organisation National d'Immigration*

(ONI) opened an office in Casablanca to arrange recruitment to French firms that required labour. For most of the 1960s however, most emigrants travelled to France without a pre-arranged work permit to find work (and were later regularised) after their arrival. The first study of emigration by the Ministry of the Interior was carried out in 1966 but faced the difficulty that the majority of migrants were effectively irregular and statistics were therefore highly uncertain.

Daniel Noin's *La Population Rurale au Maroc* (1970) was one of the first academic attempts to assess the situation of emigration, concentrating on the province of Nador, located in the Rif mountains in the North of the country. The Rif, and Nador in particular, was one of the most significant areas of emigration in the early 1970s (Bonnet and Bossard 1973). This was a largely rural area and migration typically involved peasant farmers from the mountain villages migrating to Nador and then onto Europe to take up a range of unskilled positions in manufacturing, trading or in the mines in Northern France. In 1973 and 1974 Bossard conducted his doctoral research in Nador with the specific aim of determining the effects of emigration on local development. He concluded that, even by the early 1970s 'the province of Nador lives from emigration' (Bossard 1979) and expressed concern at the level of dependence on migration at the local level.

The government has always been actively involved in attempts to encourage remittances and it has been far more successful at encouraging the use of official channels than the Egyptian government, although success has not always been assured. The development of an efficient banking system that was put at the service of emigrant groups very early on in the emigration process is a key factor in this success (Charef 1999). Moroccans also sent back huge proportions of their income; in the late 1960s it was estimated that single Moroccans sent back between 80 and 90 percent of their salaries and a survey in France in 1972 found that 89 percent of Moroccans regularly sent money back, the highest proportion of any migrant group surveyed. In 1968 the bank, the Credit Populaire du Maroc (CPM), was given the task of gathering remittances from emigrants to provide an alternative to the post office or simply entrusting remittances to a friend or acquaintance who was returning. The astonishing success of the CPM at dominating the bank trade in remittance transfers is responsible for transforming it into one of the largest banks in Morocco (Charef 1999). From the early 1970s other Moroccan banks began to open branches in Paris, then Brussels and gradually competition for the prized trade of remittance transfers grew.

The 1973 rise of oil prices is associated with the winding down of the labour migration schemes of the 1960s and the end of this first phase of new Moroccan labour migration. This is in stark contrast to the Egyptian experience, where 1973 really marks the beginning of significant emigration for employment. Moroccan emigration obviously did not stop but its character changed considerably in the early 1970s and it became much less of labour migration. Even so policy interest in this migration, in both Morocco and Europe, was only really beginning and the most significant research projects only got underway once this initial phase of what was still assumed to be temporary labour migration had come to an end. From the mid 1970s onwards, a series of influential studies was produced from a research collaboration between the Dutch research team on the REMPLOD study and the Moroccan INSEA (*Institute National de Statistique et d'Economie Appliquée*). Research for REMPLOD was carried out in a range of countries at the request of the Dutch government. The main aim of the project was to identify development needs that would allow more sustainable return for Moroccans in the Netherlands and encourage them to go home. REMPLOD was particularly concentrated on the Rif, as the most significant area of emigration to the Netherlands. The main research project was carried out in 1975 and 1976. It was at the national level and was one of the first large scale research projects to focus on the central importance of the household, as the fundamental decision making unit. The first significant publication, entitled *Partir pour Rester*, was based on the rural section of the survey (Heinemeijer et al 1977).

The second major publication (Hamdouch et al 1979) reached a more negative conclusion, returning to the fundamental resource disparities that were at the root of migration from Morocco. It asserted a range of negative views of emigration that were common in the last 1970s; migration was fragile, it encouraged inflation and it had no effect on rural unemployment. In 1981 INSEA completed a further text in cooperation with the University of Quebec (Hamdouch et al 1981). This study reported on the urban results of the investigation. This was one of the first systematic comparisons of those who migrated and those who did not. In contrast to previously held assumptions, it argued that there was no essential difference between migrants and non-migrants. This study also reported on the continued temporary nature of Moroccan emigration. Of return migrants questioned, 87.7 percent had never been accompanied by spouse or children, a slightly lower proportion of individuals who were abroad at the time did not have any family with them (83.8 percent), suggesting that the change to family emigration was only occurring very slowly. Temporary, circular migration was certainly the dominant pattern until the late 1970s (Amersfoort 1978). Finally the study highlighted the

growth of families relying entirely on emigration, concluding that emigration 'has changed in character; from being a migration to supplement other activities, to become rich, it has become more and more a migration of necessity, of poverty' (Hamdouch et al 1981: 222). The final study to be published by a member of the REMPLOD team returned to the Rif, the main area of interest of the Dutch researchers (De Mas 1978). In *Marges Marocaines* Paulo de Mas examines the development prospects of the Rif region and concludes that it is unlikely to be able to provide economic prospects sufficiently attractive to discourage emigration.

In 1981 a study carried out by INED in France focused solely on patterns of remittances of migrants (Garson and Tapinos 1981). It concluded that the transfer of remittances peaked at between three and twelve years after migration, declining thereafter. There was particular concern that children of Moroccan emigrants would lack the connection to Morocco that their parents had and remittances would decline rapidly as the initial generation of migrants retired. A 1988 study undertaken in France by the Moroccan Bank Credit Populaire du Maroc found that 29 percent of 'Moroccans born abroad' (since they are not considered to lose their Moroccan nationality) remit money regularly. This study is quoted by Mohammed Charef (1999) with some dismay since this figure is so much lower than the initial emigrants but it does nonetheless suggest a significant degree of continued contact of the 'second generation.'

The Moroccan government was obviously keen to prevent any decline in remittance income. In 1971 it had undertaken to maintain the parity of the Moroccan Dirham with the French Franc by adding three percent to all funds deposited by emigrants in Moroccan banks (Charef 1999). This soon became too costly to continue but the government continued to add a *'prime de fidélité'* to deposits made by emigrants that ranged from two and a half percent to as high as ten percent in response to even slight fluctuations in the amount of remittances transferred. This became increasingly costly during the 1980s and in 1987 it was removed altogether. The resulting 20 percent fall in remittance transfers in 1988 prompted a rethink of the structures used to maintain contact with emigrants. In 1989 the Banque Al Amal was created with the aim of helping to finance emigrants' projects (Leichtman 2002). The bank was thought to have been responsible for the creation of several thousand jobs a year in its first few years and continues to co-finance investment projects with significant loans (Maroc-Hebdo 19.7.2002). There were further significant institutional developments in 1990: a minister with responsibility for Moroccans abroad was appointed and the Fondation Hassan II pour les Marocains Résidents a

l'Etranger was created. The new term 'Moroccans Resident Abroad' (MRE) marked a significant change in orientation from the previous term 'Moroccan Workers Abroad' (TME).

Interest in the development effect of remittances remained the focus of migration research studies in Morocco until the early 1990s (Lacomba Vasquez 2002). Following the strongly negative conclusions of the INSEA and REMPLOD studies of the 1970s and early 1980s very little further research was undertaken during the 1980s. In 1992, a collaboration between German and Moroccan researchers resulted in a significant new research project focusing on the effects of return, based again in the province of Nador (Bencherifa 1997; Berriane 1997). This work concluded that return was a largely selective process. Those who had succeeded in their work abroad typically stayed there, or on occasions returned to live in large towns, such as Nador. Those who were less successful returned to their villages of origin since they did not have the capital or acquired the skills to invest in urban areas. This study highlighted the growing incidence of family migration as a sign of the increasing permanence of the migration process. It was no longer a question of 'partir pour rester' as the first REMPLOD study had put it, but 'partir pour quitter' (Kagermeier 1997). Emigration was exacerbating rural/urban divisions, increasing inequality and providing few alternatives to further emigration.

Trends into the 1990s only seemed to confirm the broadly negative assessments of previous work. Anthropological studies highlighted the changing status of emigrants. During the 1960s and 1970s emigrants were typically from rural areas, working class, often uneducated unemployed agricultural workers and there was little envy for the largely single male emigrants leaving their families for periods of isolation abroad. The financial success of certain emigrants began to change this and in towns of significant emigration, such as Nador, a new social dynamic began to become established whereby previously high status individuals also began to turn to emigration (McMurray 2001). Suggestions of the permanence of Moroccan emigration were also becoming increasingly clear and throughout the 1990s the numbers of Moroccans who naturalised in Europe gradually increased. From 1991 to 2000 almost 400,000 Moroccans were granted the nationality of an EU member state, larger than any other group (SOPEMI 2003).

Despite the gloomy predictions and the clear signs that these longer term trends indicate greater involvement of the Moroccan emigrant population in European societies, it is becoming clear that the consequences are not necessarily negative. One of the key contributions of work

on transnationalism is the demonstration that deeper involvement in emigrants' new societies does not necessarily lead to less significant commitment to their countries of nationality or former nationality. This is borne out by the continuing rise of remittances to Morocco throughout the 1990s to reach record levels in 2002. Examples of home town or village associations are particularly clear in Morocco, especially in the South (Daoud 1997; Mernissi 2003). One of the key characteristics of Moroccan migration since the early 1990s has been the multiplicity of migration experiences. Permanent installation is only one current of an increasingly complex migration system that has also included considerable return migration (Boubakri 2001) and the development of new destinations in Europe, chiefly Spain and Italy where Moroccans have been extremely significant in recent regularisation schemes (Reyneri 2001). Spain has also signed two new temporary labour migration agreements with Morocco: the first governing agricultural work was signed in 1999; the second, more far reaching agreement was signed in 2001 and will be analysed in section three.

Morocco was also involved in the 'push and pull factors of migration' study undertaken by NIDI, for which research with almost 2,000 households was undertaken in 1997 (Fadloulah et al 2000; IOM 2002). This study set out to determine the differences between migrant and non-migrant households. The study highlighted a number of differences that had not previously been the case, significantly on the matter of employment in Morocco; in the past Moroccan emigrants included even those people who were employed in Morocco but this is less and less the case and it is now only really the unemployed who migrate. Even those unemployed who are employable locally are turning to migration, rather than look for work in Morocco (Kachani 2002). The NIDI study also highlighted the significance of migration across the entire country: whereas emigration was traditionally concentrated in the Rif and the Souss in the South, there is now no area of the country that has not been influenced to some degree by migration. The study concluded that Morocco provides an extreme example of a culture of migration (Fadloulah et al 2000; IOM 2002) and had the strongest tradition of emigration of all five countries studied for that project (Schoorl et al 2000).

The European Union has become very involved in migration issues in Morocco. Morocco was one of five countries to be subject of an Action Plan, drawn up by the High Level Working Group on Immigration and Asylum in 1999 (EC 1999) which was initially not well received in Morocco (Belguendouz 2002; 2003). The bulk of expenditure in the 2002-2006 MEDA programme is directed towards projects relating to migration (EC 2003). The European Council

communication on migration and development lists nine budget lines relating to migration in Morocco covering over €120 million worth of expenditure. In contrast to Egypt, current research on migration in Morocco is extremely active with a number of research projects under way and a considerable number of innovative doctoral theses recently completed (eg de Haas 2003; Lacroix 2003) that should ensure considerable expertise in the sector in the years to come. Due to its involvement in many current temporary labour migration schemes Morocco will be a very significant partner in future developments in this area. The following section goes on to highlight a range of key points from this review of the research and policy experience of Morocco and Egypt.

3. Important Considerations for New Temporary Labour Migration Schemes

After 40 years or more of in-depth, well-funded research into the relationship between migration and development the question is no longer whether migration can promote development in the region of origin; it is clear that it can. The more relevant question is how to explain the differences between the situations where migration promotes development and the situations where it appears to act more as a barrier to that development (Taylor 1999). Eduardo Geronimi's ILO study (2004) includes the text of ILO Recommendation 86 on labour migration agreements that was last updated in 1949. Several countries, including Morocco, reported in the ILO survey that they intended to use Recommendation 86 as the basis for future labour migration agreements. That this agreement seems so relevant 55 years after it was drafted illustrates the lack of significant changes of thinking in this area and the deliberately vague approach taken by the recommendation to many key areas. Yet, as the above discussion suggests, the complexity of the information, the nature of the interrelationships and the extent of the time lag between cause and effect mean that it is not often easy to determine the exact nature of the migration-development link. The interpretation of this link as positive or negative certainly alters from place to place but also varies over time and according to who is doing the observing and what they are looking at.

The welfare of individual migrants is not always explicit in considerations of migration and development, though it is always understood as a key consideration. Recommendation 86 includes significant measures to safeguard the rights of migrant workers and this is, of course, the starting point of any consideration of development effects. Much research in this area suggests that migrants with secure, predictable legal status, whose rights are respected, are

much more likely to remit, so there is a strong link between migrants' rights and development. Even so, it is important that migrants are not instrumentalised in the analysis of their effects on development, as has perhaps been the danger in the past. Abdelkrim Belguendouz (1998) presents a thorough examination of ways of protecting migrants destined for unskilled employment, drawing on the case of Morocco to highlight situations where governments of both the country of origin and destination have clearly viewed migrants in more instrumental terms. He suggests a detailed programme implementing existing agreements guaranteeing migrants' social and cultural development, in addition to more obvious social and labour protection measures.

This section draws out key points for comparison from the previous separate accounts of Egypt and Morocco. This leads to the identification of a set of priority issues that deserve attention when assessing options for future temporary labour migration schemes. Recent analyses of new labour migration agreements have come up with a range of important considerations or recommendations (Martin 2003; Geronimi 2004). The ILO work provides very detailed suggestions of the mechanics of labour migration for states considering drawing up such migration agreements⁸. The number of states who expressed an intention to use Recommendation 86 reveals the need for this type of information. However, this is more of a 'check list' of points to think about. Phillip Martin's recent paper (2003) provides a more fundamental examination of the logic behind temporary migration but focuses on recommendations to receiving states. A deeper consideration of the implications for sending states is also required.

The obvious geographical contrast between Moroccan and Egyptian emigrant communities (Figures 1 and 2) leads to a series of further implications which are important for the following analysis. First, the clear characterisation of the majority of Egyptian labour migration as 'temporary' even in very recent official material contrasts with the acceptance of Moroccan migration as *de facto* permanent and the concerns to remain in contact with children of migrants born abroad. Secondly, this links to the rights migrants enjoy in their countries of residence; many Moroccans have full rights of citizens whereas most Egyptians abroad do not and receive far more haphazard treatment from the authorities of countries where they are living. Thirdly, in contrast to this, Egyptian migrants in the Gulf live in a society which is

⁸ Geronimi's list of 24 points to consider in labour migration agreements is reproduced, in slightly shorter form, in Appendix 2 (Geronimi 2004).

culturally, linguistically and religiously familiar to them as opposed to Moroccans who, although they have some cultural and linguistic affinity with France, typically do not with other European countries.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, Moroccans and Egyptians are migrating through very different policy regimes. Moroccans moving to Europe face strictly applied and reinforced visa controls, post-border checks and continued surveillance, which can only be avoided at considerable personal expense and risk. Until very recently Egyptians needed no visa to reach Libya and still do not for Jordan. Although controls are rather tighter in the Gulf and work permits more frequently required, the degree of surveillance and enforcement is not comparable to Europe. In Chimni's terms (Chimni 2002) these should probably both be considered as 'alliance and containment' models or 'migration-development regimes' (Nyberg Sorensen et al 2002) but the European system represents the conservative form of such a regime in contrast to the more liberal approach of the Gulf states. These contrasts emerge in the discussion of migration-development priorities that follows.

Public or Private Initiatives?

By their very nature bilateral migration agreements involve governments at the outset but there has always been a role for private sector involvement in their operation. The limited involvement of private companies in the *Organisation National d'Immigration* in Morocco, or licensed labour brokers in Egypt illustrates the relatively restricted role for the private sector in previous bilateral agreements. Proposals to integrate these agreements in the GATS would obviously greatly increase the influence of the private sector on labour migration and it is worth examining the potential results of such a development. Martin (2003) recognises that in most contexts more people migrate for work outside of labour migration schemes than within them and this is certainly the case for Morocco and Egypt. In the early years of international labour migration, migrants moved perfectly legally and found employment once they had arrived, which became legal once they found a work permit. Some estimates suggest that more than 60 percent of Moroccan migrants to France found work in this way in the 1960s (Bossard 1979). Increasingly migrants move illegally to find employment, which is often also illegal, although regularisation schemes can alter the legality of their position in the labour market.

The private sector already regulates a significant proportion of existing migration, since these migrants depend on finding work once they reach their destination. There is therefore no official

scrutiny of this aspect of the labour market. The only involvement of agents of the state is in attempting to prevent the illegal migration or employment of individual migrants. There will likely always be a demand for undocumented labour even if legal migration schemes are greatly extended since certain migrants will be prepared to work at below minimum wages and this provides a significant attraction for employers. There has been some discussion of the possibility of new labour migration schemes paying international migrants less than the minimum wage to preserve their competitive advantage but it is generally felt that this would be strongly resisted by host country labour unions and would effectively legalise exploitative practices (Winters et al 2002). In contrast to this Martin (2003) suggests charging employers to use migrant labour to create a disincentive to do so but this could encourage greater use of undocumented labour.

The *de facto* private sector management of a large proportion of existing labour migration obviously cannot be compared to the official regulation of migrant labour and protection of individual migrants, which must ultimately be the task of governments. Even so, since so much migration is already governed by market forces there is clearly scope for an element of market-led management of regulated labour migration in new schemes. There is much debate on how much existing irregular migration could be absorbed into new schemes and how much will continue to operate outside them but the combination of greater ease of legal recruitment of foreign labour and increased penalties for illegal recruitment will inevitably have some effect. Proposals for extension of GATS Mode 4 schemes to cover unskilled migration offer one of the easiest possibilities for achieving this. Subcontracting already operates in certain areas, such as construction, and could quickly and easily fill the gap in the legal labour market. Binding these agreements into the GATS system would provide clear routes to emigration that could be publicised and planned long in advance to ensure that the most could be made of the opportunities they offer to both sending countries and individual migrants. It would also offer individuals in poorer countries immediate access to the labour market elsewhere.

Public sector government involvement would still be required to regulate such a system. Rigorous measures to protect the welfare of these workers would obviously be required since they may fall into a legal black hole between the jurisdictions of countries of origin and destination. Similarly international sub-contracting arrangements would have to be policed for potential problems regarding international crime or national security. Within these clear boundaries of public regulation it seems there is a strong argument for the gradual expansion

of private commercial involvement in the international movement of individuals to provide services. This is already common in high skilled migration. The potential benefits of broadening the involvement of less skilled workers appear to be considerable.

Length of Time Spent Abroad

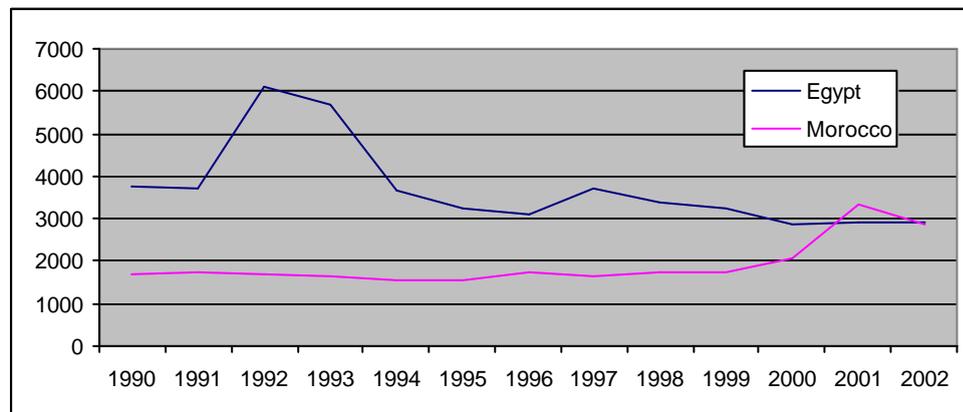
The most obvious concern for new temporary labour migration schemes is the relationship between the duration of the migration and its development effects. Length of time spent abroad will be likely to influence savings and skills acquired and both are important in terms of remittances and the impact of return migration. The INED study (Garson and Tapinos 1981) on remittances from France found that migrants did not reach the maximum level of remittance transfer until several years after they arrived and remittances did not decline until 12 years after the initial migration. More recent research from the south of Morocco has also found support for the idea that migration may take some time to reach 'maturity' at which point remittances are regular and reliable (de Haas 2003). The NIDI study also found support for the idea that remittances grow over time (IOM 2002). The reasons for this are easy to understand. It is clear that the costs of migration will be concentrated near the beginning of the time spent abroad and remittances are only likely to begin once these have been paid, repaid or managed. Remittances will then obviously stop when the migrant returns and, if other migrants do not replace them, this will result in a net loss to the remittance economy. On a macro level the distinction between Egyptian and Moroccan total remittance transfers (Figure 3) is indicative of the difference in the nature of migration from the two countries. Moroccan transfers were stable during the 1990s and gradually rose towards the end. Although Egyptian transfers were initially much higher they obviously fluctuate much more due to the much shorter term nature of Egyptian emigration with implications for the ease of management of the national economy.

**Table 3: Remittances to Egypt and Morocco 1990–2002
(million US\$)**

	Egypt	Morocco
1990	3748	1680
1991	3723	1735
1992	6104	1686
1993	5664	1657
1994	3672	1530
1995	3226	1530
1996	3107	1717
1997	3697	1641
1998	3370	1757
1999	3235	1729
2000	2852	2089
2001	2911	3354
2002	2893	2885

Source: Egypt: IMF (2003); Morocco: Office des Changes (2003)

Figure 3: Remittances to Egypt and Morocco 1990–2002 (million US\$)



Source: Egypt: IMF (2003); Morocco: Office des Changes (2003)

Note: Moroccan government sources only provide figures quoted in Dirhams. For ease of comparability these have been translated to dollars at 2004 exchange rates which may create distortions in some years.

In their work on return Barry McCormick and Jacqueline Wahba (2001; 2003) found that migrants who spent longer periods of time abroad returned with higher savings and were also more successful in the entrepreneurial activities that they engaged in. Skill levels in themselves are less important than the relevance of those skills once the migrant has returned. Entrepreneurial ability is obviously the most prized attribute since a migrant who is able to create employment for others on their return is an extremely valuable asset.

These results have clear implications for temporary labour migration schemes. It is rare that 'temporary' migration is considered in terms of three years or more, the minimum duration suggested by the INED study, and this is certainly not the case for any of the existing schemes for unskilled labour. The three-year time period obviously does not represent any kind of fixed threshold but if schemes that are much shorter than this are to have any kind of positive effect in terms of economic benefits to countries of origin, some other way of overcoming or reducing the initial costs of migration must be investigated. Highly skilled migrations and company transfers usually carry some kind of relocation allowance to reflect the additional costs of the migration itself, though such a direct payment would likely be resisted in the case of larger numbers of unskilled workers. Temporary student migrations are frequently facilitated by the provision of good quality, conveniently located housing at below market rents, removing the costly and often daunting prospect of looking for accommodation, and this seems like a more workable prospect for temporary labour migrants. Provision of necessary services for migrants, such as transport, decent housing and communication with family and friends in the home country would go some way in contributing towards the initial outlay of the migration, and could be provided at cost or even subsidised prices.

The nature of the skills used during the period of temporary employment is much more difficult to tailor to the needs of the country of origin. The typical nature of unskilled employment would be unlikely to provide skills that were useful on a migrant's return or provide any basis for entrepreneurship and so the duration of the work is really irrelevant from this perspective. The only exceptions to this are skill acquisition that is incidental to the work undertaken, the clearest example being language training. This is already expected to form a significant element in some temporary labour schemes, such as Working Holiday Makers (WHM) in the UK or a number of au pair schemes. Language training in the language of the country of employment (the most likely scenario) would also, presumably, be desirable from the employer's perspective. The cultural value of this would be significant, and this is the main justification

behind the WHM and au pair schemes, but if it were to have any economic value it would obviously have to be of practical use in the migrant's country of origin.

Skill Levels of Migrants

Just as the skills that migrants might acquire are significant in terms of what they are able to do when they return, so are the skills that migrants may potentially lose and the capacities that will be lost to the country of origin during the absence of these migrants. The development of Moroccan and Egyptian emigration again offers a contrast in this respect. International migration from the two countries during the 1960s was very different; responding to demand for unskilled labour abroad in the case of Morocco and to a need for much higher skilled individuals (such as teachers or engineers) in the case of Egypt. The earliest studies on Egyptian emigration therefore responded to a concern of the brain drain effects of this migration whereas in Morocco emigration was viewed much more positively as reducing economic and political pressures in the areas of Morocco with the highest unemployment and the fewest resources (the Rif and the Souss).

This has gradually changed. Recent emigration from Egypt has included more significant numbers of unskilled labourers, such as workers on construction projects in post conflict Lebanon, which employs the highest proportion of unskilled Egyptian migrants. In Morocco the training and qualifications of emigrants have gradually increased over the past few decades. Even amongst clandestine migrants the level of education is typically extremely high (Talahite 1997). In contrast to Egypt the prospect of a brain drain has only become a concern relatively recently (AMERM 2001; *Le Journal Hebdomadaire* 12.3.2004). The policy implications of this observation are extremely limited since it is problematic to restrict unskilled employment to unskilled workers, although historically there is some evidence that illiterate workers were preferred by European employers as they were perceived as more easily influenced and discouraged from Union activism.

The involvement of migrants of different skill levels cannot be considered when examining new policy initiatives since, without being overly proscriptive, it would be difficult to ensure that migrants only took jobs at appropriate skill levels. Rather, it is an important measure of the effects of any new schemes once they are in place. If new migration schemes for unskilled labour are attracting extremely highly skilled individuals who may be in demand in their country of origin, the development impacts are likely to be negative since not only is the country being

denied their contribution but their skills may also be declining while they are engaged in some far less skilled occupation than they may have found before leaving. Research in Spain and Portugal has found that migrants working in unskilled occupations are far more mobile than migrants working in skilled occupations, in contrast to more general expectations of skilled/unskilled workers (Mendoza 2003). This suggests that the skill level of the job undertaken may also relate to the relative stability of migrants.

This must be combined with a sensitivity to the structure of the labour market. Birks and Sinclair's detailed analysis of the Egyptian labour market in the 1970s provided a powerful tool in support of their explanation of the simultaneous existence of tremendous growth of the remittance economy and stagnation of employment. More recent studies suggest that the Egyptian labour market remains hugely inflexible (Springbok 2003). Interview data provided confirmation of the overwhelming influence of the huge public sector and the equally significant informal sector with almost no possibility for occupational mobility between the two. The presence of a growing, but still very small private sector indicates a potential source of further development which may ease this problem. Even so, there remains very little possibility of advancement from a successful informal sector business into the private sector and the costs of transforming the entire business (accountancy, tax, regulations) are too high to encourage movement.

Security of Stay

The fluctuations in remittances illustrated in Figure 3 relate clearly to the comparative security of stay for Moroccan and Egyptian migrants. Sudden unpredictable movements are clearly disruptive for the migrants involved and make it very difficult to plan on the basis of future remittance transfers.

Table 4: Distribution of Egyptian Emigrant Population 2000 Compared to Distribution of Remittances

	Emigrant Community 2000	%	Remittances 2001/2002 (millions US\$)	%
Saudi Arabia	923,600	35.3	612.4	22
Gulf	417,179	16	666.4	24
Libya	332,600	12.7	3	0.1
Jordan	226,850	8.6	?	0
USA	318,000	12	955.9	34.5
Canada	110,000	4.2	5.9	0.2
Italy	90,000	3.4	32.4	1.2
Greece	60,000	2.3	5.2	0.2
Other Europe	136,000	5.2	387.7	14
Total	2,614,229	99.7	2668.9	96.2

Source: Figure 1 and IOM et al 2003a

It is significant that the geography of reported remittance transfers does not relate to the geography of emigration (Tables 4 and 5). It is well established that migrants with insecure legal status will remit less and less often (O'Neil 2003). It is clear from this data that countries with large numbers of emigrants are not significant sources of remittances where those emigrants live in precarious circumstances. This is clearest from the Egyptian example (Table 4). Saudi Arabia, Libya and Jordan all provide far lower remittance transfers than might be expected from the size of their emigrant communities. The USA and Europe on the other hand have far higher transfers.

There are a variety of ways of interpreting this data. One explanation is simply that remittances from other Arab countries to Egypt are underreported since the official banking system is not widely used and migrants prefer the informal hawala systems which operate very widely between the Gulf states and Egypt. This is certainly a factor but unofficial transfers are estimated in statistics on remittances since they probably account for the majority of some remittance flows. An alternative perspective, which tends to confirm the geographical differences suggested in the data, can be gained from visiting areas of emigration in Egypt and Morocco and observing differences. Certain areas of the Souss and the Rif, the two traditional regions of emigration from Morocco, are famous for the palatial second homes of migrants. Several villages in these areas have extensive development projects such as roads, electrification projects, irrigation schemes or small dams, paid for almost exclusively by migrants. Such schemes have been thoroughly investigated in the literature on migration and

development of Morocco (Daoud 1997; Mernissi 2003; de Haas 2003; Lacroix 2003). Areas of Egyptian emigration lack such obvious examples of the size of remittance transfers. There are clearly a number of possible explanations for this difference such as the difference in per capita transfers between Egypt and Morocco or a possible difference in the geography of emigration and the geography of return of remittances in Egypt. Even so, such observations provide some support for the fact that there is a real correlation between security of stay and extent of remittance transfers.

Table 5: Distribution of Moroccan Emigrant Population 2000 Compared to Distribution of Remittances

	Emigrant Community 2000	%	Remittances 2001 (million US\$)	%
France	668,000	40	1497	40.6
Netherlands	221,051	13	348	9.4
Spain	210,751	13	189	5
Belgium	202,559	12	197	5
Italy	162,377	10	586	15.9
UK	50,000	3	160	4.3
Germany	0	0	192	0
USA	85,000	5	226	6.1
Canada	70,000	4	0	0
Libya	0	0	2	0.05
Gulf	0	0	63	1.7
Total	1,669,738	99	3,460	88

Source: Figure 2 and Office des Changes 2003

In contrast to Egypt the geography of remittance transfers from Moroccans (Table 5) is extremely close to the geography of Moroccan emigrants. The only notable exceptions to this trend appear to be Spain and Belgium, where remittances are lower than may be expected, and Italy, where they are rather higher. These figures certainly indicate a correlation.

Macroeconomic Conditions

At first glance one of the most significant influences on the development effects of migration has little to do with the migration system itself. It goes without saying that an emigrant will be more likely to invest, in their home country or anywhere else, if they have reasonable prospects of a good return on their investment. If prospects are bad in their home country they have many other options to invest their money and will be likely to place it elsewhere. Emigrants are distinct from other investors in that they may be influenced more by feelings of loyalty, solidarity or practical concerns to invest at home rather than abroad, illustrated by the growth of

remittances and direct aid from emigrants at times of national crisis, such as the 2004 earthquake in Al Hoceima, Morocco, for example. Even so under normal conditions emigrant investors are obliged to behave more like investors than philanthropists. These natural investment preferences are likely to be self-reinforcing (Taylor 1999). As with other investments a positive macroeconomic climate will attract further investment which will in turn support further growth, whereas the reverse is true during economic crises.

There are three options open to governments wishing to harness the untapped reserves of emigrants to alter the macro-economic environment: obligation, inducement and information. Examples of all three can be found in the experiences of Egypt and Morocco. Obligation was particularly evident in very early efforts in the 1960s to require Egyptian emigrants to remit a certain proportion of their earnings and into the 1970s the idea that remittances should be mandatory in Egypt was still voiced widely (Hadley 1977). It is also clear from the very high penalties for unregulated currency dealing, that remain in force in both Egypt and Morocco, and the often significant difference between official and non-official exchange rates in both countries. There is nothing wrong with this legal regulation in itself; requiring a certain amount of return from citizens abroad or stipulating the channels this money must pass through is a fairly common practice and plenty of countries tax citizens on income earned abroad (the USA, for example). Problems arise when the distortions inherent in this process make it so clearly unfavourable for emigrants. Since, in the absence of costly administrative machinery, evading these regulations is also extremely easy it is also virtually unenforceable. Emigrants simply do not take part and their money is lost to the official banking system and perhaps to the country in general.

The possibility of obliging migrants to remit money was raised in the ILO's Recommendation 86 of 1949 (Article 13.5), and has been re-examined in various forms ever since. More recent variations explore possibilities of obliging migrants to save a certain percentage of their income, even removing it from their salaries before they are paid, and only allowing access to these savings once they have returned to their country of origin (Barber 2003). This has the advantage of allowing much easier enforcement of remittances and providing a strong incentive for migrants to return, both of which are potentially beneficial for the sending country. Unfortunately this does not overcome the basic problem of requiring migrants to behave in ways which are potentially disadvantageous to themselves personally. A more positive option is for the host country to provide temporary migrants with a partial reimbursement of the taxes

they have paid, based on their ineligibility for certain services which these taxes fund, such as welfare benefits or pensions. This money would only be available to migrants once they have returned, as in the case of obligatory remittances, and so the system retains the incentive to return. However, it has the advantage of removing the unsavoury and probably counter productive element of depriving migrants of income they have earned over and above what is paid by citizens of the host country in the form of taxes. Operating details of such schemes are examined by Alan Winters and his colleagues (2002). Working through the tax system in this way removes much of the obligation and comes much closer to the second, less coercive strategy of inducement.

Inducement was the approach initially preferred by the Moroccan government and developed through the 1970s and 1980s. This approach favours the carrot rather than the stick; instead of enforcing any sort of remittance transfer, some sort of benefit is found to encourage further transfers. In Morocco, the varying 'prime de fidélité' that was applied to emigrant accounts filled the gap between the official and real exchange rates. The obvious disadvantage with this approach is the cost to the economy and this is the reason it was abandoned in 1987. The creation of the Banque Al Amal in 1989 provides an example of a more market related inducement. Rather than a simple cash bonus emigrants were offered attractive interest rates for investment projects in Morocco. Finally, since 1990, the third means of increasing remittance transfer is simply information. This approach assumes that emigrants will be naturally predisposed to invest in their home country and has been used to great effect in Morocco during the 1990s. New possibilities for investment were publicised to Moroccans abroad through the Fondation Hassan II and the Minister for Moroccans abroad. This was done to great effect for the first wave of privatisation schemes in Morocco which were significantly oversubscribed and 25 percent of shares were bought by Moroccans abroad (Page and Underwood 1997).

Temporary labour migrants are obviously susceptible to policies employing any of obligation, inducement or information methods and various options for all three have been suggested. A programme of investment is likely to work more effectively if there is an element of choice involved. Offering a certain amount of returns of taxes paid abroad may provide incentive to invest in productive schemes once migrants have returned although there are no examples of countries of origin implementing such schemes. Financial inducements proved to be a bad idea in the Moroccan experience but the model of the Banque Al Amal is a good one to follow and

return migrants could be offered some form of attractive loan if they have a reasonable investment project. In the long term, information is likely to be the most effective and the cohort of temporary labour migrants is likely to provide an attractive market for larger scale investments such as privatisations if they are given clear, credible information on the possibilities of doing so.

The Geography of Return

Evidence from both Morocco and Egypt points towards significant differences between the geography of departure and the geography of return. It also appears that there is a certain selectivity in this process of return migration with particularly wealthy return migrants favouring urban areas rather than their previous homes in often much smaller settlements in rural areas. These trends are clearly going on anyway and declining rural population is an integral part of economic development which 'few countries in the world' deviate from (Taylor 1999: 66). In Egypt very comprehensive data exists on internal migration (Zohry and Harrell-Bond 2003) and these provide clear evidence for the overall trend of declining populations in the smallest settlements and growth in medium sized towns. In Morocco this pattern is made more complex by the developing urbanisation of areas classified as rural (de Hass 2003) but the trend is much the same.

There is, however, a difference between return migrants with the experience and resources from a period of time abroad and the motivation to have migrated in the first place, and rural to urban migrants who have yet to establish themselves in towns and have access to far fewer resources. It is possible that return migration is exacerbating existing patterns of internal migration by funnelling resources into towns and accelerating the decline of rural areas. This is certainly the pattern that is suggested in Egypt where research has highlighted concerns at growing inequality between urban and rural areas (Adams 1989; McCormick and Wahba 2001; 2003). There are certainly examples of towns in Morocco that appear overinflated by emigration. The town of Nador is a prime example where growth of land prices and population growth far outstrips that of the surrounding province (Vermeren 2001) and only less successful migrants return to rural areas (Kagermeier 1997). The temporary nature of new migration schemes will result in significant numbers of returns and the trend towards increasing levels of rural/urban inequality may be further exacerbated. There is no obvious possibility of integrating these concerns into policy on temporary labour mobility without being overly proscriptive. Even

so, the distribution of return migration following a period of time abroad is a final issue to flag as of potential concern and possibly negative development impact.

4. Analysing Temporary Migration Agreements: Examples from Morocco and Egypt

Any attempt to investigate current temporary labour agreements runs into a range of difficulties, at least in the Southern Mediterranean context. An incomplete list of all temporary labour agreements signed by Morocco and Egypt appears in Table 6. These agreements are typically arranged on an ad hoc basis, often between individual ministries and frequently maintained on an informal basis. Even on the rare occasions when an agreed text is publicly available, flexibility remains the most important consideration, and the published text contains little more than a framework, with details to be arranged and adapted as necessary. Operational details, such as numbers of workers, or even procedures to be followed for their recruitment, central to debates over labour migration agreements in the 1960s, are totally absent from more recent discussions, or at least remain private. The public haggling between the Algerian and French governments from 1964 onwards over the precise size of the annual contingent of workers to be included in the Franco-Algerian agreement would now be unimaginable.

Table 6: Current Status of Labour Migration Agreements Signed by Morocco and Egypt Since Independence

MOROCCO

Country	Date	Description	Current Status
France	1963	guestworkers	Lapsed
	9.1.1987	exchange of young professionals	Active
	24.5.2001		Active
Belgium	1964	guestworkers	Lapsed
Netherlands	1969	guestworkers	Lapsed – though discussions for new agreement underway
Spain	1999	Agriculture (700/yr)	Active
	2001		Not yet ratified
Qatar			Unknown
Iraq			Lapsed
UAE			Unknown
Bahrain			Unknown
Germany	1.6.1986		Unknown
Tunis	1.6.1999		Active

EGYPT

Country	Date	Description	Current Status
Qatar			Unknown
Jordan	1974-'81		Lapsed
UAE	1988-'90		Lapsed
Iraq	?		Unknown
Libya	2003	Most recently teachers	Occasional irregular contact
Lebanon	?	Construction workers	Unknown
Greece	1981		Unknown
Sudan	2003	Exchange of workers	Active
Italy		Agricultural workers	Active
	2001	IMIS	Active and expanding
Morocco			Unknown
Kuwait			Unknown
Tunis	1.12.2001		Active
Saudi Arabia		Ad hoc arrangements	Occasional irregular contact

Note: This is a first attempt to provide an overview of labour migration agreements signed by Morocco and Egypt and currently contains many gaps. It is based on information from the recent ILO survey (Geronimi 2004; Geronimi et al 2004) supplemented by author's interview data. If you have additional information please contact the author.

This degree of flexibility is perhaps unsurprising. The model ILO agreement on which many of them have been based (Recommendation 86) is itself short on details as to the precise arrangements of the agreement, which makes an analysis of its effects largely hypothetical. In the previous section, considerations of flexibility within migration agreements were raised in relation to the significance of public or private responsibility, the first priority examined. Binding these agreements within the GATS system would make re-negotiation much more difficult. The boundaries within which private sector employers could operate would be fixed and within these boundaries employers would be able to operate as they wished. The role of governments would therefore be substantially decreased. Flexibility would be traded against a greater predictability of the number, destination and activities of migrants and, in theory, also the income which those migrants would then send back. Currently only a limited number of agreements for highly skilled workers operate in this way.

Between 1974 and 1993 Egypt signed labour migration agreements with 11 countries (Castles and Miller 2003). Information gathered from interviews in Egypt suggests that Egypt maintains regular, informal arrangements for recruiting workers to Libya and Saudi Arabia (particularly at the time of the Hajj pilgrimage). These are often arranged through telephone calls between ministries as and when workers are required, rather than through any more formal agreement.

Since these agreements are arranged at the ministerial level and there is currently no centralised coordination, it is possible that other informal schemes exist but were unknown to the officials who were interviewed for this study. Bilateral agreements with Europe are now rare, though Egyptians participate in seasonal agricultural work in Italy and there is an agreement, signed in 1981, with Greece whose current status is uncertain (Table 6).

Data from Morocco is similarly patchy. Seasonal work agreements with France, Italy and Spain provide one of the only ways for a Moroccan to obtain unskilled work legally in Europe. These agreements are very limited. The agreement with Spain is bilateral and allows for the movement of only 700 workers per year, considering that there are more than 200,000 Moroccan workers in Spain this is really an insignificant number. As in the period before 1969 the most common way of finding a job is simply to go and await regularisation afterwards, though this is now much harder than during the 1960s. The Spanish Moroccan case provides an extreme example of Phillip Martin's point, that most migration occurs outside of organised labour agreements (Martin 2003). When only a fraction of a percentage of total movement is governed by migration agreements the relevance of these agreements is obviously questionable. In this case the private sector is already the *de facto* authority governing labour migration so formalising this situation will provide a simple means of bringing a large section of this movement under the control of relevant authorities. The discrepancy between the size of documented and undocumented flows also illustrates the tremendous potential for migration agreements to replace the far more haphazard processes of irregular migration.

Flexibility in labour agreements appears to offer only disadvantages for Southern Mediterranean sending countries. Their interests are apparently clear: a considerable labour surplus for the next decade at least, and a continued need for remittance transfers, both of which would be advanced by predictable movement of labour. Individual migrants would also stand to benefit from the predictability of the possibility of legal emigration. The economic need for unskilled labour in Europe is also predictable many years ahead and it is to the advantage of European businesses to be sure that this requirement can be met, hence the interest in binding agreements into WTO rules. In contrast the interests of receiving country governments may vary, most obviously in terms of the political acceptability of sustained immigration. The fact that all existing agreements for unskilled labour are characterised by extremely flexible arrangements would indicate the dominance of the concerns of host country governments in drawing up these agreements.

Despite the apparent disadvantages, however, individual officials responsible for negotiating unskilled labour migration agreements from the Southern perspective report that a degree of flexibility is usually considered as being to their advantage as well. Information from interviews provides some suggestions as to why this may be the case. If the potential advantages of bound agreements are to be fulfilled, certain concerns will have to be resolved. The most significant fear is that there is always the possibility of short term changes in Southern Mediterranean labour markets. It is unlikely that the number of unemployed will decrease significantly in the near future but candidates for emigration may change. Currently, emigrants from both Morocco and Egypt are more often unemployed but if emigration became particularly attractive even employed individuals may be tempted to emigrate, with more serious long-term economic effects. Further investigation is required to evaluate the potential attraction legal unskilled labour migration may pose to skilled individuals in employment. There may be possible ways of resolving this without sacrificing the advantages of more predictable patterns of emigration and remittances. These would need to be incorporated into any private sector schemes within GATS to prevent negative effects.

The remaining priorities raised in the previous section will be discussed in relation to examples of existing agreements. Since data is not available for a thorough analysis of all bilateral labour agreements signed by Egypt and Morocco, this section concentrates on one from each country: the 2001 agreement between Morocco and Spain and the 2001 Integrated Migration Information System Project supported by the Italian government in Italy. These two agreements will provide a means of applying the priorities raised in the previous section. Remaining priorities are the length of stay, skill levels of emigrants, the security of stay, strategies for maximising remittances and the geography of return migration. The last two were recognised as more general points that were difficult to incorporate in written agreements but the first three factors are all relevant to the form of new agreements. The remainder of this section outlines the two recent agreements and applies these three factors to them, thus also illustrating the difficulties in analysing this type of highly flexible agreement.

Morocco-Spain: Labour Agreement 2001

The most recent labour agreement between Spain and Morocco (*Acuerdo Sobre mano de obra entre el Reino de Espana y el Reino de Marreucos* – BOE no. 226 20.9.2001) was signed in

August 2001 but has yet to be ratified by either side. Soon after its signature a series of disputes between the two countries provoked a diplomatic crisis and Morocco's ambassador to Madrid was withdrawn (Belguendouz 2002). Diplomatic relations have only recently been restored but the victory of the PSOE in the March 2004 elections suggests that relations will improve significantly. As leader of the opposition Zapatero made frequent visits to Morocco throughout the difficulties between the two countries and it seems likely that the convention will be ratified very soon.

The convention is signed by the Minister of the Interior, Work and Social Affairs (Spain) and the Minister of Employment, Professional Training, Social Development and Solidarity (Morocco). It falls into five chapters. The first chapter (Article 3) covers the means of communicating offers of employment. A list of information (including location and duration of employment, number of employees and address of employer) will be obtained from the employer and communicated through the ministries concerned. Chapter two (Articles 4 and 5) covers procedures for selecting candidates. This will be achieved by a selection panel made up of members of the administrations of the two countries. Once selected, employees will be given necessary training (in Morocco), a visa for the duration of employment and tickets. The third chapter (Articles 6 to 10) details the conditions of work and social and employment protection granted to Moroccan workers, which will be broadly in line with equivalent legislation for Spanish workers. Chapter four (Articles 11 to 14) concerns seasonal workers, though this also covers 'activities for limited periods' (Article 11) though a time limit is not specified. Article 13 states that those temporary workers who have worked in Spain for four years, 'not *necessarily* consecutively' (my emphasis), will benefit from priority consideration for employment. Temporary workers are also covered by Spanish legal protection and, what is more, the 'interested parties' (presumably the employer and employee) will be required to sign an agreement on conditions of stay and return that 'conforms to the laws and regulations' of Spain (Article 14). The final chapter (Articles 15 to 19) governs the application and coordination of the convention. This covers the duties of a 'Coordination Commission' (Article 18) and procedures for the suspension and termination of the agreement (Article 19).

It is clear that on the basis of this written document the operation of the agreement offers a tremendous variety of possibilities, such is the degree of flexibility allowed. There is no mention of the type of activity covered, the duration of the work or the number of migrants who will be permitted to enter Spain under the agreement, though it is perhaps significant that there is no

upper limit specified. There is a positive bias towards those migrants who have worked for longer periods of time and the figure of four years is mentioned (Article 13). This is sufficient time for migrants to have paid off any initial outlay and begin returning money to Morocco. Much longer than this, however, and the temporary nature of the migration is questionable. A much more comprehensive set of rights, especially family reunification, would be necessary for migrants remaining abroad for this length of time. The controls established by the agreement are clearly important and the degree of legal, social protection offered to workers is an extremely positive step.

Length of stay relates clearly to security of stay, the second concern. It would be expected that as length of residence increased so would guarantees of security of stay. The fact that the four years required to be considered with priority for new employment do not need to be consecutive is potentially positive but there is no indication that migrants who have worked for longer will have greater employment protection. If individual families and communities do not have the opportunity to plan new livelihood strategies on the basis of a reasonably predictable, secure income stream, or at least the option of calling on friends and family abroad if necessary, the contribution of migrants will be significantly devalued. Finally, although there is no specific mention of the skill levels of migrants, the third priority consideration, the significant role of the Moroccan selection committee should guarantee that appropriate workers will be selected for the vacancies advertised. A negative development effect would only arise if high skilled individuals were being employed in low skilled occupations or if a significant number of employed individuals began to emigrate. It is significant that the agreement can be cancelled by either side on 90 days notice. If such an agreement were to be bound under the GATS this would clearly not be possible. It appears from the text of the agreement that the role of the selection committee would be sufficient to meet the concerns expressed by Moroccan negotiators. It is not clear that the possibility of cancelling this agreement at such short notice is necessarily to the advantage of Morocco but such short term flexibility is a feature of many of these agreements.

Egypt-Italy: The Integrated Migration Information System Project 2001

The Integrated Migration Information System Project (IMIS) began in June 2001 as a result of a collaboration between the Emigration Sector of the Egyptian Ministry of Manpower and Emigration, the Italian government as the donor partner and the International Organisation for

Migration (IOM) as the implementing agency. It is substantially different from the Spanish agreement, in that labour migration is not its chief priority. The main aim of IMIS is to develop the tools and capacities to allow the Egyptian government to better understand and respond to the emigrant community and thus maximise the benefits of emigration. It is essentially a capacity building exercise, restructuring the Emigration Sector to enable improved coordination between the Egyptian government and the Egyptian Diaspora, though it also provides a number of concrete outputs through a website which came online in October 2003. The project aims to be self-sustaining once the involvement of IOM ends sometime in 2004. The restructuring has involved retraining and reorganising 30 of the 60 staff of the Emigration Sector, including all but 2 of the managerial staff. The office is now fully networked and all staff have access to broadband internet connections. They are divided into discrete teams, each with a specific role in the compilation and maintenance of an online database of Egyptians abroad and regular communication with the members of the Egyptian diaspora and prospective emigrants in Egypt.

The Emigration Sector website⁹ currently fulfils three tasks. First, it provides a job matching system allowing foreign employers to advertise positions in Egypt, and Egyptian candidates for emigration to publicise their details for prospective employers abroad. For the Gulf states this service is carried out by private recruitment organisations, who are licensed by the Ministry of Manpower and Emigration. Labour migration to European or North American states typically does not pass through labour brokers but more informal networks. These networks may involve family or friends but may also consist of unlicensed recruitment organisations. Second, the website provides practical, comprehensive information on possibilities for legal migration to various countries. At the time of writing, this service, called *Misriat*, provided information on France, Italy, Norway and Spain but there are plans to provide information on all Western European countries. Third, the website provides a news source on events of interest to Egyptian emigrants, particularly investment opportunities in Egypt.

These projects have not been running for sufficiently long to assess their success but they represent an extremely comprehensive, well-funded example of establishing practical links between actual and potential migrants and their home government. The obvious problem with the system as it currently operates is that the strong European focus of the information

⁹ <http://www.emigration.gov.eg/>

provided does not match the geographical distribution of the Egyptian emigrant population. Italy has the largest Egyptian community in Europe but it is still small (30,000 according to the Italians, 90,000 according to the Egyptians). Egyptian emigrants are overwhelmingly concentrated in the Gulf States, with approximately a million living in Saudi Arabia and another million in other states of the region (Figure 1). Still, the Emigration Sector sees IMIS as a tool which will also enable them to stay in touch with Egyptians in the Gulf. The restructuring and capacity building in the sector have certainly provided the necessary tools and expertise to use for other projects. Over the next year they plan to construct an online database of Egyptian expertise abroad to enable the government to advertise investment and employment opportunities in Egypt to suitable individuals in the diaspora. A second potential problem is that, while Internet access is broadening in Egypt, and is becoming cheaper, this is concentrated mainly in urban areas and the bulk of potential migrants in rural areas will not have access to this service.

It is rather more difficult to assess this cooperation than the Morocco-Spain agreement on the basis of the criteria established in section two. There are no clear indications on the duration of migration, the skill levels of migrants, the security of stay or the geography of return. These criteria will primarily be useful to judge the operation of the agreement once data on this begin to emerge. However it is clear at this stage that the capacity building will do most to assist the management of the macro-economic effects of emigration by providing the means of retaining contact with emigrants and responding to their enquiries in the same way that the Fondation Hassan II has tried to do in Morocco. This will go some way in supporting a shift towards the information giving approach to migration management that has proved successful in Morocco. There is no clear supervising authority on the Egyptian side, as in the case of the Morocco-Spain agreement. No doubt the Egyptian authorities will continue to insist on a degree of control of the emigration process but unless this is transparent, and clearly conducted in the interests of fulfilling the development potential of Egyptian emigration, the majority of emigrants are likely to circumvent the control aspect all together.

5. Conclusion: Development Implications of Migrant Labour as a Flexible Resource

The need for migrant labour in Europe is well established and it seems clear that temporary labour schemes are providing the most practical way of negotiating the complex conflicts of interest that new migration projects inevitably involve. A range of such schemes are already

operational and these are likely to be extended significantly in the coming years. This paper set out to establish the likely effects of temporary migration on the development prospects of countries of origin and aimed to identify ways in which migration could be made more 'development friendly'. A certain amount of research has already begun to make progress in this direction and a number of recent studies have explored the common themes of temporary migration schemes from a European perspective. This paper provides some material on the potential results of these schemes from the perspective of Southern Mediterranean sending states.

The very different migration experiences of Egypt and Morocco, considered in the first section, illustrate the diversity of experiences of emigration, even within the Southern Mediterranean region. The geography, timing and nature of emigration from the two countries contrast markedly. Approaches to research in these contexts have varied significantly and though there are clear signs of similar aspects of investigations of migration in both countries, these have taken place at very different times, produced significantly different results and given rise to surprisingly little in the way of comparative work. The most obvious conclusion of the first section is the overwhelming difficulty of saying anything comprehensive about the relationship between migration and development, such is the complexity of the interactions and the multiplicity of variables involved. The conflicting results of research in this area in Morocco and Egypt reflect different ways of understanding and studying migration as much as any actual changes in migration processes themselves.

The second section identified five priority considerations in examining new policy approaches: length of stay, security of stay, skill levels of migrants, macro-economic conditions and the geography of return. A number of these provide important considerations for policy makers if development is to be a significant consideration. Others are difficult to be proscriptive about but provide measures of the policy effects once in operation. Attempts to apply these measures to recent policy initiatives relating to Morocco and Egypt illustrate the difficulty of clearly establishing potential development effects of these schemes. The measures remain useful in analysing the effects of policy but it is clear that new policy has other priorities, chiefly establishing a flexible pool of labour for employers.

It is doubtful that temporary labour migration schemes will have significant development effects unless greater attention is paid to the objectives of countries of origin. The innovative literature

on the incorporation of these existing schemes into the GATS Mode 4 form of service provision clearly has some way to go but remains one of the most significant proposals in this direction. The difficulty of extracting any degree of binding commitment from the deliberately ambiguous policy commitments is likely to prevent progress in this direction. The significance of the potential to abandon the agreements at any time would also be lost if it were to be bound in Mode 4 commitments. Yet the advantages of flexibility from the sending country perspective can be maintained in a bound agreement. In the case of the Morocco-Spain agreement, the Morocco based committee could easily be given the task of discouraging mismatches between potential employees and new vacancies, highlighting applications from individuals who are already employed. Temporary labour agreements have the potential to guarantee a regular supply of labour and ensure some degree of return of qualified migrants, if they can be fixed in the long term. This has yet to be implemented in current schemes because of concerns with flexibility. The potential to cancel the agreement within 90 days brings it into the arena of political bargaining and makes it vulnerable to short term concerns. If short term priorities for the flexibility of labour supply are allowed to dominate policy making, the longer term stability of the country of origin will be overlooked since it is rare that the two objectives coincide.

Appendix A: Interviews Undertaken

Locations and dates of all interviews undertaken; some individuals requested not to be named personally:

Egypt (12.10.2003 – 1.1.2004)

International Labour Organisation

International Organisation for Migration

Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Ministry of Manpower and Emigration

Egyptian Consulting Centre for Emigration Studies

UNHCR

Delegation of the European Community

FMRS

CEREDJ

Brussels (12.1.2004 – 14.1.2004)

RELEX

JHA

Egyptian Embassy

Morocco (16.1.2004 – 18.3.2004)

Ministry of Labour

Ministry for Moroccans Resident Abroad

Hassan II Foundation for Moroccans Resident Abroad

UNHCR

CERED

INSEA

Mohammed V faculty of law

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