

# Chapter 7

## Exclusion, mobility and migration

The chapter reviews migration patterns to and from the 22 Arab countries, and the profile of young migrants in the GCC and in Western OECD countries. It then examines youth's reasons to migrate and possible exclusion factors, and envisages the role of migration policies in receiving or sending states, before emphasizing the role of inclusion in the migration process. Lastly, the chapter highlights impedi-

ments to the mobility of labor. The chapter emphasizes the range and diversity of capabilities allowing youth to migrate in sizeable numbers to other countries inside the region, as well as outside the Arab region. However, it also questions the origin countries' continuous reliance on youth exit in order to curb unemployment and increase national households' income through remittances.

# 7.1

## Migration pressures and patterns

Most common among 20–30-year-olds, migration is intrinsic to human development, in a process of expanding a population's options and skills. The act of migration enhances capabilities: some people migrate to access better financial, educational or professional opportunities; others, to obtain greater security or more political rights.

Those unable to use their capabilities at home may seek to migrate from a national economy failing to incorporate young professionals; from a socioeconomic, political, or religious setting discriminating against youth; or from a subnational space (for example, where unequal access to development prevents fulfillment at home).<sup>1</sup> Against a backdrop of tightening international borders, transnational circulation is becoming more difficult for some groups, notably, low-skilled, developing-country workers who are often denied Amartya Sen's five "Instrumental freedoms" that spatial mobility can offer, especially "Protective security".<sup>2</sup>

For an individual, crossing a border is the endpoint of a web of push factors at the personal, family and community level and at the macro-political and societal level, among which the scarcity of Sen's five instrumental freedoms may well loom large. Yet, crossing a border may also involve a process of inclusion mediated by pull factors through one's ability to use the remnants of these freedoms to expand the freedoms abroad.

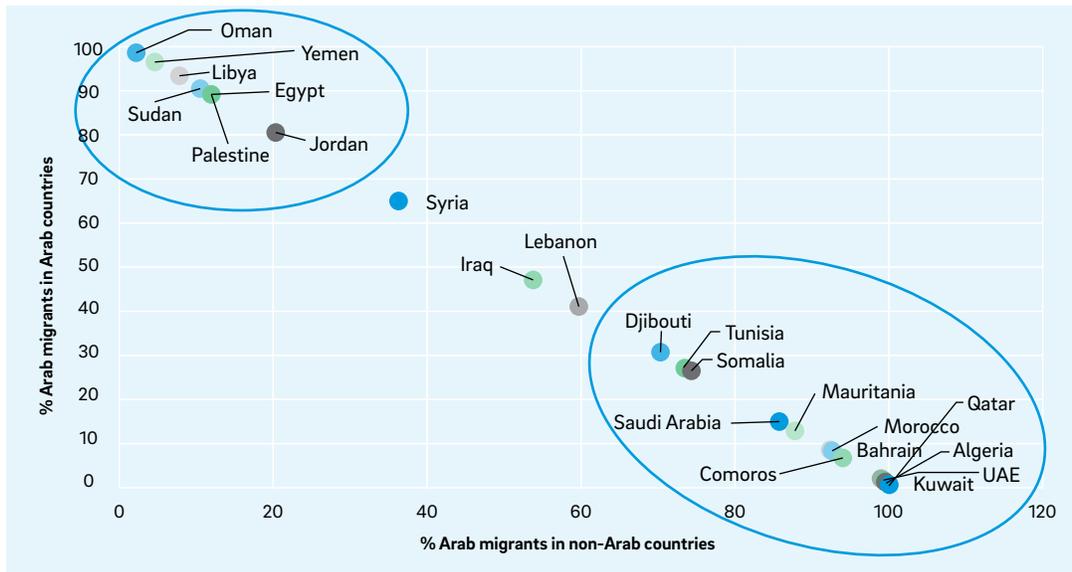
Most Arab countries are marked by outward migration; yet, the vast stock of immigrants in GCC countries means that Arab countries as a whole receive more migrants (Arab and non-Arab) than they send out. (This is shown by data on the immigrant stock, refugees and non-refugees, in the Arab region and on Arab emigrants inside and outside the region).<sup>3</sup> An estimated 27 million immigrants live within the

borders of the richer Gulf countries of the region; these countries took in about 80 percent of all immigrants (Arab and non-Arab) in the region in 2010–2014 (annex 2 table A.16). Jordan and Lebanon stand out as both major migrant receivers and migrant senders: 9 percent and 14 percent of their national populations are expatriated abroad, while 19 percent and 22 percent of their resident populations consist of foreign migrants.<sup>4</sup>

Recent conflicts have left a huge mark on migration patterns. Some countries already embroiled in open conflict or threatened by looming violence have always been migrant-sending, but political instability accentuates these trends. The number of Syrian emigrants living abroad in 2010 was 415,745 or 1.9 percent of the total resident population, a share that had shot up to nearly 14 percent by mid-2014 (see annex 2 table A.16).<sup>5</sup> Oil-producing Iraq and Libya used to be destinations for huge numbers of migrant workers until the invasion of Iraq in 2003 and the overthrow of the Libyan regime in 2011. Before the Libyan revolution, the International Organization for Migration estimated that roughly 2.5 million foreigners were living in the country.<sup>6</sup> The country is again receiving flows of sub-Saharan African and Asian migrants, some of whom are seeking to reach Europe from the Libyan coast. As of mid-2014, more than 1 million Egyptian workers (along with some from Tunisia) were said to have returned to Libya to work owing to high unemployment in Egypt, but recent battles have forced some to move back to Egypt.

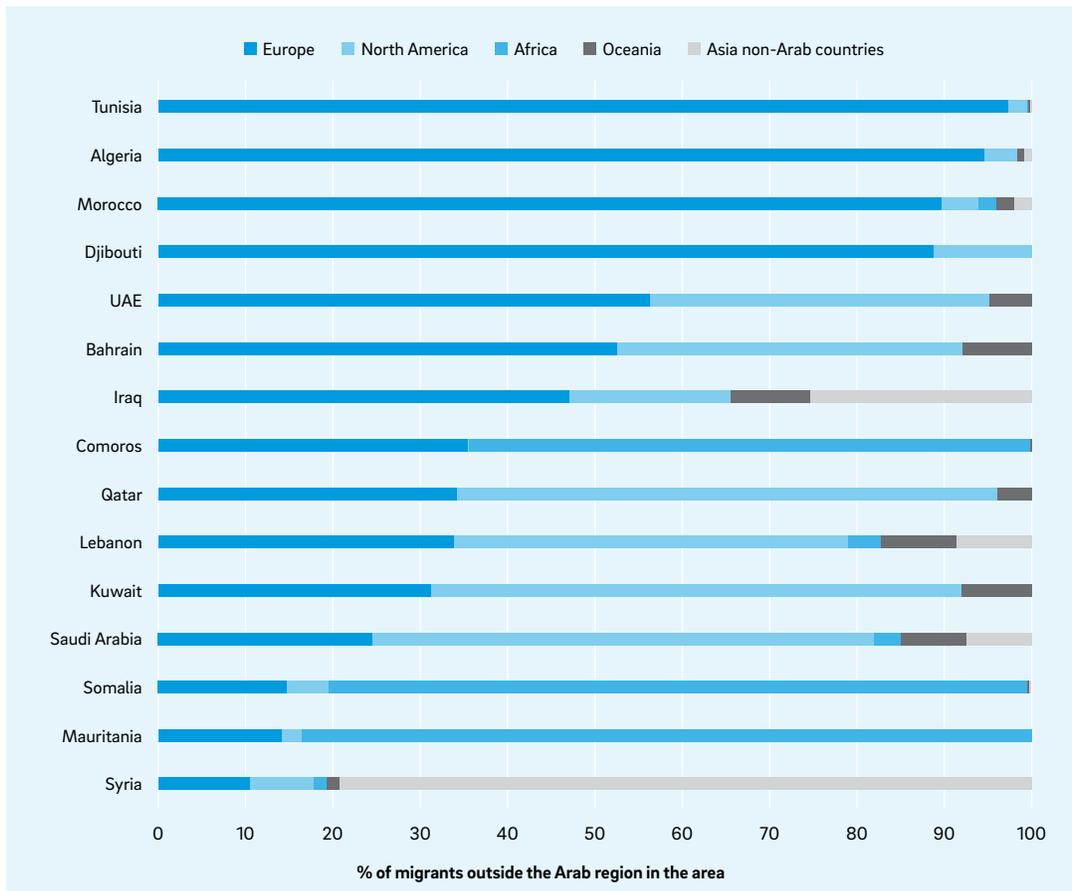
Migration from Arab countries in West Asia is directed towards other Arab countries, while migration from GCC countries and Arab countries in North Africa is mostly to non-Arab countries. Citizens of Arab countries in North Africa migrate in huge numbers to Europe, mainly France, Italy and Spain; citizens of GCC countries are dispersed between Australia, Europe and North America (Canada and the United States), and many Lebanese have settled in South America and West Africa (figure 7.1). By contrast, refugees from war-torn or politically unstable countries (Iraq, Mauritania, Somalia and Syria) remain largely confined to neighbouring countries: most Mauritians are in Senegal; Somalis have sought refuge in neighbouring East African countries, and, as of August 2015, more than 630,000 refugees from Syria were in Jordan, almost 1.2

**Figure 7.1 Arab migration by region of destination (Arab or other countries), 2010–2014**



Source: Annex 2 table A.17.

**Figure 7.2 Arab migrants outside the Arab region: main destinations, 2010–2014**



Source: Annex 2 table A.17.

million in Lebanon and 1.8 million in Turkey, besides seeking shelter in Egypt and Iraq (annex 2 table A.17; figure 7.2).

North African countries, including Egypt, do not have large shares of migrants, unlike GCC countries. The share in Qatar, for example, is 90 percent (annex 2 table A.16). Immigrants to the GCC countries, as well as to Jordan and Lebanon, come from the Arab world and Asia. Partial data emphasize the dominant share of Asian migrants in the GCC countries; Indians make up the majority: 2.0–2.8 million in Saudi Arabia, 544,000 in Qatar and 700,000 in Kuwait (figure 7.2; annex 2 table A.18).<sup>7</sup> An estimated 100,000 women workers from Indonesia, the Philippines and Sri Lanka work in Jordan as domestic helpers; in Lebanon, workers in that sector include a high share of Ethiopian nationals, alongside Asian nationalities. In Libya, some pools of migrants from Asia, Egypt and sub-Saharan Africa are said to have returned (or never left their home countries) since the onset of the conflict in 2011.<sup>8</sup> Among Arab migrants, Egyptians account for the lion's share: an estimated 482,000 in Kuwait or 21 percent of all migrants and over 1 million in Saudi Arabia. Egyptians also represented 71 percent of all permit-holding foreign workers in Jordan in the late 2000s.<sup>9</sup> In Lebanon, Syrians are the most numerous as workers before the Syrian war and as workers and refugees today.

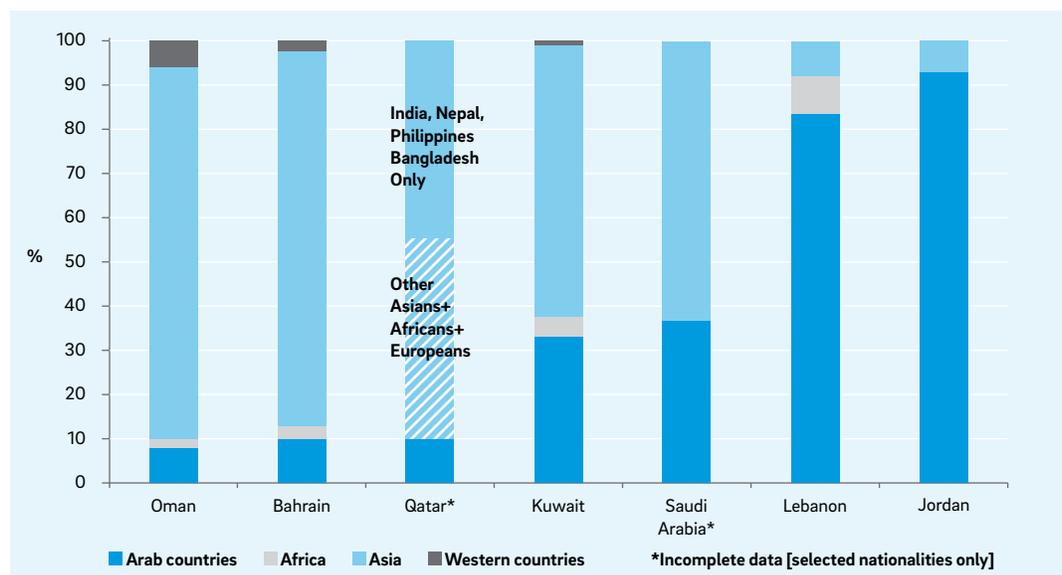
## 7.2

# Profile of young migrants from the Arab region

**Migrants to the GCC countries are often skilled and highly skilled men**

Most young migrants to the GCC countries are men who perform highly skilled activities. Partial data for the GCC countries indicate that non-national Arab populations in GCC countries consist mainly of men: 205 men for every 100 women, on average, in Kuwait, for instance.<sup>10</sup> Among the Arab migrants ages 15 and above, 15–29-year-olds comprise more

**Figure 7.3** Origin of migrants in selected receiving Arab countries, around 2010



Source: Annex 2 table A.18.

than a quarter (26 percent). By comparison, young Asians, for example, account for only 18 percent of all Asian migrants in Bahrain. Many Arab nationals in Bahrain are also well educated: 22 percent are university graduates, while, among Asians, this is true of only 7 percent.<sup>11</sup> People from Arab countries often perform highly skilled activities: 22 percent of migrant workers are in managerial and specialist jobs, compared with 9 percent of foreign workers as a whole.<sup>12</sup>

This migration of largely skilled men from Arab countries to the GCC countries has demographic implications. In the GCC countries, family reunification depends on a worker's position and income, as well as the sponsor's approval (see below). Low-income workers therefore have little chance of bringing their dependants over, which may explain the higher share of young age-groups among Arab migrants to the GCC countries relative to the Asian migrants (who form the bulk of workers in oil-producing countries). Partial data on Qatar, for instance, indicate that family dependants accounted for only 17 percent of Indian expatriates in the country (among Nepalese, 0.2 percent, but, among Arabs, almost half).<sup>13</sup> The professional status also conditions the length of stay because highly skilled workers benefit from longer-term contracts, which are more easily renewable than those of manual workers. Some Arabs born in the GCC may be classified as foreigners and, hence, as migrants; in the GCC countries, naturalization is extremely rare.<sup>14</sup>

However, not all Arabs in the GCC countries match the high-income, highly educated profile. Half of the Egyptian migrants to the GCC countries have a secondary-school education and are employed in middle-range occupations such as technician or sales and services workers.<sup>15</sup> Even though many are skilled, Egyptians in the GCC countries may not earn sufficiently to allow them to reunify with their families because their wages either fall below an official bar such as the minimal legal income or are too low for the family to meet their living expenses in the GCC. Egyptian workers in Jordan, by contrast, are usually in low-skilled activities in agriculture, construction and hospitality services.

### **Migrants to OECD countries: education looms large**

The composition of young migrants varies hugely by nationality. Men make up the majority of Arab migrants; there are 176 men for every 100 women. Young age-groups (15–29) make up 18 percent of all Arab migrants, and the 15–24 group makes up 10 percent. Young Somalis, for example, are a third of all Somalis in OECD countries,<sup>16</sup> probably because of the share of unaccompanied asylum-seeking Somali minors, while young Algerians are less than 5 percent of the total of their expatriate nationals in the region. Among nationals who are migrants of GCC countries in the region, 40–80 percent are under 25-year-olds (figure 7.3).

Sending countries can be divided into two groups based on the age of the migrants. The first group—mainly sending migrants of ages 30 and above—includes southern and eastern Mediterranean countries, from Mauritania to Syria, suggesting that most of the migrants are economically active. The second group—with a higher youth presence—includes East African countries, Yemen and, especially, the GCC countries and points to the dominance of families with children (15–19 years), as well as students (20–24 years). Saudi Arabia exemplifies the growing trend of GCC countries' student migration to Western countries (box 7.1). Arab migrants in the 15–24 age-group are likely also to be economically inactive (correlation coefficient +0.83).<sup>17</sup>

The proportion of graduates among Arab migrants in OECD countries is 22 percent. Among young migrants who have completed tertiary education (25–29 years), it stands at 26.1 percent. However, young Iraqis and Somalis, who often arrived as refugees, and young Algerians, Moroccans and Tunisians have a below-average proportion of those attaining tertiary education, while more of the students from Arab countries in West Asia (Jordanians, Lebanese, Palestinians and Syrians), as well as young Egyptians, are highly educated (annex 2 figure A.16).

### **Subregional patterns—from North Africa, mixed in the Mashreq, and to the GCC. Refugees stay close to home**

Outward migration prevails in Arab countries in North Africa; patterns are mixed in

### Box 7.1 Growing presence of Saudi youth studying in Western universities

Students—the vast majority are young men—abroad in academic year 2013–2014, from account for the bulk of Saudi nationals abroad. undergraduate to PhD levels, up from a low of Of the country's students, 199,285 were enrolled 12,800 in 2002–2003 (table B7.1.1).

**Table B7.1.1 Saudi Arabian students abroad, 2013–2014**

	Males	Females	Total
<b>Arab Countries</b>	<b>13,736</b>	<b>9,050</b>	<b>22,786</b>
Of which Egypt	3,255	990	4,245
Jordan	6,067	1,216	7,283
<b>Asia and Oceania</b>	<b>18,251</b>	<b>3,690</b>	<b>21,941</b>
Of which China	1,241	175	1,416
Malaysia	1,134	227	1,411
Australia	10,734	2,268	13,002
<b>Europe</b>	<b>19,622</b>	<b>9,152</b>	<b>28,774</b>
Of which UK	13,794	6,458	20,252
<b>America</b>	<b>98,500</b>	<b>27,284</b>	<b>125,784</b>
Canada	14,280	4,646	18,926
United States	84,220	22,638	106,858
<b>Total</b>	<b>150,109</b>	<b>49,176</b>	<b>199,285</b>

Source: Ministry of Higher Education (Saudi Arabia) 2015.

Note: The table refers to all the students enrolled (muqayydoûn) during academic year 2013–2014, from undergraduate to PhD levels.

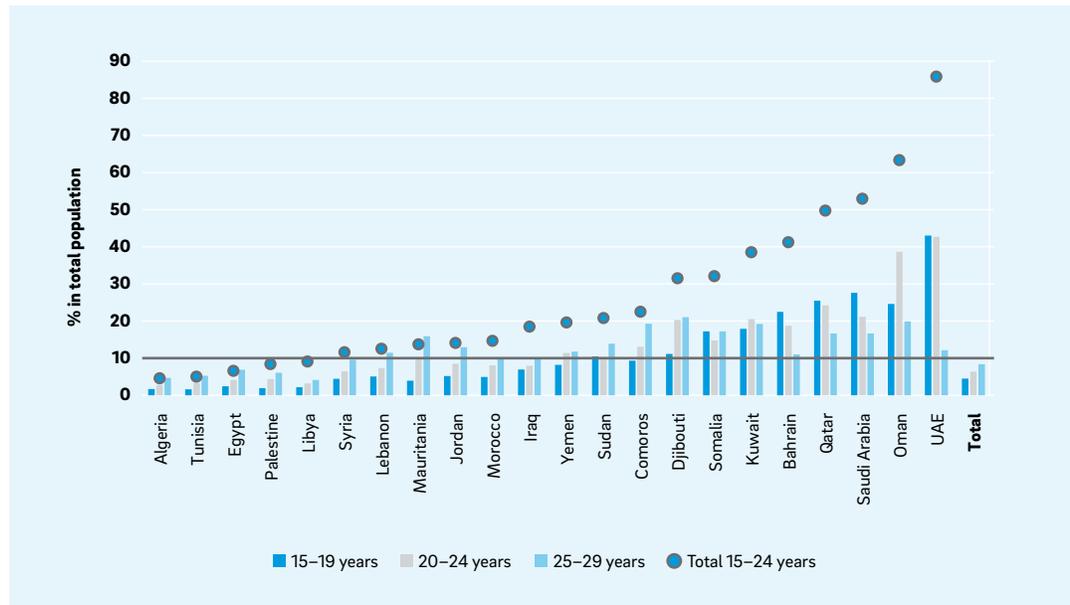
Their number has grown since the mid-2000s, reflecting heavy investments in education that quadrupled enrollment in tertiary education after 2000, as well as programmes to encourage studying abroad, such as the King Abdullah Scholarship Programme. This encourages young Saudis to acquire world-class training in scientific and related specialties (medicine, engineering, law, accounting, and marketing, for instance) in overseas universities to upgrade future Saudi human capital to competitive international standards.

The programme started with the United States and was expanded to other countries. Along

with other incentive programmes, it provides generous financial support to Saudi students and to the spouses or other family members accompanying them. In 2013–2014, 83 percent of the 199,285 students received scholarships, and the rest paid their own expenses. A similar policy is being pursued by Oman, Qatar and United Arab Emirates.

The gains from such programmes are hard to track. No study has assessed the socio-economic or financial impact of the programmes or whether students return to their countries of origin or whether they work in the local labour market.

**Figure 7.4** Share of young migrants from Arab countries in OECD countries by nationality and age group, 2011



Source: OECD 2014.

Arab countries in West Asia (Egypt, Lebanon, Palestine, Jordan and Syria), and the oil-rich Gulf economies are mainly destination countries.

The Arab countries in North Africa (Comoros and Mauritania to a lesser extent) are emigration countries towards Europe; these migrants are, most often, workers 30 years of age or older. Most young migrants from the region have no tertiary education. Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon and Palestine are more diverse. Jordan and Lebanon are major recipient countries of blue-collar workers from other Arab countries and from Asia, as well as refugees from neighbouring countries. The four countries are also major emigration countries, most often to other Arab countries, but especially to the oil-producing Gulf countries. Lebanese migrate everywhere. Migrants from these four countries are workers as well as families because of the relatively high skills of the workers (slightly less so among Egyptians, who are more often skilled and semi-skilled than highly skilled). The GCC countries and Libya before the 2011 uprising are major immigration countries, taking in people from Arab countries, Asians and sub-Saharan Africans. Few of their citizens emigrate; most that do are students and family dependents.

Refugees tend to cluster in neighbouring countries. Refugees from the Arab region (Iraq, Somalia, Sudan and Syria) are mainly clustered in neighbouring countries, but some are also dispersed across the world, especially in northern Europe and North America. Their emigration patterns display differences in skills and age structures; yet most migrate as families. Pull factors include receiving-country policies and political trends. Somali migrants, especially, are characterized by a large proportion of younger people who only rarely have attained tertiary education.

#### The exclusion of the highly skilled and the flight of human capital

Migration is a symptom of the exclusion of highly skilled youth from their societies. Long before the onset of the Arab uprisings, the structural foundations of the high emigration rates from Arab countries had been pinpointed: lagging incomes, patronage-led economies, nepotism and the lack of political expression. All these hampered the socio-political engagement of youth, especially the skilled and the highly skilled. During the 2000s, Arab countries had among the highest rates worldwide of skilled emigration.<sup>18</sup> Several youth surveys showed an increasing number of youth seeking to emigrate. For example,

among the highly educated in Tunisia, the share of youth aged 15–29 willing to emigrate jumped from 22 percent in 1995 to 76 percent in 2005.<sup>19</sup> In Lebanon, a third of young graduates were willing to leave their country in 2008.<sup>20</sup> In 2010, 62 percent of Jordanian migrants abroad were university graduates.<sup>21</sup>

In Arab countries, migration is most prevalent among university graduates. For instance, in Jordan in 2011, unemployment among graduates was 16 percent, against an official overall rate of 13 percent.<sup>22</sup> In Morocco in the 2000s, 19 percent of graduates were without jobs in 2013, as opposed to 4.5 percent of the population holding no degree at all.<sup>23</sup> In Tunisia in 2010, the share of unemployed graduates was nearly double the 13 percent national rate, and matters grew worse when unemployment among graduates reached 32.6 percent in 2013.<sup>24</sup>

Graduate unemployment started rising in the late 1990s after many countries in the region had, in the 1980s and early 1990s, picked up the pace of economic reform and structural adjustment, joined the World Trade Organization and realigned their economies to international productivity standards, sometimes via privatization, leading to hard-hitting cutbacks in public jobs, formerly the main absorber of graduates.<sup>25</sup> The insertion of Arab economies into globalized markets accelerated these trends.<sup>26</sup> The reforms compelled employers to invest in labour-intensive, low value added economic sectors, such as industrial subcontracting, assembly and textile manufacturing, and to use low-skilled workers. Labour and wages thus became devalued and failed to satisfy the financial and social ambitions of the professional class, all the more so because skilled and highly skilled young nationals exhibit high reservation wages, "Based on expectations of obtaining public sector or foreign jobs."<sup>27</sup> Meanwhile, average standards of living fell everywhere in the region, as economic rationalization toughened.

Migration may also be understood as a political reaction to the nepotism and clientelism that plague all Arab countries, including educational and professional systems. The structural adjustment plans, which were seen as prerequisites for political reform in ossified polities, in fact achieved the opposite.<sup>28</sup> States kept tight control over economic liberalization,

stymying the expected dismantling of rentier systems and monopolies of power, ironically using the international rhetoric of reform to justify greater political control.<sup>29</sup> Access to congested labour markets became more problematic, requiring personal connections as well as qualifications and skills. Even entrepreneurs and investors came to need such connections to cut through red tape, access markets and develop business.

The enduring power of clientelism in redistributing assets and the poor environment for evolving one's capabilities also created deep development inequalities. In Tunisia, for example, the fact that the first spark of the uprisings actually ignited in Sidi Bouzid stems from the extreme poverty in the central region, which is deprived of industry and tourism and characterized by low education, poor infrastructure and an absence of international ties.<sup>30</sup> In Tunisia as a whole, graduate unemployment reached 23 percent in 2010. Yet, in the centre of the country, the rates were twice as high: 46.5 percent in Gafsa and 38.5 percent in Kasserine and Tataouine. In Sidi Bouzid, the rate was 40 percent.<sup>31</sup>

Such development inequalities affected migration from the central region. During the 2000s, it was mainly directed towards the coastal regions of Tunisia rather than to international labour markets, which required assets and capabilities these youth did not possess.<sup>32</sup> Deprived of the wherewithal to emigrate legally, youth from the southern and central regions resorted en masse to irregular migration, which intensified after 2008.

According to statistics of the Tunisian Consular authorities in Tripoli, Libya, of all Tunisian migrants arrested by Libyan authorities or by the Italian coast guard, most (67 percent) came from the southern and central regions of Tunisia.<sup>33</sup> The would-be migrants may not have appreciated it at the time, but arrest may have saved them from drowning (box 7.2).

The overlap in the irregular sources of migration flows (in many instances, unsuccessful if immigrants are arrested) and socio-economic development inequalities are striking in Tunisia. Because infrastructure development in the poorer regions has not improved, the frustrations of younger potential workers have mounted, reproducing the factors that support precarious and irregular migration.

However, by choosing to exit rather than give voice, emigrants help maintain the conditions

of their exclusion at home.<sup>34</sup> The open door to emigration in all Arab states allows the states to export potential malcontents in the political, economic and social sphere and to maintain socio-political stability or stagnation. The emigration of ambitious young graduates

acts as a valve, permitting the state to control its elites across generations, especially through patronage networks, at the cost of economic, social and political reform. It is a deliberate, though not widely touted policy choice of the state.

### Box 7.2 When hope ends in death

The year 2015 has been murderous for migrants attempting to cross the Mediterranean towards Europe. By mid-April, more than 500 people had lost their lives, 30 times more than those who had lost their lives during the same period in 2014.<sup>1</sup> In one weekend alone, the Italian coast guard registered more than 8,500 immigrants making their way into the country by sea.<sup>2</sup>

European border authorities recorded about 841,000 irregular entries by sea to the European Union between January 1998 and September 2014; about 138,000 of these occurred in 2014.<sup>3</sup> Several factors may explain this peak. The growing political instability in the Arab region entailed massive displacements. The summer war of 2014 in Gaza compelled youth to risk their lives to get away from poverty and hopelessness. And the collapse of the state in Libya broke down the last barrier between Africa and Europe for many in Libya.

Data of the Italian Interior Ministry, analysed by Fargues and Bonfanti (2014),

show that political events correlate with massive attempts at illegal crossings by sea. Records of Tunisians entering illegally shot up after the repression of social uprisings in Gafsa region in 2008. In 2011, flows of Palestinians, Somalis, Sudanese and Syrians were mainly refugee flows. However, such dangerous migration routes are also used by mixed migration flows: Algerians, Egyptians (to a lesser extent), Moroccans and Tunisians comprise a higher share of economic migrants in these mixed migration flows.<sup>4</sup>

In view of the huge risks run by migrants smuggled by sea, the distinction between economic and forced migrants becomes less clear. Indeed, economic migrants seeking livelihoods to support family members back home and even better life prospects in Europe were among the 15,000 dead and missing persons counted from January 1998 to 30 September 2014, which is a minimal estimate given that many deaths remain uncounted.<sup>5</sup>

*Source: The Report team.*

*1. UNHCR 2015b.*

*2. UNHCR 2015b.*

*3. Fargues and Bonfanti 2014, p. 2.*

*4. Fargues and Bonfanti 2014.*

*5. The data and the analyses discussed here are taken from Fargues and Bonfanti (2014). Data have been interpreted by the Report team.*

## 7.3

# Migration policies in receiving and sending countries

State migration policies play a central role in pulling or pushing migrants. Some receiving countries use economic policies to cherry pick the best migrants, while others are more liberal about refugee admissions. Other factors in these countries may also be at play, such as sponsorship. Most sending countries are closely involved in the migration process, but few supervise the welfare of their citizens once those citizens are abroad.

### Receiving countries

*The West attracts many top graduates*

Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States have, over the last two decades, attracted the lion's share of the Arab region's highly skilled migrants, reflecting a strategy that encourages labour migration (rather than reunifying families or granting refugee status). Labour migration accounted for roughly two thirds of admissions in these three countries (60.7 percent in Canada, 70.6 percent in the United Kingdom and 60.3 percent in the United States in 1996–2011).<sup>35</sup> The share of young migrants with a tertiary education from the Arab countries in North Africa is higher in North America than in Europe, where migrants are much more numerous (annex 2 figure A.17).

The share of the younger age-groups in migrant populations serves as a rough proxy for the share of workers in a national group. A comparison of this indicator in the three main sub-regions of OECD countries (Australia, Europe and North America) shows,

for instance, that the share of tertiary educated young Algerians and Tunisians in North America is twice that in Europe, where these communities are much larger and consist mainly of workers aged 30 and above. Although still in modest numbers, students from the Maghreb enroll in North American universities (in 2012, 1,200 Tunisians against 11,000 in France according to UNESCO). Some graduates who are migrants from Arab countries in North Africa work in North America as young professionals.<sup>36</sup>

Scandinavian countries have relatively generous refugee policies, which is why few Jordanians and Lebanese with tertiary education are in Denmark (4.3 and 8.2 percent, respectively) or Norway (7 and 0 percent, respectively), unlike France (61.5 and 71.4 percent, respectively), where they are the most highly educated of all young migrants. The skills of many migrants are not, however, recognized in receiving countries, forcing the migrants to trade down, or deskill, which has possible effects on their health (box 7.3).

### *Subordinating through sponsorship*

The sponsorship system (kafala) has created a structural separation between migrants and local economies. Predominantly used in the GCC countries, but also in Jordan and Lebanon, the system provides that most foreign blue-collar workers and their dependants are granted only basic rights such as family reunion, access to education, health care, housing and freedom of movement and are never on an equal footing with nationals.

Foreign nationals are not meant to settle permanently or become integrated within local society; the length of stay is determined by labour contracts. Nationals and non-nationals are separated in the workplace (dual labour markets) and in the social and political spheres (dual societies).<sup>37</sup> This separation is engineered by the sponsorship system, a fundamental element of GCC, Jordanian and Lebanese migration policies. In these countries, the employment contract is issued by the sponsor, who may be a placement agency, a company, an institution, or an individual (if the individual is a citizen of the employing country).

The system requires the local employer to bear full economic, social and legal responsibility for the employee during the contract period, including the migrant's registration for the appropriate public services and, for business people or investors, access to markets, supplies, bank facilities, and

**Box 7.3 Florence Jusot: The impact of deskilling on health among young Moroccan migrants in three European countries.**

Moroccan immigrants ages 18–35 show worse health outcomes than young nonimmigrants in France, but not in Italy and Spain.<sup>1</sup> In France, twice as many Moroccan immigrants than native French citizens self-assessed themselves as limited in their activities because of a health problem. Conversely, in Italy and Spain, Moroccan immigrants reported relatively similar perceptions of their health status to non-immigrants. This is all the more shocking as migrants usually have better health than nonmigrants, as only those in the best health can migrate, while many unhealthy migrants return home.

Differences in legal migration frameworks and patterns of incorporation into national labour markets may induce differences in migrant

health. In Italy and Spain, immigrants are selected in response to the needs of labour-intensive economic sectors (construction and agriculture for instance), which rely on workers' physical abilities, attracting young Moroccans generally less educated than those attracted to France.

Yet the gap in the self-assessment of health status between immigrants and nonimmigrants was also observed among educated migrants (France has a higher proportion of educated immigrants than Italy and Spain). Nonrecognition of skills acquired abroad and discrimination in the labour market towards some educated immigrants may then lead to deskilling and career disruptions, which may well reflect on their health.

*Note: Florence Jusot is a professor at Université Paris-Dauphine and draws here on data from the European Union and North African Migrants Project: Health and Health Systems. The project, which is supported by the European Commission (EU FP7/2007-2013 grant 260715), compared the health status of North African migrants in Belgium, France, Italy and Spain. The data sources were the several waves of national health interview surveys conducted during 2004–2010 and providing information on migratory status, country of birth, health status and socio-economic status. See Moullan and Jusot (2014).*

*1. In the countries covered by the project, Moroccan immigrants are defined as persons born in Morocco who reside in another country. For France, immigrants are persons born in Morocco with no French citizenship at birth.*

so on. In return, the sponsor controls salary and work conditions. National labour laws are typically only sporadically enforced and exclude the most sensitive sectors, including the domestic sector. The sponsor's clearance is required for the migrant to leave the host country, and the worker's passport is often retained by the sponsor. Until recently, switching sponsors was also impossible without a non-objection certificate issued by the initial sponsor, an obligation partly lifted for some types of workers in all GCC countries save Qatar. The system thus makes the foreign worker completely dependent on the sponsor.

The dual labour markets, especially in the GCC countries—where nationals face no competition from non-nationals—have severed the professional mobility of nationals from their economic productivity; for foreigners, the difficulty of switching sponsors bars them from professional competition and upward mobility, excluding them from a real labour market.

The sponsorship of migrant workers underlines not only the inverse relationship between the number and the skill profile of migrants, but also

supports the trade-off between numbers versus rights emphasized by Ruhs and Martin: the more migrant workers in a host state, the more likely they are to be deprived of basic human rights.<sup>38</sup> Governments in Arab immigration countries are reluctant to abolish the sponsorship policy formally, for this would mean depriving certain citizens of the economic, social and political privileges they currently enjoy.<sup>39</sup>

### **Sending countries**

*Closely involved in migration, but need to protect the vulnerable more*

Most Arab worker-sending countries organize the employment of their nationals abroad. The design and scope of institutions dealing with expatriates is important because it signals the aim to give attention to "The increasingly multidimensional nature of the concerns of communities: housing, education, social security, customs, personal status, investments and the law."<sup>40</sup> Although no regional body (for

example, the Arab League or the Arab Labour Organization) is directly involved in migration, every country in the region maintains an open door for the emigration of its nationals. However, most sending governments consider expatriate affairs a major economic and political concern, and government institutions dealing with nationals abroad are most often high profile; they are ministry-level bodies in Egypt, Lebanon, Syria and Tunisia. Thus, in Algeria, a ministry-level institution, the Ministerial Delegate, is in charge of the National Community Established Abroad, which is attached to the Ministry of National Solidarity. Morocco has no less than three official institutions charged with dealing with expatriate affairs: the Ministry in Charge of Moroccans Living Abroad and Migration Affairs, as well as the Council of the Moroccan Community Abroad and the Hassan II Foundation for Moroccans Residing Abroad.

The countries of origin of migrants should be accountable for protecting their citizens abroad. Beyond the obvious necessity to amend immigration policies in certain countries, which is now being addressed by international bodies and human rights movements, the sending countries should consider pressuring other countries to reform the sponsorship system. In source countries, easily adopted measures include licensing and supervising recruitment agencies, reviewing and vetting employment contracts, giving pre-departure training, posting labour attachés at embassies or consulates abroad and ensuring diplomatic protection.<sup>41</sup>

Qatar Foundation, responding to allegations of the bad treatment of construction workers in Qatar, recommended promoting government-to-government diplomatic negotiations for protecting citizens and enacting strict monitoring, possibly transnationally, of private institutions and

all other actors involved in the migration process.<sup>42</sup>

In Jordan, responsibility is shared between the Section of Consular Affairs and Expatriates within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Expatriates and the Ministry of Labour.

Morocco's National Agency for the Promotion of Employment and Competencies manages labour contracts and organizes the placement of nationals abroad and their reintegration on return.

Tunisia, where about a third of the 20–29 age-group are unemployed, has set up institutions to provide Tunisian workers with opportunities abroad. Among these, the Tunisian Agency for Technical Cooperation had 12,900 technical experts abroad in 2012, of whom 9,800 were in other Arab countries, chiefly in the GCC countries. Since the mid-2000s, the number of technical experts has been rising by 4.6 percent a year. The Ministry of Professional Training and Economy signed bilateral agreements to secure legal employment for Tunisians in Europe and in the GCC. It also negotiated a French-Tunisian Agreement for Organized Migration in 2008 for skilled workers, investors, seasonal workers, workers able to fill positions open to foreign blue-collar workers, and young professionals in exchange schemes. The agency has also signed labour placement agreements with Italy, Libya, Qatar and Switzerland.<sup>43</sup>

Conflicts are creating a divide between nationals of mainly labour-sending countries and nationals of mainly refugee-sending countries, such as Iraq, Palestine, Somalia, Sudan and Yemen. Recent decades have seen educational attainment rising, generation after generation, leading to higher shares of tertiary graduates among migrants in the 25–29 age-group than older groups (annex 2 figure A.18). Not every nationality shows this, however, especially migrants from refugee-sending countries such as Syria.

# 7.4

## Some benefits of mobility

Young people will find it easier to migrate if they already have the necessary qualifications—such as a tertiary education or other skills required by the host country—and funding for transport and social connections in the host country. Once working abroad, many become involved in diaspora networks, academia, or other professional networks. A truism perhaps, but migration can be a classic win-win situation, bringing benefits to both sides and to groups that may not have secured these benefits by staying at home. But migration is not without pitfalls.

### Migration of young women from Arab countries

Improved educational outcomes among women have opened opportunities abroad for them and facilitated the migration of highly skilled women professionals. Until recently, women from Arab countries were considered mobile only rarely, unless they were moving with their families, a view that underwent a sea-change after the increase in tertiary education among young women. Young educated women now travel to all countries, including the GCC countries, where young unmarried women can find sponsorship opportunities and even self-sponsorship, as in United Arab Emirates.<sup>44</sup>

Since the 1990s, growing numbers of women from the Maghreb—most of them unmarried or divorced—have been making their way independently to southern European countries, benefiting from employment opportunities within the health care and home care sectors in these countries.<sup>45</sup>

Arab migrants are usually more well educated than Arab non-migrants. Data on Morocco in the mid-2000s, for instance, give an average duration of education of 8.4 years for Moroccans surveyed in Morocco, while OECD receiving-country statistics indicate that Moroccan migrants had 9.1 years of education on average. In the case of Jordan, non-migrants had an average of 9.2 years of

education in 2004 as opposed to 13.0 years for Jordanian migrants to OECD countries in 2011.<sup>46</sup>

Primary- and secondary-school enrollment rates are similar among girls and boys in the southern and eastern Mediterranean Arab countries. In 2004, there were 102 women for every 100 men in university (undergraduate and graduate) in Jordan among cohorts born in 1975–1985.<sup>47</sup>

In Egypt, the female-to-male enrollment ratio in tertiary education in public and private schools was 96 to 100 in 2012 according to the World Bank.<sup>48</sup> Meanwhile, the structure of the typical family in the Arab world has undergone changes since the 1990s. Many educated women now marry later, often above 25–27 years of age, which is comparable with Europe. Remaining unmarried, though formerly extremely rare (except in Lebanon), has become a reality among women everywhere in the region, including in the GCC countries.<sup>49</sup> The 35–39 age-group among women, for example, once almost all married, divorced, or widowed, now has notable shares of unmarried women (12–16 percent in Iraq, Jordan, Palestine and Syria and 20 percent or higher in Lebanon). In Jordan, 8.5 percent of women in the 45–49 age-group in the late 2000s had remained unmarried.<sup>50</sup>

### Scientific diaspora networks and migrant associations

The large number of Arab students and young, highly educated professionals abroad suggest that professional and cultural networks will soon be diversifying. Current professional networks, as well as nationality- and culture-based associations, are able to sustain social integration in host states. Integration with the origin country may also be strengthened through such professional or cultural bonds, which can also help channel ideas sent by migrants to their society of origin (social or ideational remittances), in addition to sustaining development projects.

The process is not automatic, but partly reflects the multipolar circulation and strategic transnationalism of young migrants as the poles of attraction of these migrants diversify, and transnational circulation becomes multifocal rather than bifocal.<sup>51</sup> This applies, first, to highly skilled young professionals who pursue increasingly globalized careers, as is evident among young migrants from Arab countries in North Africa and with many young Lebanese professionals in Europe, the GCC countries and North America. Second, as time passes, young people born in the GCC

countries who, however, remain foreign nationals there do not relate to the country of birth of their parents or their grandparents as their homeland. Yet, confronted with the administrative and legal insecurity characterizing migration to the GCC, they “Build and maintain a set of global networks to mitigate the vulnerabilities rendered by this structure of dominance.”<sup>52</sup> This is especially true of long-time refugees, such as Palestinians, who would have nowhere to turn if they were forcibly ejected.<sup>53</sup> Forming ties and acquiring other nationalities, especially Western, is one dominant feature of this strategic transnationalism.

Civil society associations and scientific diaspora networks accumulate expatriate capacities and act as a resource to be tapped for the development of the countries of origin. These associations represent an interface between governmental and international initiatives to mobilize expatriate expertise and the first, second and third generations of the diaspora of the skilled.

Some of the scientific diaspora associations are active at a regional level, such as the Tunisian Scientific Consortium, the Moroccan Association of Researchers and Scholars Abroad, and the Network of Arab Scientists and Technologists Abroad. These networks maintain links with governmental agencies, such as the Higher Council for Science and Technology (Amman, Jordan) in the case of the Network of Arab Scientists and Technologists Abroad. Such networks aim at establishing and fostering communication and exchanges between members living abroad and their counterparts in the countries of origin.<sup>54</sup>

Other associations have different aims. For example, the Moroccan association *Savoir et Développement* promotes innovation and competence-sharing between expatriates and Moroccan businesses.<sup>55</sup> The Network of Moroccan Students in the high-status *Grandes Ecoles* and its Algerian counterpart, the *Réseau des Etudiants Algériens des Grandes Ecoles*, founded in 2005, have some 1,400 members, students, or degree-holders at the most prestigious higher education establishments in France.

Considering the inclusion of young skilled Arab workers in international networks and the generally high expatriation rates from the region, the flight of human capital from Arab countries may stir controversy, but there is no doubt which way governments on both sides are inclined. As with Jordan, for example, the GCC countries deprive other countries of the personnel in which these other countries have invested in terms of education.

One study suggests that the annual emigration of 1,500 Moroccan engineers costs Morocco about \$47 million a year.<sup>56</sup>

Yet, all Arab countries promote such migration to varying degrees for political and economic reasons and consider that the gains outweigh the social costs of breaking up families. Youth unemployment is largely caused by economic policies that favour low value added, low-paying industries with high turnover—such as manufacturing and assembly—that do not appeal to local skilled and highly skilled youth. Moreover, following a resurgence of neoclassical views in economy and development, the concept of a gain in human capital backs up pro-emigration policies and emphasizes that both origin and destination countries profit from the migration of highly skilled workers through technology and knowledge transfers facilitated by returning migrants.<sup>57</sup>

This concept of transfers covers the broader ideas, behaviour, identities and social capital that flow from receiving to sending country communities, or social remittances, which may be political or ideational.<sup>58</sup> Since the onset of the Arab uprisings after December 2010, migrants have shown a renewed interest in their countries of origin and have often tried to re-establish ties previously disrupted by formerly distrusted regimes.<sup>59</sup> Tunisians abroad during the Tunisian Revolution were active in January 2011 via the internet and have been active since as supporters of democratization, including by voting in the election of the Constituent Assembly in October 2011.<sup>60</sup>

From the perspective of some Arab governments, such ideas are bound to come tainted with other, often Western values, rendering this approach incompatible with the desire of some Arab states to maintain an armlock on political discourse. With the notable exception of Tunisia, the early hopes epitomized by the term ‘Arab Spring’ failed to flower: clientelism and corruption still hamper structural improvements in economies, distance administrative management from citizen concerns and feed undemocratic states and their hermetically contained ruling elites. Thus, longer term, social remittances may become far more important than financial remittances, especially given the latter’s vulnerability to falling oil prices.

### Remittances

Financial remittances are currently an essential addition to the GDP of many Arab countries, notably, Jordan, Lebanon and Palestine (table 7.1).

Remittances are mainly spent on consumption such as family expenditures and basic needs, rather than savings and productive investment that can generate income and direct employment. About 74 percent of Egyptian migrant households spend the majority of the remittances they receive on household expenses; buying, building or renovating a house was the second-most important area of spending (7.3 percent) and financing the education of household members was the third-most important (3.9 percent).<sup>61</sup> In Morocco, remittances also sustain small development projects such as shops and businesses.<sup>62</sup>

Faced with inefficiency, corruption and patronage-led economic and political systems in most sending countries, international agencies started promoting the idea of placing expatriates at the centre of the development process, that is, making expatriates agents of development at home.<sup>63</sup> However, benefits from remittance funds (technical innovation, for instance) can be reaped only in certain favourable structural contexts.

A survey in the south of Morocco showed some local economic gains from financial investments and spending from abroad (saffron production and tourist guest houses).<sup>64</sup> Yet, the success of such small-scale enterprises is highly sensitive to the local context, such as roads and commercial or tourist infrastructure. Investments from abroad cannot be large enough to change an unfavourable local infrastructure, let alone the human capital base. Moreover, in the words of the survey's authors, "Governments' role in migrant initiatives is ambiguous, contested, and not necessarily desirable."<sup>65</sup>

Without a favourable business climate, remittances might as well simply disappear into the sand. For this reason, stronger ties are needed between investors and facilitating government bodies both for financial remittances and to spread knowledge and expertise more widely in home countries. Placing the responsibility for development on migrants alone—rather than simultaneously reforming institutional structures—will not necessarily benefit sending countries.<sup>66</sup>

**Table 7.1 Arab migrant remittances as a share of GDP by country, 2005–2014 (%)**

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Algeria	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	...
Djibouti	3.6	3.7	3.4	3.0	2.7	2.9	2.6	2.5	2.4	...
Egypt	5.6	5.0	5.9	5.3	3.8	5.7	6.1	7.3	6.6	6.8
Iraq	1.4	0.6	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	...
Jordan	19.2	18.6	19.4	16.0	14.5	13.3	11.7	11.3	10.8	...
Lebanon	23.1	23.9	23.5	24.9	21.5	18.2	17.2	15.6	17.7	...
Morocco	7.7	8.3	8.9	7.8	6.9	7.1	7.3	6.8	6.6	...
Sudan	2.7	2.2	2.2	2.9	2.6	1.7	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.5
Syria	2.9	2.4	2.6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tunisia	4.3	4.4	4.4	4.4	4.5	4.6	4.4	5.0	4.9	...
Palestine	13.3	18.8	19.5	18.2	16.5	16.9	15.9	18.3	14.0	...
Yemen	7.7	6.7	5.2	4.6	4.1	4.9	4.5	10.4	9.3	...

Source: World Bank 2015b.

Note: "..." Not available or not applicable.

# 7.5

## Reducing barriers to mobility in the region

### Visas

The main impediment to migration arises from labour market laws in Arab countries. These laws rarely distinguish between temporary and permanent labour. Restrictions on movement include burdensome and costly procedures for work permits, limitations on the length of stay, quantitative limits on work permits and sectoral bans, job nationalization, educational conditions, restrictions on foreign investment, and controls on the mobility of family members.<sup>67</sup>

Applying for a visa can be time consuming and complicated. Uncertainty over delays may discourage worker mobility (and imports of services), undermine business relationships and generate steep costs because of labour misallocation across countries.<sup>68</sup> The lack of transparency and harmonization in visa systems and in the duration of visa validity across countries also burdens labour mobility.

An Arab citizen needs, on average, around 16 visas to travel to all countries in the Arab region.<sup>69</sup> Syria has the least restrictive system (6 of 22 Arab nationalities require a visa), and Djibouti, Iraq and Yemen have the most restrictive systems (the nationals of every Arab country require a visa). This number seems high considering that the GCC countries do not require visas for GCC citizens travelling between member countries, nor do Maghreb countries have such a requirement for their citizens traveling within the Maghreb.

Some nationalities, despite requiring a visa, might benefit from more rapid procedures and less bureaucratic paperwork. In some Arab countries, Europeans or Americans can obtain visas at the airport, while it requires

several weeks for visitors from other Arab countries to obtain visas.

One solution, implemented by the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation, was a business travel card. Initiated in 1999, the card allows multiple short-term visits to member countries over three years, as well as a single stay of up to three months. A similar scheme could be adopted in the Arab region to promote greater regional professional mobility.

Fees for the issuance, renewal, or transfer of work permits are nontrivial, differing by country. Work permits are also granted for limited durations of stay that are not always tailored to the needs of greater labour mobility. Some Arab countries impose quantitative limits on certain types of work permits over a specific time and prohibit foreign workers in some economic sectors, in some cases publishing a list of jobs barred to foreigners.

### Mutual recognition

The mutual recognition of diplomas and other qualifications is crucial for greater job mobility, but Arab countries have done little to foster a region-wide approach. Such an approach would allow workers to access the jobs that correspond to their skills and avoid the negative effects of overqualification. It would also help staunch human capital flight. However, the Mutual Recognition Agreements proposed by the World Trade Organization have only been signed by developed economies and by developing countries in South America.<sup>70</sup>

Although some regional and international agreements have taken tentative steps towards the mutual recognition of professional qualifications, alongside an Arab standard classification of occupations crafted by the Arab Labour Organization in line with ISCO 88, there are practically no indicators to assess whether countries honour these commitments. One of the few examples is the agreement between the Algiers and Tunis bars to facilitate trade in legal services between the two countries.<sup>71</sup>

Most of the accredited professions require migrants to meet requirements—apart from those of nationality or residency—in both education and experience. Legal professions require university degrees, a minimum period of practical experience and a professional examination. Similarly, accounting professions require at least three years of post-secondary education and a period

of practice. Finally, engineering and architecture require, beyond degrees and practical experience, membership in professional associations.

## 7.6

# Easing tensions

Mobility around the region is good for young people economically and socially. Rather than permanent migration outside the region, labour and study migration within the region should be encouraged, especially in an economic climate where country budgets have been badly damaged by collapsing oil prices. Oil-rich governments will struggle to maintain the financial largesse they expend on their citizens, which will have large secondary effects on the workers of other countries and remittances. These shocks will make it even more urgent to improve the mobility of entrepreneurs and investors, who can generate non-oil

jobs. Such initiatives could also keep most of the benefits of labour migration within the region. Governments in all Arab countries can act in this direction.

First, the GCC countries, Jordan and Lebanon would see gains from cancelling policies such as private sponsorship, which denies free movement to migrants. In several of these countries, including Bahrain and Saudi Arabia, such reforms have been mooted or government bodies are being set up to manage the foreign labour force. Such measures should make destination countries more readily accountable for the treatment of migrants by employers in the destination countries.

Second, the mutual recognition of qualifications and skills needs to be strengthened. Labour exchange programmes would be more beneficial to all parties and stimulate more dedication and creativity if the administrative and legal obstacles hampering mobility were removed.

Finally, enhanced mobility should be a two-way ticket, encouraging emigrants to return with their skills honed, turning young people from Arab countries into agents of development in their home countries. Given that expatriation may be one of the reasons for political ossification in the Arab region, closer involvement by expatriates and diasporas may help accelerate socio-political reform, including change in the ruling elites. Structural reforms may likewise raise expatriate confidence in investment back home.

## Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> Yet exclusion may be no less prevalent in receiving countries, due to inflammatory anti-immigrant debate, blinkered policy and even police operations, all of which push immigrants from public space.
- <sup>2</sup> In his book *Development as Freedom*, Sen (1999, p. 38–40) identifies five types of “instrumental” freedoms that “Tend to contribute to the general capability of a person to live more freely”: (1) political freedoms: freedom to criticize actions of authorities, freedom of expression, freedom of the press; free elections, on so on; (2) economic facilities: opportunity to have and use economic resources or “entitlements”; (3) social opportunities: all people’s ability to access health and education services; (4) transparency guarantees: the ability to trust others and the information received; and (5) protective security: social protection for vulnerable people. These freedoms are interconnected and complementary, a means as well as an end for achieving development.
- <sup>3</sup> The immigrant stock is the total number of international migrants present in a given country at a particular time. The flow is the number of persons entering or leaving a given country during a specific period. Unless stated otherwise, all estimates used in the chapter include refugee and non-refugee migrant populations. Refugee, unless stated otherwise, refers to persons registered with the UNHCR or the UNRWA (as regards Palestinians). This chapter does not use, unless, in exceptional cases mentioned in the notes to tables, the UN DESA database. Major discrepancies were found between these and available national data. Certain categories and definitions adopted by UN bodies do not match those adopted in this chapter; for instance, we count refugees as migrants only if they are born outside their country of residence, whereas in the UN data all refugees are counted as migrants. International databases sometimes replace missing data by self-generated data that reflect the hypotheses of statisticians rather than a proven demographic reality.
- <sup>4</sup> This definition does not incorporate Palestinian refugees: most of them were born in Lebanon or in Jordan and thus do not fall under the “migrant” definition used here (see Annex 2 tables A.16, A.17 and A.18).
- <sup>5</sup> Di Bartolomeo, Jaulin, and Perrin 2012.
- <sup>6</sup> MPC 2013a.
- <sup>7</sup> Gulf countries, where migrants are the most numerous, provide few data on immigrants. Their national origin, for instance, remains undisclosed. A partial exception is made for Bahrain, Kuwait and Oman, where some published data are broken down by regional origin. For all other countries, expatriates’ figures are aggregated.
- <sup>8</sup> Attir 2012; Mustafa 2014.
- <sup>9</sup> Ministry of Interior (Kuwait) 2012; Gulf Migration (2013a); Ministry of Labour (Jordan) 2012.
- <sup>10</sup> The demographic, educational, professional and family profile of Arab workers can only be estimated indirectly and can only rely on Kuwaiti data (and on Bahraini data to a lesser extent). See also PACI 2013.
- <sup>11</sup> Central Informatics Organization, Kingdom of Bahrain 2010.
- <sup>12</sup> “Legislators, senior officials and managers” and “Scientific, technical specialists”: PACI 2013; and Central Informatics Organization, Kingdom of Bahrain 2010.
- <sup>13</sup> Drawing on Qatar Ministry of Labour’s data collected from Babar (2014) and De Bel-Air (2014).
- <sup>14</sup> Fargues and Brouwer 2012.
- <sup>15</sup> Ministry of Manpower and Migration (Egypt) (2013) statistics on work permits for employment abroad in 2013. This is consistent with studies by Wahba (2005) and Ghoneim (2010), for instance.
- <sup>16</sup> OECD countries considered here are the “Western” destinations: United States and Canada; Western Europe; and Australia and New Zealand. Non-“Western” OECD countries (Korea, Japan and Mexico) have been excluded as they have very few or no Arab migrants; Turkey is excluded because its immigrant Arab population comprises largely refugees. Israel is also excluded.
- <sup>17</sup> This confirms, for example, that inactive persons are not homemakers or retired elderly individuals, for instance.
- <sup>18</sup> Docquier, Johansson de Silva, and Marfouk 2010.
- <sup>19</sup> Fourati 2008.
- <sup>20</sup> Kasparian 2009.
- <sup>21</sup> Ministry of Labour (Jordan) 2012.
- <sup>22</sup> Department of Statistics (Jordan) 2012.
- <sup>23</sup> Higher Planning Commission (Morocco) 2013.
- <sup>24</sup> Higher Planning Commission (Morocco) 2014; and National Institute of Statistics (Tunisia) 2010.
- <sup>25</sup> Structural adjustment programmes were negotiated with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank in South and East Mediterranean Morocco (1983); Tunisia, Egypt and Algeria (1986); and Jordan (1988). Even Syria launched a process of structural adjustment (1991), but without borrowing from the IMF. The exception is Lebanon, where no structural adjustment programmes were enacted in spite of the country’s large debt, due to lack of economic planning and political instability. However, several countries delayed most of the plans’ implementation until the 1990s, after the first Gulf War of 1990–1991. Several agreements were thus signed throughout the 1990s.
- <sup>26</sup> All South and East Mediterranean countries except Libya, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Qatar and United Arab Emirates are members of WTO.
- <sup>27</sup> Razzaz and Iqbal 2008.

- 28 The logic was that economic liberalization should lead to a political liberalization, under the assumption that liberal economic reforms, for example, limit the redistributive capacities of patrimonial states or promotes the emergence of an entrepreneurial bourgeoisie able to convene democratic claims (Anderson 1992; Catusse 2006).
- 29 Catusse 2006, p. 231–234.
- 30 Grasland 2011.
- 31 National Institute of Statistics (Tunisia) 2010.
- 32 Bouchoucha and Ouadah-Bedidi 2009.
- 33 Governorates of the Centre-West (Kasserine, Sidi Bouzid and Kairouan) and the South (Medenine, Tataouine, Gafsa) of Tunisia. Boubakri (2013, p. 4).
- 34 Hirschman (1970) distinguishes between alternative ways of reacting to deterioration in business firms and, in general, to dissatisfaction with organizations: One way, "exit," is the member's quitting the organization or the customer's switching to the competing product. Another response, "voice," is the member's or customer's agitating and exerting influence for change "from within." The third response is "loyalty" against all odds.
- 35 Di Bartolomeo and Fargues 2015.
- 36 Khelfaoui 2006.
- 37 Fargues 2011.
- 38 Ruhs and Martin 2008.
- 39 Except in Bahrain, where the kafala was terminated in 2009. In other GCC countries, certain categories of immigrants such as investors (for example in Saudi Arabia) can be their own sponsors. See also Fargues and De Bel-Air, forthcoming.
- 40 Brand 2006, p. 75.
- 41 ILO 2009b.
- 42 Jureidini 2014.
- 43 Kriaa and others 2013.
- 44 Benabdennebi and Rahmi 2012; De Bel-Air 2014.
- 45 Et-Tayeb 2012.
- 46 Department of Statistics (Jordan) 2004; Higher Planning Commission (Morocco) 2014; OECD 2014a (population of ages 25 and above).
- 47 Department of Statistics (Jordan) 2004. This figure covers up, however, the fact that boys emigrate abroad to study, and girls more rarely.
- 48 World Bank 2015b.
- 49 De Bel-Air 2012.
- 50 De Bel-Air 2008.
- 51 Gardner 2008.
- 52 Gardner 2008, p. 75.
- 53 Jamal forthcoming.
- 54 Meyer and Brown 1999.
- 55 Mghari 2008.
- 56 Khachani 2010, p. 16.
- 57 Stark 2004; IOM 2005.
- 58 Levitt 1998, p. 926.
- 59 LAS/IOM 2012.
- 60 Jaulin 2012.
- 61 Nassar 2010.
- 62 Et-Tayeb 2012.
- 63 Skeldon 2008.
- 64 De Haas and Vezzoli 2010.
- 65 De Haas and Vezzoli 2010.
- 66 This kind of policy approach fits into (neo)liberal policy trends currently in vogue, in the EU development policy schemes as much as in the international ones. The current optimism shown for migrants' input fits in with a communitarian approach and praises the principles of individualism and self-help: "Immigrants, rather than governments, then become the biggest provider of 'foreign aid'" (Kapur 2004, p. 7).
- 67 Marouani 2014.
- 68 Ng and Whalley 2005.
- 69 OECD 2003.
- 70 Cattaneo and Walkenhorst 2010.

