



International Migration Institute
James Martin 21st Century School
University of Oxford



The contours of migration and development landscapes in Morocco

Hein de Haas

hein.dehaas@qeh.ox.ac.uk

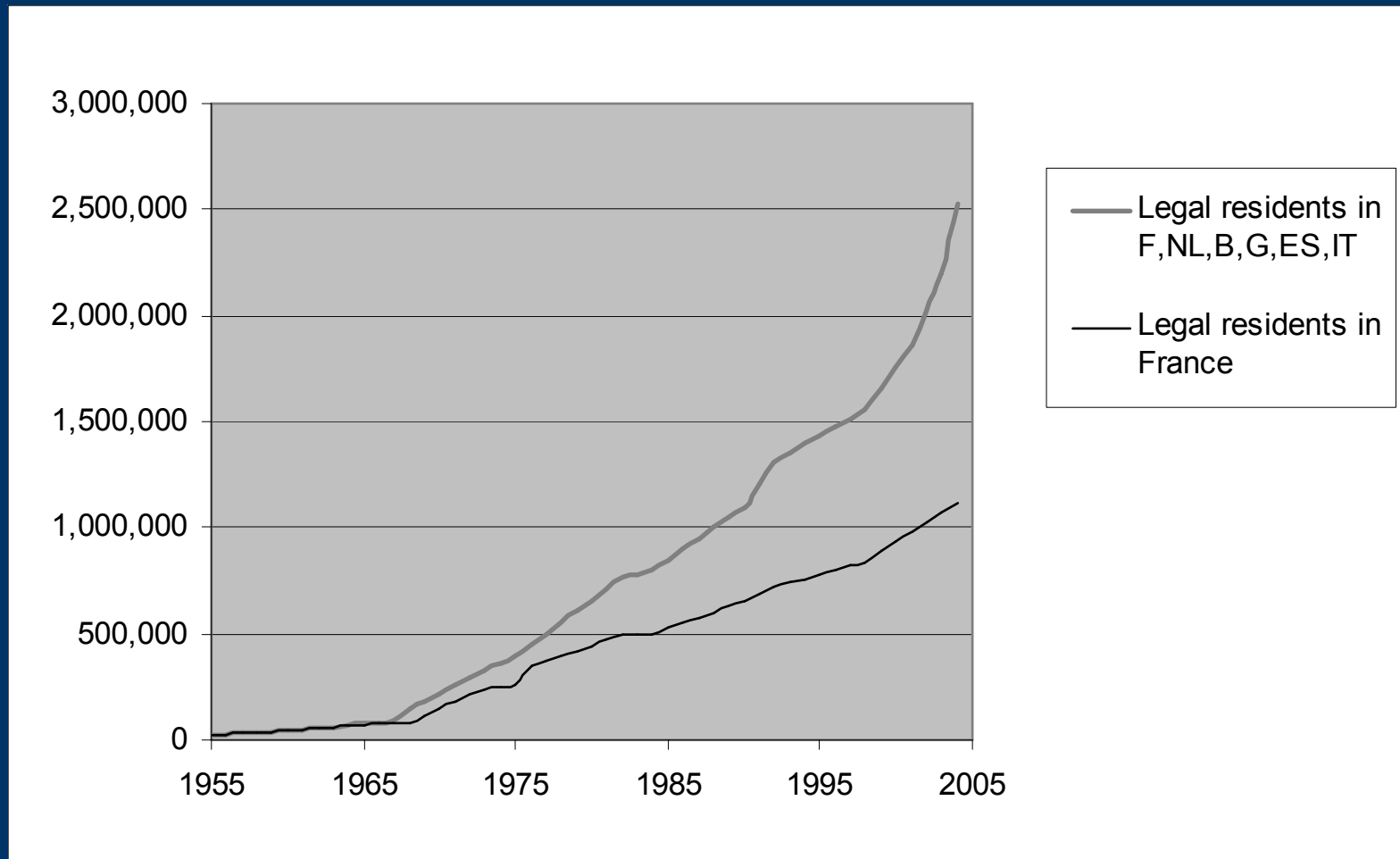
Workshop "From Dialogue to Decision:
International Common Ground on Migration & Development?"
11th International Metropolis Conference
5 October 2006

A brief migration history

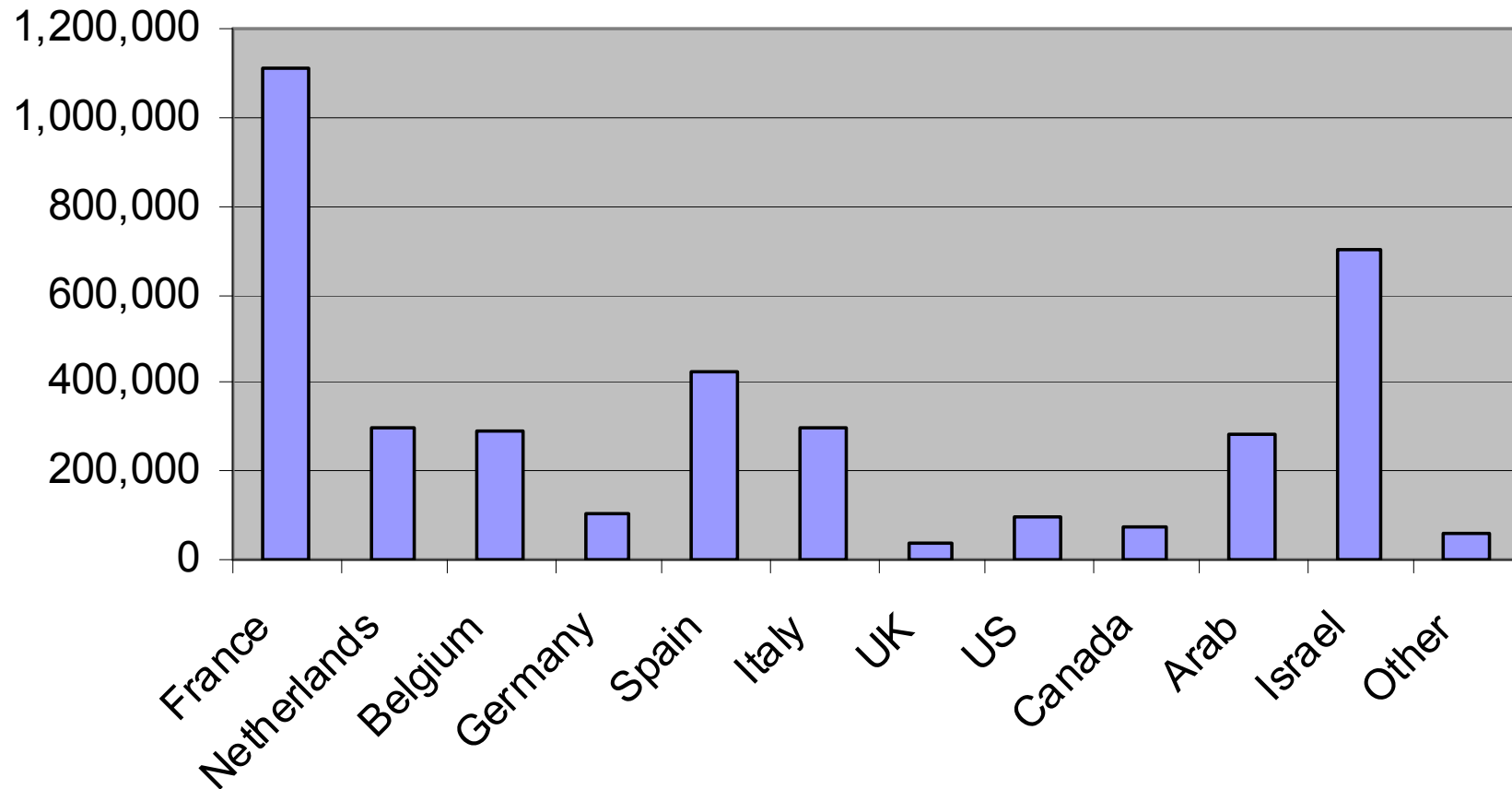
(Post) colonial migration	Mainly to 'French' Algeria and France
The guest-worker boom (1963-1972)	Large-scale labour migration to France, the Netherlands, Belgium and Germany
The 1973 Oil Crisis turning point	Increasing family migration to classical Europe instead of massive return;
The 1991-1992 turning point	<i>Persistence</i> and <i>diversification</i> in face of restrictive immigration policies: Persistent family migration; Increasing labour migration to new destinations in southern Europe (Italy and Spain) and north-America; increasing trans-Saharan migration.



The 'success' of immigration restrictions: Moroccan descendants living in main European receiving countries 1955-2004



Moroccan communities abroad (2004)



Migration and remittances as a national development strategy

- Workers were initially expected to acquire useful skills and knowledge abroad, to be deployed in Morocco after their return
- ‘Myth of return’: Increasing emphasis on alleviation of unemployment and remittances: creation of network of banks and post offices for money transfers
- The Moroccan state encouraged emigration from particular regions (‘safety valve’ to prevent political tensions) through directing recruiters and selective passport issuance.



Migration and remittances as a national development strategy

- Until 1989: Focus on control and integration-prevention (spying and control networks)
- Late 1980s: rethinking of repressive policies, presumably caused by an ominous stagnation in remittances; reversal of views on integration.

The Moroccan state and 'its' migrants

<i>Until 1989</i>	<i>After 1989</i>
Moroccan Workers Abroad (TME)	Moroccans Residents Abroad (MRE)
State repression	'Courting the Diaspora'
Avoid naturalisation	Encourage double citizenship
Integration endangers link with Morocco	Integration favours remittances and investments
Migrants as a political threat	Migrants as a political tool

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Opération transit



Charm offensive

The King welcoming migrants



Version Arabe



Citoyens Marocains du Monde



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Financial products for migrants and investment centres



مجموعة البنوك الشعبية
groupe banques populaires

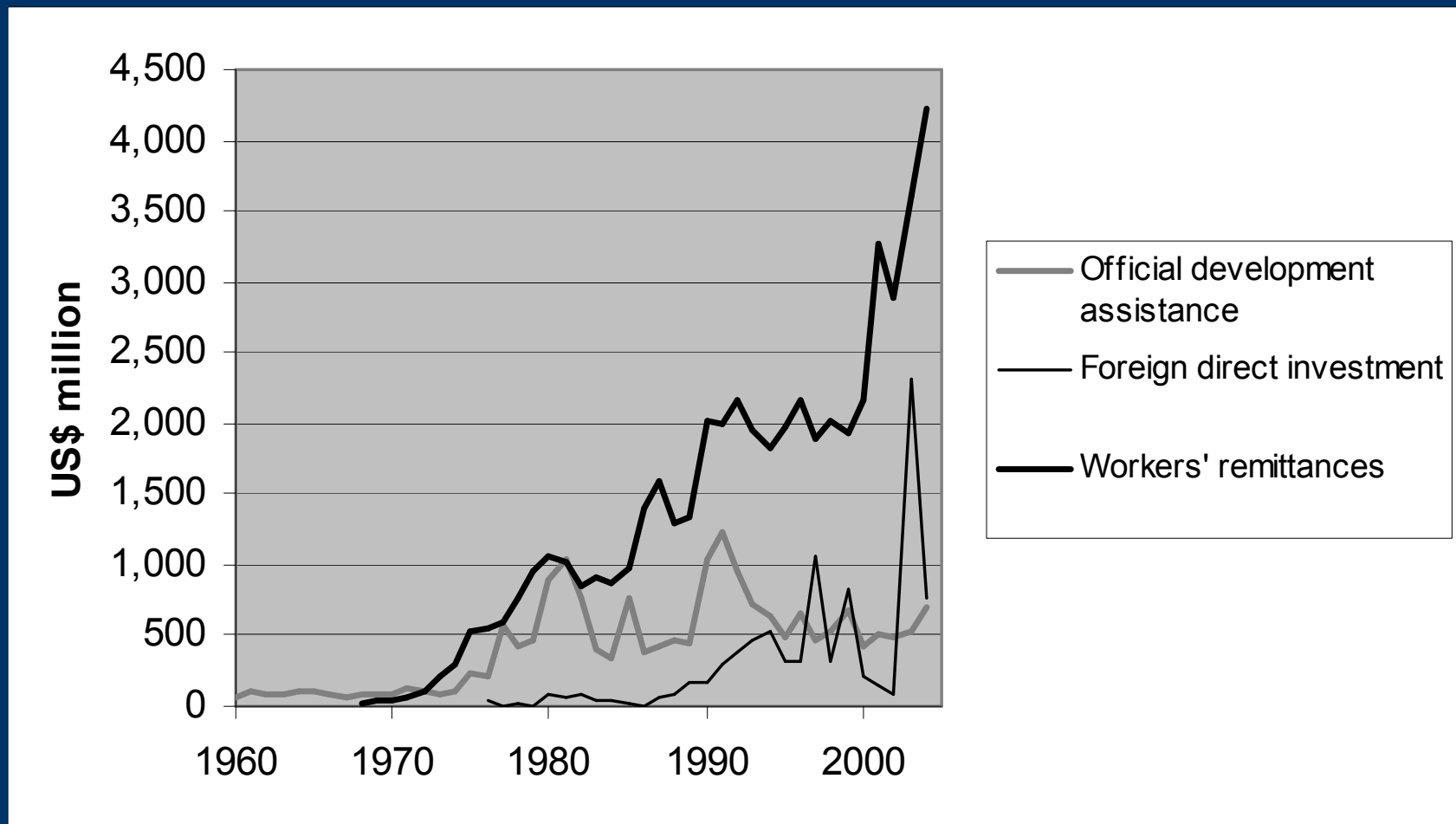


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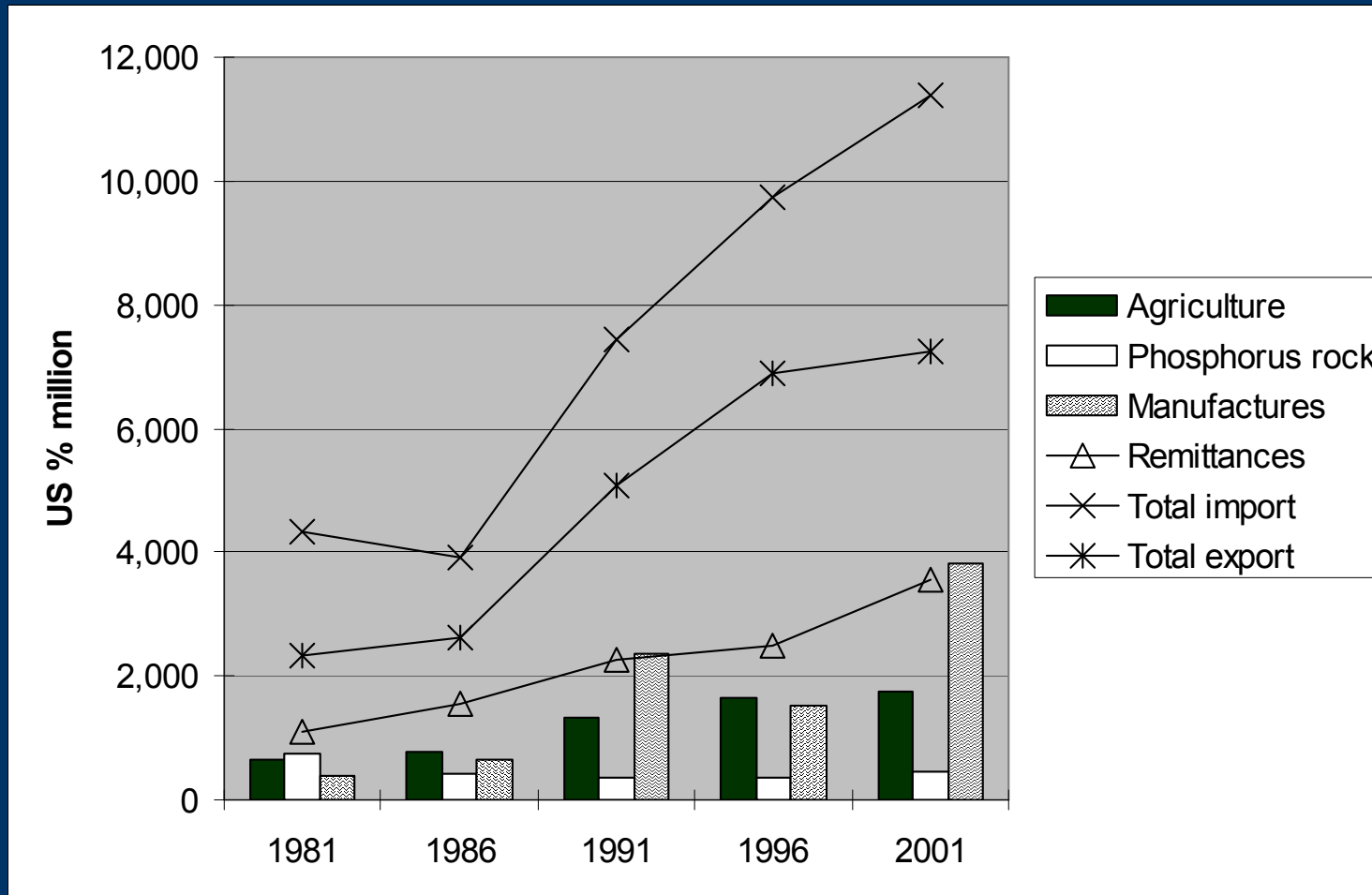
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Morocco's remittance boom



Macro-economic significance of remittances



Development impacts of Moroccan migration: a review

- Direct positive effects of migration and remittances on living standards; Limited direct effects on poverty reduction because of selectivity of migration.
- Significant investment in the long run. Rethinking of the “stone-age mentality” dogma: investment in education and construction of houses as highly rational investment strategies in an insecure investment environment.
- In the longer term, also migration-driven consumption, construction and investments have had positive impacts on local and regional economies and raise wages and employment for nonmigrants.
- No de-population! Migration-triggered development in sending regions even caused internal ‘reverse migration’ to these regions.



Development impacts of Moroccan migration: a review

- Ambiguous effects on inequality:
 - traditional forms of ‘hereditary’ (complexion, ethnicity, land ownership) inequality have been replaced by new forms of intra-community inequality based on access to international remittances.
 - Areas of origin of international migrants are generally not the very poorest.
- Increasing selectivity of migration due to restrictive immigration policies rather than a decrease in migration as such: increasing costs and risks; ‘downside of social capital’.



Development impacts of Moroccan migration: a review

- Unexploited potentials: Migration, remittances and symbolic state policies alone cannot solve more general development constraints and an unfavorable investment climate
 - Corruption and bureaucracy
 - Failing credit and insurance markets
 - Inefficient and corrupt judiciary, lack of legal security
 - Inadequate infrastructure
 - Restrictive immigration policies which prevent circulation
 - General lack of trust in government institutions



Development impacts of Moroccan migration: a review

- Policies specifically targeted at migrants are unlikely to succeed if they are not accompanied by or part of a more *general* change.
- *Morocco's remittance policies* could never have been such a success without a stable macro-economic environment and a well developed bank system.
- *Transit operation.* Over 2.2 million migrants crossed the Strait of Gibraltar in the summer of 2003 (against 848,000 in 1993). The easing of customs procedures and decreasing harassment of migrants-on-holiday was only possible because of *general* political change in Morocco.

Development impacts of Moroccan migration: a review

- Only if general investment conditions improve and trust in the state is restored, is it likely migrants will massively invest in and return to Morocco.
- Major *general* political socio-economic improvements have been made since the 1990s, but need to be sustained in order to restore trust of migrants in the Morocco and the Moroccan state.

Some dilemmas and potential policy conflicts at the international level

- Development in origin countries is a prerequisite for investment and return by migrants rather than a consequence of migration → so migration cannot ‘solve’ structural development issues.
- EU countries tend to see ‘development’ (through aid, trade or migration) as an instrument to curb migration, whereas empirical evidence shows that ‘development’ initially leads to more migration.
- The main instrument for securing remittances has been securing continued migration → Morocco vested interest in continuing migration clashes with the (official!) EU policies.



Some dilemmas and potential policy conflicts at the international level

- Morocco complains that EU countries primarily approach migration as a security problem and fail to understand its vital importance as a development resource for Morocco.
- The contested relationship between transnational engagement and integration:
 - Is migrants' commitment towards their countries of origin as a manifestation of their inability or unwillingness to integrate? → No



Some dilemmas and potential policy conflicts at the international level

- Moroccan citizenship is constitutionally inalienable. This policy is contested by some receiving countries, who see it as running counter their integration policies.

Areas where progress can be made at the international level

- Going beyond targeted policies, which have limited effect if structural development obstacles are not addressed.
- Improving *genuine* coherence between migration and development policies: curiously, the renewed call for circular migration goes along with restrictive migration policies that impede this very circularity.
- Point of departure: optimising freedom of migrants to either settle, return or circulate.

Areas where progress can be made at the international level

- Lessons for sending countries: creating attractive environments to return to and invest in instead of uselessly preventing brain drain.
- Lessons for receiving countries: recognising the need for immigrant labour instead of combating inevitable immigration, which
 - creates illegality but also cheap labour, serving the interests of certain employers
 - increases suffering of migrants and undermines social cohesion
 - paradoxically prevents return and impedes circular movement



Areas where progress can be made at the international level

- Recognise the need for lower and higher skilled migrant labour without creating naïve hopes expectations that, this time, migration will be temporary.
- Reconceptualising the relationship between transnational engagement and integration: Loyalty to sending countries is not necessarily in conflict with good citizenship in receiving countries.
- Learn to see transnational orientations as an asset, not only a threat, for both sending and receiving countries.



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