

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION PAPERS

78E

Summary report on migration and development in Central Maghreb

Mohamed Saïb Musette

With the collaboration of

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INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION PROGRAMME

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Foreword

This report comprises part of the ILO working paper series *International Migration Papers* that disseminates current research findings on global migration trends and seeks to stimulate dialogue and policy development on issues of regulating labour migration.

The importance and immediacy of better regulating labour migration in Africa motivated the ILO to establish a programmatic *Africa Labour Migration Initiative* in 2002. The evident starting point for this initiative was to expand the knowledge base as a proper foundation for effective technical cooperation and practical activity. As a result, this report comprises one of a special series of 31 regional and national studies from East, West and Maghreb Africa being published in 2006, starting with IMP number 76, as *International Migration Papers*, starting with IMP number 76, or posted on the Project website¹.

Migration has come to the top of the political and social agenda across all of Africa. In recent years, regional integration initiatives have made considerable progress in development of frameworks, legislation, and mechanisms for increased economic and social integration among concerned states. At the continental level, the African Union and the Economic Commission for Africa have both taken up the challenges of exploring greater labour mobility across the region.

Earlier ILO research demonstrated that the Maghreb region has been characterised for many years by strong migratory pressure due to prevailing demographic, labour market and political conditions. In recent years, the Maghreb region has increasingly become a transit zone for migrants from sub-Saharan Africa seeking access to and employment in Europe. A growing number of migrants remain for extended periods of time in Maghreb countries, often finding precarious employment in informal situations. The countries of the region thus face combined challenges of protecting migrants in their territories and addressing the labour market participation of migrant workers who may stay for varying periods, whether authorized or not.

In this context, international cooperation on migration has become ever more important for Maghreb countries. As a consequence, mechanisms for inter-State dialogue on migration matters have emerged, exemplified by the 5+5 Euro-Mediterranean Process and its accompanying Ministerial Conferences on Migration. However, until recently, some of the stakeholders most concerned by labour migration, namely employers, trade unions and some relevant departments of government, were not incorporated in the expanding international dialogue and cooperation on migration.

This report is the product of a process initiated by the ILO and supported by the European Commission on the basis of constituent recommendations and requests for engagement. An ILO project “Managing Labour Migration for Integration and Development in the Euromed Region, East Africa and West Africa” was established in 2004, supported by the EC budget line for cooperation with third countries administered by DG Justice, Freedom and Security. Following consultations with ILO constituent governments and social partners in the

¹ ILO-EU Project “Managing labour migration for integration and development in Africa” Website:
<http://migration-africa.itcilo.org>

Maghreb countries, project activity has been ongoing over the last 18 months. Central aims of this project are to:

- enhance capacities of ILO tri-partite constituents for managing labour migration as an instrument for development
- promote social dialogue and raise awareness among stakeholders regarding regional labour migration issues
- obtain knowledge and data essential for governments and social partners to effectively set policy and regulate labour migration
- facilitate cooperation between East Africa, West Africa, North Africa and Europe on labour migration.

This report is one of a complementary series of three research studies intended to assist governments and social partners with fundamental building blocks of effective policy and practice. Understanding that good policy depends on good data, the first study assesses the current state of data collection and suggests specific measures to improve and harmonize collection and analysis of statistical data on labour migration and to more effectively use it in policy and administration. A second paper analyses existing national legislation on labour migration –the legal foundation for State action on migration-- and in particular notes the extent of incorporation of relevant international normative standards and potential harmonization with neighbouring countries. This third report synthesises the findings on existing development-migration linkages from three specific national studies conducted under auspices of the project in Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia, respectively executed by Hocine Labdelaoui, Mohamed Khachani, Youssef Alouane.

The present study opens with a review of structural characteristics, skill profiles and sectoral distribution of migration flows to and from the Maghreb. Based on this assessment, it analyses the volume, patterns, and use of remittances towards assessing their contribution to national economies and development. The report then examines experiences with skilled migration and notes the challenges associated with irregular migration in the region. The report concludes with a number of recommendations aimed at increasing productive investments from migrant Diasporas and improving the transfer of remittances, as well as on exploring new schemes for circular migration and co-development.

As the body of research emanating from the project shows, numerous obstacles remain to the effective management of labour migration from, through and into the Maghreb region. Key challenges concern the availability of accurate data necessary to make informed policy decisions, the need to fully incorporate relevant provisions of international standards in national law, and the establishment or improvement of institutional structures and mechanisms with specific competence and capacity to regulate labour migration. The suggested lines of response presume common interest in optimizing potential development benefits for both countries of origin and destination to be derived from effective administration of labour migration.

We sincerely hope that this report will serve as a building block for our member governments and social partner constituents to address the migration challenges before them. We also hope that dissemination of these research findings will enhance regional policy dialogue and cooperation on labour migration.

We wish to acknowledge the diligent and arduous work of the researchers who prepared the respective national studies as well as the effective efforts of Prof. Youssef Alouane to synthesize the three national studies into this Maghreb regional overview. Appreciation is noted for the cooperation received from the various governmental offices in Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia that shared perspective, concerns and data essential to this effort.

Thanks are also due to the ILO Maghreb project team based in Algiers, Prof. Saib Musette, Mohammed Bouchakour, Selma Hellal and Nadjet Ezzeroug Ezraïmi for their support, editing and coordination efforts, and to the Director of the ILO Area Office in Algiers, Sadok Bel Hadj Hassine, and to Samia Kazi Aoul for their editorial review and liaison work with governments and social partners.

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Geneva, June 2006.

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The author of this summary text, Professor Youssef Alouane, together with Professors Khachani and Labdelaloui, consultants for Morocco and Algeria respectively, would like to thank all those on the ILO Maghreb Migration Project team for their kind assistance in producing this report.

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Furthermore, they would like to highlight the support and backing received from all tripartite members (governments, employers' organisations and trade unions), which was used directly or indirectly to validate the three national studies.

This study brings together three reports compiled on Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia as part of the project entitled "Labour Migration for Integration and Development in the Euromed, West Africa and East Africa".

It seeks to:

- look at the scale of migration and migrant profiles;
- examine the level of remittances and how they foster development;
- review national experience in managing skilled migration;
- draw conclusions and put forward recommendations.

Professor Youssef Alouane

Abbreviations

General

CIME	Club des Investisseurs Marocains de l'Etranger (Club of Moroccan Investors Abroad)
CNRS	Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (National Centre of Scientific Research)
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
NICT	New Information and Communication Technologies
WHO	World Health Organization
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development

Morocco

APREM	Assainissement et Préservation de la Ressource en Eau Marocaine (Treatment and conservation of Moroccan water resources)
INSEA	Institut National de la Statistique et d'Economie Appliquée (Moroccan National Institute of Statistics and Applied Economics)
INPT	Institut National des Postes et Télécommunications (National Postal and Telecommunications Institute)
ENSIAS	Ecole Nationale Supérieure d'Informatique et d'Analyse de Système (National Higher School of Information Technology and System Analysis)
EMI	Ecole Mohammedia des Ingénieurs (Mohammedia School of Engineering)
FINCOM	Forum International des Compétences Marocaines à l'Etranger (The International Forum of Moroccan Skills Abroad)
LIACM	Laboratoire International Associé en Chimie Moléculaire (International Associate Laboratory on Molecular Chemistry)
OCIEM	Observatoire de la Compétitivité Internationale de l'Economie marocaine (Centre for Monitoring the International Competitiveness of the Moroccan Economy)
CIME	Club of Moroccan Investors Abroad

Tunisia

ATCT Technical	Agence Tunisienne de Coopération Technique (Tunisian Agency for Technical Cooperation)
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Migration and Development in Maghreb Countries

*“If wealth does not come to men,
Men go to wealth”.*

Alfred Sauvy’s comment on the movements of people has not stood the test of time, but it does go some way towards explaining the complex picture of migration. Migrants include those wishing to join their families, those looking for work, those fleeing poverty or persecution, those striving to make more of themselves or seeking self-fulfilment and those hoping for a certain sense of wellbeing. The term even covers those who have never actually migrated themselves, but are seen as migrants because their ancestors were. As such, migration is hard to analyse. It is multi-faceted, bringing together rational and irrational elements, choice and duress, the individual and society as a whole. People no longer migrate for economic reasons only. Increasingly, it is a conscious decision, reflecting a random and personal understanding of the social dynamics at play, one which is shaped by hopes, fears and, at times, individual and collective misconceptions. As a result, it is difficult to categorise exhaustively all migrants and forms of migration. Diversification of migrant profiles raises questions about how valid the concepts of migrant and migration as used to date by researchers and experts really are.

Similarly, can we continue to refer to a single migrant Maghreb community when it comprises those who:

- migrated during France’s 30-year post-war economic boom in response to urgent calls for workers and official dispatches of labour, as well as those who subsequently decided to emigrate of their own accord and who settled in their host countries without applying for nationality;
- have adopted the nationality of the country in which they live;
- are second- or third-generation immigrants?

These different groups do not share the same goals, nor do they have the same view of their home countries or, in the case of the first two categories, of their host countries. Each group has different cultural references and identities despite the fact that they often live in the same districts and move in the same employment circles.

On a different tack, what do concepts such as skills, elite and brains mean? Should “brains” be used to describe only those people with outstanding scientific potential and innovativeness? Does the notion of “elite” include all those with a very good, but unexceptional level of qualifications? Does a talent for sports, art, crafts and countless other fields count as skills? Something approaching consensus emerges from material on the subject, an agreement to expand the notion of skills to take in all qualified and highly qualified human resources. That consensus has led to a semantic shift from the sensitive issue of “brain drain” to “skilled migration”. This, in turn, has brought into sharper focus the scale of the increasing imbalance in favour of northern hemisphere countries. What remains to be established is how the migration of skills affects development in the countries of origin. Under certain circumstances, the departure of one of only a few scientists can do more damage than the loss of a sportsman.

The reason we are raising these questions - and there are many more – is that we believe that agreement is needed on such key concepts before a coordinated approach to migration is possible. If the significance of these terms is not clear, it is difficult to agree on the policies best suited to implementing successfully co-development projects.

Aside from these questions, the analyses put forward for the three Maghreb countries are skewed in two respects. Firstly, some data was unavailable, for example, statistics on:

- the origin of migrants (with the exception of Morocco);
- the use of remittances (in the case of Algeria);
- how remittances and projects started by migrants help mitigate poverty (with the exception of Morocco) and how they affect spending on healthcare or education or indeed development in general;
- foreign workers in Maghreb countries.

Secondly, the reference periods for the data used very often varies, hampering any attempt to make a comparative analyses. However, the figures set out in the three reports do illustrate a number of observations which will be used draw some comparisons and conclusions.

1.- Preliminary observations:

- An analysis of experience with migration in all three countries shows that it has gradually become structural. The decision on the part of the main European countries to stop labour immigration has not significantly slowed down migrant flows from the Maghreb region. People have continued to arrive via other legal and illegal routes. The presence of a large Maghreb community in the host countries has most likely done much to sustain these flows. Two other parallel phenomena help explain the structural nature of this migration:
- the factors that draw fresh migrants persist or are renewed in countries on the northern shores of the Mediterranean, the chief destination for migrants from the Maghreb;
- migration has spread across concentric circles and changed in substance. It now attracts a range of people from sundry regions, hailing from diverse social backgrounds, including the unemployed and those working in various sectors of the labour market and with varying levels of education.

2.- The main destination for citizens from all three countries is France. Almost 85% of Maghreb immigrants to Europe live in France, largely on account of its close ties with the countries in question. The advent of qualified and highly qualified migrants is, however, gradually altering that trend. As a result, destinations are becoming increasingly diverse.

3.- Emigration policy in all three countries is gradually being refocused on two key priorities. The first is to protect their citizens living abroad. Agreements have been concluded with the main countries they reside in to afford them social security cover and shield them against racism and xenophobia. The second priority is to galvanise the diaspora to participate actively in the development drive by sending funds and transferring skills and technology.

4.- All three countries are very keen to manage migration by liaising with the main host countries chosen by their nationals. The growing interest in cooperation can be seen in the fact that those in charge of managing migration are attending expert gatherings, technical workshops and academic seminars and that more initiatives and action are being taken by regional and international bodies and associations. For the past few years, the Maghreb

countries have sought to take migration beyond the issue of security and make it a cornerstone for cooperation.

In light of these observations, we can conclude that migratory flows are changing in nature. They also point to continuity as well as a break with the traditional perception of migration. It is now viewed as a means of fostering development, which offers a more positive slant on the matter.

The comparisons drawn below will provide an insight into how migration affects development in all three Maghreb countries². They will be addressed in the first two sections. The report will then examine the management of worker mobility, focusing specifically on qualified and highly qualified human resource.

¹ See studies (or reports) for each country.

1. Labour market, migration and development

1.1. Migrants: more professionals and entrepreneurs

According to the United Nations, some 175 million people, i.e. 3% of the world population, live outside their country of birth. Europe is part of this trend, with 2,096,600 immigrants from Maghreb in 2000, over half of which (55%) came from Morocco, just under a third (30%) from Algeria and 14% from Tunisia³. Most of these migrants have settled in France, with numbers varying according to country of origin. An overwhelming majority of Algerian migrants live in France (95%), as do over two thirds (70%) of Tunisian migrants. Choice of destination is more varied amongst Moroccans, with just under half (49%) living in France. The regional concentration of immigrants from Maghreb seems to be a stable feature of migration.

Since France plays host to a sizeable proportion of Maghreb migrants, the three studies focused on business sectors and employment profiles for these migrants in France.

Men were the first to emigrate, gradually followed by families, who settled in host countries on a more permanent basis. Family reunification and people marrying and giving birth abroad redefined the demographic structure. Workforces grew, chiefly due to young people and women joining the labour market in their countries of residence at a time when these countries were facing higher unemployment. According a French population census⁴, 41% of female immigrants were registered on the labour market in 1982, compared with 57.1% in 1999.

Migrants are also harder hit by joblessness. In 1999, migrants accounted for 15% of all unemployed, but only 8.6% of the workforce. Moreover, education and degrees afford migrants little protection, with unemployment of 16% amongst those with higher level qualifications. This general trend also affects Tunisians, whose jobless rates more than to just under 19% of the labour force in 2004. According to the 1999 census, at least two thirds of economically active Maghreb migrants living in France are blue and white-collar workers⁵.

The socio-professional breakdown of Tunisian immigrants in France is very similar to that of European Union nationals. 11% of male Tunisians work in management or top intellectual professions, a figure which is on a par with that for male immigrant Europeans in France, below that for non-Maghreb African men (12%) and higher than that for Moroccan (8%) and Algerian (7%) men. At 8%, Tunisian women are actually ranked above their EU counterparts in this category (7%) and do better than Algerian and Moroccan women (5%).

³OECD statistics taken from "Maghreb: transfert des migrants", Musette Mohamed Saïb, 5+5 Expert Group Meeting, Algiers, June 2005, p 8.

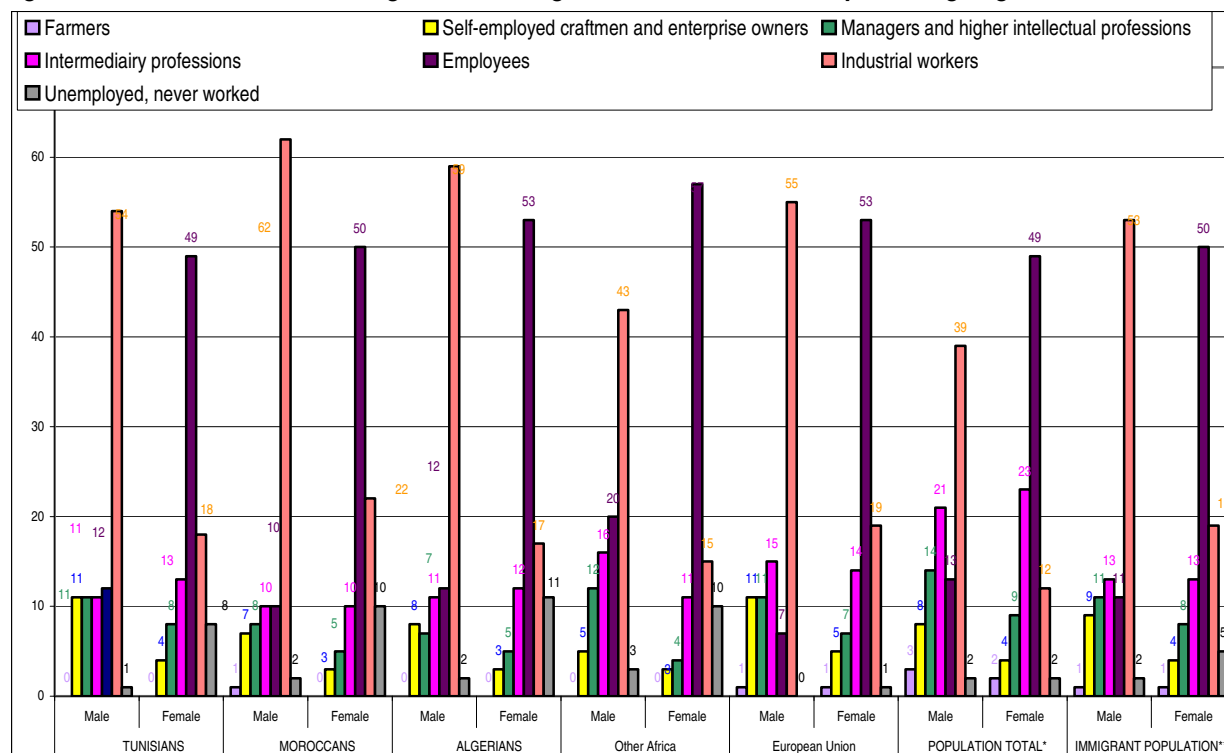
⁴1999 Population Census, "De plus en plus de femmes immigrées sur le marché du travail", INSEE No 791, July 2001

⁵ According to the census, 54% of Tunisian men in France are blue-collar workers and 12% are white-collar employees. The figures for Tunisian women are 18% and 49% respectively. Most men work in construction and most women in personal services. A slightly higher percentage of Algerian men are employed as manual labour (59%), with the white-collar percentage similar to that recorded for Tunisian men. Corresponding statistics for Algerian women are just over half employed in a white-collar capacity (53%) and 17% as blue-collar workers. Two thirds (62%) of Moroccan men are labourers and 10% white-collar employees. 50% of Moroccan women are white-collar employees and 22% blue-collar workers.

When it comes to the intermediate professions, statistics are similar for all three Maghreb countries (11% for Tunisians and Algerians, 10% for Moroccans), albeit significantly lagging behind those for Europeans and other Africans.

Tunisians and Europeans rank high in the category of “craftsmen, shopkeepers and business owners” (11%), well above the French average (8%)⁶. Algerians are within that average and Moroccans slightly below (7%).

Figure 1: Socio-Professional Categories of immigrants in France – 1999 – percentage figures



Source: 1999 population census, “De plus en plus de femmes immigrées sur le marché du travail” INSEE première, No 791, July 2001

Hence, Tunisian immigrants not only study longer than most other migrants, as borne out by the fact that they rank higher than Algerians and Moroccans in the category of “managers and top intellectual professions”, but, more importantly, they also tend to be entrepreneurs and set up their own businesses. A small part of this trend is down to rising unemployment, which has prompted many Maghreb migrants to switch to liberal professions, usually setting up small businesses in commerce or crafts.

In line with trends in France, the Moroccan study flags a substantial increase in the number of migrants classified as self-employed or businessmen in Italy. Non-EU nationals own 156,000 businesses in total and North Africans 37,100, in three sectors: farming, manufacturing and services. A breakdown of this figure shows the significance of services, which accounts for 83.4% of businesses set up by Moroccans, compared with a mere 14.1% in manufacturing and 0.4% in farming. Most of the businesses are small ventures. The breakdown also highlights the fact that most self-employed Moroccans living in Italy run shops (78.3%). The

⁶ Algerians 8%, Moroccans 7%, Africans 5%

corresponding figures are lower for North Africans on average (55.9%), with even smaller percentages for non-EU nationals (38.4%) and foreigners in general (36.2%). Moroccan entrepreneurs have gained a considerable foothold in manufacturing, with over 3,000 companies, accounting for almost a third of all North African migrant businesses (Tunisians: 3,236, Algerians: 288 and Libyans: 764).

Data available for other host countries substantiates this growth in entrepreneurship amongst immigrants.

In Belgium, Moroccan immigrants, especially second-generation immigrants, have moved into new economic arenas, heading up import-export companies, managing SMEs and SMIs (business services, wholesale and manufacturing) and even working as CEOs at major companies such as the Brussels water supply company, Société de Distribution des Eaux.

In the Netherlands, the more established immigrants are most likely to strike out on their own. In 1990, 10% of the Dutch workforce as a whole ran their own business, compared with a mere 3% of Turks and 2% of Moroccans.

A similar trend towards Moroccan entrepreneurship can be seen in Canada and the United States, although reliable data on such businesses is not yet available.

In this way, the myth of immigrants “taking our jobs” has been turned on its head, with immigrants actually generating employment. Unfortunately, we do not have statistics on the scale of jobs created. However, it is clear that the numbers are quite high and set to increase.

The assumption that Moroccans are always employees or shopkeepers no longer holds. Ethnic background no longer predetermines job profiles, at least not in the case of the vast majority of new businessmen from immigrant communities. These entrepreneurs have refused to repeat the social models adopted by their parents and have no qualms about venturing into uncharted territory. Bolstered by an education that may go beyond secondary school, new generations of immigrants are more driven and more willing to gamble on an investment or go for jobs commensurate with their qualifications. Adopting the nationality of their host countries has been crucial in opening up the different economic sectors, providing access to almost all areas of investment.

Women have played a key part in this process. Moroccan female immigrants are gaining an increasing foothold in their host country economies either in a self-employed capacity or as entrepreneurs⁷. However, according to an FAS study, these women are seeking to attain “a secure social status rather than a purely economic one”⁸.

The presence of a large (legal and illegal) immigrant community has become a central plank in the relationship between the Maghreb and the European Union. The diaspora forge a network of very robust human, economic and cultural ties with their country of origin.

⁷ Khachani Mohamed, 2001: “La femme maghrébine immigrée dans l’espace économique des pays d’accueil”, paper given at the 24th Congress of the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, Salvador, Brazil, 18-24 August 2001.

⁸ ADRI: “Les femmes migrantes et la création d’entreprise, un apport à l’économie française” Migration Etude, January 2002.

In light of its impact on development, the economic strand of these ties is particularly interesting.

Mohamed Khachani⁹ argues that the stereotypical perception of immigrants as “employees” has been overturned. As we stated above, immigrants now create jobs by refusing to accept the social moulds imposed on their parents. In addition to local businesses (restaurants, bakeries, butchers, grocers and other businesses), Maghreb immigrants are also moving into the liberal professions (consultants, architects, lawyers, doctors, accountants, etc.) and heading up SMEs (business services, wholesale or manufacturing). Some are even in charge of large companies or start-ups. Finally, there are an (admittedly unquantifiable) number of Maghreb entrepreneurs managing companies in two or more countries, with a presence either side of the Mediterranean.

Two trends now characterise business creation by Maghreb immigrants: significant rise in the number of entrepreneurs and radical shift in the nature of the companies set up.

There are myriad reasons for this growing enthusiasm to be self-employed or start a business:

- young people account for a larger share of the immigrants community;
- demand is high in sectors such as construction and public works, with the spread of “multilayered” outsourcing and more work for craftsmen;
- “cultural” factors which explain the fact that migrants from Maghreb regions such as Djerba in Tunisia, Kabylie in Algeria and Sous in Morocco “specialise” in shopkeeping;
- discrimination of migrants applying for salaried positions. The jobless rates for Maghreb immigrants are very high, well above national averages. According to INSEE statistics for France in 2000, 9.2% of people born in France were unemployed and 14% of those who adopted French nationality, whereas the rates for people of Maghreb origin are generally well over 30% (19% of Tunisians in 2004. See p 5 above).

For many Maghreb immigrants, becoming self-employed is the only way to break the cycle of unemployment and precarious work.

The changes noted are not limited to the Maghreb immigrant community alone. Today, immigrants around the world are ¹⁰ “...more likely to be female, face increasing social exclusion and are highly qualified”¹¹. These characteristics are often contradictory and reflect diverse and unprecedented situations.

1.2. Maghreb migrants and immigrants to the Maghreb

Morocco was a country of immigration until it gained independence¹². The 1960s marked a turning point in the country’s migration history.

⁸ Dialogue sur la coopération migratoire en méditerranée occidentale, Mohamed KHACHANI, Rabat, 2002, p4-5

Migration Project – Maghreb – ILO Office in Algiers - 2005

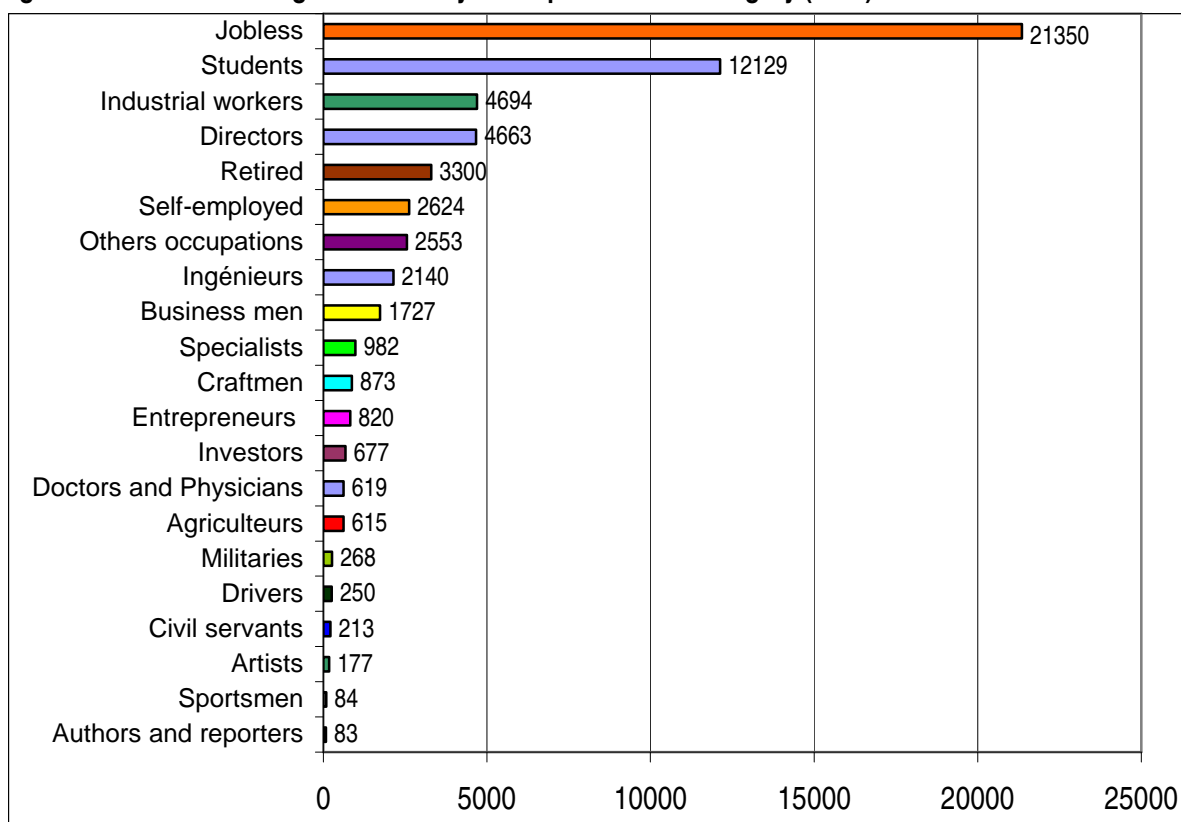
¹⁰ Les migrations et la mondialisation, in Migration et avenir, Vol 14, No 79, January-February 2002 pp 163-166

¹¹ Les migrations et la mondialisation, in Migration et avenir, Vol 14, No 79, January-February 2002 pp 163-166

¹² Projet Migrant-maghreb, étude régionale migration-développement : le cas du Maroc, Mohamed Khachani, September 2005 p 153-155

2003 statistics show that 60,841 foreigners were living in Morocco and provide an insight into their socio-professional profiles.

Figure 2: Morocco's Foreign residents by socio-professional category (2003)



Source: Department of National Security, Mohamed KHACHANI (2005)

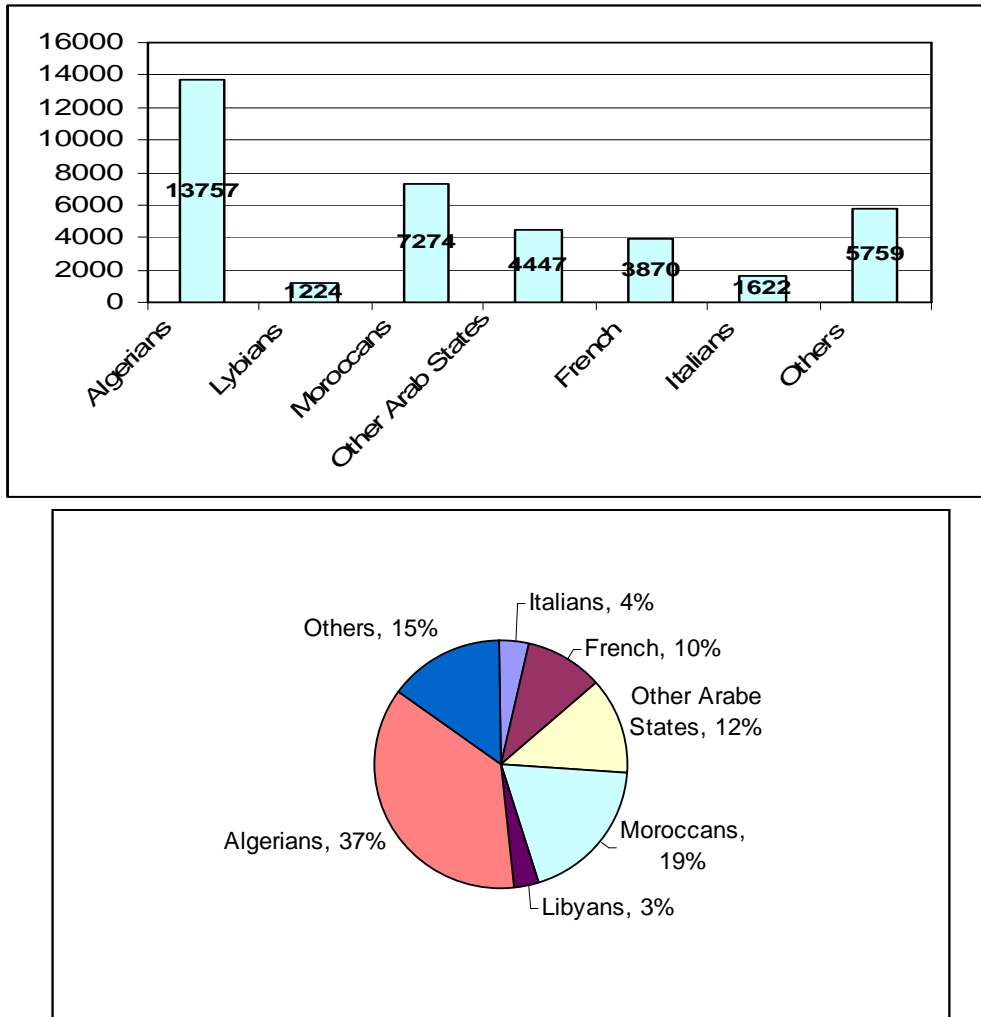
By far the largest group is the jobless, followed by students. In other words, over half of all foreigners living in Morocco are not employed.

Furthermore, Morocco is increasingly being used as a country of transit by thousands of sub-Saharan migrants, who view the country as a stopover on their long journey to a European Eldorado¹³.

Tunisia too is becoming a way station for illegal immigrants. However, it is also a country of immigration proper. The only statistics we have are taken from the 1994 general population and housing census. They show that 37,953 foreigners were living in Tunisia at the time, and numbers appear to be rising, with people coming from a wider range of countries, although nationals from other Maghreb states still form the vast majority. A breakdown by nationality is given below:

¹³ Cf. Mohamed Khachani: La emigracion subsahariana : el Maghreb como pais de transitio Med. 2003. Anuario del Mediterraneo. IEMED. CIDOB. 2003.

Figure 3: Breakdown of foreign residents in tunisia



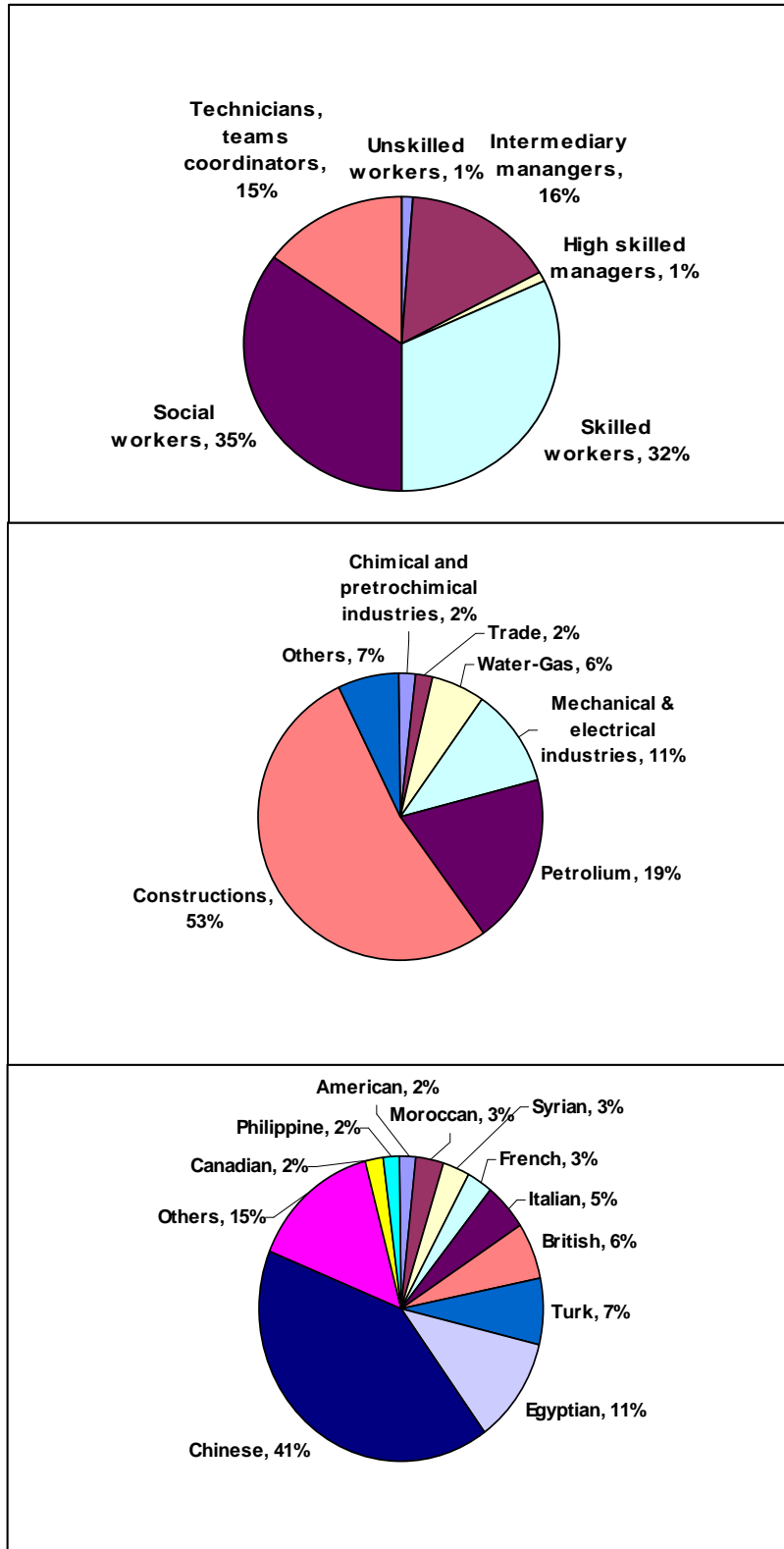
Source: Interior Ministry statistics, Hassen BOUBAKRI (2004)

More detailed information was available for foreign labour in Algeria¹⁴. 1998 census figures put the number of foreigners living in Algeria at 75,398, rising to 80,138 in 2002 according to the Department of National Security. 6,963 work primarily in construction and the oil industry. In both sectors, the recruitment of foreign workers is a condition of agreements signed between the Algerian state and foreign companies¹⁵.

¹⁴ Much of this section has been taken from the Algerian study. Hocine Labdellaoui, September 2005

¹⁵ The National Employment Agency (ANEM) deals with the administrative side of things when foreign workers are brought in under such agreements or recruited directly by national or foreign employers. Pursuant to Circular No 06 dated 5/2/ 2004 enforcing provisions of Presidential Decree No 03 - 25 of 19/7/2003, ANEM issues work permits under two schemes: standard work permit scheme and extraordinary derogations granted to foreign workers with qualifications below that of technician and supervisor.

Figure 4: Foreign Workers in Algeria by qualifications sector and nationality,



Source : ANEM (2005)

Under half of all foreigners living in Algeria are Chinese (40.6%)¹⁶, followed by a far smaller population of Egyptians. The breakdown by qualifications shows that foreign workers are highly qualified, bringing technical skills to the Algerian economy, particularly in the public buildings and works, oil and mechanical and electrical sectors. This points to shortfalls in the Algerian economy in sectors which require high and mid-level technical qualifications.

1.3. Migrants: a way of adjusting the labour market

Unemployment is virtually structural in all three Maghreb countries. In the 1990s, jobless figures peaked despite solid growth and a raft of national measures to curb unemployment: incentives to set up small companies, initiatives to promote export businesses, job-support schemes, etc. None of this was sufficient. In Algeria, unemployment surged before settling at 17%, while the rate in Tunisia is 15.5%. In Morocco, the size of the workforce is such that the local labour market cannot absorb the current huge oversupply. Unemployment affects countless people. On the back of structural adjustment policies and State rollback¹⁷, joblessness has reached alarming proportions, exacerbating inequalities and plunging huge swathes of the population into poverty. It rose from 12.1% in 1990 to 16% in 1995 and 19% in 1998, before shrinking to 12.8% in 2001 and 11.9% in 2003. It was estimated to be 10.6% in 2005.

All three countries have a young workforce, with the youth worst hit by unemployment. In Morocco, for example, less than 11% of the total population is out of work, but the figure rises to 15.6% amongst 15-24 year-olds and 16.4% amongst 25-34 year-olds. Similarly, unemployment is higher amongst graduates. In Morocco, 22.6% of university graduates are out of work and 44% of those who complete secondary school. The jobless rate amongst university graduates in Tunisia is 14%.

Unemployment in Morocco is characterised as follows:

- It is concentrated in urban zones, with town-dwellers accounting for 86.6% of those out of work. Joblessness is 18.4% in cities, compared with 3.2% in rural zones, albeit with considerable hidden unemployment.¹⁸. Consequently, rural unemployment is exported to towns.
- The bulk of those out of work are young people: over two thirds of the jobless are under 30. These people are also most likely to emigrate.
- Unemployment tends to be long-term, with a national average of 75% out of work for a year or more. In other words, unemployment is structural, which also spurs people on to migrate.

The high level of joblessness amongst graduates (27% according to recent estimates, i.e. one in four of those without work) is proof that the labour market cannot cope with supply.

¹⁶ The large presence of Chinese workers compared with the other 79 nationalities surveyed in 2004 is a result of agreements signed between China and Algeria to implement specific programmes to build housing and manufacture construction materials.

¹⁷ Traditionally, the State created new jobs, but it has sharply reined in its contribution to the labour market. This rollback has curbed public investment and reduced the number of new jobs generated. Between 1979 and 1982, the State created an average of over 40,000 jobs a year, dropping to 10,000-15,000 between 1983 and 1994, an average of 16,854 between 1995 and 2001, with a mere 7000 planned in the 2005 Finance Law.

¹⁸ The low jobless rate in rural areas begs questions. It can be partly explained by the large number of family workers in the Moroccan countryside, who are considered to be actively employed.

In all three countries, unemployment is high and long-term and increasingly affects women and, above all, young people, while a growing number of the jobless are better educated.

All three studies demonstrate that the ensuing pressure on the labour market naturally drives people to emigrate. Two key findings emerged from Moroccan research. Firstly, the tendency to emigrate rises with age, with 15% of those in primary school and 82% of those in secondary school stating that they wish to leave their country. Secondly, the inactive and the unemployed are not the only ones contemplating emigration. Almost 64% of those surveyed in a region in the northwest of Morocco wished to leave in search of better working conditions. The study also shows that less than a third (29%) planned to take the legal route. These statistics demonstrate that how strong the urge to leave is, despite the risks involved and hint at the scale of illegal immigration.

An analysis of the structure of unemployment shows how inadequate economic growth is, both in scale and quality. This undoubtedly has a significant bearing on people's decision to emigrate.

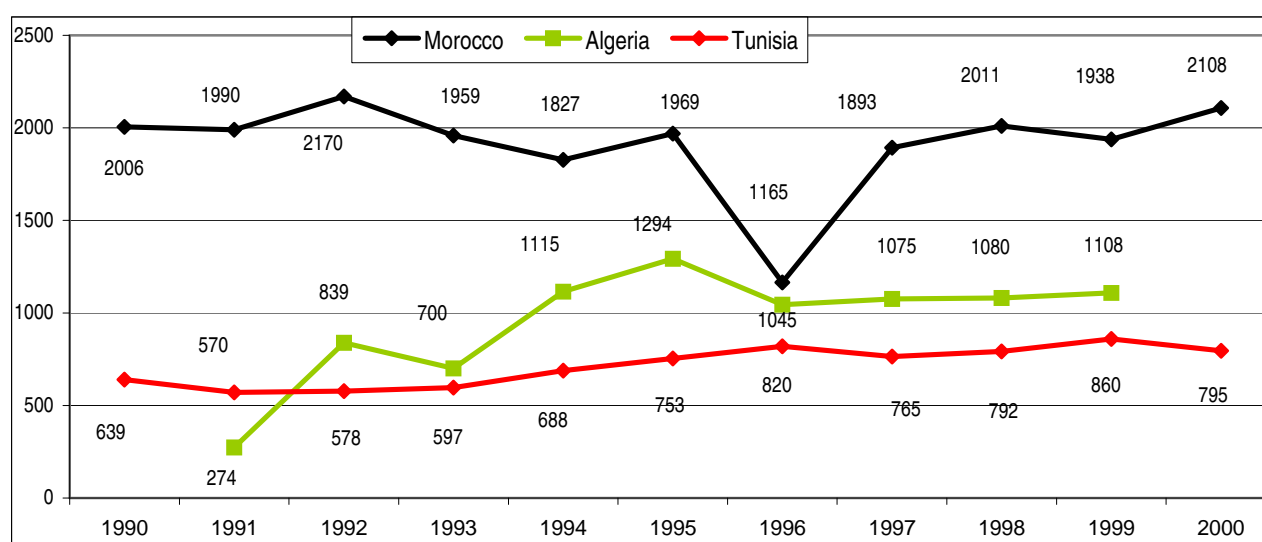
2. Migrants: providing funds through remittances and investment

2.1. Remittances: a contribution towards national economies

Migrants send remittances worth over 37,145 million Moroccan dirham (EUR 3,377 million) and over 1,800 million Tunisian dinar¹⁹, with the amounts steadily rising. Remittances to Morocco more than doubled within a decade and increased seven-fold in Tunisia in the same period. Morocco receives three times more funds than Tunisia.

Over the ten years covered, remittances averaged USD 785 for Tunisia USD 1,066 for Algeria and USD 1,900 for Morocco.

Figure 5: Remittances from Maghreb migrants living abroad (in millions of US \$)



Source: Bank of Algeria, Moroccan Exchange Bureau, Tunisian Central Bank.

¹⁹ Tunisian Central Bank

Morocco is listed fourth²⁰ in the world ranking of countries receiving earnings remittances and second behind Lebanon in terms of per-capita expatriate remittances. This money is crucial for the home economy. In 2003, it was the main source of foreign currency, outstripping tourism (MAD 30,881 billion) whereas it only matched 50% of tourist revenue in 1971. It exceeds foreign private investment and loans combined (MAD 23.9 billion), and is the main source of current income in the balance of payments, offsetting almost 67% of the trade deficit (MAD 52,182 billion).

Remittances bring in the equivalent of over 45% of export revenue, up from a mere 4% in 1970. In 2003, they were worth just under the combined value of the top four export entries²¹ in the balance of trade. Hence, Morocco's main source of wealth stems from the export of its manual and intellectual workforce.

To a lesser extent, remittances to Tunisia are also one of its chief sources of foreign currency and help power the national economy. They rank third behind textiles and tourism²². Expressed in terms of the main economic indicators, remittances represented 4.9% of GDP, over two thirds of debt servicing (64.4%) and 23.8% of national savings²³ in 2003. They often outstrip foreign direct investment (FDI), bringing in the equivalent of 150% thereof in 1996, falling just short of the mark (96%) in 2000, and rising to slightly over (106%) in 2003.

Remittances were Algeria's only source of foreign currency in the 1960s, before the oil and gas industry was nationalised in the 1970s. They continued to rise until 1985 and have plummeted since to a mere 1.3% of GDP.

2.2. Remittances: hard to pin down the facts

Money is remitted via five channels: "banking, non-banking, postal, goods, and informal"²⁴. Formal channels include remittances in kind²⁵ and remittances in cash²⁶, with the latter most prevalent for Tunisia and Morocco²⁷. Albeit tricky to gauge, remittances in kind are much more common in a country like Algeria, where the most widespread mechanism used is still the "suitcase trade". In the early 1990s, Algerian authorities estimated that such trade probably generated an annual sum of over USD 2.5 billion, a sizeable amount in that it represents 15-20% of overall imports (Safir N, 1996). Indeed, informal channels are so widespread in Algeria that there is little point comparing monetary remittances with macro-economic indicators.

²⁰ Behind India (USD 10 billion), Mexico (USD 9.9 billion) and the Philippines (6.4 billion). Morocco is followed by Egypt, Turkey, Lebanon, Bangladesh, Jordan and the Dominican Republic.

²¹ Clothing (MAD 18.55 billion), knitwear (MAD 8.11 billion), electronic parts (MAD 5.70 billion), and phosphoric acid (MAD 5.26 billion).

²² In 1999, tourism generated TND 1,875 billion and textiles TND 3,773.1 billion, as against remittances worth TND 1,014.7 billion, according to the ninth development plan.

²³ Tunisian Central Bank

²⁴ Maghreb: transfert des migrants, Musette Mohamed Saïb, 5+5 Expert Group meeting, Algiers, June 2005, p9

²⁵ Remittances in kind include the value of imported goods (equipment, cars, furniture, etc) when returning on holiday or moving back home, as well as equipment imported duty-free for economic projects in Tunisia.

²⁶ Cash remittances include money sent by Maghreb migrants in the form of bank transfers, postal orders and transfers, foreign currency exchanges at bank counters and wages and social security benefits paid over by foreign employers and social security organisations.

²⁷ An ad hoc survey in two large Moroccan emigration hubs (Nador in the north and Tadla in the centre) put cash remittances at between 30% and 50% of financial transfers (GERA, 1994). Estimates for Tunisia show that cash remittances accounted for 24% of all funds transferred in 2004.

This trend is not limited to Algeria or indeed the Maghreb. It is well established that migrants also make financial transfers via informal channels, be they family networks, friends or business. As a result, they are not subject to checks, and reliable estimates are unavailable.

According to a World Bank report “official statistics reveal that USD 72.3 billion were moved around the globe in 2001, rising to USD 80 billion in 2003”. These figures cover remittances via formal, legal channels. Considerable sums are also being transferred via illegal channels because “many immigrants, particularly illegal immigrants cannot access or do not understand the way financial institutions operate in their host countries or, alternatively, are reluctant to pay what are often exorbitant transfer charges of 13 to 20%, a clear disincentive to using legal channels”. Hence, “we may suppose that the World Bank statistics might be tripled”²⁸.

Mohamed Khachani lists the pros and cons of the various remittance channels²⁹.

Table 1: Pros and Cons of the various Remittance channels

Remittance channel	Pros	Cons
Bank transfers	-Fast and safe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Expensive, as illustrated by the BMCE Bank, <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ 1.5% of the amount transferred, with a minimum charge of MAD 50 ➤ Administrative expenses: MAD 30 ➤ Postal charges: MAD 10.00 ➤ Telex charges: MAD 35.00 ➤ VAT: 7% of the total amount - The recipient needs to have a bank account - Banking network is patchy in rural areas
Postal orders	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Cheap - Straightforward 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - May take a very long time
Remittance firms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Easy - Safe - Very quick - Extensive network 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Very expensive Rates applied vary according to amount and country issuing remittance
Intermediaries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Straightforward - Very cheap - Confidential 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Time required varies - Risk of funds being siphoned off

In light of the advantages and drawbacks set out above, it is very easy to understand why people opt for informal channels, a choice that is in the individual’s economic interests.

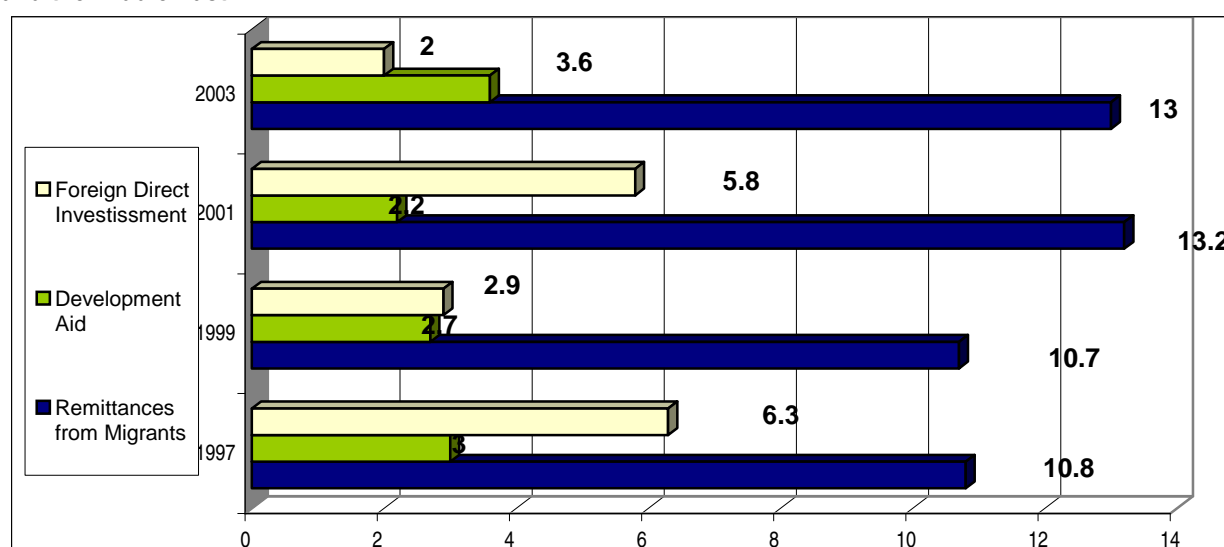
²⁸ Migration and Development : Myths and Fact, the European Policy Centre, 2004, p 2

²⁹ The breakdown for official remittance channels to Morocco is: 62% via bank transfer, 28% in banknotes and 10% using postal giro transfers.

In Tunisia, disadvantaged regions tend to receive less in the way of remittances and better-off regions more. As such, remittances do not correct existing imbalances, but they are often the only source of income for entire families in regions decimated by unemployment and underemployment. Remittances generally fuel everyday consumption, helping countless families meet their daily needs.

Remittances are a measure of the affection in which migrants hold their countries of origin. Researchers at the Moroccan National Institute of Statistics and Applied Economics (INSEA) surveyed 1,239 migrants and found that more than 9 out of 10 (94%) Moroccan migrants had sent money to Morocco during the survey's five year reference period, with almost 60% transferring at least 25% of their annual income³⁰.

Figure 6: Remittances from Migrants, Foreign Direct Investment and Development Aid in North Africa and the Middle East



Source: National studies

For countries in North Africa and the Middle East, remittances from migrants bring in the equivalent of 3-4 times development aid, depending on the year and 2-4 times foreign direct investment.

2.3. Remittances: Most sent from France

A breakdown of remittances by country shows how many migrants live in which host countries. 96.25% of funds remitted to Algeria come from France. In 2004, 90.5% of remittances to Tunisia were sent from Europe, with over 50% coming from France, followed by Germany and Italy. At 91%, Europe is also the main source of remittances to Morocco, although France accounts for slightly less (44.5%), followed by Italy and Spain.

The amount sent varies from one country to the next, largely depending on income, lifestyle, the presence of family members abroad and long-term plans (move back to country of origin or stay in host country). In a departure from previous habits, immigrants now tend to settle permanently in their host country, and it is there that they focus their plans, make their homes

³⁰ INSEA: Les Marocains résidant à l'étranger. Une enquête socio-économique. Imprimerie El Maarif El Jadida. 2000

and build up their savings. The fact is that “the amount of money remitted is higher the more family members remain in the country of origin and lower the more family members live in the host country”³¹.

Extreme caution should be exercised when assessing how long remittances will continue. They may evolve in the same way immigration did. The 1970s saw massive immigration of people with little education and no qualifications. Current restrictions at EU borders officially limit immigration to those with qualifications³². Qualified immigrants generally enjoy better living conditions and “are in a position to spend more and save proportionately less, ... all the more so since they bring their families with them, meaning that any savings that might be remitted are used in the host country”³³. However, although these new immigrants send less in the way of financial remittances, they do offer more intangible benefits. Qualified immigrants, particularly highly qualified scientists are the only people who can provide their home countries with the scientific and technical knowledge they need.

2.4 Unproductive investment

Moroccan migrants overwhelmingly prefer property investments, as borne out by various surveys carried out over the past 35 years or more. Their findings on the matter are clear³⁴.

Statistics compiled by the Club of Moroccan Investors Abroad (CIME) indicate that most companies set up by migrants in their home country tend to be small or micro businesses. This analysis is substantiated by a survey carried out by the Hassan II Foundation. According to the survey findings, 40% of projects launched by Moroccans living abroad are backed by capital of MAD 500,000 or less. A mere 14% manage to raise capital of MAD 5 million.

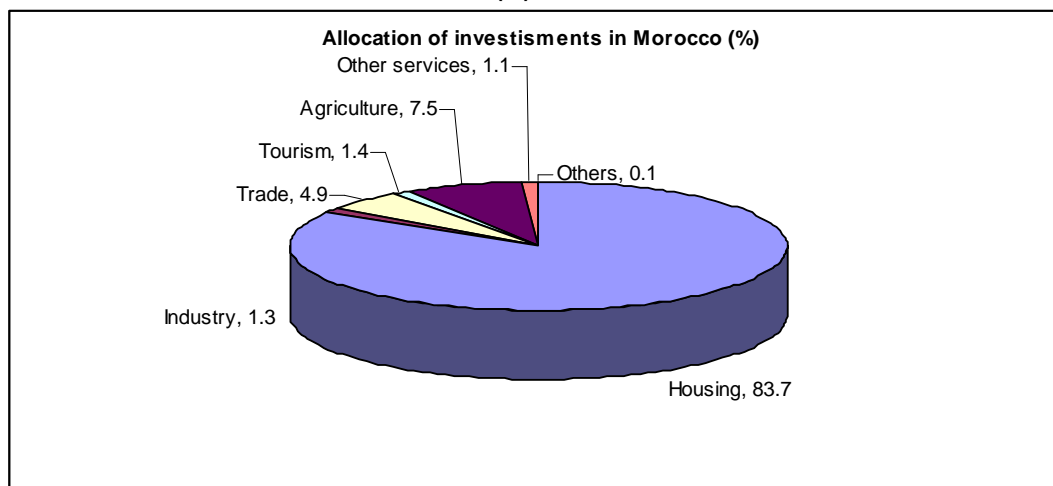
An INSEA poll yielded some interesting data on migrant investment in Morocco. Property was once again the clear winner, accounting for 83% of investments. Manufacturing received a meagre 1.3%, farming 7.5% and services 8.2%.

³¹” Mondialisation et migration qualifiée, Enrico Todisco, in Migration et avenir, Vol 14, No 79, January-February 2002 p 210

³² According to Enrico Todisco, this applies to scientists, researchers, specialists, international experts, international officials, CEOs with multinationals, artists, actors, tourism and sports professionals and specialised workers.

³³ Mondialisation et migration qualifiée, Enrico Todisco, in Migration et avenir, Vol 14, No79, January-February 2002 pp 213-214

³⁴ This type of investment is first and foremost a badge of social success, but also taps into an emotional vein amongst immigrants living far away from their home countries and, as such, is symbolic. Driven by the thought of returning home, migrants build in their countries of origin as a bulwark against life’s uncertainties.

Figure 7: Breakdown of investment in Morocco (%)

Source: INSEA, 2003

The study also asked migrants about their future investment plans: 57% intended to invest in Morocco and 14% in their country of residence. More importantly, a shift was noted in their target sectors. Farming was a nonrunner abroad and the tertiary sector continued to draw ever more migrants. It has become a hot favourite in Morocco, accounting for 44.8% of planned investment, split between 27.4% for trade, 12.1% for tourism and 5.3% for miscellaneous services. Notwithstanding a percentage increase, manufacturing remained an unpopular choice amongst migrants. Clearly these statistics relate to planned investments and there is no way of assessing the actual level of investment. However, some of the data does indicate a radical shift in investment patterns amongst migrants targeting Morocco, pointing to the emergence of an entrepreneurial culture. Moroccan expatriates are moving into new territory such as the stock-exchange, farming, breeding, trade, tourism and SMIs in specific areas (bakeries, pastry-making, clothing, etc.). They are also setting their sights on cutting-edge sectors such as new information and communications technology, paving the way for technology transfer through Moroccan expatriates.

Statistics on official investments made by Tunisians living abroad demonstrate a similar overwhelming preference for property. Two thirds of remaining investment is in services, over a quarter in manufacturing and under 10% in farming. Between 1988 and 2004, Tunisian migrants launched 8,763 ventures, creating 38,265 jobs and raising TND 321,322 billion in investment, in other words an average of 515 ventures, 2,251 jobs and TND 18,901 billion worth of investment each year. Over half of all jobs created were in manufacturing, 45% in services and under 4% in farming, which clearly reflects the sector averages of eight jobs per investment project in manufacturing, three in services and two in farming. Hence, both the number of jobs created and level of investment per venture show these ventures to be small-scale and low on capital.

Despite a host of incentives³⁵ encouraging Tunisians living abroad to channel their investments into productive ventures, the statistics are disappointing. Tunisian expatriates

³⁵ Customs exemptions on equipment required for an economic venture, imported under Article 33 of Act 74-10. Following adoption of Act 88-60, customs relief applies to non-resident Tunisians without requiring that

contribute a mere 0.5% towards national investment³⁶. The Office for Expatriate Tunisians, OTE³⁷, surveyed a group of participants at a 1999 gathering of Tunisian businessmen based in Europe and came up with several explanations: lack of information on investment opportunities (84%), red tape (65%) and problems securing loans. An INSEA survey of Moroccans living abroad produced similar findings. The fact is that the scarcity of productive investment has a lot to do with the environment in which migrants live. “This environment comprises a host of variables in several areas which determine the viability of projects undertaken”³⁸.

A regional breakdown of investment reveals that most money goes to the Grand Tunis region and coastal areas, where prosperity and development is highest. Similarly, poor absorption capacity in Morocco may steer resources towards the more developed regions. For example, the Casablanca region draws in a large share of resources, chiefly through its banking system, unlike the eastern and Rif provinces which boast high emigration but poor infrastructure.

Migration of skills brings something new to the remittances debate. Increasingly, skilled migrants are expected to use their business and social networks and knowledge to help their country of origin. Decision-makers and researchers are taking a growing interest in these intangible transfers, which are underpinned by “a two-fold social rationale” in that the migrants in question can participate in “inter-cultural dialogue” and help “modernise education and research and development systems”³⁹. The French Supreme Council for International Cooperation deems that “these people belong to more than one culture and, as such, offer added value: they are indisputable mediators, liaising between cultures (...) their dual reference systems give them a “competitive edge”, making them ideal mediators, sharing cultures, practices and knowledge ...”⁴⁰.

3. Managing worker mobility

Managing worker mobility has become a pressing issue given the rise in illegal immigration and the tendency amongst qualified individuals to emigrate and settle abroad. Let us first point out that migratory flows and the mobility of all workers irrespective of their level of qualifications are no longer handled by public authorities alone. A wider and more diverse range of stakeholders have gradually come into the picture. International organisations, particularly those remitted to tackle migration issues under development programmes, international and national development associations⁴¹ and private bodies specialised in finding jobs for qualified workers have all taken up active roles in this area.

they settle back in Tunisia. Plus, dinar convertibility for current account transactions since August 1993 and all other FDI advantages.

³⁶ 0.6% in manufacturing, 0.4 in farming and 0.5% in services. Transferts de fonds et investissements en Tunisie, OTE, p 40

³⁷ Transfert des fonds et investissement en Tunisie, Office for Expatriate Tunisians (OTE), April 2000. pp34-35

³⁸ Dialogue sur la coopération migratoire en méditerranée occidentale, Mohamed KHACHANI, Rabat, 2002. p 14

³⁹ Maghreb: transfert des migrants, Musette Mohamed Saïb, 5+5 Expert Group meeting, Algiers, June 2005, p1

⁴⁰ Le rôle des migrants, élément essentiel d'une nouvelle politique de coopération, Supreme Council for International Cooperation, Paris, 2002, p 4, p 9

⁴¹ It is useful to examine here the experience gained in Morocco⁴¹ by a French NGO called Migration & Développement (M&D) and its Moroccan namesake (which represented the former before becoming independent in 1998). For the past 15 years, both NGOs have supported development in Morocco's emigration

3.1. Irregular immigration

All three Maghreb countries are transit countries, with very little direct control over emigration. The end of organised emigration and a recent tightening of European migration policies have spawned new forms of illegal migration not only amongst Maghreb nationals, but also amongst citizens of sub-Saharan Africa and elsewhere. As pointed out by H. Boubakri⁴², “sub-Saharan African migrants have gradually joined their Maghreb counterparts to drive up illegal migration, ultimately accounting for the majority of illegal flows. The problem has spread to other regions such as the Middle East (Kurds, Iraqis, Palestinians, Egyptians), East Africa (Somalians) and the Indian subcontinent (Pakistanis, Sri Lankans)”. According to the Algerian report, the “national police force and border guards are responsible for curbing illegal migratory flows. Although they are getting results, as demonstrated by the increasing number of checks carried out, both entities are grappling with a series of obstacles. They lack specialised technical and human resources and struggle to monitor the movements of networks along a border stretching over 15,000 km” (in the case of Algeria).

Efforts by the authorities responsible for curbing illegal immigration are focused in three key areas:

- Arrests:

Statistics on the number of illegal migrants picked up confirm that the trend is steadily rising. In Algeria, for example, “3,234 illegal migrants were arrested during the first six months of this year. In 2004, total arrests for illegal migration were 5,680, and in 2003, the figure was 4,870. The Minister of Employment and Social Security put the number of foreigners illegally entering Algeria between 1992 and 2003 at 28,800”.

- Imprisonment and expulsion:

Illegal immigrants are expelled or put in jail following trial for various offences. Algerian national police statistics provide a pretty clear picture of the situation. In the first six months of 2005, 2,244 illegal migrants were expelled and 815 imprisoned. The figures for 2004 are 2,000 and 1,259 respectively.

- Tolerance and surveillance:

zones. Since 2000, M&D has also been involved in running income-generating projects in a bid to further promote local development and give people more incentive to stay in their home regions. This initiative was jointly launched by 150 development stakeholders from the Taroudant province in the Sous region, making it possible to select and mount revenue-producing economic projects. Their efforts are underpinned by a host of partners on both sides of the Mediterranean, such as migrants associations, village groups, NGOs, elected representatives and public administrations in home and host countries, donors and people with various skills. (Migrations & Développement Newsletter, 2002).

In 2000, M&D also began working in Algeria. Struck by the parallels with problems faced in Algerian villages, the Algerian immigrant community, acting on behalf of village groups, asked M&D to help set up similar initiatives in Algeria. In light of M&D’s role in fostering local development, especially in the south of Morocco, it would be worthwhile extending this experience to all Maghreb countries.

⁴² Hassen BOUBAKRI, Migrations de transit entre la Tunisie, la Libye et l’Afrique sub-saharienne : Etude du cas du grand Tunis, regional conference on Migrants in Transit Countries: Shared Responsibility for Management and Protection’, Istanbul, 30 September- 1 October, 2004, p3.

For various reasons, the Algerian authorities tolerate the temporary presence of some categories of foreign nationals on their territory. Humanitarian motives, for example, sometimes dissuade the authorities from systematically expelling all illegal migrants arrested. Instead they are grouped together and placed under surveillance.

However, authorities in all Maghreb countries have realised that their efforts to check migratory flows will not yield solid results in the mid- or long-term unless they are backed up by regional and Euro-Mediterranean cooperation. Cooperation has therefore become the yardstick used to measure the effectiveness of all proposed initiatives in this field.

- Cooperation with Europe:

Cooperation with Europe is most widespread, both with the EU and on a bilateral basis.

As stated in the provisions of the Association Agreements, the two goals pursued through cooperation with the EU are to repatriate illegal migrants and bolster the ability of public administrations in Maghreb countries to manage migration properly. To this end, authorities in the Maghreb countries have been keen to host ministerial gatherings and meetings of security experts. Events held in Algiers and Tunis include meetings of ministers of foreign affairs, interior and justice under the auspices of the 5+5 Forum, the Euro-Mediterranean gathering of immigration experts.

Hence, all three countries have opted for cooperation with the European Union in the fight against illegal immigration. Repatriation and re-entry agreements have been signed, and the idea of setting up transit centres has been floated. Negotiations are under way with Libya, while the other countries have rejected this attempt to “outsource” migration. Civil society in Morocco campaigned against the proposed centres. Similarly, as underscored in the Algerian report, “the Algerian state opposed plans by Germany and Italy to open transit camps on its territory, deeming the suggestion inadequate in human terms. Instead, it called for more solidarity, coordination and the inclusion of Sahel states in the 5+5 Forum meetings on migration. (...) By proposing the involvement of Sahel states, Algeria is seeking to link the fight against illegal immigration with increased regional cooperation. That same motive prompted the country to participate actively in NEPAD and liaise with security services in countries in the region, signing a cooperation agreement with the Malian police and taking part in joint military manoeuvres in the Sahara desert in July 2005, with support from the US army.

Bilateral initiatives to manage migratory flows have been taken with both the countries directly targeted by illegal immigrants (France, Spain and Italy) and others that Maghreb migrants also settle in such as the UK, Germany and Belgium. Cooperation covers technical support, i.e. equipment supplies, information exchange and training. According to the report on Algeria, it also has a legal strand designed to train and prepare Algerian judges to handle illegal immigration cases. Furthermore, capacity building is provided to help the Algerian administration trace migrants’ papers.

3.2. Managing skilled migration

To put things in an international perspective, it is worth pointing out that brain drain affects all countries around the world. However, it wreaks most havoc on developing countries and, Africa is undoubtedly worst hit in light of its need for trained professionals. Over the past

few decades, Africa is thought to have lost 30% of its highly qualified workforce. It is currently estimated that one in three African university graduates work outside the continent⁴³. Within Africa, the Maghreb is increasingly becoming a skills migration hub.

While reasonably reliable statistics are available on economic migration, ascertaining the movements of top scientists is more complex, indeed very hard to gauge.

What we do know is that emigration may follow on from study periods in host countries. According to available data, over 13% of the 34,430 Moroccan students attending foreign universities in 1997⁴⁴ remained in their host countries. They belong to a global community of foreign students that UNESCO (1997) estimates to be around 1.5 million, spread across some 50 countries, although the US (29%) and France (11%) are still the most popular destinations⁴⁵.

This trend is exacerbated by fierce competition between northern hemisphere countries. Faced with labour shortages in the same sectors, they are focusing their recruitment drives on those developing countries that have invested considerable effort into building up robust education systems. Skills shortages are most acute in cutting-edge sectors such as new information and communication technologies (NICT), sparking off a “war of talents”. Host countries have are softening their tough immigration legislation and adapting their increasingly restrictive immigration policies to satisfy market demand for highly qualified workers.

In France, many foreign researchers with a PHD or higher qualification work at the National Centre of Scientific Research (CNRS). More than 1,600 researchers at the CNRS come from the Maghreb region, with 800 from Morocco. Yet more qualified Maghreb migrants are employed at universities and other specialised institutes⁴⁶.

In response to calls from the business community, the French Ministry of Employment and Solidarity issued a circular decree on 16 July 1998 authorising foreign recruitment of IT specialists and engineers and exempting them from legislation requiring preference to be given to workers already available on the French labour market. As a result, 2001 saw 4,000 professionals recruited from Morocco, Romania and Lebanon. On a similar note, 8,000 doctors from the Maghreb, sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East work in French hospitals. “Without them, French hospitals would grind to a halt”⁴⁷.

⁴³ David Sogge : Une nécessaire réforme de l’aide internationale . Le Monde Diplomatique . September 2004.

⁴⁴ UNESCO 1997 annual statistics

⁴⁵ Followed by Germany (146,000 foreign students), the UK (129,000 in 1993-1994), the Russian Federation (73,000 in 1994-1995) and Japan with 51,000, Australia with 42,000, Canada with 35,000, Belgium with 35,000 and Switzerland with 25,000 in 1993-1994.

⁴⁶ Some of these researchers are at the forefront of leading-edge research. One case in point is Malek Ghallab, head of LAAS (Laboratory for Systems Analysis and Architecture). Since 1995, Mr Ghallab has been in charge of the robotics and AI research group, a CNRS branch involving 360 researchers and 26 associate labs. (See “Les 100 qui font bouger Toulouse” In L’EXPRESS No 2525, 25 November-1 December 1999). Another is Kamal Oudghiri, a NASA engineer, responsible for communication between NASA and its Mars probes.

⁴⁷ Tandonnet Maxime: Migrations : la nouvelle vague, L’Harmattan, 2003, p 34.

Although recruitment drives target a wide range of graduates, their main focus is specialised fields such as NICTs. This explains why the Moroccan graduates in most demand are alumni from the three most prestigious third-level institutions, the National Postal and Telecommunications Institute (INPT), the National Higher School of Information Technology and System Analysis (ENSIAS) and the Mohammedia School of Engineering (EMI). According to a Moroccan newspaper, 50% to 60% of their graduates in 2000 “had already left or were about to leave by the graduation ceremony”⁴⁸.

Intermediate professions, such as nursing, are also affected by the migration of skilled labour. Supply is growing scarce in southern hemisphere countries, partly because medical workers are being lured away to plug gaps in the northern hemisphere. Morocco does not have enough paramedics to cover the needs of its population, with a mere 10.5 nurses per 100,000 inhabitants, well short of the World Health Organization’s recommended target of one nurse per 300 inhabitants.⁴⁹

In light of this trend, skilled migrants have a key role to play, as demonstrated by the setting up of niche organisations such as the Association of Moroccan IT Specialists in France (some 200 members), the Moroccan Association of Biologists in France, the Moroccan Association of Biologists in the US, the Moroccan Academic Research Scientists Network, also in the US, the Network of Moroccan Intellectuals in Europe and the “Knowledge and Development” Association, representing skilled professionals from a range of fields (200 members).

By joining the labour market in their host countries, Algerian migrants have amassed a wealth of professional experience, technical and scientific skills and know-how that Algeria can tap into to foster development.

To ascertain how this capital acquired abroad can be of benefit to society, we need to examine the impact on the home society of migrants integrating the different labour market segments in their host countries. In this way, we can establish the extent to which such integration can meet the needs of the Algerian economy.

During the Colonial era, emigration to France was according to a rotation principle with migrants returning to settle in Algeria after a few years and younger countrymen taking their place (the *noria* principle), thus ensuring a steady supply of farm labour and bringing workers into new sectors of salaried employment to build up the financial resources needed for the traditional system to survive. Following independence, migration out of Algeria was in the form of organised dispatches, marking a break with the *noria* model. While the new flows reduced labour market pressure, they did not lead to a boost in agricultural production or overall economic output through the transfer of new knowledge since migrants were generally employed in sectors such as public buildings and works, which were not very developed in Algeria.

The end of organised emigration in 1973 exposed another facet of the migration and labour-market dilemma. The problem is that migration creates a shortage of qualified labour and ultimately diminishes the overall level of qualifications amongst those recruited. To illustrate

⁴⁸ LIBERATION, 30/11/2000

⁴⁹ See Le Matin du Sahara, 18 February 2003 & “La pénurie d’infirmiers se fait toujours sentir à Genève”, in La Tribune de Genève, 26 March 2003.

this point, we propose to examine some sectors in which emigration eases labour-market pressure and reduces the general level of qualifications.

Farming hit a productivity crisis when mass recruitment of migrants was focused on rural populations. The *noria* rationale which created a balance between emigration and the renewal of farm labour was replaced by a new system which absorbed surplus rural workers but disrupted the transmission of agricultural know-how.

Healthcare is one of the sectors worst affected by migration, with qualifications and quality of service declining. Emigrating doctors, particularly those with specialisations such as surgery, are not replaced by fresh recruits with sufficient qualifications to maintain service levels. Moreover, the loss of medical specialists has undermined the calibre of doctor training, most strikingly in fields like cardiology. Aside from falling qualifications and service levels, the remaining workforce is poorly managed, leading to a shortage of specialists in the southern regions. Faced with the refusal of female doctors to accept postings in the south, the Algerian Ministry of Health is contemplating the recruitment of foreign specialists.

Higher education and scientific research has also lost out through the forced or willing departure of university lecturers and researchers. The ensuing shortfall is estimated at more than 2,000 teachers and several thousand researchers, with National Research Programme projects suffering most. The Algerian Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research estimates that over 4,000 teachers and several thousand researchers are needed to meet new demand. To this end, the Ministry has launched a recruitment drive amongst foreign professors, to little avail.

There is a shortage of specific qualifications in the public buildings and works sector, most strikingly on a project to build a million houses. Consequently, the head of the General Union of Algerian Entrepreneurs has called on the government to bring in skilled labour from abroad, to bolster existing Chinese and Egyptian workforces.

As a sector, Artistic creation and communications has not escaped the general trend. Many talented and established artists, experienced journalists and renowned writers and stage actors have left, reducing the scale and quality of artistic output. Recent graduates have come up through the ranks to replace those lost, but they do not have the same profile or skills.

Although migration is high in the IT sector, the effects appear to be less keenly felt. This is because the focus in this sector is on marketing rather than research and development. Those leaving are highly qualified, but there is no great difficulty in replacing them since those hired for marketing do not need to possess the same level of qualification.

Regarding managing mobility of competencies, experiences analysis from the three countries reveals similarities as well as differences among the countries.

It should be stressed that mobility of competencies is becoming an international phenomenon and with an increasingly accurate competition between countries to drain the skilled people and especially highly qualified. Recruitment through Internet appears as an additional channel further to traditional ones to accelerate the recruitment and placement of these competencies. This competition even generated several adjustments of migration laws. All

countries whatever their development level face this phenomenon. Nevertheless, developing countries seem the most penalized, since Africa for example would have lost thirty percent of its highly skilled labour force. This phenomenon is amplified by the significant number of students who do not return after their studies period in the developed countries.

- *Similarities*

All three countries are in a similar position in that their qualified and highly qualified workers are leaving and/or failing to return, but the extent of the problem does vary. Algeria has lost more skilled workers than Morocco and Tunisia, chiefly during the period of political instability in the 1990s. Another similarity is the type of qualifications migrants have. All three reports concur that migration is highest amongst NICT specialists, university lecturers and researchers and doctors. Most migrants move to France and North America, particularly when the decision to emigrate is an individual choice. Organised migration of skills tends to be channelled towards Arab Gulf countries and in the benefit of international institutions.

- *Differences*

Differences lie in the action taken or recommended to deal with skilled migration. The fact is that the three countries did not realise the importance of a proactive approach at the same time.

Algeria is just beginning to craft a policy designed to mobilise its highly qualified human resources, despite the fact that, of all the Maghreb countries, it has been worst affected by the migration and settlement abroad of its skilled nationals during the years of political instability.

Tunisia has more experience in managing skilled migration, largely through the Tunisian Agency for Technical Cooperation (ATCT). Backed by regional and international institutional partners, the ATCT manages over 8,000 files on Tunisian experts and professionals that it has placed in jobs in recruiting countries or with regional and international organisations. This type of institutional approach could benefit Tunisia itself and those countries hiring skilled immigrants, and is seen as an excellent example of cooperation within the southern hemisphere.

The Tunisian Ministry of Higher Education has also compiled a list of Tunisian academics working abroad. These academics are brought in by Tunisian universities to teach in blocks of one to two weeks and are paid the same as tenured research lecturers. They also sit on staff recruitment and promotion boards and supervise dissertations and theses, as well as helping students enrol in foreign universities.

Morocco stands out on account of the broad range of fields in which skilled Moroccans are being asked to make a contribution. Examples include the creation up of research labs and sector-based development strategies as well as plans to run a Euro-Mediterranean micro- and nanotechnology skills hub and build an urban waste treatment plant, all of which testify to the wide and diverse nature of demand for expatriate skills.

Notwithstanding these ventures, all three reports underscore the need for cross-Mediterranean cooperation to turn migration into a tool for development in the migrants' home countries.

- *Causes*

Brain drain is caused by a host of different factors, with explanations divided into push and pull categories⁵⁰.

(I) Push factors vary in type and magnitude across countries. They include economic considerations, which are among the main drivers for all forms of migration. Other reasons for the migration of educated labour are listed below:

- Political: lack of democratic mechanisms affording all citizens equal opportunities. Since upward mobility is not based on merit (meritocracy), not all citizens are on an equal footing.
- Professional: national economy cannot satisfy the ambitions of those with a high level of qualifications.
- Social: full or partial unemployment, often as a result of a mismatch between education, employment and science and technology policies.
- Scant coordination between academic and economic spheres is exacerbated by the lack of an entrepreneurial culture. In Morocco, for example, little relevance is attached to research and development and the number of managerial positions in companies is below par. Industrial giants such as OCP and ONA conduct research as part of their growth strategy and have sought to forge ties with universities, but SMEs, which account for over 95% of Moroccan industry, have a very poor track record on research and innovation⁵¹.
- Research budgets are meagre. In Morocco, for example, the Centre for Monitoring the International Competitiveness of the Moroccan Economy (OCIEM) estimates that total spending on research is less than 0.3% of GDP, falling well short of developed countries (2.8% in Japan, 2.4% in the US, 2% in EU member states) and even below Tunisia and Algeria (almost 1%) and other, more advanced developing countries such as India (1%) and South Korea (2%).
- Other contributing factors include a scarcity of facilities providing intellectual stimulation (labs, libraries, professional associations) and excessive red tape (rigid hierarchical structures in companies and public institutions).

(II) The decision to emigrate is often influenced by pull factors too. As has already been stated, emigration has been fuelled by strong international demand for skilled labour. Globalisation has been a key factor in accelerating the departure of elite workers. As economies become more intermeshed and markets are opened up, the way in which work is organised is changing significantly. The ensuing reorganisation of production systems is generating greater demand for highly skilled workers. In these new organisational structures, innovation is the linchpin, creating a need for a “large breeding ground” of skilled scientists⁵². Consequently, recruitment policies can sometimes be aggressive, as is the case with Germany’s green card system. They also lead to the emergence of a host of recruitment firms and headhunter websites.

⁵⁰ Ahmed Zekri: “L’émigration élitiste Sud-Nord ou l’exode des cerveaux: Le cas du Maroc”, at the international colloquium organised by the Moroccan Association for Migration Studies and Research (AMERM), *op.cit.*

⁵¹ A survey of 250 industrial firms conducted by the Ministry of Industry, Business and Crafts found that 50% run outdated production units. On job profiles, the survey demonstrated that, out of 100 employees, on average barely five held managerial positions and six were supervisors.

⁵² See Jamal Bouiyou: “Réseaux scientifiques et techniques et transfert technologique. Quelques éléments d’analyse à travers l’expérience marocaine”, at the APREM colloquium, *op. cit.*

Other professional pull factors tipping the balance for elite workers contemplating migration include an attractive environment in developed countries with good working and living conditions for migrants and their families.

Be that as it may, no analysis of skilled migration and migration in general should overlook the trends identified in respect of persistent and renewed triggers.

- *Persistent and renewed triggers*

Since the second oil shock in 1983, migration policies in most immigration countries have changed, partly in compliance with international conventions enshrining, *inter alia*, the right to asylum for those persecuted in their homelands and the right to family reunification for legal immigrants, and partly as a result of a clear shift towards more flexible economic and social mechanisms⁵³ and the growing demand for skills across all economies.

Since this study is focused on labour migration, we will only examine the last two factors.

- More **flexible** work arrangements have supplanted the conventional principles of standardised work procedures and specialisation and are one of the main triggers for recent migration flows. The need for a compliant workforce that can be adjusted in line with economic developments to fill temporary, seasonal jobs that nobody else wants has sorely tested measures taken by public authorities in immigration countries to curb migratory flows. Studies⁵⁴ show that most new jobs in developed countries are precarious, in line with the trend towards outsourcing and workforce fragmentation. As a result, there has been a sharp rise in atypical forms of employment and less formal employment relations have become endemic. These new jobs are not popular with native workers in host countries, save amongst some working women looking for jobs that enable them to reconcile their family responsibilities with a desire for financial independence. Aside from flexible labour arrangements, other strong factors drawing in fresh migrants and sustaining a steady demand for people willing to work highly irregular hours for a pittance are:

- the persistence of labour-intensive production sectors that cannot easily be relocated;
- an expanding black economy;
- the growth in business support and household services;
- a surge in the number of sub-contracting firms;
- the retraining of some settled immigrants first hit by successive waves of economic restructuring and now set up as self-employed or running their own businesses⁵⁵. (Moreover, some of their children will move up the social ladder, somewhat diminishing future supplies of cheap labour).

Given that the majority of host countries had decided officially to end organised immigration and that production and competitive pressures on businesses were rising, illegal immigration

⁵³ Lotfi SLIMANE, Les transformations sociales et structurelles dans la poursuite des flux migratoires, in Problèmes migratoires en région méditerranéenne, Editeur Reiner Biegel, Tunis, 1998, p 255.

⁵⁴ INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION, Key Indicators of the Labour Market, Geneva : ILO, 1999, 550 p

⁵⁵ Hassen BOUBAKRI, Travail indépendant et économie ethnique au sein des communautés issues de l'immigration en Europe occidentale, in Problèmes migratoires en région méditerranéenne, Editeur Reiner Biegel, Tunis, 1998, p 270. According to a study carried out by the clerk's office at the Paris commercial court and quoted in the daily ' 20 Minutes', Maghrebins run 12,347 of the 302,500 companies in Paris. <http://www.menara.ma>

of workers was initially viewed with leniency⁵⁶, as subsequently evidenced by periodic amnesties in traditional host countries (US, France, Belgium) and more recent immigration destinations (Italy, Spain). However, the spread of networks trafficking illegal migrants and the human tragedies spawned by this type of immigration led to a tougher penal stance being adopted⁵⁷. As a result, public authorities “reclaimed control” over labour migration through a raft of measures such as quota or points systems, lotteries, assignment contracts⁵⁸ and the issuing of temporary work visas for sectors facing local labour shortages.

The change in migration policy coincided with the emergence of new categories of migrants. “Manual workers are no longer the only ones interested in emigrating. Emigration is now rising amongst professionals, doctors, academics and researchers”⁵⁹. This shift will fuel debate and controversy on the sensitive topic of “skills exodus”⁶⁰ and its negative repercussions on development.

- **Demand for skills**, chiefly spurred by the new knowledge-based society, will draw even more migrants to developed countries in need of qualified and highly qualified human resources. All sectors have computerised their production and management processes, effectively making them potential recruiters of skilled labour, which is sometimes scarce on their national labour markets. Job profiles have been redefined following the introduction of new information and communication technologies across a host of economic sectors. As a result, the terms of competition will change both within and between sectors and across borders since people with the qualifications to compete on the international labour market rarely think about settling permanently in one country. This international competition has triggered amendments to immigration laws in more than one country. Canada, in particular Quebec, is striving to secure a leading position on the international labour market in response to the challenge posed by the mobility of highly qualified human resources. The US, Germany and the UK have also adopted measures designed to facilitate the arrival of new migrants with cutting-edge skills⁶¹.

4. Need for carefully crafted and structured co-development projects

Migration is still mired in security issues, primarily arising from the fight against illegal channels.

All three Maghreb countries are focusing their efforts on a joint approach which gives due consideration to the known interests of countries either side of the Mediterranean.

Although countries of origin do not yet have a very clear picture of the movements of highly skilled people towards northern hemisphere countries, the trend does change the relationship between the Maghreb and Europe.

⁵⁶ Lotfi SLIMANE, *l’immigration clandestine de main-d’œuvre dans la région bruxelloise*, Les Editions Bruylant, Bruxelles, 1995

⁵⁷ Philippe FARINE, *Les migrations et la mondialisation*, Migrations Société, 2002, Vol.14, No 79 p 161

⁵⁸ Pedro VIANNA, *Politique migratoire en Europe*, Migrations Société, 2002, Vol.14, No 79 p 153

⁵⁹ Mohammed KOUIDRI, *L’apport des compétences au développement des pays d’origine*, Contexte Maghreb-Europe : du brain-drain à la circulation des compétences, paper given at the 5+5 Technical Workshop, Algiers, 28 June 2005.

⁶⁰ We will return to this later.

⁶¹ Xx, *Mondialisation et migration qualifiée*, Migrations Société, 2002, Vol.14, No 79 p 213

The fact that these movements chiefly comprise people with strategic skills and qualifications, such as engineers, doctors, trainers and other new technology specialists means that they may seriously jeopardise development in Maghreb countries and undermine their chances of accessing innovation, modernising and competing in top international scientific and technological fields.

Algeria has responded to the departure of its nationals to settle in other countries by trying to build a better migration support system. Measures taken include efforts to relax consular procedures, more local action through work visits, and steps to strengthen home country ties by opening Algerian schools, staging cultural events and trips back home and running campaigns to get migrants involved in their home political system by voting for their representatives in elections for the National Popular Assembly (Algerian parliament) and in presidential elections and joining parties championing migration issues.

In adopting these measures, the Algerian state is seeking, through its action plan and annual migration plans, to balance stronger home country ties with the need for migrants to integrate their host societies. Be that as it may, it has not yet identified how that balance can be expressed in society, as can be seen from the plethora of terms used in official texts to refer to Algerians living abroad: “national community”, “Algerian community”, “Algerians settled abroad”, “non-resident Algerians” and “Algerian migrants”.

As for marshalling the savings of Algerians living abroad, State action has yet to make it past declarations of intent and barren projects, leaving the way clear for an increase in remittances in kind and parallel currency exchanges.

Over the past few years, there has been a rise in the practice of placing qualified Algerians in jobs abroad, mainly in North America and the Middle East. Placement agencies face very little opposition from administrative services as demonstrated by the fact that they publish ads in newspapers, organise recruitment tests and, in some cases, even have official premises.

The end of organised emigration in 1973 has not stopped the Algerian government from placing some workers in jobs abroad under cooperation agreements with a number of countries. The agreements governing such placements draw on the terminology used in the agreements in principle.

Experience with these placement agreements is insufficient to draw meaningful conclusions. They were adopted to meet the needs of three states: Qatar, United Arab Emirates and Italy

Moroccan immigrants, particularly first-generation immigrants, generally match an established profile: high levels of illiteracy, low qualifications and scarce resources, basically comprising their income from work. However, another parallel, more sophisticated profile is taking hold, with the emergence in host countries of a new category of immigrants that has opted to do more than merely sell its labour and moved into a range of economic and scientific fields.

The advent of a Moroccan migrant elite opens up fresh prospects for cooperation and partnership with countries of immigration. A Moroccan middle class is burgeoning in host

societies and is set to consolidate over coming decades. These immigrant entrepreneurs could forge new, different ties between home and host countries.

In a world where knowledge is the key to development, technical and professional skills acquired in host countries, Morocco's enormous development potential and prospects for new activities which create employment are all valuable assets worth highlighting.

⊕ In this connection, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs department responsible for the Moroccan community abroad has drawn up a national programme designed to galvanise skilled Moroccans living in other countries, known as the "The International Forum of Moroccan Skills Abroad" (FINCOM). The minister in charge describes the programme as "something which will enable institutional links to be created with Moroccans living outside the country". It includes plans to set up a database of the skills offered by Moroccan expatriates working in both the public and private sectors. The programme will also:

- assist for those seeking to launch economic ventures in Morocco and run joint initiatives with associations,
- support R&D and training to improve the research system,
- foster the transfer of technology and know-how,
- promote support systems for experts,
- craft sector-level development strategies, and
- assess research projects and programmes.

The FINCOM rationale is to attract business investment and partnerships and tap synergies between local skills and those available in the expatriate community, primarily using research networks. The programme has only just been launched, making it too early to ascertain its effectiveness.

⊕ A similar philosophy underpins a further initiative on technology transfer, this time taken in civil society spheres, by an association called "Savoir et Développement".

The association comprises some 200 members and focuses on high impact projects in a bid to provide holistic solutions to the deep-rooted problems hampering Morocco's development. Examples include:

➤ *The setting up of an international associate laboratory on molecular chemistry (LIACM), with three main specialisations: chemistry and health, nano-chemistry and chemistry and the environment. The laboratory will be established jointly by the Paul Sabatier University and its Moroccan partner institutions (Mohammed V in Rabat, Sidi Mohammed Ben Abdellah in Fes and El Cadi Ayad in Marrakech).*

➤ *Plans to create a Euro-Mediterranean skills hub in micro- and nano-technologies: a number of Moroccan nationals are already active in this area, in both industry and academia. Knowledge and Development intends to devise an action plan for a hub of excellence in the field, involving both industry and training and research establishments⁶².*

⁶² The micro- and nano-technology skills hub is a private sector venture designed to:

- (i) set up rapidly and expand innovative companies in the field of micro- and nano-technology;
- (ii) provide further training and foster applied research and the development of high added valued micro- and nano-technology products;
- (iii) transfer technology to SMEs and SMIs.

The project provides structure to both the industry and training and research sector in Morocco.

➤ *The treatment and conservation of Moroccan water resources (APREM):* Franco-Moroccan initiative for the transfer of scientific knowledge and technology on waste water treatment and water quality and conservation.

Morocco does not currently have enough waste water treatment networks or purification plants (roughly 60 for the whole country), and service levels are poor (approximately 20% in operation). The areas, first and foremost, the aquatic habitats into which waste water is released are therefore highly polluted and altered, triggering serious public health concerns (pathogenic germs, heavy metals, etc.). In response, APREM plans to:

- take stock of waste water treatment requirements,
- repair existing equipment,
- identify ways of improving waste water treatment and environment protection,
- mitigate the effects on habitats into which waste water is pumped,
- transfer scientific knowledge and technology with a view to ensuring sustainable development.

In Tunisia, a lot of work is done by the ATCT (Tunisian Agency for Cooperation), the public management body dealing with skilled migration, which is referred to earlier in the text. It was set up under a law dated 27 April 1972 as a public legal entity with financial autonomy. It is responsible for implementing State policy on technical cooperation and has four remits⁶³:

- identify, select and appoint Tunisian professionals to jobs abroad in line with the needs of countries and regional and international organisations;
- organise and manage training programmes and advanced courses for foreign professionals;
- carry out feasibility studies for economic, institutional, social and cultural projects;
- promote technical cooperation amongst southern hemisphere countries and developing countries.

The ATCT receives support and funding from a number of international organisations such as the Agence de la Francophonie, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the UN Development Programme. It has also forged ties with regional bodies such as the African Development Bank, the European Union, the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development, the US Agency for International Development, the Japanese International Cooperation Agency and the German Agency for Technical Cooperation.

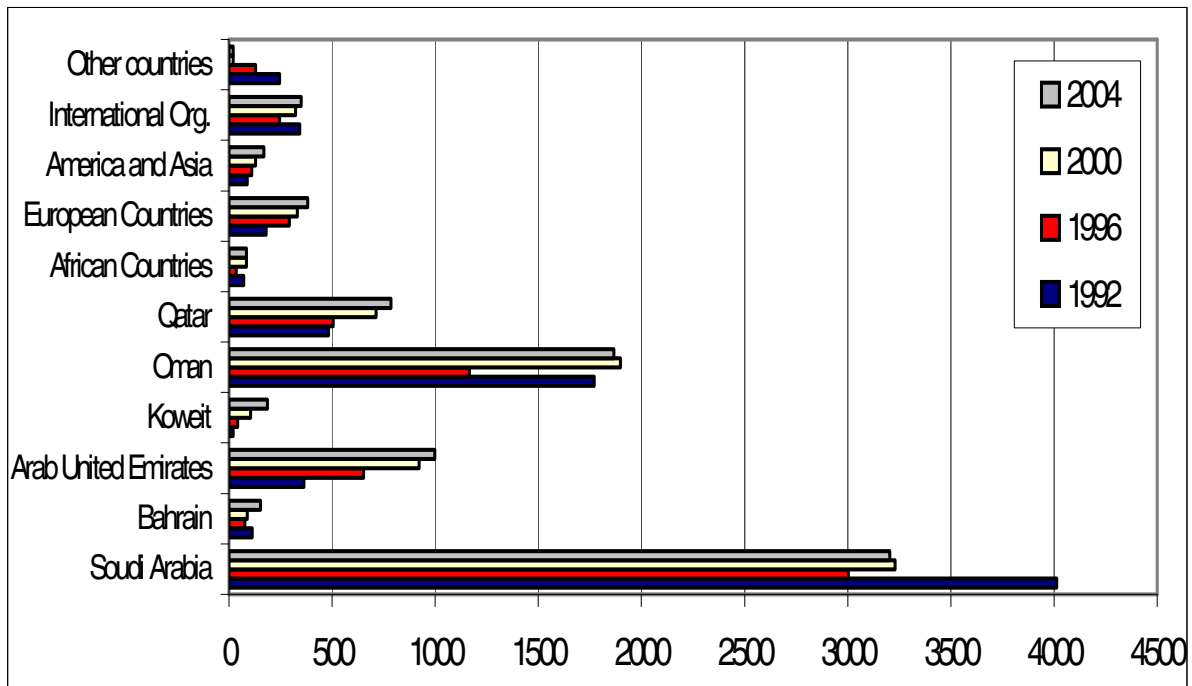
Since its inception, the ATCT has placed over 20,000 Tunisian professionals in jobs abroad and provided training for 1,700 foreign professionals across a host of fields and specialisations. It runs a database of applicants⁶⁴, whom it helps to find employment abroad. It also supervises the administrative careers of Tunisian professionals seconded under technical cooperation arrangements. The ATCT currently has on its books over 8,000 experts and professionals in a range of countries, mainly in the Arab Gulf⁶⁵.

⁶³ [http:// www.tunisia-skills.org.tn](http://www.tunisia-skills.org.tn)

⁶⁴ See Table 20 in the annex.

⁶⁵ See Table 21 in the annex .

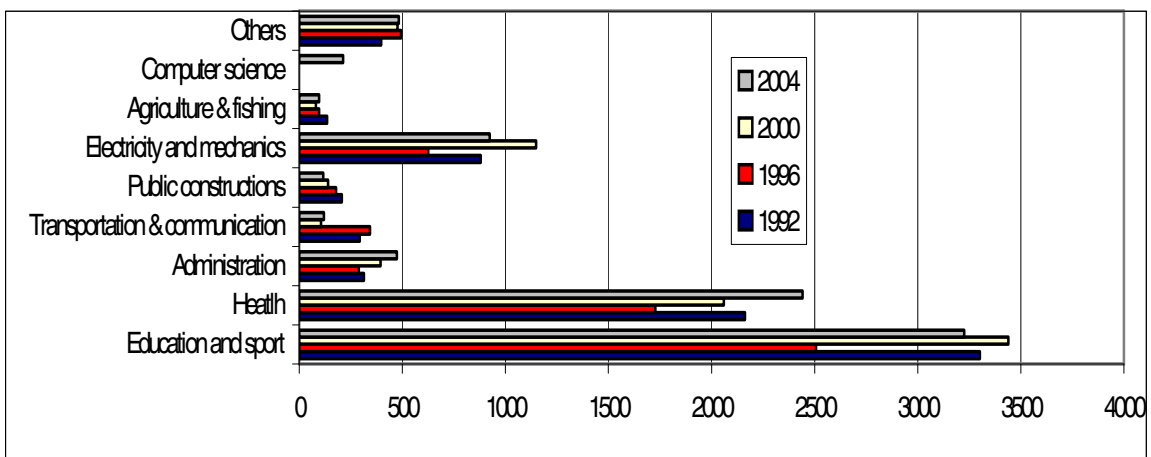
Figure 8: Tunisian professionals and experts working abroad by host country



Source: ATCT (2005)

Cooperation covers a broad array of specialisations⁶⁶. Nevertheless, most Tunisian professionals and experts working abroad are in teaching or healthcare, as illustrated below:

Figure 9: Tunisian professionals and experts working abroad by field



Source: ATCT (2005)

Teaching and healthcare professionals are in particularly high demand in the Gulf countries, to meet their needs in both sectors. The short-term migration of Tunisian doctors and teachers is an ad hoc solution to the surpluses produced by the Tunisian education system. Moreover, Tunisian professionals and experts working in Gulf countries remit sizeable sums

⁶⁶ See Table 22 in the annex.

back home. The advantages are therefore three-fold. This type of temporary migration may constitute an example of successful co-development.

Home and host countries need to explore thoroughly this option, in order to transform the scientific potential available into tangible co-development opportunities and projects. The stakes are indeed high.

To date, discussions have amounted to no more than good intentions and vague declarations. A tripartite approach bringing together governments, trade unions and civil society should pave the way for specific co-development proposals.

5. Conclusions and recommendations

Migration has changed significantly, not least over the past two decades. Migrant workers brought in by European industry during the post-war economic boom have gradually been replaced by a myriad array of new socio-professional categories: women, minors, families, students, graduates, craftsmen, self-employed entrepreneurs and, more recently, an increasing number of people with very high level scientific and technical skills. In the Maghreb region and southern hemisphere countries, this skilled migration is beginning to attract the attention of researchers, experts and economic and political decision-makers in the countries concerned.

The recent surge in skilled migration is generally deemed to be caused by a combination of factors, including:

- the growing technology divide between advanced countries and emerging and/or developing economies,
- huge pay gaps between countries,
- skills and innovation imperatives linked to international competitiveness.

Moreover, some northern hemisphere countries have adopted proactive policies to recruit qualified and skilled foreigners. The fact is that 40% of foreigners working in the US have a university education. Moreover, between 1990 and 2002, almost a million highly qualified professionals, mainly in IT, left China, India, Russia and OECD countries for the US.

Other countries such as the UK (leading scientists programme) and Germany (green card for IT experts) have also implemented recruitment schemes for highly qualified foreign specialists.

The trend is virtually global and Maghreb countries are no exception. As we have already stated elsewhere, we believe that it would be helpful to take the analysis of this situation beyond terms such as “brain drain” or “skills exodus” to examine ways of better managing the new prevailing circumstances.

Maghreb countries must recognise that skilled migrants leave for a host of reasons and are not driven solely by economic concerns. Leading experts who decide to emigrate are admittedly enticed by the fact that their host country salary might by far outstrip their home country earnings, but they are also very keen to explore the opportunities afforded to them by dynamic work structures and a far more stimulating work and personal development environment. They may also be seeking a different calibre of social, cultural and political life.

Maghreb countries still have quite a lot of scope to contain and reduce the migration of qualified labour or make skills movements more fluid, possibly resulting in migrants returning to their home countries. Steps to be taken include:

- stimulating investment in innovation and research and development (R & D);
- building up centres of excellence in scientific research;
- creating an environment that fosters high-tech innovation and entrepreneurship;
- designing demanding university courses.

These and many other initiatives will most likely foster “brain circulation” and encourage migrants to return from the northern to the southern hemisphere under scientific and technological partnership programmes.

By going home on short-term assignments, skilled migrants provide their countries of origin with access to international skills and knowledge networks and share the management experience, entrepreneurship and technical know-how they have acquired in their host countries.

Moreover, this approach might also yield fresh avenues to be explored for future North-South cooperation. More specifically, the 5+5 Dialogue mechanism could be used to network universities in the partner countries, promote student and teacher mobility and devise training and qualifications programmes tailored to local needs and circumstances and, in this way, help mitigate the adverse effects felt when highly qualified specialists emigrate.

In view of its repercussions for home countries and the benefits it offers host countries, we argue that skills migration should be addressed under specific North-South co-development projects, involving public authorities, relevant international organisations (such as the ILO), trade unions, employers, universities and research centres and civil society, as part of an overall approach to tripartite dialogue between the Maghreb and EU countries.

On the subject of remittances, the country studies make a series of parallel recommendations. We would mention the following:

1. Stimulate and foster remittances by:

- expanding the network of bank branches and other financial institutions in the various host countries;
- setting up outlets in unserved towns and regions;
- cutting transfer charges and offering bonuses and other incentives to pay money into accounts abroad;
- adopting a strategy designed to curb rivalry between banking networks in countries of residence (which is why it makes sense to design new products to better channel demand and fixed-term savings and also explain existing financial products in plain language);
- running information campaigns targeting the Maghreb community to encourage them to contribute towards development efforts;
- publicising the risks of banknote remittances by third parties or the immigrants themselves, thereby ensuring more secure transfers and tackling the black economy;
- creating support and advice structures for investors in the countries of origin.

2. Maghreb nationals should also be made aware of all investment opportunities in their home countries. This should certainly be a key strand in policies to foster the transfer of funds and is all the more important since the Maghreb countries are grappling with crushing social and economic constraints.

3. Remittances could also take a different shape, with migrants making a sizeable contribution towards investment in their home countries and taking part in the relocation process. In this way, the emergence and consolidation in future generations of an entrepreneurial elite could provide fresh impetus for private investment in the Maghreb.

In light of the discouraging feedback from those who returned home, such migrants could become expatriate businessmen with interests in both home and host countries. Choices made by a number of Tunisian migrants are worth examining in this respect. They have retained their legal and regulatory status as migrants living in abroad (with residence permits, social security cover and foreign tax regime), but are running networks of companies in Tunisia and France. Their “movement patterns are highly complex with regular trips and intermittent stays in both countries, making them de facto residents either side of the Mediterranean“⁶⁷. Another example is that of second-generation Maghreb immigrants running French subsidiaries abroad, putting their dual cultural background to good use in receptive environments⁶⁸.

Be that as it may, success in attracting these immigrant investors would ultimately hinge on the environment in which they are asked to operate. Making that environment suitable is a further priority.

Based on the above, we believe that migration should be perceived as a win-win situation, underpinned by coordinated action, best reflected in cooperation involving migrants themselves as this can help dispel fears, concerns and misgivings on all sides.

⁶⁷ Boubakri Hassan: “Opérateurs en réseaux entre le Maghreb et l’Europe: les entrepreneurs migrants tunisiens”. Mediterranean Conference on Population, Migration and Development, Palma de Majorque, 15-17 October 1996.

⁶⁸ APCE (Agence Pour la création d’Entreprises) & MRH (Maghreb Ressources Humaines): “Création d’entreprise par les entrepreneurs issus de l’immigration: l’exemple des entrepreneurs d’origine maghrébine”, Collection Focus. April 2002

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Annex

Key tables taken from the three studies, providing a breakdown of migrants and remittances.

Table n°1 Distribution of Algerian migrant workers by country of stays

Pays	Effectif
Allemagne	17641
Belgique	19095
Espagne	45791
France	1101253
Italie	13000
Pays scandinaves	10000
Pays bas	7341
Royaume unis	14152
Autres pays	19245
Pays arabe	76795
Canada	35000
Etats-Unis	18000
Amérique latine	-
Afrique	120
Total	1377433

Tableau construit à partir de sources diverses

Table n°2 Global remittances from Algerian established in France and in the Maghreb

Year Country	1998		1999		2000		2001		Growth2 001/98
	Amount	Structure %	Amount	Structure %	Amount	Structure %	Amount	Structure %	
France :									
Savings on salaries, pensions and money order	1 158 111	0.40	1 383 898	0.97	597 878	0.46	1 653 977	1.01	42.82
	33 716 351	11.76	33 915 637	23.71	15 830 556	12.05	49 691 955	30.34	47.38
	247 074 620	86.18	100 730 402	70.41	107 640 920	81.95	106 286 466	64.90	-56.98
S/T1	281 949 082	98.35	136 029 937	95.09	124 069 354	94.46	157 632 398	96.25	-44.09
Tunisia :									
Savings on salaries, pensions and old age pensions	127 233	0.00	188 978	0.00	19 819	0.02	24 193	0.01	-80.99
	9 539	0.04	1 735	0.13	23 251	0.02	47 902	0.03	402.17
S/T2	136 772	0.05	190 713	0.13	43 070	0.03	72 095	0.04	-47.29
Morocco :									
Savings on salaries, pensions and old age pensions	9 973	0.003	2 215	0.0015	123	0.00	838	0.00	-91.60
	1 008	0.003	654	0.004	4 236	0.003	10 126	0.01	904.56
S/T3	10 981	0.004	2 869	0.002	4 359	0.003	10 964	0.01	-0.15
Money exchange entering to the country	4 584 492	1.60	6 830 475	4.77	7 233 503	5.51	6 061 113	3.70	32.21
Global Total	286 681 327	100.00	143 053 994	100.00	131 350 286	100.00	163 776 770	100.00	-42.87

Source : Bank of Algeria, 2002

Table n°3 Region of birth and emigration in Morocco

Regions	Migrants by region of birth	Migrants by region of emigration	Rate b/a
	A	B	
South	14,9	12,9	0,87
Tensift	7,1	6,6	0,93
Centre	27,4	30,3	1,11
North-West	21,1	23,8	1,13
Centre-North	12,8	11,4	0,89
Oriental	5,1	4,4	0,86
Centre-South	10,1	10,8	1,07
Foreigners	1,5	-	-
Total	100,0	100,0	1

Source: Bachir Hamdouch: *Les transformations de la migration internationale marocaine et le partenariat Euro- méditerranéen*. Cahiers de Recherches Démographiques de l'INSEA. N° 2. Avril 2002, p17

Table n°4 Evolution of remittances from Morocco to abroad between 1974 and 2004
 (Millions of dirhams)
 1 Euro= 11 dirhams approx.

Years	Amounts	Variations
1974	1557,2	52,5
1975	2.159,6	38.7
1976	2.417,8	12.0
1977	2.652,1	9.7
1978	3.176,0	19.8
1979	3696,5	16.4
1980	4.147,6	12.2
1981	5.242,0	26.4
1982	5114,5	-2.4
1983	6515,4	27.4
1984	7.680,9	17.9
1985	9.732,2	26.7
1986	12.730,6	30.8
1987	13.267,9	4.2
1988	10.700,4	-19.4
1989	11.344,1	6.0
1990	16.537,2	45.8
1991	17.328,1	4.8
1992	18.530,7	6.9
1993	18.215,9	-1.7
1994	16.814,4	-7.7
1995	16.819,9	0.03
1996	18.873,8	12.2
1997	18.033,4	-4.5
1998	19.200,0	6,5
1999	19.001,5	-1,6
2000	22.961,6	20,8
2001	36.858,1	60,5
2002	31.707,9	-14,0
2003	34.733,8	9,5
2004	37.154,0	7,4-

Source : Office des Changes-Maroc

Table n°5 Remittances to Morocco by country and channels in 2003
(Millions of dirhams)

COUNTRY	BANK TRANSFERS	POSTAL MONEY ORDERS	BANK NOTES	TOTAL
France	9 928,8	1 409,6	4 121,9	15 460,3
Italy	2 513,4	841,9	1 043,4	4 398,7
Spain	2 156,3	153,5	895,2	3 205,0
U.E.B.L	1 367,3	137,8	567,6	2 072,7
The Netherlands	1 326,9	164,2	550,8	2 041,9
United States	1 305,2	135,0	586,4	2 026,6
Great Britain	468,9	326,5	874,3	1 669,7
Germany	753,5	118,8	312,8	1 185,1
Switzerland	343,4	160,3	174,5	678,2
Saudi Arabia	399,2	20,5	138,2	557,9
U.A Emirates	446,3	26,8	55,4	528,5
Canada	94,9	18,7	36,6	150,2
Denmark	41,8	8,2	97,0	147,0
Norway	60,2	0,0	77,6	137,8
Sweden	43,9	4,1	35,5	83,5
Bahrain	32,9	12,3	1,7	46,9
Kuwait	25,0	6,1	8,8	39,9
Austria	15,5	6,1	6,4	28,0
Portugal	5,7	12,4	2,3	20,4
Qatar	8,9	4,1	2,3	15,3
Tunisia	12,4	0,0	0,0	12,4
Libya	9,7	0,0	0,0	9,7
Oman	6,9	2,0	0,0	8,9
Algeria	2,4	0,0	0,0	2,4
Others countries	116,0	82,4	8,4	206,8
TOTAL	21 485,4	3 651,3	9 597,1	34 733,8

Source : Office des changes
Up-dated figures

Canada	7070	64,42%	1,09%	9308	56,99%	1,33%	32%	13181	53,44%	1,49%	41,6%
USA	3890	35,44%	0,60%	6820	41,76%	0,98%	75%	10793	43,76%	1,22%	58,3%
Other countries	15	0,14%	0,00%	205	1,26%	0,03%	1267%	681	2,76%	0,08%	232,2%
Total other Am. countries	10975	100%	1,70%	16333	100%	2,34%	49%	24655	100%	2,79%	51,0%
GLOBAL TOTAL	646465		100%	698108		100%	8%	884866		100%	27%

Source : Office des Tunisiens à l'Etranger (OTE)

Table n°7 : Evolution of remittances from Tunisian abroad

	Cash		In kind		Total (millions of dinars)
	Numbers	%	Numbers	%	
1984	211	85,77%	35	14,23%	246
1988	393	84,15%	74	15,85%	467
1992	407	80,12%	101	19,88%	508
1996	592	74,19%	206	25,81%	798
2000	810	74,24%	281	25,76%	1091
2004	1376,4	75,92%	436,5	24,08%	1812,9

Source: Banque Centrale de Tunisie

Table n°8 : Yearly average of remittances of Tunisian abroad by country of residence, per person, per working persons and employed working person

HOST COUNTRY	Yearly average of remittances		
	Per person in dinars	Per working person in dinars	Per employed working person in dinars
France	1002,76	2497,78	3167,91
Germany	2771,62	10876,3	13504,8
Italy	1383,9	3137,89	3899,43
Belgium+ Luxembourg	1466,8	6812,97	8930,87
The Netherlands	1660,78	3119,81	3119,81
Sweden	1279,23	2059,87	2415,09
Switzerland	2314	3376,41	4146,83
Other countries	1890,3	3874,92	4063,45
Total Europe	1226,11	3059,26	3825,09
Saudi Arab	1260,08	4550,29	4550,29
U.A. Emirates	2444,11	5628	5628
Qatar	2023,12	7486,63	7486,63
Other Maghreb countries	2923,15	8176,23	9472,88
Total Pays Maghreb countries	1896,56	6007,79	6274,76
USA	1170,02	5324,46	5324,46
Canada	418,71	792,752	847,458
Other countries	95,596	111,932	125,752
GLOBAL TOTAL	1149	2631	3196

Source : Treatment of data according to figures given by OTE

Table 9 : Distribution of competencies of Tunisian abroad, by career

	Men		Women		Total	% sector
	Numb.	%	Numb.	%		
Fundamental sciences and technics	69	88%	9	12%	78	19%
Engineer sciences	82	85%	15	15%	97	24%
Computer sciences, Telecommunication	85	96%	4	4%	89	22%
Medical sciences	31	97%	1	3%	32	8%
Social sciences	64	91%	6	9%	70	17%
Literature , Human sciences	40	87%	6	13%	46	11%
Total	371	90%	41	10%	412	100%

Table 10 : Evolution of Tunisian civil volunteers by countries of appointment

1992-1996-2000-2004

	1992		1996		2000		2004	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Saudi Arabia	4013	52,18%	3003	47,96%	3229	41,16%	3203	39,08%
Bahrain	112	1,46%	78	1,25%	89	1,13%	153	1,87%
U.A. Emirates	364	4,73%	652	10,41%	923	11,77%	997	12,17%
Kuwait	21	0,27%	42	0,67%	106	1,35%	186	2,27%
Oman	1770	23,01%	1166	18,62%	1897	24,18%	1866	22,77%
Qatar	483	6,28%	506	8,08%	713	9,09%	785	9,58%
African countries	72	0,94%	35	0,56%	85	1,08%	84	1,03%
European countries	180	2,34%	293	4,68%	332	4,23%	381	4,65%
America and Asia	88	1,14%	111	1,77%	129	1,64%	169	2,06%
International organisations	343	4,46%	246	3,93%	322	4,10%	350	4,27%
Other countries	245	3,19%	129	2,06%	20	0,25%	21	0,26%
Total	7691	100%	6261	100%	7845	100%	8195	100%

List of people and institutions consulted

Algeria

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- Ait Said Djamel, chargé de mission, Ministère Délégué Chargé de la Communauté Nationale à l'Etranger
- Benabed Hamid, sous directeur chargé de la communauté nationale à l'étranger, Ministère des Affaires Etrangères
- Derradji Malika, sous-directrice de l'émigration à l'Agence Nationale de l'Emploi (ANEM)
- Dib Tourkia, directrice, Ministère de l'Emploi et de la Solidarité
- Hocine Tahar, directeur des études, Centre National des Etudes et d'Analyses sur la Population et le Développement (CNEAP)
- Khoutri Mourad, directeur de la communication par intérim, Chambre Algérienne de l'Industrie et du Commerce
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- Souileh Boudjemaa, vice président du sénat chargé des affaires internationales et de l'émigration
- Zerguine Djamel, directeur des Investissements directs Etrangers, Agence Nationale de Développement de l'Investissement (ANDI)

Morocco

- El Ftouh Abdesslam: directeur du pôle économique à la fondation Hassan II pour les Marocains résidant à l'étranger
- Aziz Rebbah, chef de division au ministère du commerce, d'industrie et d'artisanat
- Nadia Bentaleb: Directrice de "Migrations et Développement
- Hussein Jamal, un des fondateurs de "Migrations et développement"
- Ghandi Mohamed : chef de service à l'Office des Changes
- Mohammed Nadif: Professeur à la Faculté des sciences juridiques, économiques et sociales Souissi
- Ahmed Zekri, professeur à la Faculté des sciences juridiques, économiques et sociales- Agdal

Tunisia

- Abdessatar Maaroufi, Directeur général de la main-d'œuvre étrangère et de l'émigration (Ministère de l'Emploi et de l'Insertion Professionnelle de la Jeunesse)
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- Adel Snoussi, Directeur des Etudes (Agence Tunisienne de la Coopération Technique)

- Laurence Hart, Chef de Mission (Organisation Internationale pour les Migrations)
- Abdelmajid Sahraoui, Secrétaire Général Adjoint (Union Syndicale des Travailleurs du Maghreb Arabe)
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