



UvA-DARE (Digital Academic Repository)

Migration and development: the Euro-Moroccan experience

Collyer, M.; Cherti, M.; Lacroix, T.; van Heelsum, A.

DOI

[10.1080/13691830903165790](https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830903165790)

Publication date

2009

Document Version

Final published version

Published in

Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies

[Link to publication](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Collyer, M., Cherti, M., Lacroix, T., & van Heelsum, A. (2009). Migration and development: the Euro-Moroccan experience. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 35(10), 1555-1570. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830903165790>

General rights

It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

Disclaimer/Complaints regulations

If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: <https://uba.uva.nl/en/contact>, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.

This article was downloaded by: [Universiteit van Amsterdam]

On: 1 April 2010

Access details: Access Details: [subscription number 907217973]

Publisher Routledge

Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: Mortimer House, 37-41 Mortimer Street, London W1T 3JH, UK



Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/title~content=t713433350>

Migration and Development: The Euro-Moroccan Experience

Michael Collyer ; Myriam Cherti ; Thomas Lacroix ; Anja van Heelsum

To cite this Article Collyer, Michael , Cherti, Myriam , Lacroix, Thomas and van Heelsum, Anja(2009) 'Migration and Development: The Euro-Moroccan Experience', Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 35: 10, 1555 — 1570

To link to this Article: DOI: 10.1080/13691830903165790

URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13691830903165790>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Full terms and conditions of use: <http://www.informaworld.com/terms-and-conditions-of-access.pdf>

This article may be used for research, teaching and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, re-distribution, re-selling, loan or sub-licensing, systematic supply or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden.

The publisher does not give any warranty express or implied or make any representation that the contents will be complete or accurate or up to date. The accuracy of any instructions, formulae and drug doses should be independently verified with primary sources. The publisher shall not be liable for any loss, actions, claims, proceedings, demand or costs or damages whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with or arising out of the use of this material.

Migration and Development: The Euro–Moroccan Experience

Michael Collyer, Myriam Cherti, Thomas Lacroix and Anja van Heelsum

Despite the huge output of research on Moroccan migration, particularly on the links between migration and development, comparative research between Morocco and other significant countries of emigration has been comparatively limited. We suggest two main reasons for this. First, a substantial quantity of this research is published in Morocco and receives very limited distribution elsewhere. Second, the barrier that is still posed by the French–English linguistic divide is more frequently crossed by Dutch scholars than by native French or English speakers, limiting knowledge of work that falls significantly to one side or other of this linguistic divide. Despite significant literatures in Spanish or Dutch, the bulk of work on Morocco’s experience of migration and development appears in French and remains largely unknown in Anglophone circles. We hope that this special issue will contribute to overcoming both of these issues. This introduction reviews the literature on Moroccan migration and development and introduces the key themes of the special issue.

Keywords: Morocco; Migration; Development; Research; History

Introduction

Moroccan migration is, by any measure, amongst the most significant in the world. It encapsulates all of the major changes that have occurred in migration to Europe over the last few decades, its spatial and social diversity challenge established theoretical understandings and its long history and current social, political and economic significance have elevated Morocco to the status of a model in the current policy focus on migration and development, a status confirmed by the selection of Rabat to

Michael Collyer is Lecturer in Human Geography at the University of Sussex. Correspondence to: Dr M. Collyer, Dept of Geography, School of Global Studies, University of Sussex, Brighton BN1 9SJ, UK. E-mail: m.collyer@sussex.ac.uk. Myriam Cherti is Senior Research Fellow, Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR), London; Thomas Lacroix is Research Officer at the International Migration Institute, University of Oxford. Anja van Heelsum is Researcher in the Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies, University of Amsterdam.

host the first Euro–African meeting on migration and development in July 2006. The significance of Moroccan migration is well reflected in the vitality of migration studies literature in countries where Moroccans form a significant migrant group, particularly France (Anon. 2003; Belbah 1997; Cegarra 1999; El Hariri 1994; El Hariri 2003; Lacroix 2005; Lamchichi 1999; Ray 1938), Belgium (Bousetta 2001; Bousetta *et al.* 2005; Gaudier and Hermans 1991; Morelli 1993; Ouali 2004; Timmerman and van der Hayden 2005), the Netherlands (de Mas 1995, 1996; Muus 1990; Shadid 1979; van Amersfoort and van de Wusten 1976; Van den Berg-Eldering 1986), Spain (Lacomba 2002; López García 2004) and Italy (Salih 2003).

Most of this literature is in French or, increasingly, Spanish. Anglophone literature on Moroccan migration remains extremely limited. Even where North African migrants are considered in edited collections in English, such as Al-Shahi and Lawless (2005), chapters on Moroccans are lacking. This inhibits the productive comparisons that deserve to be made with migrant groups that are more frequently the focus of English language studies such as Filipino, Turkish, Indian or most obviously Mexican migration, but in-depth comparative research between these communities and Moroccans has only recently begun. The English language publications that do exist are largely thanks to Dutch researchers (eg. Bos and Fritschy 2006; de Haas 2003; Nellissen and Buijs 2000; Rettab 1995; Schoorl 2002a; van Amersfoort 1978, 1995; van der Erf and Heering 2002), though a group of British and British-based Moroccan scholars are beginning to change that (Cherti 2006, 2008, 2009; Sabry 2005).

This special issue contributes to the availability of cutting-edge research on Moroccan migration in English. All the papers were initially presented at a conference entitled ‘New Moroccan Migrations’, held at the University of Sussex, 12–15 July 2005, and have been substantially updated since then. The conference deliberately set out to overcome the linguistic divide that has hampered the availability of publications in English: it was bilingual French–English, everything was simultaneously translated and there were equal numbers of presenters from Europe and from Morocco. Many of the most valuable studies of Moroccan migration are published in Morocco and are difficult to access from anywhere else. These include the prolific output of researchers such as Abdelkrim Belguendouz (2002, 2003, 2005), the variety of valuable empirical studies conducted by quasi-governmental policy institutes such as INSEA, CERED or the Fondation Hassan II (Basfao and Taarji 1994), or the range of conference proceedings published by specialised centres such as AMERM in Rabat, CEMMM in Oujda or ORMES in Agadir.¹ Due to limited print runs and even more limited distribution, anyone looking for these publications outside of Morocco, or even, in many cases, within Morocco, faces a long and probably fruitless search. We are very pleased to be able to include papers from a number of researchers associated with these centres, which will provide at least a flavour of the quality of research they produce.

In this selection we have tried to maintain the diversity of contributions which characterised the original conference, translating more than half of the papers presented here. Though the particular focus on migration and development has regrettably forced us to leave out several papers that were presented, we are very

pleased that this set combines a mixture of both new and well-established researchers who are being published in English for the first time.

The Evolution of the Moroccan Approach to Migration and Development

For the best part of five decades, governments of Morocco and the European destination countries have attempted to forge links between migration and development. The understanding of development has changed during the period since Moroccan independence from a purely economic measure based on GDP per capita to a much broader understanding encompassing quality of basic services, equality of distribution of resources and environmental sustainability. It is used here in a broad, capability-based sense, which includes both economic and non-economic dimensions and can apply to individuals, families, organisations, regions or a country as a whole. Migration can be part of a broader transnational household livelihood strategy to overcome local social and economic constraints by improving living conditions and potentially enabling migrant households to invest in their region of origin, improving services such as transport, healthcare and education, which benefit all.

European governments were initially focused on the economic development of their own countries. The Moroccan government, in turn, began to experiment with ways of ensuring a positive return on migration relatively early in the history of Moroccan emigration. These benefits were interpreted in very different ways to the terms in which the migration–development relationship is now understood. Significant emigration was already established by independence in 1956. Despite continued predictions of its demise, it has never really stopped, but simply changed form. The first migrants were mostly unskilled, unemployed male labourers from politically and economically marginalised regions, principally the Souss and the Rif. In the immediate post-independence period, migration provided a convenient outlet for surplus labour from these areas and a way of reducing the associated potential for social and political unrest. Although initiatives for these post-independence labour agreements arose in Europe they fitted well with the Moroccan government's strategy to use emigration as an outlet for economically and politically marginalised groups.

Even in this early period, migration was a lucrative source of foreign exchange for Morocco and the government was more astute at planning for this than many other sending countries. In the late 1960s it was estimated that single Moroccans sent back between 80 and 90 per cent of their earnings and a survey in France in 1972 found that 89 per cent of Moroccans regularly sent money back, the highest proportion of any migrant group surveyed (Charef 1999). In 1968 a bank, *Crédit Populaire du Maroc* (CPM), was given the task of gathering remittances from emigrants to provide an alternative to the Post Office or simply entrusting remittances to a friend or acquaintance who was returning. The astonishing success of the CPM at dominating the bank trade in remittance transfers is responsible for transforming it into one of the largest banks in Morocco (Charef 1999).

European governments, on the other hand, were keen to contribute to their own economic development by attracting cheap labourers who were not initially expected to pose any real costs to the nascent welfare states. Within a decade of independence Morocco had signed labour migration agreements with Germany, the Netherlands and Belgium, initiating the diversification of Moroccan emigration away from France, but firmly establishing Europe as the dominant destination. Moroccans were not significantly attracted by new possibilities for migration to the oil producing states, with the exception of a small community in Libya. The continued growth of Moroccan emigration to Europe was unaffected by the end of labour migration to the major European destination countries. Rather, the predominantly male first-generation migrant workers became established in Europe and brought over their wives and children to join them. This development prompted the first wave of the 'more development for less migration' approach, which originated with the early French return policies. The REMPLD studies (1971–78), sponsored by the Dutch Ministry of Development Cooperation, were amongst the first large-scale studies of this phenomenon (Hamdouch *et al.* 1979; Heinemeijer *et al.* 1977).

The Moroccan government was keen to prevent any decline in remittance income resulting from the progressive establishment of Moroccans abroad through family reunification. In 1971 it had undertaken to maintain the parity of the Moroccan *dirham* with the French Franc by adding 3 per cent to all funds deposited by emigrants in Moroccan banks (Charef 1999). This soon became too costly to continue but the government continued to add a '*prime de fidélité*' to deposits made by emigrants. However this, too, became increasingly costly during the 1980s and in 1987 it was removed altogether. The resulting 20 per cent fall in remittance transfers in 1988 prompted a rethink of the structures used to maintain contact with emigrants. In 1989 the Banque Al Amal was created with the aim of helping to finance emigrants' projects (Leichtman 2002). The bank was thought to have been responsible for the creation of several thousand jobs a year in its first few years and continues to co-finance investment projects with significant loans (*Maroc-Hebdo* 19 July 2002). In 1990, there were further significant institutional developments: a minister with responsibility for Moroccans abroad was appointed and the Fondation Hassan II pour les Marocains Résidents à l'Étranger was created. The new term 'Moroccans Resident Abroad' (MRE) marked a significant symbolic change in orientation from the previous term 'Moroccan Workers Abroad' (TME).

The continued rise of remittances to Morocco has underlined the importance of the Moroccan government's careful management of these transfers. Since the 1990s Morocco has become one of the most significant remittance receivers in the world, both in absolute terms and as a proportion of GDP. This is largely a result of the rapid growth of Moroccan communities in 'new' destinations of Southern Europe, mainly Italy and Spain, where, particularly due to the large-scale regularisation schemes since the mid-1990s, Moroccans are now amongst the largest officially resident migrant communities. However, primary migration to more traditional destinations has not come to an end but slowly transformed into a much more highly skilled movement.

This is particularly the case for student migration to France and Belgium but also concerns highly skilled migrants in specialised occupations such as engineering or finance across Europe and in North America, including previously less common destinations such as the UK (Cherti 2006, 2009). The existence of a growing highly skilled and increasingly wealthy community raises the significance of contributions other than remittances, such as financial or skills investments. Morocco has a long tradition of self-help initiatives, support and solidarity networks, particularly in certain regions, which migration has expanded into a valuable resource of village-based associations, similar to those found in Mexico (Cohen 2001) or West Africa (Daum 1995; Schoorl 2002b).

International migration is no longer a characteristic principally of young men from particular social classes or regions in Morocco. It has become a common aspiration across social groups, in all parts of the country and autonomous migrants are now as likely to be women as men. Moroccan emigration now exhibits all of the complexities recognised as characteristic of modern migration systems with a tremendous variety of migrant profiles, diversity of destinations and types of migration. This migration no longer simply responds to the prevailing political, economic or social climate, but is a significant factor in shaping those conditions. Moroccan society, like similar 'cultures of migration', cannot be fully comprehended without detailed attention to the diverse dynamics of migration. Similarly, much of importance can be learned about migration processes more generally through detailed attention to Moroccan society. Studying the links and exchanges that migrants maintain with Morocco is a necessary step to understanding Moroccan society. Beyond this, the status of paradigm that Moroccan migration has come to occupy, in the European context, means that studies of Moroccan migration provide an important source of understanding of migration systems more broadly.

Studying Moroccan Migration

Moroccan migration provides a continual source of inspiration and interest in the development of our understanding of human migration and a particularly instructive example of attentive policy development. The long history of Moroccan migration, from the state-framed movements following independence to the latest transnational constructions, allows us to grasp the mutations as one pattern evolves into another, but also the articulations between different patterns which coexist in different places. It therefore opens the possibility to observe a very wide diversity of migratory actors: from settled children and grandchildren of migrants where questions of identity and social involvement persist, to nomadic merchants trading their way through various Mediterranean countries; from long-settled labour immigrants to newly arrived students and professionals.

This diversity of profiles reflects to some extent the diversity of destinations. The Moroccan community abroad displays a wide variety of interconnections between the 'home country' and the countries of settlement. The vast majority of emigrants come

back to visit their relatives or spend time on the coast every year or every few years during summer holidays. The huge, government sponsored 'operation transit' now provides facilities, support and entertainment for upwards of 2.5 million migrants returning each summer. But more and more visitors come at other times of the year as well—businessmen trading between Morocco and Europe, or retired people sharing their life between the country of their childhood and the country where their children now live. This bipolar circulation has been enriched thanks to the development of numerous travel companies linking countries by bus and plane, not to mention developments in communication technologies which support continual exchanges and flows of information across borders.

The complexity and density of this circulation is inevitably influenced by the Euro–Mediterranean policy environment. Due to the multiplicity of countries and patterns of settlement, Moroccans living abroad are affected by a wide array of migration and integration policies in the context of their host countries. In addition, migratory flows are subject to collectively agreed European policy toward Morocco such as Schengen visa regulations, targeted EU support for border control through programmes such as ANEAS, FRONTEX operations, bilateral and EU return agreements, or developments in the European Neighbourhood Policy. In addition to the long-established and continually evolving 'diasporic' policy of the Moroccan government, Morocco has recently passed legislation governing immigration and emigration which has been criticised as simply reinforcing European approaches (Belguendouz 2003; Lahlou 2005). Moroccan government policy more generally has a direct impact on the broader development context which may set the agenda for individual or collective migration projects and is likely to be especially significant in rural areas of the country.

It is no longer only the links between emigrants and communities in Morocco that are important. As Moroccans abroad increasingly self-identify as a 'diaspora', the lateral interconnections which link the population scattered between the different host countries become more important. Organisations across the Moroccan diaspora contribute to the increasingly sophisticated ways in which Moroccan civil society interacts with European governments and the European Union, which in turn affects the influence and power that these organisations may exert in favour of improving conditions in Morocco (Daoud 1997; Lacroix 2005). The numerous websites made by and for Moroccans abroad reflect this active social and cultural life (Brouwer 2006; Mamadouh 2001). Finally, there is some evidence that Morocco may be becoming a destination—more by default than anything else—as non-Moroccan migrants are blocked in their attempts to reach Europe, or simply stay awhile there in search of a calmer, safer place to search for work (Alioua 2005; de Haas 2006). The number of people involved in these movements is relatively small at present (Collyer 2006) but this trend has already taken on a significance out of proportion to the numbers of migrants within European policy making, and may prove to be of more lasting importance.

Research is still very much ongoing due to the profound importance of Moroccan migration and its continued dynamic vitality. The comparison of quantitative data is problematic, since statistics provided by the receiving countries, supranational organisations and Moroccan governmental bodies differ. Already the most basic count of numbers of Moroccans differs between European countries and may either refer to foreign nationals (as in Spain), persons born in Morocco, or even to persons with at least one parent born in Morocco (as in the Netherlands).

Remittances constitute the most important source of foreign currency for Morocco, and there is growing awareness that other ways in which the country benefits from migration, such as investments and skills of expatriates, may be even more important. The long history of Moroccan emigration and the variety of forms which it has taken in different places make it a major field of study. Morocco and Moroccan migrants have been the focus of studies on ethnic business entrepreneurship (Lacroix 2003; Ma Mung and Simon 1990; Ma Mung and Boubakri 1996), processes of integration (Belbah and Chattou 2002; Hooghiemstra 2001; Phalet and Swyngedouw 2003; van den Berg-Eldering 1986), return (Plette and Sayem 2005), diaspora formation (van Heelsum 2003), transnational practices (Lacroix *et al.* 2008), migratory circulation (Charef 1999; Schaeffer 2004; van Amersfoort 1978), transit migration (Alioua 2005; Belbah 2006; Collyer 2007) and, finally, the focus of this special issue, migration and development. As shown by the papers of this issue, the migration–development articulation can no longer be considered from the perspective of the regions of origin or regions of destination alone. The migration process produces a dynamic relation between Morocco and areas of destination. The effects and counter-effects of cross-border social interactions have encouraged new approaches linking transnational studies with development concerns.

Themes of the Special Issue

The papers in this collection set out to give equal balance to the Moroccan context of emigration and to the European context of immigration. In this sense, all contributions are rooted in the argument most associated with Abdelmalek Sayad (1999), namely that all migrants are *both* emigrants and immigrants at the same time. In his insistence, since the early 1970s, on the simultaneous significance of emigration and immigration, Sayad anticipated the focus on transnational relations that has now become the dominant paradigm of work on contemporary migration. Beyond this dual focus, the papers in this special issue are united by four major themes, each of which draws on long-established literatures but also attains an innovative stance. These are concerns with the significance of *networks and organisations*; foregrounding the *role of the state*, particularly the Moroccan state, in governing the migration and development process; a renewed emphasis on the *significance of territory* in considering transnational processes; and finally a conviction that *social transformation* is the inevitable result of large-scale migration. We look at each of these in turn.

Networks and Organisations

Social network theories provide a well-established way of considering migration, drawing on a Bourdieu-inspired interpretation of social capital as an amalgamation of potentially valuable social relations which migrants have access to (Bourdieu 1980; Heering *et al.* 2004). Migration is very rarely associated with what has become the rather less fashionable view of social capital, associated with Putnam (1993). Following a brief flurry of enthusiasm in development studies, Putnam's views have now been virtually abandoned, accused of offering overly simplistic solutions to complex development problems, or they are used in a highly amended way. Despite this, work on transnational migration is only beginning to discover the potential impact of transnational civil society (Faist 2000; Østergaard-Nielsen 2003). Although Putnam's work is not referenced directly by any of the contributors, the specific focus on associational dynamics and transnational organisations can be found in the papers by Charfi, Lacroix and Østergaard-Nielsen.

Abdelrhani Charfi's paper sets the development of associations in the Moroccan context by examining the origins and organisational strategies of a cross-section of village-based associations, established across Morocco. He contrasts those that grew from particular initiatives within the village context, which then attempted to mobilise emigrants, to those that arose more from the initiative of emigrants, that in turn began to engage with villages of origin. Eva Østergaard-Nielsen takes an alternative approach which begins with associational dynamics in Europe, in this case the co-development policies of the Catalan government, and examines their connections with associations in Morocco. She emphasises the local-to-local significance of these civil society developments. She follows the Catalan regional focus to the Moroccan locations where the Catalan-based associations are working, predominantly the north and east of Morocco, the Rif and Oriental regions. Thomas Lacroix begins in the Souss region, in the south of Morocco, but emphasises a transnational approach contrasting the strategies of associational actors in the context of village networks in Morocco with their lobbying and fundraising techniques in Europe. The ability to operate in both contexts is the mark of the successful transnational associational entrepreneur.

All three of these papers highlight the positive aspects of greater associational density and link this with positive development outcomes. Yet in doing so they present a far more complex and dynamic picture than Putnam suggests. All three papers consider a much wider range of factors: the organisational dynamics of associations for Charfi, local policy directives influencing civil society for Østergaard-Nielsen, and the varying strategies of individual associational leaders for Lacroix. In doing so, they are not suggesting that migrant village organisations or transnational civil society are unproblematically good, but advancing a wide range of considerations which influence the extent to which migrant transnational civil society is able to have positive impacts on the social, cultural and economic situation in Morocco. This

contributes to this relatively new area of research by identifying key ways in which organisations may reduce the cost of positive development outcomes

The Role of the State

It is obvious that states play an important role in regulating migration. Douglas Massey and colleagues highlighted the primordial role of migration policy in 1998 (Massey *et al.* 2005) and since then the literature on controlling migration and migration policy-making has expanded considerably (for instance, Cornelius *et al.* 2004). Research exploring the ways in which states can enhance the development impact of migration is far less established (but there is a huge literature dedicated to the question provided by international organisations, notably the World Bank, IMF, OECD, etc.), yet state-sponsored interventions can have dramatic effects on the nature and extent of economic and skills transfers from migrants, as the history of Moroccan emigration illustrates so clearly. In contrast to the literature on migration regulation, which focuses almost exclusively on the wealthy destination countries of Western Europe and North America, migrants' countries of origin have a much more significant role in migration and development initiatives. Destination countries continue to be important, particularly wealthier destination countries which may have substantial aid and/or development budgets targeted to specific countries of origin.

Though we cannot capture the variety of all destination countries where Moroccans reside, the examples of Spain, France and the Netherlands in this issue are helpful to describe this process. Recently this has become a more popular field of study but information remains scarce and, as we have already made clear, the long history of Morocco's experience in this field means that it provides a particularly instructive model. Papers by Mohammed Khachani and Hein de Haas respectively offer a consideration of the impact of migration on the Moroccan economy and a review of Morocco's history of migration and development projects. Eva Østergaard-Nielsen's paper explores the extent to which the priorities of European destination countries may influence the activities of migrant organisations. Given the significance of this theme, most other papers at least touch on it, even where it is not central to their concerns, such as Mohammed Charef's detailed survey of media usage of Moroccan emigrants.

In his analysis of the impact of migration on the Moroccan economy, Mohammed Khachani begins with the challenges faced by the Moroccan labour market. He presents results of the most recent large-scale survey conducted across Morocco on the international migrants' patterns of investment in Morocco to highlight the significance between investments that have already been made and the planned investments currently being considered. He identifies the major challenge for the Moroccan government as mobilising the more highly skilled amongst Moroccan emigrants.

Hein de Haas, meanwhile, relates the changing interpretations of the impacts of migration on Morocco's development to changing currents of theoretical thought on

the impact of migration on development in general. The changing policies of the Moroccan government towards emigrants have been influenced by this general climate of opinion on the developmental impacts of migration. Since the 1990s this theoretical outlook has evaluated migration more and more highly and the government has given a higher priority to migration issues.

Issues of migration and development are affected by policies that are not explicitly directed towards migrants or migration. Mohammed Charef's study of media usage considers the nature of connections between emigrants and Morocco affected by information passing through various satellite television stations, internet sources and, perhaps most importantly, telephone calls. The Moroccan state retains a dominant control in all of these areas and therefore has the potential to influence the nature and content of this communication. Within the field of development policy, particularly focused on rural areas, both Abdelrhani Charif and Thomas Lacroix cite the withdrawal of the Moroccan state from the provision of basic public services as a significant stimulus for emigrant-funded activism in providing electricity, piped water or roads to isolated areas. There is now evidence that the Moroccan state is re-investing in these areas, partly due to the example of successes achieved by emigrant mobilisation. Such examples suggest the real power of migrant transnational organisation in the field of development where, either through gradual pressure or through setting examples at a small scale, migrants can influence the future direction of government policy in these arenas.

The Significance of Territoriality

Territoriality is an established geographical concept that refers to techniques, particularly but not exclusively associated with governments, to control particular spaces. Much of the core work on transnationalism, certainly in the early 1990s, explored processes of deterritorialisation; geographical borders, it was argued, were becoming less relevant and nation-states were 'losing control' (Basch *et al.* 1994; Sassen 1996). It is now clear that, not only do nation-states remain the primordial unit of political control, as illustrated immediately above, but territoriality is significant at a range of other levels as well (Waldinger and Fitzgerald 2004). Thomas Lacroix's paper provides ample illustration of this point. The paper by Taoufik Agoumy and Mohamed Tamim explicitly considers territorial development at the local village level in the Ouneine valley in the High Atlas mountains. They present an innovative approach to migrant networks which focuses on the networks' spatial characteristics in order to establish a four-fold typology. This typology identifies the variety of ways in which migrant and non-migrant networks become inter-linked within the territory of the village, highlighting the local impacts of broader processes of territoriality engaged in by international migrants.

Agoumy and Tamim's paper illustrates how transnational networks of migrants, which were previously imagined as loose, nebulous entities, have real impacts on local spaces in Morocco. Such territorial concerns lead to an awareness of the uneven

distribution of migration-related developments that come out of a number of other papers. Mohammed Khachani cites evidence from the Moroccan Central Bank that investments and credits in the Moroccan banking system are extremely unevenly distributed, suggesting a high concentration of productive investments of migrants in large towns such as Casablanca rather than in poorer areas of the country where migrants originate from. But it is not only financial, but also human capital which is unevenly distributed. Charfi's survey covers 16 Moroccan provinces, but he finds tremendous concentration of active village associations in the south. Thomas Lacroix provides rich examples of the nature of this dense concentration of migrant activism in the south, which brings resources into poorer villages to an extent that is not replicated in other poor areas of the country. Evidence of such uneven development, with many benefits going to wealthier areas of the country, illustrates why financial transfers cannot be considered as a replacement for development assistance, which is deliberately targeted at the areas where it is most needed.

Social Transformation

There is now probably no part of Moroccan society which has not been influenced by processes of national and international migration, at least to some extent. Further research is needed on the cultural impact of migration on Moroccan society, like consumption and travel. In some cases the level of social transformation provoked by migration is obvious and unavoidable, such as the replacement of the traditional agricultural importance of spring and autumn with the previously quiet and barren summer as the season of festivals, weddings and celebrations, to coincide with the annual return of migrants (de Haas 2003). In other cases major social changes are carefully resisted, such as the management of the challenge to traditional village elites, charted by Lacroix. This also links to the self-reinforcing processes of international migration as migrants bring new sources of information, referred to in Mohammed Charef's paper, which present an attractive picture of potential destinations and may encourage continued emigration.

Yet we do not wish to foster a simple association of mobility with modernity. The history of Moroccan migration illustrates that large-scale migration, and later international migration, began in the most rural, traditional areas of Morocco. It is only since the early 1990s that migration has spread across all geographical regions and sectors of Moroccan society. Nor does migration necessarily advance the modernist project. Evidence from Lacroix's paper suggests that the rigid maintenance of social hierarchies in the face of challenges from international migration actually reinforces traditional values and the most successful international migrants are those who are able to operate in those terms, as well as the contrasting situation in Europe. The typology expressed in Agoumy and Tamim's paper identifies ways in which even those families which are not linked into international migrant networks are able to progress in the village. Social transformation is therefore not an immediate result of migration that is similarly identifiable across Morocco. Rather, the often dramatic social influences and

challenges which result from migration are filtered through existing social systems and managed in a variety of interactions to produce new and complex social forms.

Conclusion

The links between migration and development go far beyond the purely economic. Interest in these themes is frequently justified in financial terms and it is important to consider financial transfers carefully, highlighting their differential impact on sectors of the economy, as Khachani's paper does, or looking at the various aspects of uneven geographical distribution highlighted in many of the other papers. Yet development cannot be considered in isolation from the social and cultural context of changes provoked by migration, the 'social remittances' that have been discussed elsewhere (Levitt 1998). The papers presented here consider this variety of possible effects of migration on the development potential of Morocco. All papers are based on original research and all focus on the dual nature of migration as emigration/immigration, from which ideas of transnationalism originate.

It is apparent from this review of research on Moroccan migration that comparative research with other migrant groups is rare. The comparative research that has been undertaken is entirely thanks to Dutch researchers, going back to the REMPLOD Study in the 1970s, and more recently the 2002 NIDI study on Morocco, Ghana and Senegal (Fadloulah *et al.* 2000; Schoorl *et al.* 2000). There are many examples where Moroccans in Europe have been considered as one of a number of case studies but research which considers the issues faced by Morocco as a country of origin, and perhaps also a new country of destination, in conjunction with other countries in similar situations, remains extremely rare. Although this special issue chooses to focus exclusively on Morocco, we hope that it will provide a stimulus for such research. At the very least, the papers which follow are a fitting testament to the richness of the Moroccan experience of migration, the tremendous impacts, both positive and negative, that this migration has had on Morocco itself, and the wealth of academic research carried out on this subject.

Acknowledgements

Funding for the conference in which this special issue originates came from the Nuffield Foundation and the EU-funded IMISCOE Network of Excellence (see <http://www.imiscoe.org> for details). We also wish to express our appreciation to Mark Thomson, whose outstanding administrative talents enabled the original conference to function smoothly and helped bring this special issue together. Mark also translated some of the papers from French to English.

Note

- [1] AMERM is the Association Marocaine d'Etudes et de Recherche sur les Migrations, based in the law faculty of Mohammed V University in Rabat. CEMMM is the Centre d'Etudes sur les

Mouvements Migratoires Maghrébins, based at the Mohammed I University in Oujda. ORMES is the Observatoire Régional des Migrations, Espaces et Sociétés, at the University of Agadir. There is also a large number of individual researchers working on migration outside of these important centres.

References

- Alioua, M. (2005) 'La migration transnationale des Africains subsahariens au Maghreb: l'exemple de l'étape marocaine', *Maghreb-Machrek*, 185: 37–58.
- Al-Shahi, A. and Lawless, R. (2005) *Middle East and North African Immigrants in Europe*. London: Routledge.
- Anon. (ed.) (2003) 'Marocains de France et d'Europe', Special Issue, *Hommes et Migrations*, 1242.
- Basch, L., Glick Schiller, N. and Szanton-Blanc, C. (1994) *Nations Unbound. Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments and Deterritorialized Nation-States*. New York: Gordon and Breach.
- Basfao, K. and Taarji, H. (eds) (1994) *L'Annuaire de l'Emigration Maroc*. Rabat: Fondation Hassan II pour les Marocains Résidant à l'Etranger.
- Belbah, M. (1997) *Mobilité ou Intégration? L'Exemple de l'Etudiant Marocain en France*. Paris: Institut des Etudes Politiques, unpublished PhD thesis.
- Belbah, M. (2006) 'Trajectoires et point de vue du migrant', *Accueillir*, 238: 25–42.
- Belbah, M. and Chattou, Z. (2002) *La Double Nationalité en Question. Enjeux et Motivations de la Double Appartenance*. Paris: Karthala.
- Belguendouz, A. (2002) *L'Ahrig du Maroc, l'Espagne et l'UE plus de l'Europe . . . Securitaire*. Rabat: Inter-Graph.
- Belguendouz, A. (2003) *Le Maroc Non-Africain, Gendarme de l'Europe*. Rabat: Inter-Graph.
- Belguendouz, A. (2005) *Politique Européenne de Voisinage: Barrage au Sudistes*. Rabat: Inter-Graph.
- Bos, P. and Fritschy, W. (eds) (2006) *Morocco and the Netherlands: Society, Economy, Culture*. Amsterdam: VU University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1980) 'Le capital social', *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales*, 31(1): 2–3.
- Bousetta, H. (2001) *Immigration, Post-Immigration Politics and the Political Mobilization of Ethnic Minorities. A Comparative Case-Study of Moroccans in Four European Cities*. Brussels: Université Catholique de Bruxelles, unpublished PhD thesis.
- Bousetta, H., Gsir, S. and Martiniello, M. (eds) (2005) *Les Migrations Marocaines vers la Belgique et l'Union Européenne. Regards Croisés*. Bilbao: Université de Deusto and HumanitarianNet.
- Brouwer, L. (2006) 'Dutch Moroccan websites: a transnational imagery?', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 32(7): 1153–68.
- Cegarra, M. (1999) *Les Mineurs Marocains dans le Nord de la France*. Lille: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion.
- Charef, M. (1999) *La Circulation Migratoire Marocaine: Un Pont Entre Deux Rives*. Rabat: Edition Sud Contact.
- Cherti, M. (2006) 'Reconstructing the history of Moroccan migration to the UK: an oral history approach', in Ohliger, R. and Mareike, S. (eds) *Enlarging European Memory: Migration Movements in Historical Perspective*. Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 169–78.
- Cherti, M. (2008) *Paradoxes of Social Capital: A Multi-Generational Study of Moroccans in London*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Cherti, M. (2009) 'Moroccans in England since the 1960s', in Bade, K.J., Emmer, P.C., Lucassen, L. and Oltmer, J. (eds) *Migration, Integration, Minorities since the 17th Century: A European Encyclopaedia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, in press.
- Cohen, J.H. (2001) 'Transnational migration in rural Oaxaca, Mexico: dependency, development and the household', *American Anthropologist*, 103(44): 954–67.

- Collyer, M. (2006) *States of Insecurity: Consequences of Saharan Transit Migration*. Oxford: University of Oxford, Centre on Migration Policy and Society (COMPAS), Working Paper 06–31.
- Collyer, M. (2007) ‘In-between places: trans-Saharan transit migrants in Morocco and the fragmented journey to Europe’, *Antipode*, 39(4): 668–90.
- Cornelius, W.A., Takeyuki, T., Martin, P.L. and Hollifield, J.F. (2004) *Controlling Immigration. A Global Perspective*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Daoud, Z. (1997) *Marocains des Deux Rives*. Paris: L’Atelier.
- Daum, C. (1995) *Les Migrants, Partenaires de la Coopération Internationale: Le Cas des Maliens de France*. Paris: OECD, Development Centre Working Paper 107.
- de Haas, H. (2003) *Migration and Development in Southern Morocco. The Disparate Socio-Economic Impacts of Out-Migration on the Todgha Oasis Valley*. Nijmegen: Radboud University, PhD thesis.
- de Haas, H. (2006) ‘Trans-Saharan migration to North Africa and the EU: historical roots and current trends’, *Migration Information Source*, November.
- de Mas, P. (1995) ‘Dynamique récente de la migration marocaine vers les Pays-Bas: spécificité régionale et réseau rifain’, in Anon. (ed.) *Le Maroc et la Hollande. Actes de la Quatrième Rencontre Universitaire Maroc–Néerlandaise*. Rabat: Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines, 213–28.
- de Mas, P. (1996) ‘La comunidad Marroqui en Holanda’, in Bernab, L.G. (ed.) *Atlas de la Inmigración Magrebi en España*. Madrid: Ediciones Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 62–72.
- El Hariri, A. (1994) *Les Marocains Dans les Houillères du Nord–Pas-de-Calais et Leurs Relations avec le Pays D’Origine*. Poitiers: Université de Poitiers, unpublished PhD thesis.
- El Hariri, S. (2003) *Des Femmes Marocaines en Migration: Un Essai Géographique*. Poitiers: Université de Poitiers, unpublished PhD thesis.
- Fadloulah, A., Berrada, A. and Khachani, M. (2000) *Facteurs d’Attraction et de Repulsion à l’Origine des Flux Migratoires Internationaux. Rapport National: Le Maroc*. Brussels: European Commission, Eurostat Working Paper 3/2000/E/no. 6.
- Faist, T. (2000) *The Volume and Dynamics of International Migration and Transnational Social Spaces*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Gaudier, P. and Hermans, P. (1991) *Des Belges Marocains. Parler à l’Immigré, Parler de l’Immigré*. Brussels: De Boeck University.
- Hamdouch, B., Berrada, A., Heinemeijer, W.F., de Mas, P. and van der Wusten, H. (1979) *Migration de Développement, Migration de Sous-Développement? Une Etude sur l’Impact de la Migration Internationale dans le Milieu Rural du Maroc*. Rabat: INSEA/REMPLOD.
- Heering, L., van der Erf, R. and van Wissen, L. (2004) ‘The role of family networks and migration culture in the continuation of Moroccan emigration’, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 30(2): 323–38.
- Heinemeijer, W.F., van Amersfoort, J.M.M., Ettema, W., de Mas, P. and van der Wusten, H.H. (1977) *Partir Pour Rester: Incidences de l’Emigration Ouvrière à la Campagne Marocaine*. The Hague: Institut Socio-Géographique de l’Université d’Amsterdam, Publication No. 2, REMPLD.
- Hooghiemstra, E. (2001) ‘Migrants, partner selection and integration: crossing borders? Turks and Moroccans in the Netherlands’, *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 32(September): 603–25.
- Lacomba, J. (2002) ‘Los efectos de la inmigración sobre el desarrollo. El caso de las migraciones en Marruecos’, in Darcia Castaño, F.J. and Lopez, C.M. (eds) *La Inmigración en España: Contextos y Alternativas*. Granada: Congreso Inmigración, 124–42.
- Lacroix, T. (2003) ‘Les commerçants sossis en France: entre communautarisme et mondialisation’, *Panoramique*, 65: 70–6.

- Lacroix, T. (2005) *Les Réseaux Marocains du Développement: Géographie du Transnational, Politiques du Territorial*. Paris: Les Presses des Sciences Po.
- Lacroix, T., Salzbrunn, M. and Sall, L. (2008) 'Les Marocains et Sénégalais de France: permanences et évolution des relations transnationales', *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales*, 24(2): 23–43.
- Lahlou, M. (2005) *Les Migrations Irrégulières entre le Maghreb et l'Union Européenne: Evolutions Recentes*. Florence: European University Institute, Research Report 2005/03.
- Lamchichi, A. (1999) 'L'immigration marocaine en France, changements et ruptures', *Confluences Méditerranéennes*, 31: 147–68.
- Leichtman, M.A. (2002) 'Transforming brain drain into capital gain: Morocco's changing relationship with migration and remittances', *Journal of North African Studies*, 7(1): 109–37.
- Levitt, P. (1998) 'Social remittances: migration-driven local-level forms of cultural diffusion', *International Migration Review*, 32(4): 926–48.
- López García, B. (ed.) (2004) *Atlas de la Inmigración Marroquí en España*. Madrid: Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Taller de Estudios Internacionales Mediterráneos.
- Mamadouh, V. (2001) 'Constructing a Dutch Moroccan identity through the world wide web', *The Arab World Geographer*, 4(4): 640–58.
- Ma Mung, E. and Simon, G. (1990) *Commerçants Maghrébins et Asiatiques en France*. Paris: Masson.
- Ma Mung, E. and Boubakri, H. (1996) *Mobilités et Investissements des Emigrés, Maroc, Tunisie, Turquie, Sénégal*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Massey, D.S., Arango, J., Hugo, G., Kouaouci, A., Pellegrino, A. and Taylor, J.E. (2005) *Worlds in Motion: Understanding International Migration at the End of the Millennium*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Morelli, A. (1993) *Histoire des Etrangers et de l'Immigration en Belgique de la Préhistoire à nos Jours*. Brussels: Vie Ouvrière.
- Muus, P. (1990) 'Vijftientig jaar migratie van Marokkanen naar Nederland: 1963–1988', *Geografisch Tijdschrift*, 24(1): 87–92.
- Nelissen, C. and Buijs, F.J. (2000) 'Between continuity and change: Moroccans in the Netherlands', in Vermeullen, H. and Penninx, R. (eds) *Immigrant Integration: The Dutch Case*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, 178–201.
- Østergaard-Nielsen, E. (ed.) (2003) *International Migration and Sending Countries: Perceptions, Policies and Transnational Relations*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ouali, N. (ed.) (2004) *Trajectoires et Dynamiques Migratoires des Marocains de Belgique*. Brussels: Éditions Bruylant-Academia.
- Phalet, K. and Swyngedouw, M. (2003) 'Measuring immigrant integration: the case of Belgium', *Studi Emigrazione*, 152: 773–804.
- Plette, C. and Sayem, M. (2005) 'Experiences of re-migrated Moroccans from the Netherlands in Berkane, Morocco'. Amsterdam: Vrije Universiteit, paper presented at the conference *Traditions and Modernity*, 30–31 May.
- Putnam, R. (1993) 'The prosperous community: social capital and public life', *The American Prospect*, 4(13): 35–42.
- Ray, J. (1938) *Les Marocains en France*. Paris: Librairie du Recueil Sirey.
- Rettab, B. (1995) *Economic Performance of the Immigrant Workforce: A Case Study of Moroccans in the Netherlands*. Rotterdam: Proefschrift Erasmus Universteit.
- Sabry, T. (2005) 'Emigration as popular culture: the case of Morocco', *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 8(1): 5–22.
- Salih, R. (2003) *Gender in Transnationalism: Home, Longing and Belonging Among Moroccan Migrant Women*. London: Routledge.
- Sassen, S. (1996) *Losing Control? Sovereignty in an Age of Globalization*. New York: Columbia University Press.

- Sayad, A. (1999) *La Double Absence: Des Illusions de l'Emigré aux Souffrances de l'Immigré*. Paris: Seuil.
- Schaeffer, F. (2004) *Le Territoire des Passe-Frontières: Dynamiques Sociales, Identitaires et Spatiales de la Structuration du Champ Migratoire Marocain*. Poitiers: Université de Poitiers, unpublished PhD thesis.
- Schoorl, J. (2002a) *International Migration to and Migrants in the Netherlands, with Special Attention to Moroccan Migration and Migrants*. The Hague: NIDI.
- Schoorl, J. (2002b) *Emigration, Who Moves and Who Stays? The Case of Morocco, Ghana and Senegal*. The Hague: NIDI.
- Schoorl, J., Heering, L., Esveldt, I., Groenewold, G., van der Erf, R., Bosch, A., de Valk, H. and de Bruijn, B. (2000) *Push and Pull Factors of International Migration: A Comparative Report*. Luxembourg: Eurostat.
- Shadid, W. (1979) *Moroccan Workers in the Netherlands*. Leiden: Leiden University, unpublished PhD thesis.
- Timmerman, C. and van der Heyden, K. (2005) 'Turkish and Moroccan newcomers in Flanders', in de Smedt, H. (ed.) *Unexpected Approaches to the Global Society*. Antwerp: Garant, 87–104.
- van Amersfoort, H. (1978) 'Migrant workers, circular migration and development', *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 69(1–2): 17–26.
- van Amersfoort, H. (1995) 'From workers to immigrants: Turks and Moroccans in the Netherlands 1965–1992', in Cohen, R. (ed.) *The Cambridge Survey of World Migration*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 308–12.
- van Amersfoort, H. and van der Wusten, H. (1976) *Les Travailleurs Marocains aux Pays Bas*. Rijswijk: Ministry of Cultural Affairs, Leisure and Social Action.
- van den Berg-Eldering, L. (1986) *Van gastarbeider tot immigrant. Marokkanen en Turken in Nederland 1965–1985*. Brussels: Alphen aan den Rijn.
- van der Erf, R. and Heering, L. (2002) *Moroccan Migration Dynamics: Prospects for the Future*. Geneva: International Organization for Migration.
- van Heelsum, A. (2003) *Moroccan Berbers in Europe, the US and Africa and the Concept of Diaspora*. Los Angeles: UCLA, International Studies Electronic Publishing Program.
- Waldinger, R. and Fitzgerald, D. (2004) 'Transnationalism in question', *American Journal of Sociology*, 109(5): 1177–95.