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Diaspora, Development and Morocco

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Abstract

The contribution that the diaspora makes to development in the country of origin is examined. Drawing on a recent World Bank survey of migrants from the MENA countries, the needs of the diaspora and the development role it can play through its organizations are reviewed. A constructive interaction with the diaspora can be greatly enhanced by supportive policies in the country of origin. The main focus of the paper is on the Middle East and North African region, and more specifically on Morocco and how it compares with other world regions where migration plays an important role. The best possible outcome for the migrants' countries of origin would be reforms that accelerate growth and foster job creation. However, even the best designed and most assiduously implemented reforms will not yield results quickly enough for the young and burgeoning population. That is why policies that forge stronger links with the diaspora and facilitate emigration of those that cannot find good jobs at home can make sense as part of a broader development strategy. Many of today's high income countries, such as Ireland, Italy, and Swedenwere once countries of very high emigration.

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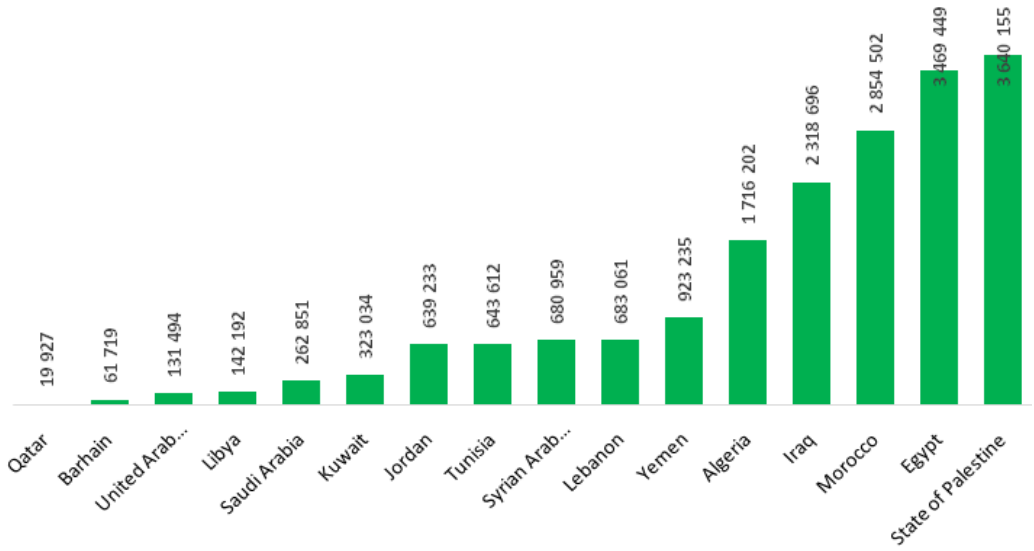
Introduction

The diaspora, defined as "the movement, migration or scattering of a people away from an established or ancestral homeland" can play an important role in the development of the country of origin. In 2013 at least 18 million people born in the Middle East and North Africa resided outside their country of origin, representing 4.4% of the population of that region, a larger proportion than the world average, which is near 3%.Though the estimates vary this number has increased sharply in 2014 and 2015with the ongoing outflow of refugees from Syria, Iraq, and Libya, to neighboring countries and to Europe. In 2013, the largest diaspora in absolute terms, with well over a million, originated in Palestine, Egypt, Morocco, Iraq, and Algeria in that order (see figure 1). At the time of writing, migration from Syria – traditionally not a country of large emigration - has probably overtaken that of Algeria.

Figure 1: Distribution of the diaspora in the MENA region



Source: United Nation Development Program (UNPD), 2013

Migrants originating in the oil-rich Gulf countries, by contrast, are few, while these countries attract migrants from the rest of the MENA region. Migrants are all the more important as a vehicle for international integration in the MENA regionin light of the region'srelatively low integration through the trade channel. Moreover, migration provides a crucial exit route for the region's large number of young unemployed. While policies that facilitate international trade and investment are not high on the agenda at present on account of the region's political and security crisis, there is more that governments in the MENA region can do to draw support and solidarity from theirexisting diaspora. In both the short and medium term, policies that facilitate closer links to their diaspora and, in the longer term (as the region's refugee crisis hopefully abates) that facilitate economic migration can form part of countries' development strategy.

The policy paper reviews what is known about the contribution that the diaspora can make to development in the country of origin, drawing from a small but rapidly growing empirical literature on the subject. It then examines the needs of the diaspora and the development role it can play through its organizations. A constructive interaction with the diaspora can be greatly enhanced by supportive policies in the country of origin; the nature of such policies and the impediments to their adoption arealso examined. The main

focus of the paper is on migration and diaspora in the Middle East and North African region and how it compares with other regions where migration plays an important role. Additionally, the paper examines more closely the case of Morocco, a country which has been especially active in fostering links with its large diaspora.

The diaspora and development

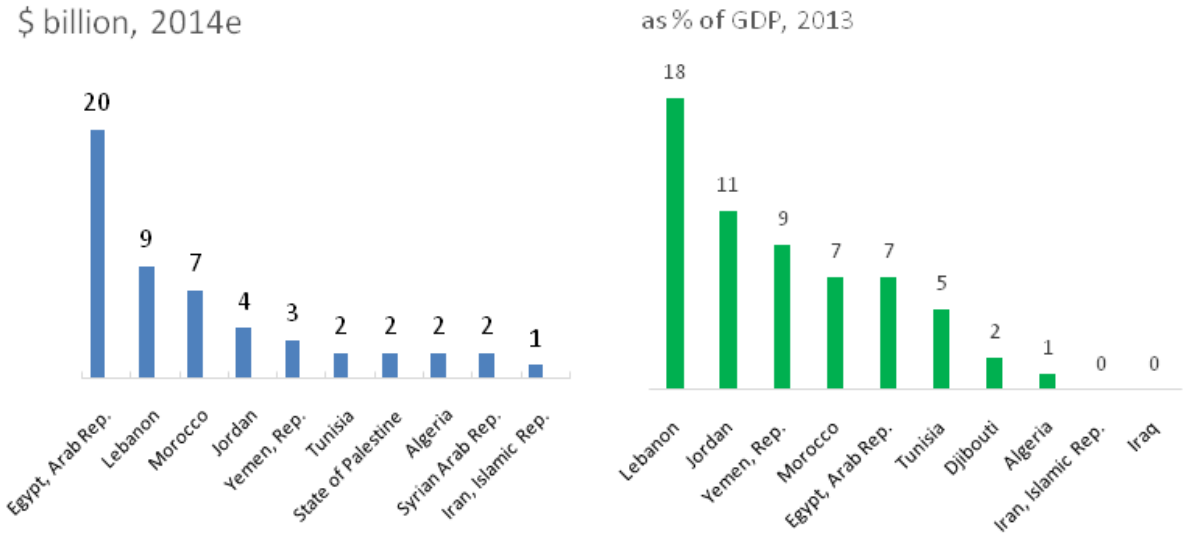
The narrowest measure of the diaspora are people residing outside their country of birth. For the purposes of economic analysis amore appropriate measure of the diaspora might include all people residing abroad but likely to have strong links to their ancestral place of origin, with knowledge of its language and customs, and so might extend at least to the immediate offspring of migrants, easily doubling or even trebling the narrowest measure. Moreover,it should be recognized that the roots of the diaspora run deep and wide in the country of origin through the family and friends left behind: in countries such as Morocco – where migrants represent approximately 10% of the native population and the group of people living abroad who hold Moroccan nationality is much larger still – many people will have a daughter, brother, cousin, niece or grandchild who resides overseas.

The considerable capacity to network across borders that such large diasporas imply – especially now, in the age of social media and low-cost travel and communication- is what makes them potentially importantfacilitators of all forms of international exchange. By far the most prevalent motive for migration initially is economic, as distinct from forced migration resulting from political upheaval or persecution –which, however, has become sadly more prevalent in the region in recent years (See Box). Subsequent waves of migration can be driven more prominently by a desire for family reunification. More generally, migration is facilitated by the existence of diaspora networks, so there is a strong self-reinforcing process at work.

It is estimated that some 2/3 of migration occurs from less developed to the advanced economies (Cuaresma et al. 2013)so a large diaspora can, in addition to remittances,often facilitate the access to more sophisticated and larger markets, deeper capital markets, and state-of-the art technologies and management know-how.At a time when the productivity gap between advanced and low income economies is typically in the range of 20 to 1 and between advanced and middle income economies is around 5 to 1and where the opportunities to learn from the frontier have never been more important to achieve rapid economic growth, the diaspora can significantly facilitate the process.
In examining the impact of diasporas, the spotlight has naturally been placed on migrant remittances, which reached $436 billion in 2014 according to the World Bank, and given their enormous importance as a source of foreign exchange in developing countries and of sustenance for tens of millions of poor families(see figure 2 and 3). In 2014, it is estimated that the 18 million migrants from the MENA region sent home some $53 billion of remittances, and that countries such as Lebanon and Jordan had remittances in excess of 10% of GDP (see figure 2), well in excess of what those countries spend on education, health care, and defense combined. Morocco, a country with a much larger population than Lebanon and Jordan, receives 7% of GDP[1] , an amount comparable to its foreign currency earnings from exporting manufactures.

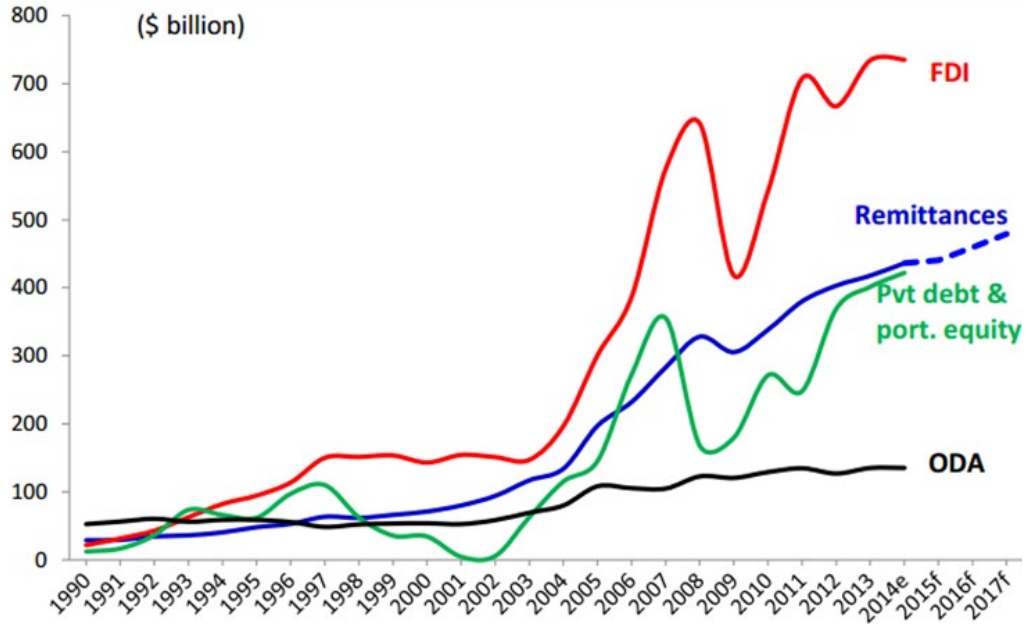
1. World Development Indicators Database, World Bank.

Figure 2: Top recipients of remittances



Source: World Bank (2014), "Migration and Development Brief 23", October 2014

Figure 3: Remittances to developing countries reached $436 billion in 2014, MENA: $53 billion



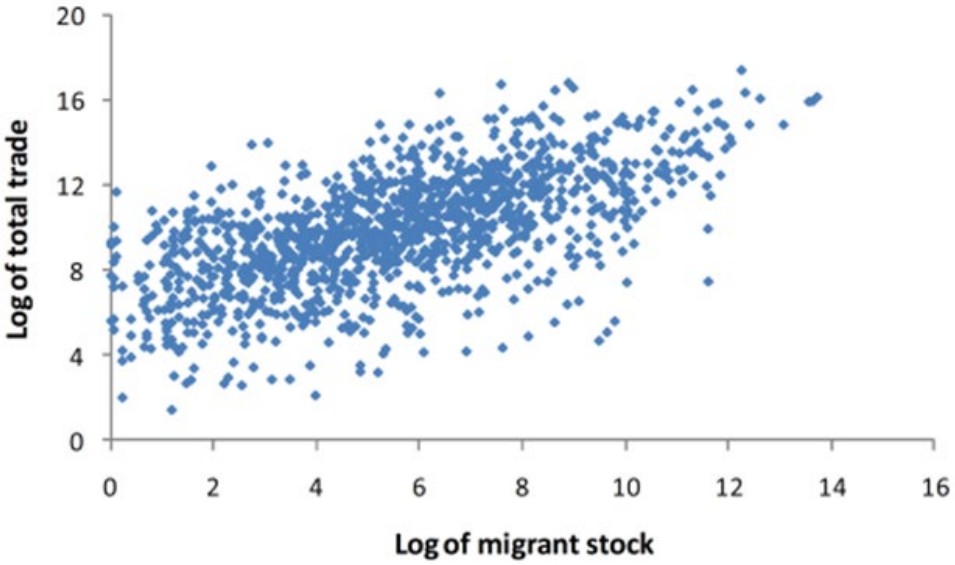
Source: World Bank Staff calculations, World Development Indicators, OECD. Private debt includes portfolio investment bonds, and commercial banks and other lending.

As has been widely documented, reducing the cost of transferring these funds, which can amount to several percentage points of the value of smaller remittances, is an obvious opportunity for government action (Richard Perkins and Eric Neumayer, 2013). By enhancing competition in funds transfer and supporting the adoption of new fund-transfer technologies, such as through cell-phones, credit cards and web-based systems, governments can make remittances easier and more convenient as well as increase their flow directly.

However, important as they are, remittances constitute far too narrow a prism through which to view the effect of diaspora on development and poverty alleviation in the country of origin. Compared to a country that has a small and disconnected diaspora, a country tightly interacting with its large diaspora can rely on their help when times at home are hard. Personal remittances, for example, tend to be a stable source of foreign exchange and sometimes even to rise in times of crisis. Moreover, a country with close links to its diaspora may also experience a multiplier effect in the form of increased trade and investment links when its reforms succeed.

The recent and growing literature on the diaspora provides considerable evidence that it plays an important role in international integration. One study shows that a large diaspora is significantly associated with a higher intensity of bilateral trade between the country of origin and destination (see figure 4), and that the effect is much more pronounced in the case of trade in heterogeneous or differentiated products than in homogenous products such as primary commodities(Rauch and Trindade, 2002).

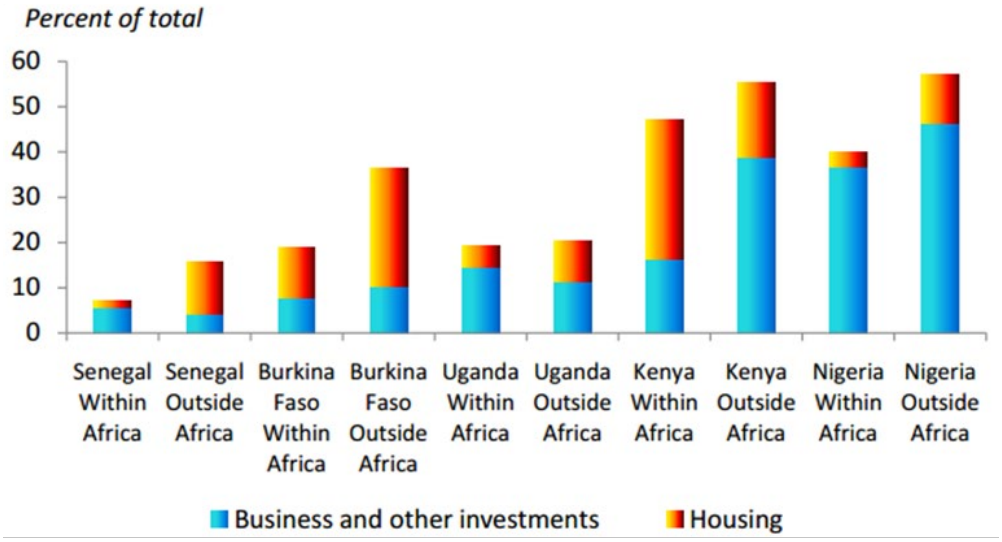
Figure 4: Migration and Trade go hand in hand: African and OECD countries



Source: Data on the stocks of migrants are taken from the Bilateral Migration Matrix 2010 (World Bank 2011). The trade data are for 2007 from the World Integrated Trade Solution. Note: Bilateral trade (2007) and migrant population (2010) between OECD and Africa. Each dot represents a migrant corridor (Kenya-UK, Morocco-France, etc.)

This suggests that links to the diaspora can help overcome the information asymmetries and non-tariff barriers that are known to play a large role in inhibiting trade. Along similar lines, diasporas are found to be significantly associated with the intensity of international investment flows, and more especially with bilateral FDI flows than with (more homogenous and less information intensive) portfolio flows(Leblang, 2010). The figurebelow, which refers to Sub-Saharan Africa, shows that in some countries, such as Nigeria and Kenya, real estate and business investments account for over half of total remittances.

Figure 5: Investments in Business and Housing Funded by Remittances from Within



Source: Africa Migration Project Household surveys in Burkina Faso, Kenya, Nigeria, Senegal, and Uganda in second half of 2009 (Plaza, Navarrete, Ratha 2011). Note: Other investments include agricultural equipment, investment in agriculture, land purchases, and livestock purchase.

Moreover, numerous studies identify a large diaspora as the single most important determinant of bilateral migration flows(Cuaresma et al. 2013; see above), demonstrating the importance of networks in migration, and their cumulative effect. Research also shows that the structure and size of migration flows arise from a complex mix of self-selection factors- such as wage differentials, probability to find a job, welfare programs and amenities, migration costs- and out-selection factors- such as immigration policies at destination, mobility agreements, etc). Migration costs also exert significant effects on the migration flows. Mobility agreements suchas the EU's Schengen (open borders) agreement also seem to favor migration, and especially that of highly skilled workers. (Diaspora, Michel Beine, Frédéric Docquier and Çaglar Özden, World Bank, Development Research Group, 2009)

Systematic empirical studies of links between trade, investment and diasporas, are supported by numerous anecdotes or case studies. The most often cited example is the development of the Indian IT industry, now employing some 3.5 million and representing a large share of India's exports, which has relied greatly on the two way flow of talent, money, ideas and contacts, between Bangalore and the Indian diaspora in Silicon valley as well as other technology corridors in the United States. A notable feature of the Indian IT's industry development and of its diaspora links is the absence of any significant government involvement, exception made for the public funding of prominent educational institutions such as the Indian Institute of Technology. In Taiwan, Morris Chang, a returning expatriate executive from the US, is widely credited for the creation of the country's semiconductor industry with systematic government support. Other examples in which the government played a more active role include the development of the Korean wig industry, which owes much to the links of expatriate Koreans in the United States, but which was encouraged by specific government interventions. A large recent investment by Bombardier of Canada to produce aircraft parts in Morocco, facilitated and encouraged by the government, is said to owe much to the contacts established by an expatriate Moroccan holding a job high in the hierarchy of Bombardier. But perhaps the most important diaspora links in terms of their effect on international trade comes from China, with its large expatriate communities throughout East Asia, the United States, and increasingly Africa and large parts of the developing world(Rauch and Trindade, 2002). Hong Kong and Singapore,

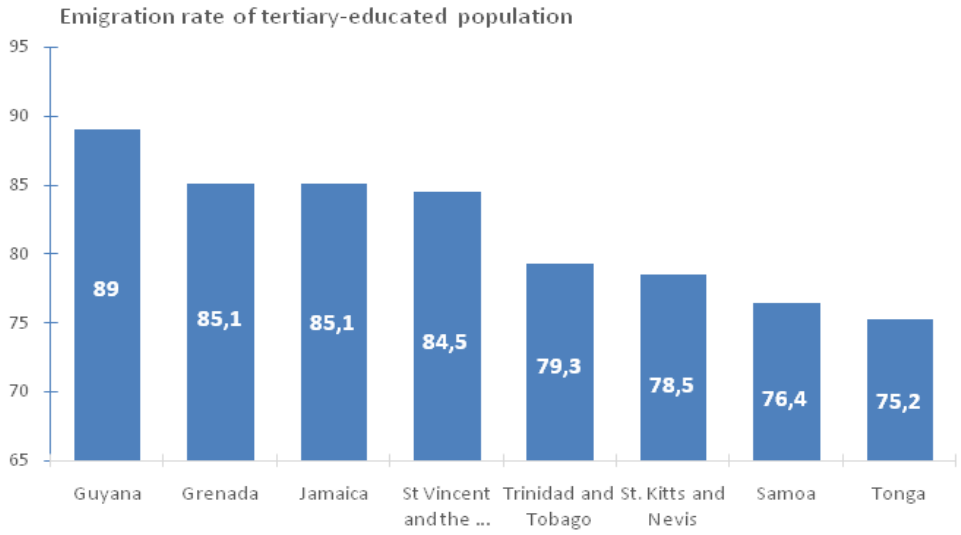
with their large concentrations of overseas Chinese, are the largest sources of FDI into China. Though most of these connections have arisen spontaneously, the Chinese government and state owned enterprises have been playing an increasingly active role in recent years in building links to countries with large natural resources of interest to China. Whether the Chinese diaspora play a significant role in forging these new links is unclear, but one can be confident that the establishment of new concentrations of Chinese around the developing world will give rise to more trade and two-way FDI.

Although the broader East Asia region is famed for its rising trade and foreign investment links and the vitality of its global value chains, migration is also an important and sometimes overlooked aspect of its integration. For example, remittances played an important role in the early development of South Korea, one of the great success stories. A recent World Bank[2] report) counts nearly 22 million migrants originating in East Asia who remitted US$112 billion to their home countries in 2012, a far larger sum than official development assistance. The region also hosts 7 million migrants from within the region and beyond,mainly from South Asia. The United States is by far the largest destination for migrants from East Asia. In the region's most important receiving countries such as Malaysia, Singapore and Hong Kong, migrant workers form a significant part of the work force, especially in labor intensive manufacturing, construction, plantation agriculture, fishing and household services. International migration in the region is set to become even larger in the future, and cross-border labor mobility is explicitly recognized in the ASEAN Economic Community Goals, which include the free movement of skilled workers within ASEAN by 2015. Moreover, the East Asia and Pacific region is, like other world regions, also facing the onset of one of the most rapid demographic changes in history. Rapidly ageing labor-receiving countries—such as Japan, the Republic of Korea, and over time even Thailand (see below) — will have to manage a reduction in the domestic labor supply, while rising demand for services will increase labor demand. Taken together, these two forces will create important labor shortages in labor-receiving countries, which, if unmet, will lower economic growth and sharply increase fiscal and health costs.

A large diaspora is not an unalloyed benefit for the country of origin, however. Reliance on remittances can increase the exposure to external shocks emanating from sharp recessions in the country of destination, and for countries most at risk of brain drain (typically small and poor island economies) a large diaspora can facilitate the emigration of a country's best and brightest (see figure below)

2. International Migration and Development in East Asia and the Pacific

Figure 6: High-skilled emigration (of tertiary educated) from small states



But migration can augment skill levels in developing countries through brain gain, skill and technology transfers, and return

Source: Migration and Remittances Factbook (2011)

Skilled migration from poor countries and its impact on development has long been a concern. Scholars have tried to analyze the effect on innovation when a poor country loses a large fraction of its science and engineering workforce through emigration. Some stress the positive: that while remittances bring large benefits, the flows of ideas and technologies from its diaspora is also important. The possibility exists that the migration of skilled human capital from poor countries may not just be negative brain drain; it could also have more a positive effect as a brain bank, accumulating knowledge abroad and facilitating its transfer back to domestic inventors. However, others take a less sanguine view. For example, one study uses patent citation data associated with inventions from India, to estimate the divergent effects of emigration on innovation and concludes that the net effect of innovator emigration is to harm domestic knowledge access. Although innovation output depends on access to knowledge which is facilitated by diaspora, and poor countries can benefit from global innovation wherever it occurs (including when innovations originate from their migrants), poor countries are better off if their highly skilled workers stay home. (Ajay Agrawal, Devesh Kapur, John McHale, 2008). What is likely, however, is that if –for whatever reason - the country of origin is unable to generate sufficient jobs or good jobs for its qualified labor force, then it is better for the individuals concerned, and the country of destination, that they migrate. The country of origin loses a qualified person that they are not able to employ to the fullest, but will receive benefits through remittances and less tangible channels.

The human cost of separation from one's home environment, from friends and family, and of adapting to an alien culture is difficult to quantify but it is clearly one of the great costs implied by the act of migration. For example, it is estimated that in order for migration to occur in significant numbers, the earning differential must be at least 40%. Still, so long as migration is a choice (and not forced), and in light of the fact that the biggest gains from migration tend to accrue to the migrants and their families, one can assume that even at the personal level the gains from migration greatly exceed thesepersonal costs. But migration is not always a choice, and that is especially the case in the MENA region nowadays (see Box).

Box: Some implications of the MENA refugee crisis

The flow of refugees from Syria and Iraq (and more recently, Libya) is a human catastrophe of the first order, the cause of the uprooting of millions of families and of journeys that have led to thousands of deaths. It has become a politically divisive issue across the Levant and Europe. Because the conflicts are endemic, and families have been divided and need to be reunited, the displacement flows are unlikely to abate soon. Certainly, there is no imminent possibility of migrants returning to their homes in the vast majority of cases.

Though much of the international press commentary is focused on the islands of Lampedusa and Lesbos and on the state of Bavaria, which are carrying a disproportionate burden, the greater challenges lie elsewhere. It is in the Northern regions of Jordan, the Beqaa valley in Lebanon and the region of Kurdistan in Northern Iraq, and in the Turkey-Syria region where the crisis is far more evident. These regions, which have per capita incomes which are about 1/5 of the European average are today overwhelmed by refugees and, in the case of Kurdistan, the internally displaced from the rest of Iraq. According to Frontex, in the first 9 months of 2015, 710000 refugees have crossed into the EU, a region of 500 million people, so representing less than 0.2% of the population. Italy a country of 60 million has seen the arrival of 129000 refugees, of whom many have found their way to Northern Europe. By contrast, Lebanon, a country of some 5 million, is host to some 1.2 million Syrian refugees. Syria itself counts some 8 million internally displaced people and Iraq 3 million, and it is estimated that 360000 [Libyans have fled the country. Similar, though proportionally much less dire, situations exist in a number of other localities across the Levant and North Africa. The migrants are placing enormous pressure on all forms of government services and infrastructure, from schools to health, and from water to electricity and solid waste disposal. The World Bank has assessed the new infrastructure needs alone to run into several billion dollars, and also concluded that the vast majority of refugees is poor and, without help, vulnerable to starvation and infectious disease. UN agencies, which support migrants directly through cash transfers or by providing services in refugee camps, have seen increased funding but nowhere near enough to deal with the inflow, and so are having to cut back aid to families. In most of the impoverished regions where the migrants have settled, it is not realistic to speak of a local, long-term development solution to the refugee problem. The solution must lie in their gradual assimilation in cities near-by or far away, and, most likely, in other countries where economic opportunities exist. Whether refugees end up returning to their homes, or settling in another country in the immediate region, or in Europe (or other rich countries) will make a big difference in the long-term economic losses, and gains from the migrant crisis.

Studies of the economic effects of migration from poor to rich countries are in the hundreds, perhaps in the thousands. Many are based on detailed examination of instances of mass migration (such as the Cuban exodus to Miami, the return of settlers from colonies after their independence, and the migration of North African and Soviet Jews to Israel), while others consist of statistical analyses of the effect of migration on native wages over long periods. Migration has also been studied using models that simulate the way the economy adjusts to a large increase in the immigrant labor force, and through models that calculate the contribution of migrants to tax revenues and how much they draw on welfare benefits and on public services. These studies do not always agree on everything, but most agree on the following: immigration from low-income to high-income countries boosts investment and output, and the more so if the investment climate in the host country is good and the population is aging. Immigration tends to raise the wages of skilled workers and to reduce the costs of many services, such as those of care givers and household help, freeing more natives to work. However, immigrants also tend to depress the wages of

those who compete directly with them, which usually in high-income countries are themselves previous immigrants. These studies also generally concur that immigrants have a small positive impact on the government budget, mainly because they are younger than the native population and so pay more in taxes and use less public services, especially healthcare. Migrants draw less on pensions and many migrants pay into social security but leave without collecting benefits. Studies have also concluded that migrants tend to boost productivity because they are readier to move to remote localities to find work. Other studies find that migrants can function as shock absorbers for the native labor force, as they are the first to be fired in a downturn.

It goes without saying that these beneficial effects of migration depend on whether migrants are allowed to work and are not inhibited by extremes of racism and discrimination. In the United States, which has a long tradition of immigration, the children of migrants generally do as well or better than the children of natives from the same socio-economic extraction. In contrast, the children of immigrants to Germany and France, and even their children, do less well than natives of the same socio-economic extraction.

The benefits to be derived from migration between countries of similar income levels, such as between Syria and Jordan, for example, are much less evident. After all, moving a worker from a low productivity region to another low productivity region is unlikely – other things equal – to increase global output. Few studies have looked specifically at the gains from South-South migration (see for example Ratha and Shaw), and they conclude that the gains are smaller across the board than those from South-North migration: the migrants themselves may gain little or lose, their remittance flow is likely to be small, and native workers in the host country may see quite large downward pressure on their wages, especially if the inflow consists mainly of unskilled workers who speak the same language, as in the case of Syrian refugees in Jordan. While the overall economic effects of forced migration form one poor country to another are almost certainly negative, there may also be some modest partial benefits, at least for some. Even in a poor region, inflows of migrants can boost output and investment, and raise the return to capital and entrepreneurship. Moreover, once the situation stabilizes and some of the migrants return to the country of origin, opportunities from trade and reconstruction are likely to materialize.Even these modest positive effects may fail to materialize, however, if the large inflow of refugees causes the country of destination to seed rising ethnic tensions and political instability.

The Diaspora's Role

Links to the diaspora are, or should be, a two-way street. So, in determining how policy can best leverage the diaspora for development, it is appropriate to look beyond what the country can get from its diaspora and to examinewhat it is that the diaspora needs from the country of origin and what it would like the government to do. An on-line survey of the diaspora of the MENA region, the first of its kind, was recently conducted by the World Bank, yielding some 800 valid responses on the general issue of how the diaspora needs and how it could support their country of origin's development. Most of the respondents were migrants from the Maghreb residing in France and the United States, as well as a small number residing in the Gulf countries. Most of the respondents were professionals aged 25 to 44 with Bachelor or advanced degrees. In addition to the formal survey, the World Bank team also ran focus group discussions for migrants from 5 countries, and conducted a large number of in-depth interviews.

The survey results yield interesting insights. The overwhelming message is that the diaspora wants to help and remain engaged with the country of origin, especially to their region or city of origin: 85% of the

surveyed responded positively to the statement "giving back to my country of origin is important to me". Respondents looked to not just maintaining their ties with families and friends, but also to helping more broadly, and 44% responded affirmatively to the statement "I feel more attached to my country of origin that where I live now". Migrants expressed a strong interest in sharing the skills they have acquired, butwere also willing to invest, using their network and business contacts: over 80% of respondents could invest more than $10,000 and over 8% could invest in excess of $250,000, amounts which are a large multiple of what they might remit yearly. However, migrants draw a clear separation between help they might give to friends and relatives or their local communities, on the one hand, and investments on the other, where they are looking for a good rate of return, not greatly different to what they would look for anywhere else. Reflecting their desire to leverage their contacts in their country of origin, their preferred vehicle would be investment in real estate or direct equity investment in an ongoing or new enterprise, rather than a portfolio investment in, say, a government or corporate bond. The survey, including the result of discussions with focus groups, also reveal – as they would for any other investor - deep concerns about the quality of the investment climate in the country of origin, presumably aggravated by the current turmoil and political instability. The respondents were generally skeptical of the willingness and ability of the local private sector to invest with them. Respondents would like to avail themselves of the same preferential treatment accorded foreign investors, but had low expectations of what the government could do or would be willing to do to help them invest. More generally they exhibited a low level of trust in government institutions in their country of origin.

Still, the diaspora's desire to extend their help, operate as part of a community and to remain connected to their country of origin, shows that how their engagement can extend well beyond friend and family. This is also shown by the existence of a very large number of diaspora associations intended to foster expatriate community ties as well as collectively help the country of origin. Some of these diaspora associations work closely with the government but many do not, and their contacts are directly with local communities, or schools and hospitals. For example, an association of US based Tunisians [name] established after 2011 has worked to support the country during its transition, aiming to promote tourism into Tunisia and export of its handicrafts, supported by a US Embassy program and working with the Tunisian government. A US-based organization of some 380 Lebanese in the High-Tech industry [name] works to transfer Silicon valley know-how to Lebanon, promote start-ups there, and also facilitate the circular migration of Lebanese high-tech experts with the US. Though these organizations demonstrate the depth of goodwill and concern among the diaspora, and may well as some point provide the platform for a break-through investment, it is clear that their effect could be significantly enhanced by more systematic cooperation with governments and by drawing increased support from aid agencies and international institutions such as the International Organization for Migration or the World Bank.

The Case of Latin America[3]and how it compares to MENA

It is useful to compare and contrast the migration picture in MENA with that of Latin America, which is another region of high migration. Latin America, for centuries a magnet for migrants from Europe and destination for the slave trade, has seen large scale emigration only quite recently. The debt crisis of the 1980's marked the turning point, after which emigration accelerated up until the outbreak of the Great Recession, and has stabilized at low levels since. Today, some 30 million people born in Latin America

3. The literature on migration in Latin America is voluminous. See, for example, Orozco (2009 and 2014), and the websites of the Princeton University Project on Latin American migration, the Latin American section of the Migration Policy Institute website, and the Inter-American Dialogue website.

reside outside their country of origin, about 5% of the native population, a proportion similar to that of MENA and some 60% higher than the world average. Some 85% of LAC migrants reside in high-income countries, with the United States the dominant destination, followed by Canada and Spain; as in MENA prior to the recent refugee crisis, intra-regional migration is small: only around 13% of LAC migrants reside in other Latin American countries.

Of the 10 largest migration corridors, Mexico-United States is by far the largest, and 7 others are between individual Latin American countries and the United States. Two other relatively small corridors are Ecuador-Spain, and Colombia-Venezuela, which is the only top-ten corridor that is intra-regional. Within the region, historically only Venezuela, Argentina and, more recently, Costa Rica, have been countries attracting significant intra-regional migration. During its short-lived recent economic boom, Brazil became a magnet for illegal migrants from Haiti and Central America. Like migration anywhere, movement within Latin America and out of Latin America has ebbed and flowed with economic fortune, which means that – with Argentina and Venezuela in crisis - intra-regional migration is currently at a low point. Dependence of Latin America on the United States as a destination for migrants is only partly analogous to MENA's dependence on the EU, as MENA's migration appears to be more influenced by historical and colonial links (namely the Maghreb to France), and also by geographic proximity (Morocco to Spain).

Like Lebanon and Jordan, for example, the small economies of Central America and the Caribbean have derived proportionally the greatest benefits from remittances (not unusually, they exceed 10% of GDP of small economies) but have also experienced a very large outflow of their skilled population, not unusually half or more.

Mexico, whose US- and Canada-based diaspora dwarfs all others, including over 5 million undocumented migrants, is a large and diversified economy that is only modestly dependent on remittances and retains proportionally large numbers of its skilled workers. However, Mexico's links with its migrants to the North are extensive and politically significant. In recent years, Mexico has seen a large increase in transit migrants from Central America destined to the United States, raising the political stakes of migration policies in both Mexico and the United States and calling for a more coordinated approach. Transit migration is an equally important issue at present between, for example, Italy and Libya, and Germany and Turkey.

Migration pressures out of Latin America and towards the United States are widely expected to escalate over the next decade or two - a reflection of persistent wage gaps, aging in the North, still rapid growth of the working age population in the poorest countries, especially in Central America, ease of communication, and the increased pull of migrant networks. The same can probably be said of migration from MENA to the EU where demographic trends are in the same direction as the US but more pronounced. The United States became heavily dependent on less-skilled immigrants from Latin America decades ago, a situation that is expected to continue and intensify. The reform of the broken immigration system in the United States took a significant turn with President Obama's executive order intended to protect many undocumented migrants from deportation, but is now severely challenged by the courts. Whatever the outcome, Obama's initiative has certainly helped place immigration policy at the center of the political debate and the issue is likely to feature prominently in the coming Presidential election. In Europe, the refugee crisis has made migration an incandescent political issue.

The immediate prospects for increased migration inside Latin America and from Latin America to Spain, Italy and other European countries are dim on account of the economic weakness in these destination countries. But, given the demographic pressures in Europe and the security and integration tensions associated with Muslim immigrants from North Africa, it still is a fair guess that, 5 or 10 years from now, migration from Latin America towards Europe will accelerate again.

At this stage, it is difficult to be optimistic about increased voluntary intra-regional migration in Latin America both in the short- and medium-term, and the same can be said of the MENA region. As in MENA, an interesting question is how much structural complementarity there is between labor markets within Latin America. At first blush, it would appear that the opportunities for movement of unskilled labor within Latin America are limited. The opportunities for movement of skilled labor may be greater, but are bound to vary substantially across disciplines and countries – medical doctors from Cuba migrating to Venezuela, for example.

In contrast, the economic gains from migration towards the United States, Canada and Europe are potentially huge, outweighing those from trade or any other form of integration by a wide margin (World Bank, (2006)). These gains would accrue predominantly to the migrant and his family through remittances, but also benefit origin and destination countries in numerous ways (Dadush, 2014). However, the nation state defines itself by who lives within its borders, and the forces standing in the way of increased migration – xenophobia and the (largely misplaced) perception that migrants reduce the job opportunities of natives -- are extremely powerful. This is true even in countries that have traditionally been a haven for migrants and have been built by them.

The role of government policies

There is much that the government can do to strengthen its links to its diaspora, but this will nearly always entail viewing the relationship through the prism of the needs of the diaspora rather than, as is customary, primarily through the prism of the needs of the country of origin and its need to attract remittances. As already discussed, the diaspora want to continue to belong and to influence, and want to help, as well as invest when the opportunity is ripe; many in the diaspora also entertain the possibility of return and want to keep that option open, and many do return (see discussion of Morocco below). The challenge is to find win-win opportunities in fostering the diaspora relationship.

Perhaps the best way to illustrate what is possible in government response is to examine the case of the Philippines, which has what is probably the most elaborate and sophisticated approach to diaspora relations of any country. A precondition of good "diaspora management" is to know where they are and who they are – which is itself a significant challenge. Of a population of 100.6million, the Philippine government estimates that a little over 10 million Filipinos reside overseas, of whom some 1.1 million are irregular migrants. Of the documented migrants, some 4.8 million reside abroad permanently, while 4.2 million are overseas temporarily for work. These migrants remit $ 28 billion a year to the Philippines (third after China and India) equal to 9.8[4] of their GDP. The current government's position vis-à-vis the Filipino diaspora is set out as point 10 of its election manifesto:"…a government that creates jobs at home so that working abroad will be a choice rather than a necessity, and when its citizens decide to migrate their welfare and protection will still be the government's priority". The message that overseas residents

4. Personal remittances received (% of GDP). World Development Indicators. World Bank.

and workers from the Philippines are recognized and appreciated as part of the nation, as contributors to its development and as its ambassadors represents an important base on which engagement can be built. The Philippines manages its relations with the diaspora through a Cabinet level Secretary of State, and the engagement is systematic. It is articulated in ten areas, which can be roughly separated into two main groups, those where the Philippines mainly "gets" from the diaspora and those where it mainly "gives" to the diaspora. The first group includes diaspora philanthropy (which includes person-to-person remittances as well as local level community development), tourism initiatives, diaspora investment and business advisory circles, technology sharing and 'brain gain", the encouragement of return migration or exchange by the highly skilled. The second group, of greatest interest to the migrants, includes return and reintegration, global legal assistance and advocacy, medical missions and coordination, as well as cultural exchange. Within these general areas of engagement, many different instruments are deployed, from global diaspora summits to promote cultural ties and development initiatives, to local community programs in specific provinces designed to prepare workers for migration (including education and training) and securing their continued links with local communities(Ernesto Pernia, 2006). The Philippines allows dual citizenship, and makes provisions for overseas voting. Perhaps most important, to promote the circular migration of its citizens, ensure their safety and fair treatment abroad, and facilitate the portability of pensions, the Philippines has worker mobility agreements with some 80 countries.

Some countries in the MENA region also make a systematic effort to engage their diaspora. Morocco, which is discussed in greater depth below, has a Ministry dedicated to Moroccans overseas, and a Royal Foundation dedicated to enhancing engagement with diaspora, as well as bilateral treaties with France and other countries of destination covering circular migration, including border controls. The website "Marocains du Monde" is intended as a one-stop venue to animate the diaspora relationship. Dedicated agencies aim to promote knowledge and technology transfer and investments by overseas Moroccans. Tunisia has a Secretary of State in its Ministry of Social Affairs dedicated to diaspora engagement. Both countries allow double nationality and for overseas voting. In Algeria, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and of Information and Technology take the lead in Diaspora relations. However, the Philippines stands out in adopting a more systematic approach to its migrants and dedicating significant resources to the effort, while some MENA countries do relatively little, and their efforts appear not infrequently to lack vision and visibility. For example, communications with the Diaspora are often focused on pleas to the diaspora for help instead of on the diaspora's needs and the broader opportunities for cooperation.

The pressing policy question is why, given the considerable benefits derived from a large diaspora, there is not more being done to engage with them. A number of obstacles appear to stand in the way of more systematic engagement. In most MENA countries the diaspora has little voice or representation, reflecting the nature of the political regime or a lack of organization, or both. Depending on the nature of the regime, the government may be fearful of the influence of the diaspora and of its relative freedom of expression. Limited resources and a lack of coordination among the many parts of the government concerned (Ministry of Finance, the Central Bank, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Social Affairs, Ministry of Internal Affairs and/or of Regional Development, etc.) are also an important part of the problem. There has to be clear ownership of the migration and diaspora agenda. Among the diaspora, there is also a great deal of mistrust of the government and its capacity and willingness to help, and in particular, any effort to encourage or channel or tax remittances is viewed with suspicion. Given the political sensitivity of migration in the countries of destination the government of the country of origin must tread a fine diplomatic line in assisting its diaspora overseas. Last but not least, there is a serious lack of information about the diaspora and great difficulties in finding out who is part of the diaspora,

where it is, what they are doing and how best to reach them.

Some of the obstacles to more systematic engagement are structural and difficult to change. For example, a small country such as Lebanon will have less resources and influence on the countries of destination of its migrants than does the Philippines or Egypt, and an authoritarian and repressive regime fearful of its diaspora's independence is less likely to reach out than a regime that is perceived to have high legitimacy by its citizens. However, most obstacles to more active diaspora engagement are not structural, but organizational or managerial in nature and can be overcome. What is needed is much greater awareness of the diaspora's important role in development, of its needs, and the political will to build bridges.
There has been little attention in this note and more generally in the public debate to the role that governments in countries of destination can play in supporting enhanced links between the diaspora and the country of origin. Yet, the role of the country of destination is also crucial, for examplein ensuring the rights of migrants are observed, and in facilitating circular migration by – for example – allowing dual citizenship, permitting portability of pensions, adopting appropriate labor permit and tax regimes. Insofar as tighter diaspora links with the country of origin can enhance its development, the country of destination benefits from growth and stability in its neighborhood, and, by encouraging return and circular migration, can avoid some of the political complications and tensions associated with large permanent migration. In this context, too, there are clear win-win opportunities for the governments in the countries of origin and destination and the diaspora, to arrive at cooperative solutions.

In MENA, Latin America and most other developing regionsand in contrast to trade and foreign direct investment, international agreements designed to ensure freedom of movement of labor and fair treatment of migrants remain among the least effective aspects of international coordination (Martin and Martin, 2014). Across all the world's regions, the European Union, a political project where movement of people ranks at the same level as the other three freedoms (movement of goods, services and capital), is the most notable exception to this rule. Among developing regions, ASEAN exhibits the most promising initiatives in this regard. The South American Conference on Migration has long provided a useful forum for exchange, information and analysis, but not much more. An interesting recent development is the worker mobility and visa-free travel agreements concluded or envisaged as part of the Pacific Alliance – a far-reaching trade agreement among Chile, Colombia, Mexico and Peru. Nothing comparable is on the horizon in MENA. Moreover, at the global level, there is nothing resembling a multilateral institution such as the WTO regulating migration flows. Agreements on worker mobility struck under the WTO "Mode 4" provision of services (movement of natural workers) are of limited scope and apply almost largely to the international transfer of skilled workers within multinational enterprises.

The scarcity and ineffectiveness of international worker mobility agreements is in part the result of the inauspicious political economy of such negotiations, where the migrant is the largest gainer, but the country of origin is typically ambivalent about facilitating emigration, and also has little to offer in return to the country of destination, which, as is the case of the United States, can draw migrants from around the world. Within advanced countries of destination, the business community (and, interestingly, in the case of the United States and Europe, the Church) are typically important lobbies in favor of immigration from Latin America. However, agreements have typically been confined to temporary movement of workers and struck during periods of acute labor shortage in the country of destination and in the absence of realistic alternatives. The Bracero programs struck by the full-employment America of the 1960s with Mexico and other countries in Latin America are among the most prominent example, but they were eventually discontinued as growth slowed and it became evident that temporary movement tended to

become permanent settlement. In the rapid growth era of the 1960s European countries struck a number of temporary movement of workers agreements with countries in North Africa and Turkey, which were also allowed to lapse.

In recent years, restrictions on immigration in the advanced countries have tightened considerably. Yet, historically, draconian restrictions on immigration have suffered the same fate as controls on capital outflows, sky-high tariffs or prohibitive sin taxes: they proved largely ineffectual. When the demand for migrants is high or when migrants are forced to leave their home for economic or political reasons, restrictions do not prevent migration, they slow it to some degree but also change its nature – from documented to undocumented, from high- to low-skilled - and create large costs and risks for the migrants and rents for those who know how to facilitate illegal migration.

The challenge of arriving at migration regimes and regional migration agreements that satisfy the growing labor needs of the United States, Canada, Japan, Germany, and other destination countries as well as the needs of origin countries in Latin America and MENA – for example - to provide better livelihoods for their people – without undermining the rule of law and exposing the migrant to a multitude of risks – remains unmet. But neither the opportunities inherent in migration nor the problems caused by a dysfunctional system are going away – more likely, they will become more and more pressing in coming years. As in the cases of MENA and Latin America show, the needs and opportunities for intra-regional coordination of migration regimes are currently limited, though in the MENA region more could be done in facilitating migration between the Gulf countries and the rest of the region. The biggest needs are for reforms of the immigration regime in the United States and the EU, tighter links between countries of origin and their diaspora, and for bilateral agreements covering the spectrum of the mobility agenda between the countries of origin and the main destinations, namely the United States, Canada and the individual European countries or the EU acting in concert.

The Case of Morocco

Moroccan emigration abroad is a well established trend dating back to colonial times. After going through various stages, it is undergoing a diversification of locations, and a change in the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of migrants. In 2012, about 4.5 million Moroccan were living abroad (including those holding Moroccan nationality but born abroad), accounting for 15% of Moroccan total population. Men migrated first after WWII, when Europe needed labor for reconstruction, and the trend accelerated sharplyin response to the great economic expansion of the 1960s. The 1970s sawa change in the nature of migration and a gradual transformation of the profile of migrants. Men migration wasfollowed by family reunification, so wives and children rejoined their husbands. The feminization of Moroccans Living Abroad (MLAs) has persisted. According to a survey[5] undertaken in 2005, the MLAs consist predominantly of young and working aged people, nearly equally men (who still represent a small majority)and women. Highly skilled Moroccans represent 15% of the MLAs, which means that 400,000 Moroccan living abroad have either bachelor or graduate degree. These indicators emphasize that Moroccan migration is mainly a labor migration, driven by the search for jobs.Emigration remains an important feature of Morocco today. The World Bank estimates that 450,000 Moroccans emigrated or will emigrate over 2011-2015, equal to 1.4% of the population in 2012, and placing Morocco in 33th

5. See the 2005 survey at the High Commission for the Plan at http://www.hcp.ma/downloads/Demographie-Les-Marocains-residant-a-l-etranger-analyse-des-resultats-de-l-enquete-de-2005-sur-l-insertion-socio_t13066.html

position among all the world's emigration countries. The country with the highest share of emigrants in the world is Federated States of Micronesia, with8%. And in the MENA region is Syria with 7%.

Table 1: Top emigration countries over 2011-2015, as a percentage of population, and number of emigrants, millions

Micronesia, Fed. Sts.	7,91%
Tonga	7,71%
Syrian Arab Republic	**7,00%**
Samoa	6,72%
Timor-Leste	6,53%
St. Vincent and the Grenadines	4,57%
Guyana	4,32%
Grenada	4,05%
Libya	**3,80%**
El Salvador	3,71%
Cabo Verde	3,44%
Virgin Islands (U.S.)	3,42%
Fiji	3,29%
Kyrgyz Republic	3,12%
Jamaica	2,95%
Moldova	2,90%
Puerto Rico	2,84%
Georgia	2,78%
Solomon Islands	2,16%
Sudan	**2,12%**

India	2,29
Bangladesh	2,04
Pakistan	1,63
China	1,50
Syrian Arab Republic	**1,50**
Mexico	1,20
Sudan	**0,80**
Indonesia	0,70
Philippines	0,70
Morocco	**0,45**
Nepal	0,40
Afghanistan	0,40
Sri Lanka	0,32
Mali	0,30
Iran, Islamic Rep	0,30
Peru	0,30
Nigeria	0,30
Libya	0,24
El Salvador	0,23
Egypt, Arab Rep	**0,22**

Source: World Development Indicators (WDI), World Bank

Table 2: Top Immigration countries over 2011-2015, as a percentage of population, and number of immigrants, millions

Oman	**29,05%**
Qatar	**24,81%**
Lebanon	**11,26%**
Curacao	9,24%
Kuwait	**8,77%**
South Sudan	**7,88%**
Singapore	7,53%
Jordan	**6,33%**
Macao SAR, China	6,28%
United Arab Emirates	**5,74%**
Luxembourg	4,82%
Switzerland	4,00%
Australia	3,30%
Canada	3,17%
Cyprus	3,10%
Norway	2,99%
Zimbabwe	2,75%
Bahamas, The	2,60%
Equatorial Guinea	2,58%
Channel Islands	2,26%

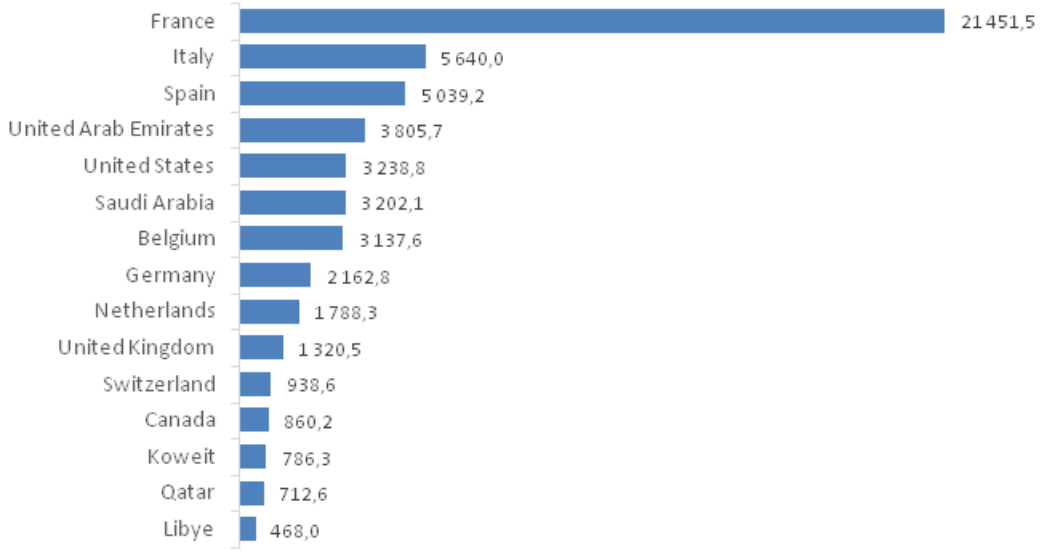
United States	5,00
Russian Federation	1,10
Canada	1,10
Oman	**1,03**
United Kingdom	0,90
Italy	0,90
South Sudan	**0,87**
Australia	0,75
France	0,65
Spain	0,60
Germany	0,55
United Arab Emirates	**0,51**
Lebanon	**0,50**
Qatar	**0,50**
Malaysia	0,45
Iraq	**0,45**
Jordan	**0,40**
Zimbabwe	0,40
Singapore	0,40
Turkey	0,35

Source: World Development Indicators (WDI), World Bank.

Note: These migration flow statistics are the only globally comparable dataset available at present, but come with a health warning. They are estimates by UNDESA based mainly on census data as well as birth and death certification, and are subject to considerable error. Statistics for advanced countries are drawn from OECD compiled statistics which are based on somewhat more reliable sources, though also subject to considerable error and whose quality varies by country.

France, Spain and Italy are the three most important destinations for Moroccans, while the US, which is the world's most important country of destination, including and by far for migrants from Latin America and from East Asia by far, is only the fifthmost common destination country for Morocco-born international migrants and the fifthlargest source of Morocco's remittance inflows. The diaspora in the United States transferred approximately 3.2 billion dirhams in remittances to Morocco during 2013, a small fraction of the 21.4 billion dirham from France, the largest source. Morocco's total remittance receipts during 2013were valued at 58 billion dirhams, representing 6.8 percent of the country's GDP.

Figure 7: Remittance inflows to Morocco by sending country, 2013 (millions of dirhams).



Source: Office des Changes, Balance of payments (2013)

Since at least the 1990s, the government of Morocco has made major efforts to reach out to MLAs through a dedicated Ministry. The Moroccan Constitution of 2011 includes provisions designed to facilitate the mobilization of the Moroccan Diaspora and to encourage them to contribute to the development of Morocco. Moroccan citizenship is transmitted by descent or birth in Morocco and any person with dual citizenship does not lose Moroccan nationality. Therefore, Moroccans living abroad can transmit their Moroccan citizenship to their children, even if they hold another nationality. The ability of Moroccans to hold dual citizenship allows migrants to more be influential in the social, cultural and political transformation of Moroccan society. The Moroccan diaspora can act as a pressure group, encouraging society and the State to modernize institutional and cultural practices, reduce the gaps between genders, and promote education among women and the poor.However, their influence would be greater still if Moroccans living abroad were allowed to vote from abroad. Presently MLAs can vote but only if they register in Morocco or in consulates abroad and are either physically in Morocco or vote by proxy.

In 1990, under the patronage of King Hassan II, the Foundation for Moroccans Living Abroad was created to promote economic and cultural co-operation with the diaspora and to support them. This Foundation, in co-operation with the International Organization for Migration (IOM) established an Observatory of the Moroccan Community Living Abroad (EOMC), which offers an information system for the government on migration management issues.

In addition, numerous government programs and civil society initiatives aim to strengthen the links between Morocco and the diaspora, such as the “Skills Mobilization Program”, which inform Moroccan professionals living abroad of opportunities in Morocco and allow them to develop partnerships with Moroccan public and private actors. It is interesting to note that while only a tiny proportion of MLAs reside in the United States, they are the source of 25% of all patents filed by Moroccans overseas. More recently, the government launched the “MDM invest” program that allows Moroccans living abroad who want to create an investment project or expand an existing project in Morocco to receive a grant amounting to 10% of the project costprovided that the total project cost does not exceed 5 million dirhams. Hence, MLAs can draw on this fund and foreigners can form part of the shareholders of the project. By 2014, 121 projects had been financed in this wayIn 2006, the first public-private partnership in the field

of higher education was been launched. It mobilized teachers and researchers from the academic and scientific Moroccan Diaspora to create the International University of Rabat (UIR). In 2007 the Ministry of Industry, Trade, Investment and the Digital Economy founded the Moroccan Association for Scientific Innovation and Research (MAScIR) Foundation in 2007 whose mission is to promote and develop a center of innovation and competitiveness that draws in part of the knowledge of MLAs.

The government has also been active in facilitating the return of MLAs. For example, following a Belgian-Moroccan agreement that was signed in 2014, Moroccans who have contributed in Belgium can now retire in Morocco enjoying their health insurance, funded by the Belgian social security, Belgium should also benefit from this agreement,since health benefits redeemed in Morocco are less expensive than those redeemed in Belgium. According to the Ministry of Public Health and Social Affairs, nearly 5,500 workers that benefit from Belgium pension fund live in Morocco, while 311,000 Moroccan currently live in Belgium

The Ministry in charge of Moroccans living abroad has also set up a legal and judicial assistance device for the benefit of MLAs across 22 countries of residence in Europe, sub-Saharan Africa, Asia and the Arab world. 12 Embassies and 48 Consulates of Kingdoms of Morocco supervise this assistance. The program includes annually renewed agreements with law firms authorized to provide legal advice and guidance to Moroccan nationals. In the host countries where there is no free of charge legal assistance, embassies can arrange for the appointment and remuneration of lawyers to defend the rights and interests of Moroccan citizens in the courts.

Conclusion

This paper has illustrated the many ways in which the countries of the MENA region draw benefits from their large diaspora, and also shown that Morocco is one of the main beneficiaries. Although economic migration is not an unmitigated blessing, as it involves cutting off social and family ties and is sometimes associated with the loss of valuable talent, it is a choice that millions make willingly and can result in greatly improved standard of living for migrants and the relatives they leave behind. It can also result in better labor market, balance of payments, trade and innovation outcomes in the country of origin, as well as increased investment and growth in the country of destination. Unfortunately, this generally favorable picture is currently heavily clouded by the massive refugee crisis that is engulfing the MENA region and spilling over into Europe, which is the main destination of economic migrants originating in MENA. This dims the prospects for increased economic migration flows in the foreseeable future – though much economic migration can still be expected to occur – and it makes the negotiation of agreements designed to facilitate economic migration even more politically fraught.

However, as the paper makes clear, there are many opportunities, even in the current politically charged environment, for governments and civil society in the MENA region to reach out to their diaspora and to tighten the social, cultural, financial, trade and investment links that bind them. Morocco has done better than most in reaching out to its diaspora, but, clearly, given the size of its diaspora and the large number of its most qualified citizens living abroad, could do more to encourage trade and investment links, as well as the return of Moroccans who could spend their hard-earned pensions in a lower-cost-of-living environment, while still maintaining links to the country that hosted them temporarily. Moroccans living

abroad should be allowed to vote from abroad, and, if they did, would probably represent an even stronger force for modernization and renewal.

The best possible outcome for Morocco would be to succeed in reforming its investment climate and labor markets so that it could provide jobs for its burgeoning young population at home. However, even the best designed and most assiduously implemented reforms will not yield results overnight. That is why policies that facilitate emigration can make sense as part of a broader development strategy. After all, emigration was an important feature of Europe's rapid development in the second half of the 19th century and early in the 20th century. Examining that experience, Hatton and Williamson wrote: "Between 1850 and 1913 more than 40 million people migrated from Europe to the New World…While these migrations were taking places, real wages in the Old World began gradually catching up with real wages in the New World. In some countries the catching up was quite fast as in high-emigrations countries such as Ireland, Italy, Norway and Sweden; [it] was slow in low emigration countries such as France" . Recent studies of countries of large emigration, including Mexico, Lithuania, and Honduras, have identified significant increases in wages among workers that stayed behind[6].

If Moroccan emigration to the United States, Canada, the Gulf, Germany, Sweden and other destinations attracting large numbers of migrants beyond the traditional three (France, Italy and Spain) were facilitated through appropriate agreements, it is likely that more young Moroccans could find opportunities abroad, and also that their contribution to Morocco's innovation capacity and balance of payments would be that much greater.

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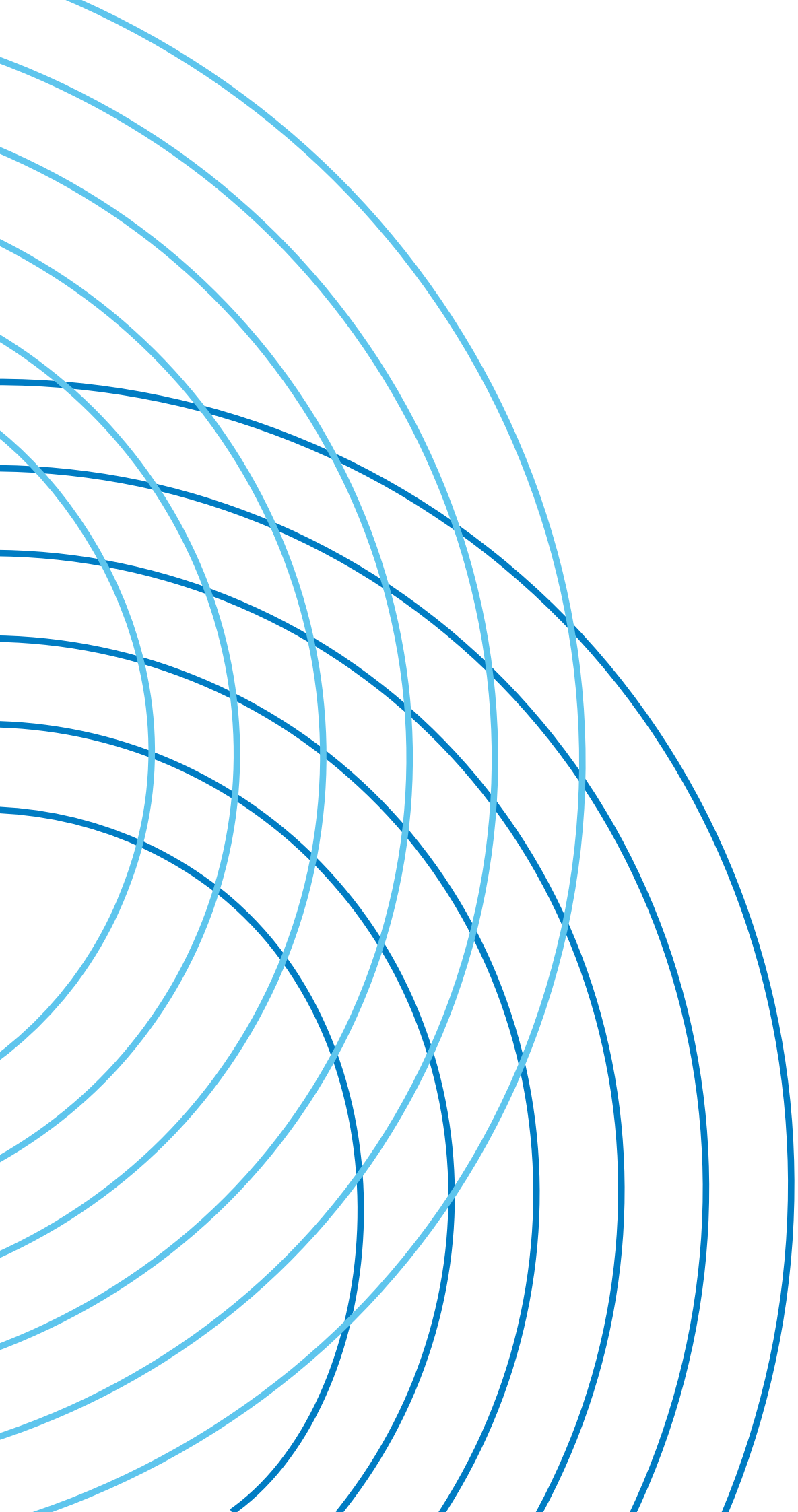

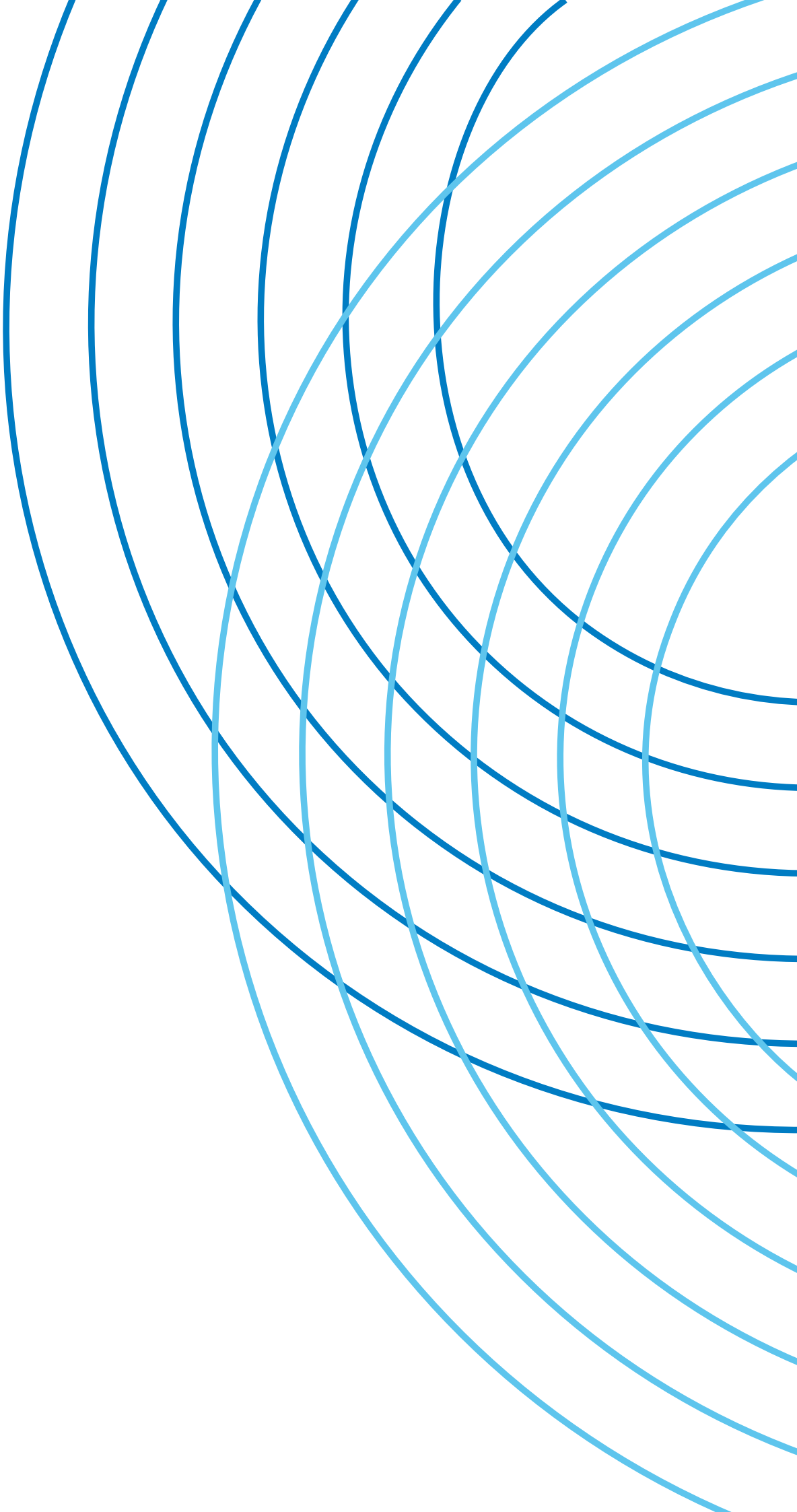

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