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The Development Impact of Internal Migration: Findings from Egypt

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ABSTRACT

This article aims at exploring the impact of internal versus international migration on development at the micro level through field work carried out in two different geographical locations in Egypt. The conclusion to be drawn from this study is that, both Egyptian internal and international migrations are deployed to escape poverty and mal economic development. Migration is a survival strategy; it is more to decrease hazards than to maximize benefits.

INTRODUCTION

The dominant geographical feature of Egypt is the River Nile. The Nile represents the main source of water for agriculture, and consequently is a major determinant of the spatial distribution of population and economic life. Administratively, Egypt is divided into 29 governorates; six of them are totally urban (Cairo, Alexandria, Helwan, 6th of October, Port Said, and Suez). Nine governorates are found in the Nile Delta (Lower Egypt), which extends from Cairo to the Mediterranean Sea, and nine are located in the

ⁱ This article is part of a larger study on “Interrelationships between internal and International migration in Egypt: a pilot study”, carried out by the author and funded by the Department for International (DfID) through the Development Research Centre on Migration, Globalisation and Poverty at the University of Sussex.

Nile Valley (Upper Egypt). An additional five frontier governorates are found on Egypt's western and eastern boundaries.

This paper is part of a larger study to investigate interrelationships between internal and international migration in Egypt. Fieldwork took place in two locations; one in Upper Egypt (Beni-Madi Village in Beni-Sueif governorate, 120 kilometres far from Cairo); and the other one is located in Cairo (Imbaba, district/suburb). A well-known migration stream is observed between the two points. More than 100 individuals/families were interviewed/observed, 34 cases were reported in the main report of the study. Due to space, ten cases are presented in this article. The main objective of this paper is to compare the impact of internal and international migration on development at the micro level (individuals and families). The key question addressed by this study can be phrased as follows: What are the effects and impacts of the two kinds of migration (eg. on remittances, poverty alleviation, return, family dynamics etc.)?

MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT: A LITTLE THEORY

Dichotomizing human mobility as internal and international migration raises different methodological problems. This sharp division ignores the interaction between the two migration streams and the impact of each one of them on the other. Examining the relationship between changes in internal and international flows is an urgent research need, to fill what is seen as a research gap by investigating the differences between internal and international migration systems and to study the implications of international movements on internal migration and vice versa. An exploration of the nature of the interaction between internal and international migration is to be investigated in order to shed light on this sophisticated relationship.

The main difference between internal and international migration is that the latter implies crossing national borders, but two other main differences exist and regulate migration streams; distance and culture. With respect to the first factor, international borders

represent a political barrier and regarded as part of countries' sovereignty and authority. Crossing international borders is usually regulated by migration laws and regional and international agreements. However, in many regions of the world, physical boundaries do not exist; they only exist on political maps. In Africa, national boundaries are generally not an obstacle to potential migrants (Adepoju, 1983 and 1998).

“For many years, poverty was seen as a root cause of migration, and development the solution for unwanted migration” (IOM, 2005:194). However, the relationship between migration and development is complex. While, migration implies a change of place of usual residence and development means growth and better living conditions, assessing the relationships between these two concepts is not an easy task (Skeldon, 1997). The relationships between migration and development were explored through assessing the impact of migrants' remittances – mainly remittances of international migrants – applying economic theories of migration since Ravenstein's laws of migration (1885, 1889) until the latest economic theories of migration such as the “new economics of migration” (Stark, 1991), passing through Lee's theory of migration (Lee, 1966), the dual economy model of development and migration introduced by Lewis (1954), later extended by Fei and Ranis (1961), and the work of Todaro and Harris in this domain (Todaro, 1969; Harris and Todaro, 1970).

Theoretical models were proposed to assess the relationship between migration and development (see for example Fischer, et al, 1997), however empirical studies reveal different impacts of migration on development depending on the type of movement (permanent versus temporary and circulation), effects of remittances, and the stage of development in origin.

A study by de Haas (2003) on migration and development in Southern Morocco indicates the importance of internal and international migration in enabling livelihood diversification among households through remittances of labourers who work in other places in Morocco or internationally. This study indicated that households that receive international migration remittances are more likely to invest than other households. With

respect to the relationships between internal migration and development, many studies indicated the importance of internal migration as a means to escape poverty and narrow regional economic imbalance. However, one may justifiably ask: is it migration and development or migration and poverty alleviation? Development means growth and evolution while poverty alleviation is just to move up behind the poverty line. It is needless to say that the impact of migration varies according to the stage of development of the sending region/country, type of migration (internal, circular, or international), and the magnitude of remittances.

INTERNAL MIGRATION

According to the last Egyptian population census (2006) there were about 4.8 million internal migrants in Egypt out of 72.8 million inhabitants - about 7 percent (CAPMAS 2009). Cairo and Alexandria are the main destinations of internal migrants. Souhag in Upper Egypt and Menoufia in the Delta have the highest out-migration rates. Internal migration in Egypt has generally been: a) from South to North, b) from South and North to the Canal Zone, c) from Egypt's hinterland to Cairo and Alexandria, and d) from Egypt's centre to its peripheries. As numerous studies have shown, the biggest convergence of migration streams is in the Greater Cairo Region, which includes Cairo, Giza, Helwan, 6th of Octoberⁱⁱ and Qualyoubya governorates (Zohry, 2002).

Characteristics of Migrants

Studies of Egypt's internal migrants illustrate their characteristics. Most studies concentrate on the statistical age and sex composition; a few describe the occupational, educational and socio-economic profiles of migrants. The overall conclusions are the strong preponderance of males over females, and of young over old; and the lack of an explicit 'selection process' as regards migrants' socio-economic characteristics. The studies show, however, that the migrants tend to be of relatively higher educational and

ⁱⁱ Helwan and 6th of October governorates were founded in 2008.

occupational background than their counterparts at the point of origin, but lower than their counterparts at the destination (Attiya 1976; CAPMAS 1989 & 2009).

One of the strongest factors motivating internal migration in Egypt is the hope of better work opportunities, thereby enabling migrants to come out of poverty. However, despite the prominence of this factor, only a few studies on Egyptian migration reviewed in this section have focused specifically on it. One such study was carried out by Toth (1999). He conducted anthropological research on migrant farm workers in Kafresheikh governorate in the lower Delta region in 1980-82.

Toth described a composite migrant labour pattern out to work sites on the perimeter of Egypt's northern Delta region. He examined why poor farm labourers migrate to work in non-agricultural activities. Seasonal unemployment and the region's underdevelopment were cited as the two main reasons, but Toth's analysis also incorporated a powerful political economy perspective which linked rural migrant workers to state control of labour resources in the context of public infrastructural and development projects through the 1960s and 1970s.

Modes of Adjustment

Most of the studies on migrant adjustment in Egypt have been inspired by the work of Janet Abu-Lughod (1961, 1969). Some researchers have dealt with rural migrant adjustment in urban areas (Hegazy 1971; Ouda 1974). Others have focused on the adjustment of a particular type of migrant (Guhl and Abdel-Fattah 1991; Zohry 2002). A common feature in the adjustment pattern among migrants is seeking help from relatives or folk-kin in the new community in finding a place to live, and/or employment, and smoothing the acquaintance with the new community. The new migrants often reside with or near older migrants from their original community. This tends to create concentrated pockets of migrants from closely-related backgrounds in an otherwise impersonal urban world. These clusters also assist in finding employment nearby or in places where relatives, friends, and people of similar background are employed.

Causes of Internal Migration

Many of the studies on Egypt's internal migration mention the following push factors:

a) **Mounting Demographic Pressure:** Mounting demographic pressure is often inferred from the rising population density and rapid population growth in the twentieth century. Demographic pressure is not in itself a cause of migration; it becomes a causal factor when mediated through a relationship with economic resources such as employment, income, or land. In Egypt, high population density is assumed to interact most significantly with the extent of cultivable land. As the pressure increases, a population increment which cannot live off the land has to go somewhere; migration thus acts as a 'safety-valve'.

b) **Declining Economic Opportunities:** Declining economic opportunities are explained in the case of rural areas in terms of 1) the increasing number of landless families; 2) the increasing fragmentation of land-holdings because of inheritance, thus making it progressively more difficult for a family to support itself; and 3) the low level of wages for those who can find employment locally.

c) **Scarcity of Services and Other Social Amenities:** Several authors have collected data to show the relative deprivation in some areas of Egypt in terms of education and health services. The greatest differentials are obviously between rural and urban Egypt. But even among the urban centers, Cairo and Alexandria have a disproportionate share of these resources as opposed to provincial capitals and smaller towns.

New Types of Internal Migration

The growing difficulties that the Egyptian population faces in finding productive employment created new types of human movement. Youth in rural areas, where the economic base is largely dependent on agriculture, face a different set of employment problems than do young people in urban areas, where the economic base is more varied. This new type of migration is known as 'survival migration' (Hugo 1998; Zohry 2002).

In the Egyptian case, rural youth who represent the surplus of the agricultural sector have no way to survive other than migrating to cities, but their movement to urban areas is somewhat different from classical rural-urban movements due to agrarian systems and agricultural seasonality. Their movement is circular/pendular and independent of agricultural seasons since at any point of time, surplus labour exists.

The motives for migrating are overwhelmingly economic. Cairo and Alexandria offer better wages (generally around triple those in rural Egypt), somewhat more regular work (and therefore more regular income), a more exciting lifestyle, and the chance to support family members in the home village.

Circular migration is not comparable to the literature-based definition of migration, which is the permanent or semi-permanent change of habitual residence. Typologically, it can be classified as 'labour circulation' or 'circular migration'. Circular migration can normally only be detected by specialized surveys. It cannot be captured by census data because circulation does not imply a change in the usual place of residence. Labour circulation, an even more specific type of circular migration is when people periodically leave their permanent place of residence in search of wage employment in places too far away for them to commute daily (Mitchell 1985). Labour circulation means that labourers do not change their legal place of residence in the village but are working elsewhere for longer periods. Such movement can be associated with permanent full-time employment at the destination, but usually involves non-permanent work in the informal sector of the urban economy (Hugo 1982; Zohry 2002).

Zohry (2002) used a specialized survey to capture the 'labour circulation' phenomenon between Cairo and Upper Egypt. He interviewed 242 migrants, and found that the circular movement is a 'survival strategy' to sustain the basic needs of migrants' families left-behind in Upper Egypt. Upper Egyptian labourers live a miserable life in Cairo in order to ensure a decent life for their families. This marginalized group, which is partially absorbed by the capital's large informal economy, has some similarities with refugees in

Cairo in terms of living and working conditions. This type of migration is totally male-dominated. It is not socially acceptable for women to undertake such migration.

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

“Egyptians have the reputation of preferring their own soil. Few ever leave except to study or travel; and they always return ... Egyptians do not emigrate” (Cleland 1936: 36, 52). This was the case until the middle of the twentieth century with few exceptions. Only small numbers of Egyptians, primarily professionals, had emigrated before 1974. Then, in 1974, the government lifted all restrictions on labour migration. The move came at a time when Arab Gulf states and Libya were implementing major development programs with funds generated by the quadrupling of oil revenues in 1973. The number of Egyptians working abroad in the Arab region around 1975 reached about 370,000 as part of about 655,000 total migrants (Brinks and Sinclair 1980). By 1980 more than one million Egyptians were working abroad. This number more than doubled by 1986 with an estimate of 2.25 million Egyptians abroad (CAPMAS 1989). The emergence of foreign job opportunities alleviated some of the pressure on domestic employment. Many of these workers sent a significant portion of their earnings to their families in Egypt. As early as 1979, these remittances amounted to \$2 billion; a sum equivalent to the country’s combined earnings from cotton exports, Suez Canal transit fees, and tourism.

The foreign demand for Egyptian labour peaked in 1983, when an estimated 3.28 million Egyptians workers were employed abroad (Farrag, 1999). After that year, political and economic developments in the Arab oil-producing countries caused a cutback in employment opportunities. The decline in oil prices during the Iran-Iraq War started in 1979 forced the Arab Gulf oil industry into a recession, which costs some Egyptians their jobs. Most of the expatriate workforce remained abroad but new labour migration from Egypt slowed considerably. Even so, in the early 1990s, the number of Egyptian workers abroad still exceeded 2.2 million (Ministry of Manpower and Emigration, 2003; Zohry 2005).

The majority of Egyptian labour migrants are expected to return home eventually, but thousands left their country each year with the intention of permanently resettling in Europe, Australia, or North America. Part of these emigrants tended to be highly educated professionals, including doctors, engineers, teachers, and highly skilled professionals. The number of Egyptians abroad was estimated at approximately 3.9 million in 2006 (CAPMAS 2008). Through the Egyptian consular offices and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs estimated Egyptians abroad at the same year (2006) by 4.7 million (See Table 1 below). Both numbers entail a margin of error; the CAPMAS number – 3.9 million – is estimated based on an indirect method. In addition, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' estimates depend on consular records which suffer from incompleteness and the fact that not all Egyptians abroad – especially irregular migrants – register in the Egyptian consulates abroad.

Remittances

In economic and financial terms, the most important aspect of migration for the sending country are remitted money (usually cash transfers) and goods, the so-called *remittances* that migrant workers sent back to family or friends at home. Such flows of wealth are important to both the families of migrants and to the economy of sending countries (Caldwell 1969). Almost all remittances are sent by individual migrants (*individual remittances*), yet a fraction is sent by groups of migrant workers through their associations (*collective remittances*). Formal remittances (sent through banks, post offices, exchange houses and transfer companies) are the only form that can be accurately measured. Their size and frequency are determined by several factors such as the number of migrant workers, wage rates, the, exchange rates, political risk, economic activity in the host and sending countries, the existence of appropriate transfer facilities, the level of education of the migrant, the number of people accompanying the migrant, the number of years since migration, and the difference of interest rates between sending and receiving countries.

Table 1
Egyptian Abroad by major receiving areas (Circa 2006)

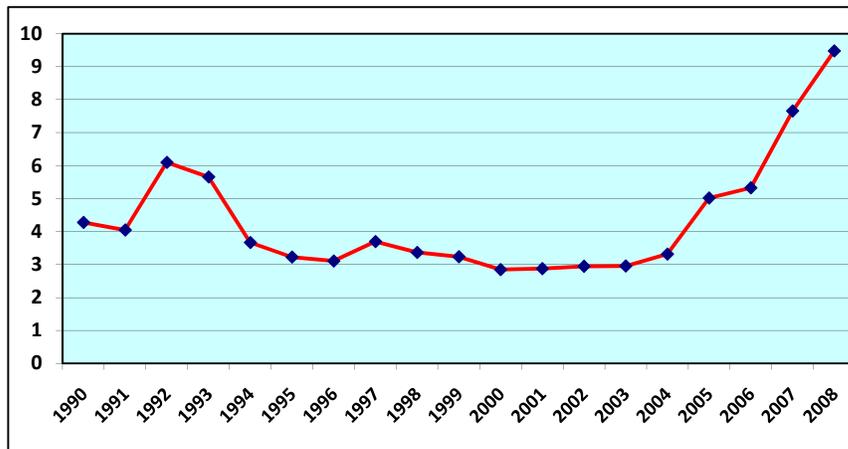
Region	Country	Number	Total	Percent
Arab Countries	KSA	1,350,000	3,346,859	70.8
	Libya	950,000		
	Jordan	500,000		
	Kuwait	250,000		
	UAE	160,000		
	Oman	40,000		
	Other Countries	96,859		
Europe			510,828	10.8
North America	USA	635,000	776,000	16.4
	Canada	141,000		
Oceania	Australia	80,350	83,350	1.7
	New Zealand	3,000		
Other Countries			10,359	0.3
Total			4,727,396	100.0

Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Manpower and Emigration

Volume of remittances

Egypt is one of the top ten remittance recipient worldwide. A time series of remittances to Egypt from 1990 until 2008 is given in Table 1. Remittances of Egyptians working abroad have peaked due in the early 1990s to the substantial return of Egyptian migrants from the Arab Gulf countries after the Gulf War. Between 1993 and 2003, the level of remittances has stabilized around \$3 billion. In recent years however, remittances have soared again to a level of about \$8 billion in 2008.

Figure 1
Remittances to Egypt by Egyptians abroad (1990-2008,
million current US\$)



Source: World Bank Remittances Database, 2009

Impact of remittances on poverty alleviation

The impact of remittances on poverty alleviation in Egypt is not entirely clear. Research on the use of remittances has shown that 75% of these funds are used for daily expenses household such as food, clothing, and health care, while expenditures on building new houses and education come as second and third items in remittances utilization. This confirms other findings, according to which remittances are also spent on building or improving housing, buying land or cattle, and buying durable consumer goods (Zohry 2002). The distribution of uses indicates in any case the importance of migration and remittances in poverty alleviation.

Research however has also revealed that once-abroad migrant households spend a smaller share on consumption than non-migrant households, while returnees from migration invest up to 50% of their savings into housing (Nassar, 2005:21). These results confirm that the impact of remittances upon the national economy and development cannot be ignored.

Impact on investments, enterprise creation and employment

Generally speaking, only a small percentage of remittances are used for savings and “productive investments”, i.e. for activities with multiplier effects in terms of income and employment creation (Brink 1991; Eurostat 2000). However, the entrepreneurial activities of return migrants contribute to the Egyptian economy.

Investments by return migrants are a continuation of their support to the national economy. According to Nassar (2005), about 10% of returnees invest in economic projects. They put more capital in their businesses, engage more in service activities and the formal sector and create 1.4 more jobs per establishment than non migrants. Finally, McCormick and Wahba (2003) find that the amount of savings going back to urban areas is more than three times that going to rural areas, most investments being made in Cairo. In addition, remittances help families to establish family-based and family-managed small projects such as raising cattle, opening a mini market, or buying and operating a taxi, especially in rural areas. Many taxi drivers in Cairo and other governorates bought their car upon their return and operate it themselves or through hired taxi drivers as their main source of income.

However, attempts to attract businessmen among the Egyptian diaspora to invest in Egypt seem not to have had the expected success. One of the main reasons for the foundation of the former Ministry of Emigration and Egyptians abroad and for the promulgation of the Egyptian Migration Law was to attract Egyptians abroad to maintain links with their origin and to invest in Egypt. But government bureaucracy and suspicion from many Egyptians abroad have been obstacles to a significant flow of investments into the country.

FINDINGS FROM THE FIELD

In this section I present case studies and interviews that took place in both Upper Egypt and Cairo to explore families' and migrants' diverse experiences. Because of limitation of space, only 10 cases are presented below.

Case 1: Mahmoud, the seconded teacher

After four years in Saudi Arabia working as a teacher, Mahmoud returned to his village. They substituted him with a Saudi teacher under a campaign known as "Saudization", through which the Saudi authorities gradually substitute all immigrant workforces with Saudi citizens. Mahmoud graduated from the faculty of Arts (Arabic language section) in 1996. He was employed by the government in the same year, and worked for three years in the preparatory school at his village. One day, a colleague told him that the Saudi Employment Office in Cairo had announced that they needed teachers to work for the Ministry of Education in Saudi Arabia. Mahmoud summoned his papers and got an appointment for personal interview after passing through all necessary tests. After all, he got a contract to work in Saudi Arabia for four years until they substituted him with a Saudi teacher as mentioned before. "The Saudization is very active these days in the kingdom and that reduces work opportunities for foreigners there. Were it not for 'Saudization', I wouldn't have returned to Egypt," Mahmoud said.

"I benefited a lot from work in Saudi Arabia. Moneywise, working for one year there equals to working for ten years in Egypt. I also, while being there, went four times to the holly land in Mekka for *hajj* (pilgrimage) and 15 times for *omra* (mini pilgrimage)," he said. After he returned, Mahmoud bought a piece of land where he built a house, preparing for marriage. He also renewed the family house and built an extra flat for his brother. Besides, he gave a hand in the family expenses and invited his father for *hajj* when he was in Saudi Arabia. No doubt that Mahmoud's work experience in Saudi Arabia has influenced his ideas about working abroad. Now, he is ready to pay any amount of money to buy a work contract in any Arab Gulf country. Working in Saudi Arabia anyway was not Mahmoud's first trip abroad. He went to Jordan when he was a

college student in 1993, and worked there for six months in construction. Mahmoud has an opinion about internal immigration and the increasing demand on private tutoring teachers in Cairo. "I absolutely don't think of migration to Cairo even under the temptation of the good revenues of private tutoring. Life in Cairo is strenuous, my colleague teachers work from 7 a.m. until 1 a.m. the day after, it is exhaustive. It also causes a lot of social problems because you will be always far from your family and your home will be a bedroom," he said.

Mahmoud was not the only immigrant in the family. His younger brother Yaseen migrated to Cairo after finishing his education in 1996. He worked there for four years beginning with a restaurant in Faisal area in the first year and then worked in a ceramics store (packing and delivery). Yaseen later got a contract to work in Jordan sent to him by his cousin who works there. He paid LE 2,000 to get the contract and worked there for four years and returned to Egypt for a short visit to prepare for his marriage. He intends to marry in his next visit to Egypt.

Case 2: Ahmed Galal, working in Cairo is not bad

Despite his family's affluence compared to other families in the village, Ahmed knew his way to work in an early stage of life. When he moved to study in Al-Azhar University in Cairo he used to work in holidays. After graduation, he returned to his village and accepted a temporary work in the village's primary school. After a year he, again, moved to Cairo to work in coffee shops and restaurants in Faisal area until he found a more permanent and good income-generating job in *Eltawheed Wennour*, a well-known department store in Cairo.

Ahmed sees the new job offers a good income despite hard work (he works 10 a.m. to 10 p.m.). He resides with a group of friends and workmates in a place nearby the store. "Although my father fulfilled all my brothers' needs, I sometimes help them in education expenses, bring them presents and clothes and give them money too. I also help my father. He has no income but his salary, which is reasonably good but can't fulfill all

family needs. We have to buy all our needs from the village market since we don't own farmland or raise cattle," Ahmed said.

It is worth mentioning that Ahmed's father had had traveled to Iraq. He worked there for four years from 1979 till 1983, and was among the pioneers who traveled to Iraq from his village. Ahmed's youngest brother is a student in the Faculty of Arts. He intends to go abroad as soon as he finishes his education because he thinks that moving to work in Cairo is not good, money wise.

Case 3: Mamdouh Mahdi, working between the village and Cairo

Mamdouh left school in primary stage to work after his father's death. He moved with his mother, brothers and sisters to stay with his uncle in the same village. His uncle taught him wall painting in an early stage followed by his brother Ali. "First time I leave the village was when I went to Cairo with my uncle. We tackled the finishing of a whole building. It took us two months to do the job," Mamdouh said.

Mamdouh and his brother started working together independent from their uncle two years ago. "When not finding work to do in our village or in neighboring villages, we go to work in Cairo. Anyway, we prefer to work in the village to be close to our mother, brothers and sisters," Mamdouh said. When they move to Cairo, where work is available around the year, they take some worker from their village. They trust them and believe that their tolerance is more than that of workers from Cairo. Residence for them and their helpers is guaranteed. They stay in the unfinished buildings where they work. They all travel in a rented microbus from their village directly to the building where they work, which makes it easy for them to take blankets, food, and tools. Some village friends receive them in Cairo and arrange for their work with contractors. Mamdouh says that contractors in Cairo prefer and trust them more than Cairenes (his opinion) because they are trustworthy, more tolerant and their rates are cheaper. They also do the job as good as Cairenes.

"Working in Cairo is comfortable and financially better because we strike big bargains, contrary to the village, where we tackle a small building or an apartment. People in the village are poor and have limited capabilities," Mamdouh said. "Our financial state became better. We renovated a part of the family house and became independent from my uncle. We also bought a farmland (6 carats) and raised few cattle and poultry, and now I prepare to get married. Except for working in Cairo, I couldn't do all this," he said.

Case 4: Taha Hassan Ali, 20 years in Jordan

Taha (43 years old) received a secondary school diploma in agronomy in 1979. One year later, he traveled to work in Jordan, where he stayed there for about 20 years and permanently returned to his village in 1999. In the beginning, he stayed for three continuous years away from his family. "I lived in Jordan as if I was in Egypt. Many friends from the village and relatives of mine had visited me in Jordan, and I helped a lot of them get jobs there. Among those was my brother Mahmoud who kept working there for 14 years," Taha said. Taha worked for a long period in a company that imports fruits and vegetable. He financially benefited a lot from working abroad. His paycheck sometimes reached 700 Jordanian Dinars a month (about LE 7,000).

Taha's family was originally poor. He grew in a ramshackle rural home and they didn't possess any farmland. His father rented a piece of land to farm and to take care of wife and four children (3 males and 1 female). They lived in hardship. "Working in Jordan, I managed to renew the family house and build another house on a piece of land I bought. Also I financed my marriage and my brothers' marriages. I bought farming land for my father to take care of, and entered into partnership with my brother in a raising cattle business. Finally, I inaugurated a mini-market," Taha said. Taha didn't travel to work in Cairo like many people in his village. He thought that work in Cairo is wastage of time and effort without any real revenue.

After all these years Taha spent in Jordan leaving his wife and children for long periods (he didn't witness any of his children's birth), he decided to permanently return and settle in his village. Taha got a job in the village's Agricultural Unit and had a spare time to

manage his private business in the village. Taha says he returned because he realized that his children have grown up and needed his care. He has four children; an older daughter in secondary school and his youngest son still in primary school.

Taha thinks that whoever gets a chance to work abroad must not hesitate. He views that the government should exert an effort to make it easier for young people to work abroad to help reducing the unemployment rates.

Case 5: Hajj Amer's family, the immigrants' factory

No one remained in the house except him, his wife, and one of his children, who was getting ready to travel to U.A.E. Four of his remaining five sons were abroad, and the fifth runs his own business in the governorate's capital (Beni-sueif city). That's why we can call this house "The immigrants' factory". The eldest son, Talaat, went to Jordan three years ago with his brother Soliman, and their brother Omar also went to Jordan four months ago, followed by his brother Ali after two months. Ahmed worked in U.A.E as mentioned before.

first migration experience of Hajj Amer's sons was to Cairo. They used to work there as porters in ceramics stores in Imbaba. One of them managed to get a contract to work in U.A.E via an employment agency in Cairo. He worked there for five years in a contractors company and returned to get married and take his wife back to the Emirates. The rest of his brothers didn't get a chance to work in an Arab Gulf country. Talaat managed to get a contract to work in construction in Jordan. He succeeded to get his brothers contracts one after another to work with him. They continued working there until they were able to establish their own business in Jordan. They inaugurated a place for manufacturing and distributing pickles in Amman and Aqaba. "Thank God, their business is very profitable," their father said.

Although their father has become old, he is the maestro of the house. Hajj Amer's sons send to him their savings, and he is the one who decide on allocating their resources. Hajj Amer built a luxurious house compared to other houses in the village. The house is

equipped by all modern life requirements; electrical appliances, TVs, and even a satellite dish and a receiver.

When I visited hajj Amer, he was busy supervising construction workers; he was building another house for one of his sons who was preparing for marriage. He superintended the whole process of building this new house, it is a habit of rural Egyptians not to hire a contractor or an architect, and do the job themselves instead.

Strangely, hajj Amer doesn't have a landline phone at home; his sons bought him a mobile phone instead, so that they can call him at anytime. People, except for his sons, rarely call him over the phone. There were very few people in the village who own mobile phones, especially old and uneducated people like Hajj Amer.

After they spent a long time working in manufacturing and distributing pickles in Jordan, hajj Amer's sons have decided to open a branch for their business in Egypt. Sayed returned to Egypt and rented a suitable place in Beni-Sueif (the capital of the governorate) to start this business. He also bought a car to be used for distribution in Beni-Sueif and neighboring governorates (Fayoum and Menia). He intends to expand activity to include distributing in Cairo.

Hajj Amer insisted that I should taste the factory production of pickles to be sure that it emulates the best kinds sold in Cairo. My view is that this family is an ideal pattern for studying the relationships between internal and international migration and how they influence living standards.

Case 6: Hariedi Osman Hariedi, the minibus driver

My assistant, Taha, who guided me from house to house and from place of work to another during my fieldwork in Imbaba, said: "Hariedi was one of the village's poorest, even destitute persons. He was working with his relatives fishing the little river branch opposite to their village. After spending all night fishing, they would go in the early morning to the market to sell what they had fished for a little amount of money that

barely keeps them alive. His family doesn't own any land to cultivate." Escaping those miserable circumstances, Hariedi traveled to Cairo in 1996 to look for a better opportunity. He stayed in the beginning with a relative in Imbaba and worked with him in construction. After he had settled in Cairo, Hariedi got to know a Cairene girl who ran a private business in her family's house; tailoring clothes and marketing them to women and girls in the area where she lives. The relationship between Hariedi and the girl was consolidated and then, they decided to get married. They were able to obtain one of the subsidized apartments from those distributed by the State for the unable. But the problem they faced was that the apartment was in one of the new cities on the out skirts of Cairo. It was far from his wife's customers and from his work in Imbaba. They returned to live in his wife's family house in Imbaba and then they were able to rent an apartment in the same area. Meanwhile, Hariedi changed his profession from working in construction to driving a minibus. "Working in construction was very tough and I couldn't spend all my life doing this job. Driving a minibus meant more income and less effort," he said.

Hariedi and his wife were able to buy a piece of land after eight years of work in Cairo. He built a house and brought his younger brother to work with him in Cairo and offered him an apartment in his new house. His wife also opened a small store in the same building to market products of hers together with others she bought from traders in Attaba area.

Case 7: Shehata Mohammed Abdel Mottaleb, the janitor

To any Egyptian, Shehata's story is very common. Shehata (50 years old) moved to live in Cairo 30 years ago when one of his relatives helped him get a job as a "janitor" in a governmental institute. It was common because Egyptians liked governmental jobs since it ensured continuity and stability; however less is its income compared to private sector.

Shehata stayed in Cairo with fellow workers from his village in an area close to his workplace. In the beginning he was happy that he got this job, but later he tried to move to the institute's branch in Beni-Sueif to be close to his family in Beni-Madi. After his trials for a whole year to move to Beni-Sueif had failed, he was convinced to stay in

Cairo. To increase his income, Shehata started an afternoon part-time job in a coffee shop. After five years of hard work in the government and private sector, Shehata managed to get married to a relative from his village, whom he brought to stay with him in Cairo.

Shehata is blessed with five children who did not receive enough education. They all joined the labor market in early ages. No one of them traveled to work abroad. His two daughters got married recently and one of them got married to a relative in the village and returned to his family's origin.

Influenced by my demographic expertise and my work in the field of population, I feel inclined to refer the poverty of Shehata and his miserable family conditions to the high fertility (five births).

Case 8: Mohammed Abdel Kader, the kebab vendor

Mohammed was raised in a big family, but lacking sufficient resources. His family doesn't own any agricultural land. He used to be a work earner for others, especially in agricultural labor-intensive seasons. Mohammed had to move to work in Cairo with his older brother to lift financial burdens off his family's shoulders. His brother worked in construction, whereas he worked in a kebab shop (restaurant). He was gradually promoted from cleaning the restaurant to washing dishes and then to professional jobs. He was able to fathom all technicalities and secrets of the profession in a short period of time.

Mohamed and his brother later bought a small handcart to sell sandwiches and barbecues on it in a crowded street in Monira area in Imbaba. They worked in this profession for three years until they were able to buy a little shop in the same area to do the same activity. "The sweetest days in my life were when we worked on the handcart. It was that little cart which enabled us to buy the first shop and the other shops we bought later," Mohammed said.

Year after a year, Mohammed and his brother became the owners of many butcheries and kebab shops in Imbaba. They have brought two of their younger brothers from Beni-Madi to work with them. Every one of them works now in his own shop. All of them enjoy good reputation in both Monira and Basrawi areas in Imbaba.

Case 9: Mahmoud el Sellini, the ironer

Mahmoud, as a case study, is described as an internal migrant, an external migrant and also a returned migrant at the same time, with an economic sense that reaches far beyond his educational qualifications. Leaving school in an early age, barely knowing how to read and write, Mahmoud was the first in his village to work as an ironer/laundry man. He obtained the skills of that profession in a short time in an early age in an ironing shop in Beni-Sueif (the capital of the governorate). Reaching the age of 19, he rented a shop from one of his relatives in his village's primitive market, and started the profession of ironing clothes through that shop. Although his customers were either government employees or rich figures in his village, his income was good compared to the absence of any competitor in that profession. Adding to his income from his profession, the revenues of the agricultural land the family owns.

Due to the success Mahmoud has achieved in his profession, and as an attempt replicate the success that has been achieved by Mahmoud, the profession of ironing clothes has spread and two new shops were opened. However increased are clients' demands for these services, with the young men in the country side adopting the city's fashion (wearing pants and shirts instead of loose garments), the increase in demand was not aligned with the increase in ironers.

In 1989, Mahmoud has received an offer – by a broker - to work as an ironer in an international hotel in Saudi Arabia. The broker asked for seven thousand Egyptian Pounds for Mahmoud's contract, the amount of money Mahmoud prepared through selling some gold possessions of his wife, and renting the farming land he inherited to one of his relatives. Mahmoud worked in Saudi Arabia for nine years and returned in 1998. "Travel to Saudi Arabia was an excellent experience with all measures, despite

home sickness and harsh work conditions, and mostly being parted from wife and children. Beside saving a lot of money, I have benefited more out of learning the new techniques used in ironing like dry cleaning services, recalling my old ironing method I used to practice,” Mahmoud said.

After returning to Egypt, Mahmoud decided to open a modern dry cleaning shop. “It was unreasonable to initiate such an activity in Beni-Madi. People there are economically devastated. Besides, there will be far less demand than I expect for that kind of service,” Mahmoud said. Mahmoud decided to move to Cairo to implement his new plans. He rented a shop in Imbaba appropriately installed for that purpose and rented a small flat consisting of two rooms (a living room and a bed room) to live in close to that shop. Living alone in Cairo, he got used to travel once a week to visit his family (his wife and four children in various educational levels). Mahmoud continued working and succeeded in building trusty relations and good reputation among the local community. Mahmoud’s sons were helping their father in their school vacations; one of them moved to live with him to pursue his university education in Cairo.

Finished with study, Wael, the eldest son, has come, too, to permanently work with his father. He could, in a short time, run that shop, the reason why his father, Mahmoud, found it suitable to spend longer vacations back in the village. Finally, Mahmoud, the father, decided to grant his son the mission of totally running that shop. Wael, the son, later managed to find a suitable flat to live in outside Imbaba, and is now preparing it for marriage, as he got engaged to one of his relative in the village, and they both have agreed to permanently live in Cairo after marriage. “I thought of renting a flat in Imbaba, close to work, but Imbaba is highly crowded and overpopulated. This is why I preferred to rent a flat in ‘Ard el Lewaa’ area,” Wael commented.

After returning to the village, Mahmoud found it impossible to stay without work, although he is taking care of his farmland and raising cattle in the back of his house. He changed one of the rooms in his house into a crops mill project. On top of all that, and from time to time, he does not miss spending some time in Cairo.

Case 10: Mustafa Kamel, the taxi driver

Mustafa is the oldest son of a person who, long time ago, immigrated to Cairo from Upper Egypt. His father moved to Cairo in the beginning of the manufacturing era in Egypt in the sixties of the last century, after he was grip tightened with poverty. His father was able to find a work opportunity in a public sector factory in Helwan area and they gave him a public housing unit. He got married to an immigrant from Menia governorate, who was working in a weaving factory at the same area where he used to work. Mustafa completed his education getting a technical school diploma, but was not able to find a job in the public sector. He had to work in a private sector workshop for car repair in the same area, but couldn't bear hard work conditions; in addition, his paycheck was too little. One of his old school colleagues helped him get a job in a clothes' store at downtown Cairo.

Mustafa was able to develop his selling skills in a short time and loved his work. A Saudi customer, who was in a visit to Cairo in the summer of 1995, offered him a contract to work as a seller in a chain of stores he owns in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. Mustafa happily accepted the offer and traveled to Jeddah after three months. After four years of hard work there, he returned to Egypt, and as most of single returned migrants do, he got married to a relative of him from Imbaba. He spent most of his savings in marriage expenses and started again looking for a job, but couldn't find one for more than one year, because of severe unemployment problem.

Mustafa was able to buy a used taxi and worked on it in Cairo. The taxi ensured good income for him and his family. "The most important achievement I attained from traveling to work in Saudi Arabia was marriage. I was able to save marriage expenses. Without traveling to work abroad, I wouldn't have been able to save money even if I continued to work in Egypt until retirement age. I thank God because I was able to buy the taxi I work on now before my savings from Saudi Arabia finish. Working on a taxi in Cairo is exhausting, but the income is good," Mustafa said.

DISCUSSION

What are the effects and impacts of the two kinds of migration (eg. on remittances, poverty alleviation, return, family dynamics etc.)? In economic terms the most important aspect in internal and international migration is the counter-flow of remitted money and goods that characterizes the migration stream. Such flows of wealth are undoubtedly important, not only to the families in sending regions and countries, but also to the economy of sending regions and countries (Caldwell, 1969). Remittances are defined as the money transmitted from one place to another, although remittances can also be sent in-kind. However, the term “remittances” usually refers to cash transfers. Migrant worker remittances are the part of total remittance flows that is transmitted by migrant workers, usually to their families or friends back home. Almost all remittances are sent by individual migrants (individual remittances), yet a fraction is sent by groups of migrant workers through their associations (collective remittances).

Formal remittances are sent through banks, post offices, exchange houses and transfer companies. Common facilities for such transfers include demand drafts, travellers’ cheques, telegraphic transfers, postal orders, account transfers, automatic teller machine (ATM) facilities or electronic transfers. Formal, international remittances can be measured and quantified. The choice between formal and informal channels depends on a variety of factors, including the efficiency, the level of charges and exchange rates, the availability of facilities for transferring funds, the prevalence of political risks and the degree of flexibility in foreign exchange rules.

Migration is a response to unemployment, failure of economic policies, improper allocation of international assistance, and as a response to limited opportunities in origin. However, one should not be so pessimistic, “migration, rather than being seen as a failure of development, can be seen to be an integral part of any pro-poor development strategy” (Skeldon 2003).

The fieldwork shows that large proportions of internally-remitted funds are used for daily expenses such as food, clothing and health care. Funds are also spent on building or improving housing, buying land or cattle, and buying durable consumer goods. "*Although my father fulfilled all my brothers' needs, I sometimes help them in education expenses, bring them presents and clothes and give them money too. I also help my father. He has no income, but his salary which is reasonably good but can't fulfil all family needs. We have to buy all our needs from the village market since we don't own farmland or raise cattle,*" Ahmed said (Case no. 2). "*We renovated a part of the family house We also bought a farmland and raised few cattle and poultry, and now I prepare to get married. Except for working in Cairo, I couldn't do all this,*" Mamdouh said (Case no. 3). Generally, only a small percentage of remittances are used for savings and "productive investments", i.e. for activities with multiplier effects towards income and employment creation.

Remittances of international and internal-like migrants are higher than internal migrants. A successful example of migrants to Jordan is *Taha* who worked there for about 20 years, "*Working in Jordan, I managed to renew the family house and build another house on a piece of land I bought. Also I financed my marriage and my brothers' marriages. I bought farming land for my father to take care of, and entered into partnership with my brother in a raising cattle business. Finally, I inaugurated a mini-market,*" *Taha* said (Case no. 4). The high remittances of international and internal-like migrants may be – in part – due to the fact that international migrants remit less frequently than internal migrants who visit their villages frequently to deploy money they saved while working in urban agglomerations. International migrants remit annually or semi-annually so that they can remit larger amounts than internal migrants. Add to this, higher income of international migrants and their commitment to save large amount of money because it is not easy for them to fail and return home without fulfilling what the society expects from them. All or almost most of international migrants are expected to renovate their family house or build a new house, get married (if they are still single), and help other family members as much as they can. Internal migrants are only expected to sustain their lives and fulfil daily expenses and commitments.

International migrants, especially to the Arab Gulf countries remit better than internal migrants. *"I benefited a lot from work in Saudi Arabia. Moneywise, working for one year there equals to working for ten years in Egypt,"* Mahmoud said (Case no. 1). *"Travel to Saudi Arabia was an excellent experience with all measures, despite home sickness and harsh work conditions, and mostly being parted from wife and children. Although I have saved a lot of money,"* Mahmoud el Sellini said (Case no. 9). *"The most important achievement I attained from travelling to work in Saudi Arabia was marriage. I was able to save marriage expenses. Without travelling to work abroad, I wouldn't have been able to save money even if I continued to work in Egypt until retirement age,"* Mustafa Kamel said (Case no. 10).

Migrants to distinguished destinations (Arab Gulf countries) and households with many migrants abroad seem to employ remittances in economic bases more than migrants to Cairo and internal-like destinations. The family of Haj Amer (Case no. 5) is an example of a successful family migration experience; they renovated the family house, built another house, got married, and founded a project. Another example is Taha (Case no. 4) who stayed in Jordan for 20 years. When he returned, he managed to employ his savings properly. Success stories are observed among internal migrants who managed to convert from circulars and unskilled labourers to established migrants in Cairo and owners of businesses such as Hariedi (Case no. 6), Shehata Abdel Mottaleb (Case no. 7), Mohammed Abdel Kader and his brother (Case no. 8), and many others.

Although the local use of remittances of Egyptian migrants focuses on family daily expenditure and customer goods, the impact of these remittances upon national economy and development plans can not be ignored or disregarded. The conclusion to be drawn from the analysis above is that internal and international migration are important means of development. In other words, one can say that international migration remittances are important for rural development, while internal migration remittances are important as means for poverty alleviation and satisfying the basic needs of the poor. Internal and

international migrations are complementary and supplement each other, since they are both related to the migrants' search for greater well-being.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

With respect to the development impact of migration, it is important to recall the fact that the Egyptian migration is a response to poverty, so that its impact on economic development is limited. Egyptian internal and international migration – especially to Libya and Jordan – should be regarded as a sort of survival migration rather than migration for development. The conclusion to be drawn from this study is that, Egyptian internal and international migrations are deployed to escape poverty and mal economic development. Migration is a survival strategy; it is more to decrease hazards than to maximize benefits.

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