

OVERVIEW OF INTERNAL MIGRATION IN THE MEDITERRANEAN

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The analysis of migration realities in the Mediterranean reveals differences between the northern and southern shores and within each of these areas. There is indeed a border between the two shores opposing countries of immigration in the North and countries of emigration in the South and East. One can also observe that while some initial characteristics of migratory movements are no longer relevant in the northern Mediterranean, they can still be relevant in southern countries. For instance, in the North, rural to urban migration no longer plays the role it has played for centuries. Indeed, this is now a phenomenon that particularly concerns developing countries such as southern Mediterranean countries. However, in these countries we are witnessing the development of other forms of internal migration such as the movement from one urban area to another. Generally, this tendency to amplify migratory movements within countries towards large urban centres is an explanatory factor of urban growth, which is a key element in the overall modernising process of societies and increasing integration of economies at global level¹.

The differences in migration trends currently observed in the Mediterranean basin lead us to question the reasons why migrants settle in this or that host region. We will focus on the characteristics of this region and the area of origin. It would seem logical that migrants are attracted to areas with infrastructure and public services as well as economic potentialities. Moreover, these variations in trends can be due to the different transformations occurring in the countries of each shore, migration being a phenomenon deeply related to the continuous processes of societal changes. Evidently, there are links between migration trends in these countries and the demographic, economic, social and structural changes that have occurred very gradually in recent decades.

This chapter is therefore aimed at proposing an analysis of these various changes that have taken place in Mediterranean countries and their links with the persistence or emergence of certain migratory movements, then comparing the migratory

¹ - In developed countries, the urbanisation process has matured a long time ago. The latest data provided by the World Bank (see World Development Indicators: Urbanization) enable to conclude that in these countries, around 80% of the population lives in urban areas. This average is 75% in the European Union.

dynamics at work in the region. Although quite limited, the data suggest that in this field, the differences between Mediterranean countries are much more complex than what is usually described. It should be noted that this is the study of internal migration: only movements within countries are considered.

Firstly, the different determinants of internal migration will be briefly presented, highlighting the importance of literature that questions the reasons for choosing the city as residential space. Indeed, despite the diversity of forms of internal migration, for a long time, researchers have been almost exclusively interested in migration from the countryside to the city, the consequences of this phenomenon in developing countries and in general, issues related to urban settings, often raising concerns about the risks of disproportionate growth in large cities, lack of basic services or the dynamism of the informal sector. Few studies have analysed the other determining components of rural and urban dynamics such as departures to other rural areas or movements between urban areas.

Secondly, the analyses of the current migratory dynamics in the Mediterranean will allow us to propose a contextual approach that positions them in the more general societal changes.

The main factors explaining internal migration: literature

The neoclassical model according to which, migration is a balancing factor of geographical differences in terms of wages determined by the confrontation of supply and demand for labour, has long dominated literature on migration. From this perspective, rural-to-urban migration is explained by the income differentials between rural and urban areas. Yet, since the 1960s, there has been an increase in urban unemployment accompanied by an increase in rural exodus in most African and Latin American countries. It is by observing this phenomenon that the economist Michael Todaro (1969)² has formulated another thesis stating that instead of comparing income differences at a given moment, it would be better to do so over a long period. He therefore managed to demonstrate that the decision to leave the countryside results from an arbitration between the probability/risk of urban unemployment and expected income differential between urban and rural areas.

In reality, “the image of the fully informed migrant that calculates his income, does not fit with the one that emerges from surveys carried out on motivations and nothing proves that the migrant has all the necessary parameters to economically optimise his behaviour” (Paulais, 1995). Indeed, the analysis of migration highlights the complex and multidimensional nature of the migration phenomenon. In this respect, we can mention the existence of a relatively direct link between migration and a number of personal, family and contextual factors. For many researchers, opportunities to improve employment and working conditions or raise wages are pull factors towards host areas like urban ones. In fact, in many developing countries, in many cases, the income that rural people manage to earn from their work is

2 - Several contributions have deepened this consideration. See for example the summary of Cahuc and Celimène (1993).

modest, unstable and insufficient to meet their basic needs, and particularly uncertain in areas that suffer frequent droughts. It is particularly for this reason that many rural Africans migrate (seasonal or permanent migration, rural areas to rural areas, rural areas to the city). While most of them are men, in some countries, such as Burkina Faso, the majority of rural migrants are women (Mercandalli and Losch, 2017). Some descriptive studies on African countries indeed suggest a significant presence of women in migratory flows from rural areas, although this varies according to destination (rural or urban area)³. For example, in Egypt, there are more women than men in migration flows between rural areas (United Nations, 2009). In Morocco, rural exodus has started to become a female phenomenon since the mid 1990s, especially for the 15-40 age group (HCP and CERED, 2017). In several African countries, this trend can be explained by a combination of factors, such as the persistence of social constraints on women (particularly customary and religious restrictions related to access to land) or the selection criteria in favour of women applied by the urban informal sector or labour-intensive industries such as the textile one. The growing importance of women's migration from rural areas is also explained by marriage that leads young wives to move to their husbands' place of residence.

Several microeconomic studies on developing countries take the quest for additional and diversified income as an explanation for migration. In particular, the "new economy of labour migration" views migration as an economic strategy of a household, which seeks to maximise the income and minimise risks. In other words, migration allows the remaining household members to cope with any shocks to which they are exposed (sickness, unemployment, poor harvest, etc.), to improve their consumption and to undertake new projects through remittances from migrants (Taylor, 1999). Some researchers also point out that emigration does not always mean the abandonment of land and property. The remaining family takes care of it in return of the financial transfers from migrants (Rapoport and Docquier, 2005). Finally, due to precarious economic conditions in some rural areas, particularly in the context of default or lack of credit and insurance markets, families seek to diversify income sources. Therefore, they are engaged in different economic activities in different areas. Circular mobility between rural areas and between rural and urban areas is widespread in some developing countries. This temporary migration is facilitated by improved infrastructure, especially means of transport, and, in many cases, by "networks" of contacts with some family members and friends who have already migrated to host areas. Actually, in addition to the structural factors (poverty, unemployment, conflict⁴, etc.), migrations respond to call dynamics with a strong social base. Networks of first migrants play a structuring role in individual and collective migration strategies, encouraging new movements that will hence be less expensive and less risky. Other factors such as the availability of public services in places of destination may also explain the reason behind migration.

3 - Unfortunately, empirical analyses of women's migration in African countries are very limited. The lack of updated data partly explains the small number of academic works generally dedicated to the analysis of migration dynamics within these countries. International migration is therefore more relevant to specialists and researchers.

4 - While people usually migrate to seek a better life, many are forced to migrate because of desperate situations, whether due to climate disasters, ethnic conflicts or wars.

However, migration flows are not only from rural to urban areas. As from the 1970s, many researchers, especially geographers and sociologists pointed out the increasing importance of the migration of urban dwellers to the periphery of cities in developed countries, in other words, the emergence of the phenomenon of urban sprawl that is later referred to as “peri-urbanisation”. As from that time, they have described the upheavals generated by this phenomenon and, more recently, the extension of cities to rural areas or “rurbanisation” (Bauer and Roux, 1976).

During the 1980s and 1990s, migrations from cities to the countryside took on importance in some developing countries, sometimes to the point of becoming dominant as in the Ivory Coast or Zambia (Beauchemin, 2005)⁵. Several structural and cyclical factors have been invoked (demographic change, dynamics or rural development, demand of the labour market, etc.) as the root of this phenomenon. For example, analysts have suggested a link between economic conditions (particularly the recession) and urban-rural migration. As Chris Beauchemin (2005) rightly reveals, moments of economic crises can cause a drop in income for city dwellers. In this case, the comparative advantages and attractiveness of the urban environment become uncertain thus contributing to the emergence of a form of return migration. Most urban migrants then arrive in rural areas with a sense of bitterness when they have not managed to stay in the city (housing and employment crises, high cost of living, etc.).

Internal migration in the Mediterranean: an overview

After more than a century of rural exodus and demographic decline, several European countries have experienced completely unexpected changes and the emergence of new forms of internal migration. As we have observed, a movement of “counter-urbanisation” has been able to develop, leading to a resurgence of population in some rural areas. This phenomenon is particularly salient in France⁶, where for several decades, there has been an intensification of the overall migration movement towards rural areas, mainly towards peri-urban areas and the tourism sectors (Poncet and Belot, 2008; European Commission, 2008). Thanks to the natural and migratory balance, rural areas are experiencing a notable demographic recovery, but they remain unequally distributed and difficult to grasp as a whole due to the differences in intensity of one municipality or region to another. Also, the most agricultural areas that are the least attractive from a residential or touristic point of view, are the less affected by this phenomenon of demographic recovery. At European level, there are great disparities in the dynamics as the situation varies according to the types of rural areas and their location in the countries, and today, it seems to be largely related to migratory flows (Hirczak *et al.*, 2011). In varying proportions, the

5 - The original study of Beauchemin (2005) analyses the case of the Ivory Coast where, between 1988 and 1992, urban-rural exchanges were favourable to the latter. It therefore demonstrates that the rural exodus tends to decline while the migration of cities to the countryside is growing.

6 - In France, available data indicate that over the last decade, it is the absorption of rural communes in the urban space that was the main reason for the demographic growth of this space. Data also shows a low demographic growth in urban areas between 1999 and 2007 in comparison to the general level (data available on the INSEE website, www.insee.fr/).

size of the latter allows a structural rejuvenation of the rural population and a rebalancing of the natural balance. Moreover, it should be noted that the diversity of national definitions of rural and urban areas makes European comparisons of the evolution of settlement in these areas relatively complex (Box 1).

At the same time, in European countries, it is worth highlighting the development of daily and commuting movements for work and studies between the city and places of residence located in nearby rural areas that are better endowed with services and infrastructures. These commuting migrations to cities are often due to the polarisation of jobs in urban areas.

Box 1: The wide variety of rural and urban spaces in the Mediterranean

Low population density (or the tendency to depopulation), the types of habitat and activity are usually considered as factors enabling to distinguish a “rural area” from an “urban area”. According to international criteria of definition, this distinction is made on the basis of the size of municipalities and habitat continuity. A municipality is urban if it has at least 2,000 inhabitants living in a continuous built-up area. In fact, there are different definitions of the term “urban” and therefore of urban/rural classification⁷. Hence, the boundaries between the rural and urban worlds are often unclear, making international comparisons of internal migration flows difficult. If we take the example of European countries, in Spain, the term “urban” means an area with a minimum threshold of 10,000 inhabitants⁸ while in France, it is 2,000. In the southern Mediterranean, the distinction between a “rural” and an “urban” area can also vary considerably between countries. For instance, in Egypt and in Tunisia, the classification of urban areas is based on administrative criteria (chief governorates in particular) whereas in Algeria, it is based on the construction zones; groups of 100 buildings or building that have a distance of less than 200 metres between each other, are considered as urban.

In southern Mediterranean countries – particularly in Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia and Egypt – an essential part of the demographic dynamics of the city is due to migration phenomena and the creation of new urban areas (urbanisation process of rural areas). However, these dynamics remain specific particular to each country. The cases of Tunisia and Morocco illustrate this specificity of urbanisation and its growth. Census outcomes indicate that rural migration in Tunisia has always been moderate. According to the latest report of the *Institut National des Statistiques* (INS, 2016), the growth rate of rural exodus was of about 4% between 1966 and 1994, of 1.83% between 1994 and 2004 and of 1.47% between 2004 and 2014. On the other hand, Morocco experienced record rates of rural exodus growth during the 1970s and 1980s⁹.

7 - We are here referring to the 66th edition of the *United Nations Demographic Yearbook* (published in 2016).

8 - In the case of Spain, in order to publish comparable results at European level, Eurostat proposes to consider as urban, intermediate and rural, respectively, the areas formed by municipalities with more than 10,000 inhabitants, 2,001 to 10,000 inhabitants and of 2,000 inhabitants or less.

9 - From approximately 8,000 persons per year at the beginning of the century (HCP and CERED, 2017, and CERED, 1995), the number of rural people who have left the countryside for the city has increased gradually since the Independence and with a rapid acceleration in the 1970s-1980s. This amounted to 45,000 between 1952 and 1960, 67,000 between 1960 and 1971, 113,000 between 1971 and 1982 and 193,000 migrants per year between 1982-1994. Since then, rural exodus has been running out of steam (around 100,000 migrants per year between 1994 and 2004).

Since then, this migratory movement has been declining and its share in the population of Moroccan cities has started to decline: it is estimated at 38% between 1960 and 1971, 43% between 1971 and 1982, 40% between 1982 and 1994 and 35% between 1994 and 2004 (HCP, 2006). At the same time, internal flows are increasingly inter-urban flows (HCP, 2006), a sign of a general shift in migration trends in countries where migration between urban areas is gradually becoming the main movement of internal migration. In theory, spatial mobility patterns are partly related to national stages of economic development or demographic transition. The evolution of the population towards a more “modern” way of life would be associated with the development of new forms of internal mobility such as migration between cities or within an urban agglomeration¹⁰. In fact, it turns out that in North African countries, limited opportunities for stable employment and the weight of the precarious informal sector in many cities¹¹ favour these forms of internal migration. This structural factor is not the only one: the role of public policies aimed at the rural world is important because by reducing geographical inequalities, they can influence the mobility of the rural population. In recent decades, many countries in the southern Mediterranean basin have gradually become aware of the importance of rural development in combating rural exodus. While this idea remains unclear in official discourse, some countries such as Morocco since the mid-1990s¹², have given an increasing place to the desire of reducing inequalities between rural and urban areas in the main orientations of national policies¹³.

It is interesting to mention the distinctiveness of Egypt, the most populous country in the Mediterranean region of Africa. It is indeed the only one in the region that has not completed its demographic transition in which it has been engaged for several decades because if its mortality rates are declining, its fertility rate remains high. With only 5% to 7% of the territory being habitable, the problem of density aggravates the situation. This high density has structuring effects on internal migrations¹⁴. While migrants have long been concentrated in densely populated areas, particularly near cities where work can be found, several analysts agree that commuting and labour migration between villages or large towns and cities have multiplied, while the permanent departures from the countryside have been declining

10 - According to the mobility transition theory, the evolution of spatial mobility forms remains related to each stage of development or demographic transition that all countries would follow (Zelinsky, 1971). Developed from the observation of developed countries, this theory has been tested in several developing countries but remains highly questionable. According to it, there are five stages in the migration transition from rural-urban internal migration to inter-urban and intra-urban migration. As a whole, these countries would be in this last phase.

11 - See the annex for an analysis of some statistical data, which allows a better understanding of the diversity of problems faced by rural and urban areas in the Mediterranean countries.

12 - Several programmes of planning and accessibility to services (roads, eau, electricity) have emerged, such as the Global Rural Electrification Programme or the Rural Clean Water Supply Programme launched in 1995.

13 - It should be noted that since the 1970s, programmes have been implemented in other countries of the region such as Algeria with its “thousand socialist villages” programme launched in 1972 (Guillermou, 1999). The latter has enabled the establishment of new rural centres with electricity, running water and community facilities (schools, hospitals, etc.). All the measures taken led to a certain slowdown in the rural exodus during the 1980s.

14 - There is a link between the demographic density of the studied area and the migratory phenomenon because among the factors of attraction or repulsion of a space, the too high density of its population has a significant place: on the one hand, this density can put pressure on existing infrastructure and services; on the other hand, it can suggest the presence of a migrant network in the destination area that can make it easier for new migrants to find jobs or housing.

since the early 1970s (Guéat-Bernard, 1998). Therefore, mobility does not necessarily imply a change of residence, making it difficult to measure circular migration using census data. Also, the ambiguity of the notions of urbanity and rurality can distort the observation of the mobility of the Egyptian population.

Finally, in the majority of North African countries, urbanisation is a phenomenon imposed and inherited from the colonial model. The French colonisation in Algeria and the establishment of the protectorate in Tunisia and Morocco have indeed caused profound urban upheavals. In these countries, the colonial model has favoured the formation of new cities and the growth of large coastal poles. In the case of Morocco, two new cities (Casablanca and Rabat) have developed much faster and steadily than the cities of the hinterland. The spatial organisational model has therefore been disrupted following the colonisation of the country, the large pre-colonial cities were located in the hinterland of the country (Fez and Marrakech)¹⁵.

The coastalisation of the economy has therefore often taken place to the detriment of the hinterland regions. Over the last two decades, the large coastal poles have remained highly attractive, although this attraction has been declining after the waves of migration from the 1970s to the beginning of the 1990s. This is the case in Morocco where flows are increasingly shared between coastal cities and regional capital cities¹⁶. In Tunisia, migratory movements remain directed from the hinterlands to the two major coastal poles: the district of Tunis and the central-eastern region (INS, 2016).

In most North African countries, coastal cities can be a step on the road to foreign migration (for example, the city of Tangiers in Morocco). So there is sometimes a system of migration taking place in stages, from a rural or urban area to the coastal city and then from that city to another country. Very often, there is a movement from the countryside of these Mediterranean countries toward cities of destination countries as in the case of the rural Egyptians who migrate to the Persian Gulf.

Transformations on both shores and implications

The last three decades have been the scene of considerable upheavals that have gradually affected all Mediterranean countries. In order to gain insight into the role they played in current migratory trends in the Mediterranean and to understand the role played by migration in feeding this transformation process, it is useful to start comparing the different demographic trajectories of these countries to then focus on other changes (socio-economic, structural and technical) that they have

15 - See Charlotte Jelidi, *La Fabrication d'une ville nouvelle sous le Protectorat français au Maroc (1912-1956): Fès-nouvelle*, Tours, University François-Rabelais, 2007.

16 - At national level, the attraction of the major poles remains irresistible. However, at regional level, regional capitals with public services and infrastructure exert a strong pull on surrounding populations and offer many advantages for internal migrants in terms of employment and property prices. According to data from the last two censuses available (1994 and 2004), the two big cities of Casablanca and Rabat, that previously attracted large numbers of rural migrants seem to be saturated cities since both have very low overall growth rates (0.8% for Casablanca and 0.1% for Rabat). Their growth rate is due to natural growth (HCP, 2006).

experienced. Moreover, these transformations also explain the reason why the Mediterranean is often presented as a demographic, economic, social and technological duality between North and South.

Demographic transformations

Despite a decline over the last twenty years, in southern Mediterranean countries, fertility rates remain high overall compared to those in the North. This reinforces the relative share of young people in the total population. Moreover, while most of these countries experienced sustained economic growth during the 1990s and 2000s, they now face a high rate of youth unemployment, a situation that pushes them to seek jobs in big cities or elsewhere. The growth of these cities is therefore fuelled by flows of migrants coming from regions and areas that continue to have a relatively strong natural growth. In addition, fertility rates often remain higher in rural areas than in urban ones¹⁷. Thus, in countries like Egypt, the slowdown in population growth observed in rural areas during the last decades has been the result of an acceleration of migration (domestic and international) more than the result of a drop in natural growth (Goujon and Alkitkat, 2010).

Conversely, when we look at the northern Mediterranean countries, we can see that aging has been taking place since quite a long time with the increase in the proportion of older people in the population. This results from low fertility and mortality rates. However, along with Ireland, France remains the most fertile country in Europe, even though it is also experiencing a strong increase of people aged 65 and over in its population. Due to this worrying demographic situation, the financial equilibrium of pay-as-you-go pension systems in Europe is likely to be disrupted¹⁸. In the context of continuing decline in the birth rate, migrations seem to be necessary from a demographic point of view. According to the most recent information provided by Eurostat, in 2016, the evolution of the population of the European Union (was positive with 1.5 million additional inhabitants) was due to net migration (excess of emigration). In the case of Italy and several southern European countries, population growth is solely due to positive net migration, with the natural balance being negative. In addition, some cases suggest that international and internal migration flows to Europe's depopulated cities and rural areas reconfigure the demographic composition of these places. In this regards, the example of Aragon in Spain is edifying (IOM, 2015). Immigration and its contribution to local development and job creation has attracted native Spaniards from neighbouring towns who have gradually settled and integrated the economic life of the region. These immigration flows have therefore generated an internal emigration toward this rural region. In this case, it is not impossible to imagine that they have caused changes in the demographic structure of the region, which does not seem to have been the subject of

17 - Several elements play an important role in lowering fertility rates, such as poverty and education levels but also the influence of family planning programmes for the poorest social groups. For instance, in Egypt and Morocco, slow progress made in literacy remains uneven between women and men and between rural and urban areas.

18 - In order to counteract this process of population aging, debates often revolve around the role of international migration in the growth of the labour force. In its annual report on international migration of 2012, the OECD explains that between 2000 and 2010, the growth of the labour force in some countries (Switzerland, Italy, Luxembourg and the United Kingdom) is almost entirely the result of the arrival of new immigrants.

specific empirical work. More generally, the study by Annarita Antonelli, Patrizia Pugliese and Omar Bessaoud (2009) highlights the fact that a quarter of migrants arriving in Spain move to small rural villages where they can find work and housing more easily. Nonetheless, internal migration cannot always reverse demographic trends in regions facing the exodus of young people and women in particular. This could well be the case in some rural areas of Mediterranean Europe (southern Italy, Spain, Greece) where employment is scarce, thus pushing people and women in particular to move to urban areas to find a job (European Commission, 2008). We can therefore expect that the essentially feminine nature of this migration has a great influence on fertility rates and the socio-demographic structure of places of origin.

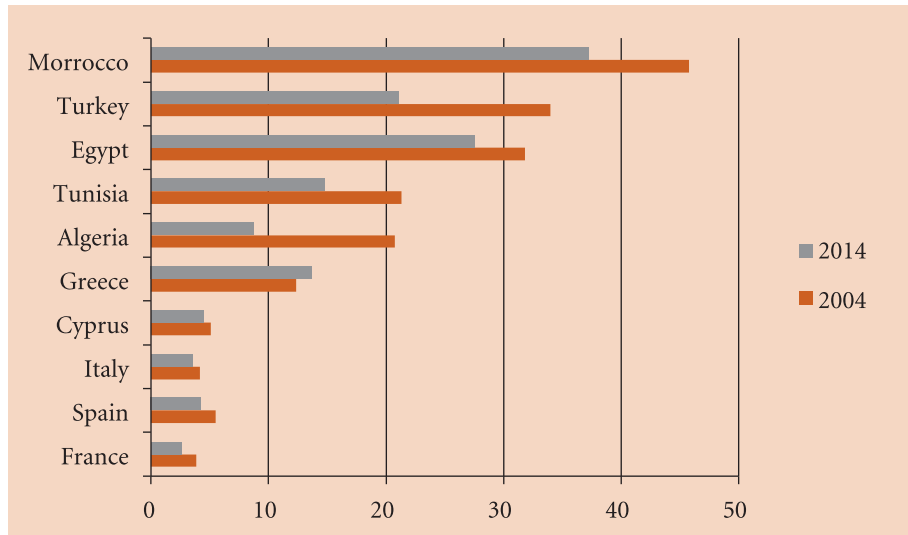
Economic, structural and technological transformations

In recent decades, the countries of both Mediterranean shores have undergone other profound changes that are directly related to the extent and direction of the migratory movements that take place within them. These transformations include structural economic changes, which since decades ago, in the northern countries are manifested by a reduction in both the share of the agricultural sector in their economies and the share of agriculture in total employment. Due to its modernisation and the development of non-agricultural sectors (industry and services sectors), agriculture has become a much smaller source of employment¹⁹. Figure 1 illustrates the wide disparities between European countries in agricultural employment: less than 5% of total employment in France and Italy and around 13% in Greece. Leading to the adoption of a more intensive mode of production, the modernisation of agriculture has certainly led to a spectacular increase in agricultural production, but it has also generated a profound transformation in the European agricultural world due to the decline in the active agricultural population. In some regions and municipalities, it has also resulted in the growth of extra-agricultural wage employment and hence the development of home-work mobility observable in rural areas. In fact, the significant development of non-agricultural activities of farmers (and/or their spouses) contributes to the survival of a very large number of rural families, while avoiding a “desertification of these spaces”.

In Europe, in some cases, immigration has allowed a restructuring of the economy and a reorganisation of production systems and forms of work in several agricultural regions including the adoption of production methods based on the use of unskilled and cheap labour. In this regards, it is worth mentioning the example of Spain where some producers have abandoned cereal crops in favour of labour-intensive crops such as greenhouse crops (ILO, 2008), using mainly non-European migrant workers.

In the Southern Mediterranean, countries have already begun their agricultural transition: this sector accounts for less than 20% of their GDP, but the economic weight of agriculture remains high, although it varies widely from one country to another.

19 - If terms of European agriculture, one must particularly emphasise the essential component of European construction, namely the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). Thanks to the CAP, agriculture has gradually been modernised and developed since its creation in 1992.

Graph 1 - Employment in the sector of agriculture (% of total employment)

Source: World Bank database.

For example, it remains high in Morocco where economic growth is excessively dependent on this sector. The country still has a large reservoir of agricultural population (Graph 1). According to the latest report of the Moroccan Ministry of Agriculture (2012), the sector remains the main provider of jobs: it represents 43% of the active population (4 million people) and the income of nearly three quarters of the working population in rural areas is based on agricultural activities. Conversely, in other southern Mediterranean countries, agriculture represents less than 15% of the active population: this is particularly the case in Algeria and Tunisia. In general, some researchers suggest that one-third of the working population in southern countries still works in the agricultural sector (Hervieu and Lacirignola, 2007).

A successful agricultural transition implies a transfer of the agricultural labour surplus resulting from the combined effects of land scarcity, structural unemployment and, in some cases, high fertility in rural areas to the industrial sector. Such a transfer has not often occurred in southern Mediterranean countries, as the industry has not experienced the expected growth. As a result of the rural exodus, this surplus of labour has thus fed the urban informal sector. This observation is to be compared with the changes experienced by northern Mediterranean countries where for nearly two centuries of rural exodus, farmers have provided the industry with a large workforce, which contributed to its expansion. Beyond this structural problem, today, the contribution of technical change to the growth of agriculture in southern countries is lower than that in northern countries. While, historically, in a context of technological progress, rural migration in Western Europe was associated with an increase in food production, on the other hand, in southern Mediterranean countries, technical progress has not yet become an important source of agricultural

growth and the sector experiences little technical change. This is due to the fact that a change of this nature is highly dependent on investment and access to information, credit and global markets (ILO, 2008). All these ingredients are sorely lacking in southern Mediterranean countries where small farms still employ the majority of the rural population and provide the essential share of food supply.

Agricultural modernisation therefore requires greater access to capital and technology without neglecting the implementation of land and agrarian reforms. Such reforms can indeed lead to a restructuring of the economy with strong consequences for employment and the location of populations. The case of Egypt offers the opportunity to verify the relevance of this assertion. As from the early 1990s, the Egyptian countryside underwent significant changes as a result of the liberalisation of the economy and the structural adjustment programme²⁰. The gradual liberalisation of the agricultural sector (deregulation of agricultural and food prices and gradual abolition of the direct subsidy of agricultural inputs such as fertilisers, pesticides, seeds and animal feed²¹) and the agrarian counter-reform adopted in 1992 have sought to promote the emergence of large capitalist and modern agricultural holdings. They have been justified by the desire to increase agricultural production and the contribution of the agricultural sector to exports. By removing the restrictions on agricultural leasing contracts as from 1997, therefore liberalising the amounts of the land rents (Ayeb, 2010), the reform of the agrarian and land system has had disastrous effects: weakening, even disappearance of many tenant farmers as a result of rising rents, fragmentation of small farmers and exclusivity of short-term, seasonal and annual rentals (Ayeb, 2010). In the end, this reform led to the impoverishment of agricultural workers who did not own land. That said, smallholder-owned agricultural producers have not been spared, undermined in turn by the liberalisation of agricultural prices and the privatisation of supply chains following the implementation of the structural adjustment programme. All these reforms ultimately changed the Egyptian rural society structurally and led to a profound disorganisation of the rural world. Combined with sustained population growth, the nature of these changes has resulted in a surplus of farm labour, including young men who have opted for internal or external migration strategies.

Conclusion

During the twentieth century, economic, demographic, historical, geographical and political conditions were the central explanatory factors for internal migration flows in the Mediterranean. The development of the phenomenon of migration has been described here in relation to the main transformations that have affected migratory flows and to the general process of structural, social and demographic change in the countries concerned. Two major changes have been at work during the past decades, the strong dynamics of urban-rural migration in Western Europe but to varying extents, and the intensification of interurban flows with the gradual decline of the

20 - The so-called *infatih* policy or economic openness is initiated by Anouar El Sadate and continued by Hosni Mubarak, while the country is engaged in an Economic Reform and Structural Adjustment Programme (ERSAP) only from 1991.

21 - This grant was established by the FAO in the early 1970s (FAO, 1997).

exodus in southern Mediterranean countries. Rural economy played a decisive role in the pace of this latest change. However, this analysis masks a much more complex reality. In southern Mediterranean countries, a large part of the population still lives in rural areas and the rural labour force finds employment mainly in agriculture. We then see the whole picture revealing rural areas that remain globally poorly developed but nevertheless undergoing a profound and rapid transformation.

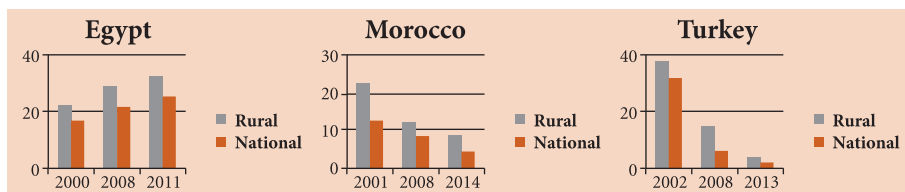
Annex: Some contextual data on the weight of local conditions

The analysis of the national data available enables to reveal a certain number of problems, which entail the risk of internal (and external) migratory movements in the Mediterranean region. This analysis provides interesting insights into certain characteristics and peculiarities of the region studied. Situations vary from one country to another on both shores but some common features emerge such as large regional disparities in terms of unemployment and income.

Firstly, in Mediterranean African countries, statistical data clearly show growing contrasts between the economic dynamism of the large coastal poles and the poverty of several inland regions, which often fail to retain their inhabitants or to attract new ones. More specifically, regional differences in poverty rates between coastal and inland regions are generally very significant. For instance, in the case of Morocco, in 2014, the Greater Casablanca region had only 2% of poor households while that of Drâa-Tafilalet concentrated the largest share, that is, 16.6% (HCP and World Bank, 2017).

Secondly, in southern Mediterranean countries and in Turkey, although recent efforts have mitigated poverty gaps related to place of residence, this remains an important factor: in these countries, the majority of the poor still live in rural areas²² (Graph 2). In 2011, the proportion of rural people living below the poverty threshold varies from one to three, from 9.6% in Turkey to 32% in Egypt. We also note that this country still experiences very high levels of rural poverty. This trend is confirmed by national poverty rates. In comparison with southern Mediterranean countries, poverty rates in Turkey have recently fallen sharply.

Graph 2 - Evolution of poverty rates in rural area and at national level



Source: data compiled from the World Bank and the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

22 - Poverty is that fraction of the population living below the national poverty line.

On the other hand, some of the most pronounced income inequalities are observed in large cities. In fact, in these southern countries, urban growth has been faster than their socio-economic development. As a result, cities in these countries often face daunting challenges, such as poverty and the prevalence of informal structures.

Finally, in rural areas, many farmers still practice high-risk rain fed agriculture. They therefore remain subject to different forms of constraints (climatic, structural, organisational, etc.) that limit their production and explain their vulnerability.

However, poverty is not a problem that is specific to rural areas in the southern Mediterranean as the risk of poverty also affects people living in rural areas in southern European countries. Nevertheless, this risk varies from one country to another. When they are available (in France for example), national data show that most of the poor are still in rural areas²³ but also that poverty is increasingly an urban phenomenon (European Commission, 2008) and that it is often due to a combination of factors: unemployment, economic poverty and social isolation (Paugam, 2008). In these countries, regional socio-economic disparities also persist. Spain and Italy have the highest unemployment rates, with Italy recording the largest regional differences in youth unemployment (OECD, 2015).

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²³ - In general, in southern European countries, poverty and remuneration of agricultural work are related to the structure of the agricultural production system (especially the size of farms), the degree of mechanisation, agricultural practices (low market value crops) and the nature of national or regional support systems. Moreover, the volatility of agricultural market prices, linked to the liberalisation of trade is, in some cases, detrimental to the performance of farms.

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