Introduction: Migration, Security, and Citizenship in a Changing Middle East

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INTRODUCTION

From late 2010, the international community had witnessed a hitherto unseen spread of public unrest in several states in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA).[1] The course of events seemed to defy the established image of unshakeable authoritarianism attributed to the region. Because of the widespread civil uprisings, several dictators of Arab states had been forced from power and an unclear political situation prevailed, followed by instability and uncertainty. The so-called Arab Spring[2] did not end with breaking authoritarian resilience. For example, shortly after the Tunisian president Zine El Abidine Ben Ali had left office and sought refuge in Saudi Arabia, several thousand Tunisians started to migrate to the Italian island Lampedusa, to escape turmoil in their country.

The arrival of the Tunisian migrants made the Italian government declare the immigration situation a humanitarian emergency and raise the issue at the EU level.[3] The migration issue once again grasped the media headlines in Europe, reignited many of the former migration debates at the policy level and mobilized attention within scholarly research, where migration already for decades had been one of the most significant themes.[4] Maybe the EU's initial responses, as discussed by Leonhard den Hertog (2011: 17), were restrictive and security-driven, but it emphasized the European quandary over the past decades: on one side, the need for a cheap workforce in the European

labor market; on the other side, the negative, skeptical perspective often emphasized in the European immigration discourse: Europe flooded by millions of Arab and African immigrants.[5] The influx of the Tunisian migrants at Lampedusa was, in the media as well as in the public discourse, described and interpreted as a phenomenon, which might threaten stability and security in the Mediterranean region and thereby affect Europe.[6]

As indicated, for instance, in the *New York Times,* one of the unofficial ambitions behind the EU policies was to hold off new waves of Arab migration toward Europe: a poll in France pointed at a paradoxical, but easily understandable, contradiction in the way the recent development in the Middle East was perceived in Europe: "while the events of the Arab Spring were presented positively by the media, most people were mainly worried that they would mean even more potential immigrants" (Vinoceur 2011). In other words, it seemed that the European public was for supporting democratic progress in the Middle East, but skeptical about the consequences of the increasing number of immigrants arriving in Europe.[7]

Within the past few decades, new developments have taken place in the Middle East regarding migration movements and policy reactions to this important phenomenon. What used to be a system based on the distinction between countries of immigration and countries of emigration has changed into complex patterns of continued migration toward the West, transit migration through southern and eastern Mediterranean states, and transregional globalized migration as shown by for instance Philippe Fargues (Fargues 2008, 2009a, 2009b). The Arab uprisings have contributed to the complex reality and the new development in the MENA region in 2011–2012 with the more diverse and unstable Middle Eastern reality will most likely contribute to changing local, regional, and transregional migration movements (Seeberg 2013a; Abdelfattah 2011; den Hertog 2011).

The complex relations between migration, security, and citizenship in MENA have not been thoroughly analyzed in migration research.[8] The chapters of this volume contribute to the research on the implications of migration in and from the MENA region, emphasizing both the significance of the migration movements, policy reactions to this important phenomenon, and questions concerning human rights, governance, and citizenship in relation to policymaking processes.[9] The contributions cover different, yet interrelated, fields of migration research. The first part consists of two analyses dealing with citizenship and migration in Arab Gulf states and the human rights conditions for low-skilled female migrant workers in Jordan, respectively. Also,

in this part, two chapters from a Mediterranean perspective can be found. Chapter 3, looking into what can be termed "the Middle East in Europe," examines how Moroccan migrants in Piemonte, Italy, perceive democracy, while chapter 4 presents an analysis of Amazigh Diaspora in the context of Algeria. The second part focuses, from different perspectives, on transnational migration: first, an analysis on governance and migrants rights in Lebanon; second, a study of irregular migration, migrant smuggling, and refugee flows in Libya; and, finally, a chapter on Syrian migration. The chapter on Syria examines migration to Lebanon and the Gulf states from a security perspective and includes an analysis of the recent unfortunate development in Syria: the internal crisis forcing a significant number of refugees to the neighboring states, to Turkey (in the first place) and Lebanon and Jordan.

The analyses present new perspectives on migration and security in the Middle East, showing how recent developments in the actual migration in the MENA region challenge our traditional interpretations of the migration phenomenon. Furthermore, the different chapters discuss how migratory movements in the Middle East raise new questions concerning human rights, governance, and citizenship, demonstrating how the lack of representation and political inclusion—already a problematic issue given the authoritarian nature of states in the Middle East—is even more relevant with respect to migrant populations.

At the same time, increasing securitization of immigration by European and attempts at controlling migration movements from the Middle East seem to emphasize that security concerns both in the Middle East and the West are not only abstract questions of external security and North-South issues, but also focus on internal challenges in the involved states (Seeberg 2013b). Also, transnational developments in MENA such as the transfer of remittances, irregular migration, cross-border crime, and transnational terrorism add to the challenges the involved states, international organizations, and other nonstate actors have to face (see, among others, Tabutin et al. 2005; Baldwin-Edwards 2005, 2006; Hooghe et al. 2008; Icduygu 2007; Jureidini 2009).

The incumbent regimes in the Middle East are concerned with their own security now more than ever and the migration issue constitutes an important aspect, often connected to conflicting national narratives attached to ethnic or religious minorities and to political conflicts in which Islamist movements and parties play an essential role (Seeberg 2012). A growing, yet mostly unspoken, consensus between the governments in the Arab world developed before the Arab revolts related to the securitization of oppositional groups. Behind this

development lie political agendas in the MENA states, which seriously affected the condition of the ethnic minorities, migrants, and refugees regarding citizenship, human rights, and so on.

As emphasized by Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller in their classic, "The Age of Migration," all relevant contexts for producing migrants can be found in the Middle East. It is "an area where enormous political, cultural and economic diversity has resulted in many varied types of migration and mobility" (2009: 159). In his widely read article, Fred Halliday describes the different types of migration in the Middle East, taking his point of departure in the fact that "in an historical context, the Arab world has been the site of a variety of migratory flows consequent upon the internationalization of capitalist relations" (1984: 4). The migratory movements are internal, meaning that they take place behind borders—like taking refugees, for example, in Iraq where the problematic development following the US-led invasion in March 2003 resulted in a huge number of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). They are also regional—a large number of Egyptians work in Libya (the local perspective) as well as a large number of Egyptians work in the Gulf (the interregional perspective), as shown by Ahmed Farouk Ghoneim (Ghoneim 2010).

There are few regions in the world where population movements have had wider implications and significance than in MENA.[10] Due to civil and regional wars throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, diaspora population is exceptionally high in many of the MENA countries. In 2009 almost half of the world's refugees as recorded by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) originated from Afghanistan or Iraq; Pakistan, Iran, and Syria together hosted about 60 percent of the world's refugee population. In Syria, a refugee population of 1,005,472 was registered, compared to a resident population of 22 million, and in the UK, the refugee population was 238,150 and in the United States it was 264,574 (UNHCR 2011). In 2012, due to the internal crisis in Syria, the number of refugees with a Syrian background leaving the country had increased to more than half a million, of which 147,107 were registered in Turkey, 123,224 in Lebanon, 112,379 in Jordan, 66,809 in Iraq, and 11,260 in Egypt (UNHCR 2012). The data show the tendency to increase, and according to UNHCR, many more Syrians, who were not registered, stayed in Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq, and Egypt (ibid.).

In addition, since the late twentieth century, Middle Eastern peoples have been among the most mobile peoples emigrating to Europe and North America for both political and economic reasons. Intraregional migration has also been exceptionally high, so that

globally in 1990, the Middle East hosted the second largest foreign-born population, accounting for 10.9 percent of the entire population (Zlotnik 1998: 431). This trend has been amplified more recently, as the Middle East has increasingly become a destination of global economic migration (Richards and Waterbury 2008: 385–406). This has further blended the race, ethnicity, and religion in an already diversified cluster of peoples.

The analyses in this volume address new global tendencies related to the migration phenomenon from a Middle Eastern perspective. The latest decades have witnessed a growing connectivity between processes of globalization, social transformation, and migration, which has considerable consequences for the global migration trends and patterns, yet to a different extent in different regions of the world. The idea is—in a number of case studies—to analyze migration in the Middle East from a security perspective with citizenship as a central notion. The chapters cover a broad range of migration-related issues and discussions including differentiation of citizenship rights, human rights issues related to female migrants, narratives among migrants in diaspora, multinationalism in a Maghrebian context, migrant workers and governance, human smuggling and transnational social formations, securitization of migration, transnational migration networks, and control of migration flows.

The chapters focus on migration movements in the MENA region and how these movements affect the security relations in the Middle East. The region contains a differentiated range of migration "types" and the interconnectedness between migration and security leads, as demonstrated in the chapters, to a shift of focus from external security and North-South issues toward a focus on transnational developments, such as irregular and illegal migration, cross-border crime, transnational terrorism, and internal challenges in the involved states. Taking these issues as point of departure, the different analyses seek to present new perspectives on migration, security, and citizenship in the Middle East, which reflect both the main tendencies concerning migration in the Middle East in recent years and the theoretical discussions related to the research on migration in the region.

Migration in the MENA Region: Local, Regional, and Global Challenges

Numerically speaking, the largest migratory movements related to the Middle East are regional, that is, from one state to another within the region. But the transregional movements, primarily toward Europe,

are also very significant and counted in millions. These transregional movements seem to be rather stable, as convincingly demonstrated by Philippe Fargues: the "emigration from South and East Mediterranean countries (SEM) is continuing at a steady rate, while immigration to these countries is increasing, particularly in various irregular forms" (Fargues 2009a: 19).

A large amount of research projects have been documenting the migratory movements within the MENA region (Baldwin-Edwards 2005; Fargues 2008; Sørensen 2006). The interconnectedness of the concepts of migration and security related to the migratory movements toward the West, especially after September 11, 2001, is also no novelty and has been demonstrated by several scholars (see, for instance, Seeberg 2007b; Bicchi and Martin 2006; Collyer 2006; Huysmans 2006; Lecha and Garcia 2009).

Taking the Middle East as a point of departure, it can be claimed that the recent political and institutional developments are creating huge challenges for the continued economic and social development of the region. The Middle East does not constitute an important part of a reconfiguring global reality in the sense that the region is developing into a growth center in the world economy. On the contrary, the Middle East seems, unintentionally, to avoid becoming part of the positive economic and political aspects of globalization. Besides, it is suffering from the consequences of the securitization of migration in the West, which seems especially to concern itself with the migration from the MENA region (Dijck 2006). Essentially, it seems that the Middle East is a victim of global competition in an emerging new world order. The Middle East is losing ground in a new multipolar world of regions and this reality has an impact on the demographic movements related to migration within and from the Middle East region.

In a highly competitive global environment, migration plays an important role as a phenomenon that challenges security and, therefore, becomes high politics—and a core issue in European-Middle Eastern relations. In order to conceptualize this reality, it is relevant to draw on a terminological distinction suggested by Rainer Bauböck (2003) in connection with an attempt at developing a political theory of migration in a transnational perspective. Bauböck discusses to which degree it can be seen as useful to differentiate between international and transnational relations and phenomena. He makes the point that whereas the term international can be attached meaningfully to activities or relations undertaken by nation-states within a "traditional" neorealism scheme, the term transnational can be attached to

activities or phenomena related to noninstitutional or nonstate actors, "be they organized groups or networks of individuals across borders" (Vertovec 2003).

In connection with attempts at developing these concepts further, Steven Vertovec discusses how opportunities and constraints in the migration processes arise from the character of social capital in the involved networks and goes through a number of studies within this area. He points to political opportunity structures as important for the process, defined by "the openness or closure of formal political access, the stability of alignments within a political system, and the presence or absence of influential allies." Furthermore, he underlines the importance of mobilizing structures, defined as "collective vehicles, informal as well as formal, through which people mobilize and engage in collective action." The lack of opportunity structures in the Middle East, as demonstrated by several Arab Human Development Reports (UNDP 2002, 2006), contributes to creating a permanently high motivation for migration.[11] This also adds to the potential radicalization of unemployed, marginalized groups of young Arabs and, of course, in a more general sense to political unrest, as it has happened over the past two years in many Middle Eastern states in connection with the Arab revolts in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, and other regions. The surprising and highly interesting phenomenon is very complex, but has already been examined in several convincing analyses (Paoletti 2011; Mikail 2012; Cavatorta and Haugbølle 2012; Kandil 2012; El Sherif 2012).

As emphasized by Michelle Pace and Francesco Cavatorta, it seems that the "authoritarian resilience paradigm has been thrown into some disarray by the 'success' cases of Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Yemen" (2012: 135)[12] But, as they also point out, the "cases of Syria, Morocco and the Gulf states show that there remain struggles ahead, quite specific to each case, which in turn uncover the underlying validity of scholarly work that focuses on the resilience of authoritarianism in the MENA region" (ibid.).[13] Analyzing the Arab unrest and its impact on migrations patterns in a security context, it is relevant to draw on the work by Lenore G. Martin (1998), who suggests an interdisciplinary approach to security research concerning the Middle East, where five variables are combined into a security paradigm: political legitimacy, ethnic and religious tolerance, economic capabilities, availability of essential natural resources, and military capabilities. This approach has contributed to establishing the theoretical framework, especially for the case studies in this volume, where security is the focus and the variables mentioned by Martin are taken as point of departure for the specific analyses.

In understanding migration as an important issue within a security framework, the role of transnational networks also becomes highly relevant. Different phenomena attached to migration processes like chain migration related to family reunion, migration networks (be they official, semiofficial, or clandestine), or ethnic diasporas all constitute examples of transnational social formations. Also, more problematic phenomena like human trafficking or illegal migration activities organized by people smugglers can be seen as manifestations of transnationalism. With the tendency of securitizing migration movements and with the growing focus on radical Islamist organizations in the past decade, the interconnectedness between security and migration develops new dimensions in the narratives related to transnational social movements. Middle Eastern migration should certainly be seen as a globalized as well as a regional and local phenomenon with significant perspectives related to the European policies aiming at controlling and regulating migration movements, refugee flows, and illegal migrants trying to reach European shores (Lischer 2008; Luedtke 2009; Bredeloup and Pliez 2011).

At the national level, as Laurie Brand explains, migration poses challenges to the coherence of the nations. Taking Jordan as example, she demonstrates how "Jordan has been profoundly shaped by multiple episodes of immigration and emigration, voluntary and forced, economic and conflict-induced" (2010: 96). National narratives can, in more or less obvious ways, function as state strategies, where migration movements are used by the incumbent Middle Eastern regimes to include or exclude migrants from the nation (Antoun 2009). However, they can also function as part of an ideological basis for oppositional movements and as such represent contestations of regime legitimacy. In addition, we find a plethora of informal networks attached to transnational social formations. A large number of these are connected to migration processes that become subject to securitization by the Middle Eastern regimes. The interconnectedness between migration and security is a reality and plays a role in the policies on behalf of the governments south of the Mediterranean.

As discussed above, globalization challenges the Middle East in the sense that global competition tends to place the Middle East among states of secondary importance on the international political scene (compared, for instance, to some of the growth-states in Asia or Latin America). Resulting high unemployment rates lead to migration pressure and to political unrest in the big cities in the Middle East as we have seen in 2011–2012. What we, with Postel-Vinay, can call a provincialization of the Middle East affects the conditions for migration (Postel-Vinay 2008). Transnational social formations like illegal

migration, human trafficking, including migrants from the Middle East, are in other words subject to perceptions of the interconnectedness of migration and security. The migration phenomenon seems, therefore, paradoxically, to function as a conservative factor, contributing to avoiding both globalization and the development of social transformation processes in the MENA region.

As shown by Fargues and others, the Arab world displays a hugely differentiated amount of migration patterns. And from Morocco in the West to the Gulf states in the East, a range of more or less corresponding migration policies are pursued by the Arabian states. Attached to the policies are national narratives, which express ideological interests on behalf of the regimes but not always in a consistent way serving a national purpose. Rather, as previously mentioned, the regimes launch migration narratives as state strategies in order to include or exclude migrants from the nation. The Arab states are not efficient in providing jobs or educational opportunities for young Arabs (especially, young Arab women) and this lack of opportunity structures certainly contribute to creating a state of mind among many young people in the Middle East, where getting away more or less becomes the purpose of life.

The marginalization and radicalization tendencies are important aspects of this dimension of the living conditions in the MENA states. Marginalization and radicalization processes constitute an important part of a new migration-security nexus, in relation to which the chapters in this volume demonstrate that migration has become high politics, that migration and security are interrelated concepts in recent political discourses in the Middle East, and that migration phenomena are building stones in a threat perception, which tend to securitize immigrants with a Middle Eastern background in the West.

The Arab states, like all states, are concerned with their own security and are, therefore, interested in contributing to control irregular migration movements, illegal migration, and so on. The "traditional" work migration does create legal and political problems as well, and the development over the past decades, which includes a gradual replacement of the Arab work force by Asian workers from the Philippines, India, Thailand, and such countries, adds to the complexity of the phenomenon.

Migration, Rights, and Citizenship

As mentioned earlier, the ambition of this volume is to analyze how migratory movements inside and across the Middle East raise new questions concerning human rights, governance, citizenship, as well

as the policymaking processes, especially since human rights are not applicable just to national populations, but also to an increasing percentage of the populations on the move.

With a focus on citizenship and migration in the Arab Gulf countries, Sater argues in his first chapter that what appears as a clear case of an unequal distribution of citizenship rights between migrant and national populations is also a reflection of citizenship hierarchies within national populations.[14] When assessing the medium-term potential for reform, he shows how state-led debates on national security, identity, and development are replicated in nongovernmental fora, leading to a pessimistic outlook concerning changes in the distribution of citizenship rights. Sater argues that in conservative Gulf monarchies, the differentiation of citizenship rights among migrants and nonmigrants serves to strengthen social and political cohesion and, therefore, provide stability by legitimating the state in multiple ways. This is because the differentiation of citizenship constitutes a social and economic hierarchy that involves the redistribution of wealth from the more vulnerable migrants to certain categories of nationals and members of the professional expat community. Also, this differentiation of citizenship rights is by no means a phenomenon exclusive to the rentier states of the Gulf. Instead, Sater claims—drawing on the literature on global cities and care work—that the differentiation of citizenship rights follows a pattern of global mobility. This mobility involves both a large number of professionals and the development of a new "serving class" in the care industry, leading to the creation of added value in favor of a broad category of professional expats and nationals. Sater suggests that while global economic factors have led to this differentiation of citizenship, politically it is compounded by a state-led discourse based on fear and insecurity. It is this discourse that prevents a substantive reform process that may lead to the greater inclusion of migrants in what is fast becoming their home society.

Discussing the human rights conditions of female migrant laborers in Jordan, Zaid Eyadat mentions that female migrants constitute almost half of the world's migrant population, but they account for more than half (52.2 percent) of all international migrants in developing countries. A significant number of the female migrant workers are employed in low-skilled occupations. Often the conditions related to the migration process for the female workers are unsafe; they are more exposed to human rights violations than male workers. Eyadat critically evaluates and assesses the status of migrant workers', particularly female migrant workers', rights within the framework of migration, security, and citizenship in Jordan. Assuming that the push/pull

dynamics of migration has changed in the region due to the events of the Arab Spring, it is necessary to reevaluate the changing notions of migration and security in the Middle East, with citizenship playing an integral role in the linkage between the two concepts.

Using Jordan as a case study, the chapter explores how a human rights approach based on the existing international legal framework on migration can be successfully implemented in order to solve security issues and questions of citizenship and identity, thereby providing a positive transition between the ever-changing social frameworks of the state. Eyadat points at the problematic reality in Jordan, where many female migrant workers are severely abused and some are even deprived of their basic human rights, a situation that seems to be very difficult to deal with by the Jordanian state.

The MENA region not only receives immigrants from Asian countries; it also produces migrants who leave for Europe. Most European states are receiving migrants from the Middle East, one of the largest groups of which are Moroccans, who especially are represented in Spain, France, and Italy.[15] The chapter by Rosita di Peri focuses on how the concept of democracy takes shape, changes, and develops among Moroccan immigrants in an Italian context, more specifically in Piemonte, where a little less than 20,000 are Moroccan immigrant residents.

Di Peri is testing two hypothesis in his chapter. The first one states that the understanding of democracy among the immigrants "is not constructed only from experience of an authoritarian regime, part political engagement, 'discourses' and the migratory process, but also from 'living in a democratic country'" (see di Peri, this volume 66), or, in other words, "how democratic the host country is regarded as being will influence the construction of this perception" (ibid.) The analysis is based on interviews with a sample of Moroccan immigrants, divided according to gender, educational level, years of residence, and age. The second hypothesis takes its point of departure in claiming that citizens living in advanced democracies are likely to take democracy for granted. This reality influences the perception of democracy by third country nationals, both in a positive and negative direction and can thereby inform us about vital dimensions of democratic processes from a Middle Eastern perspective.

Italy might be democratic in form, but it is, according to di Peri, undemocratic in its treatment of immigrants.[16] The Moroccans for many reasons like living in Italy but their understanding of the nature of democracy is not surprisingly affected by their experiences of being immigrants in a sometimes hostile environment. And, Italy is

considered fragile and unstable, not being able to provide quite the same level of democracy as other European countries. Hence, Moroccan immigrants feel Italian democracy is, to some degree, in a state of crisis. The immigrants realize that the Italian democracy is imperfect, not only because of its laws concerning immigrants, but also in several other ways; for example with regard to issues such as corruption, the immigrants find Morocco and Italy similar. Di Peri suggests that the immigrants can play a role as active proponents of democracy and—by developing their own understanding of democracy—contribute to the development of democracy in their new host countries.

The Maghreb is like the rest of the MENA region a patchwork of nations, ethnic and religious groups, minorities, and majorities. The coming years will probably see a development in Morocco, Tunisia, and Libya, where the most important issue will be how to secure a positive development based on the democratic improvements over the past years. Regarding Algeria it seems necessary to continue moving away from tragedies of the 1990s. Under all circumstances it seems to be very important again to breathe life into pan-Maghrebian cooperation.[17]

In his narrative "The Battlefield Algeria," Hugh Roberts discusses how the problem of national identity has played a role in the history of modern Algeria and demonstrates that both the religious contradictions and the ethnic conflicts have to be dealt with, before Algeria can solve what seems to be a chronic crisis.[18] Important aspects of this are analyzed by Eva Pföstl in chapter 5, which focuses on the Amazigh Diaspora and its role in conflict and postconflict reconstruction in their homeland. The chapter emphasizes that diasporas as political actors with local and transnational agendas may play an important and sometimes also controversial role in conflicts, political unrest, and transition to democracy in their countries of origin. This is by no means a new phenomenon. Yet, the enhanced possibilities for transnational communication, mobilization, and action as well as the upsurge in domestic and international security concerns after 9/11 and the Arab Spring 2011 have heightened attention to the role of diasporas.

Pföstl mentions that until the 1990s the majority of diaspora studies focused on the problematic features of the diaspora. In essence, the following core arguments were identified: diaspora contributes to sustaining and perpetuating war at the home countries; they serve as irresponsible long-distance nationalists less inclined to compromise or fundamentalists who perpetuate conflicts through economic and political support or intervention, and finally are driven by a sense of guilt, nostalgia, and deprivation. More recently, some scholars have

noted that such accounts are one-sided, not capturing how diaspora and exile groups are committed to nonviolent conflict resolution and may stimulate and reinforce local processes of democratization and postconflict reconstruction in their countries of origin. Pföstl goes beyond the mentioned dichotomy, demonstrating that diasporas are complex communities that relate differently with respect to different phases of the conflict cycle in their home country. Pföstl's focus is on the role of the Algerian Amazigh Diaspora in the processes of political reform in postcolonial Algerian society. The chapter demonstrates that the changing political context in North Africa has opened up spaces for an increased participation of the Amazigh Diaspora in political affairs with long-term implications for the political trajectory of the country.

Governance, Migration, and Security

As mentioned above, work migration constitutes an important part of the migratory movements in the Middle East. Over the past decades, replacement migration processes have taken place, where Egyptian, Palestinian, Syrian, and Yemenite workers gradually have been pushed out by migrants from countries in sub-Saharan Africa and Asia. This is the case in the Gulf states and in Lebanon. In these states it might be meaningful to speak of a kind of ethnic hierarchy, where migrants from different countries fill out work functions in a specific pattern with nationals and Westerners in the top layers and the other nationalities placed downward according to qualifications, skills, "normal" wage levels, and other more irrational and sometimes discriminatory factors.

J. Sater discusses in chapter 6 the political inclusion of migrant rights in the policymaking process in Lebanon; he uses a variety of resources both from international organizations such as ILO and the UNHCR and from national organizations such as Caritas Lebanon. As he demonstrates looking at what is arguably one of the most vulnerable groups of migrant workers—female domestic workers from sub-Saharan Africa and South East Asia—it is the convergence of interest across multiple actors that determines how migrant rights are effectively included in the policymaking process. More specifically, Sater raises the question about how particularly vulnerable groups of the population are included in the policymaking process when the lack of representation vis-à-vis the dominant groups is such an important feature? What types of mechanisms exist and on what type of resource do such mechanisms rely given the inequality of power relations that characterize the domestic and international political economy of

migrant domestic work? What conclusions can be drawn about the reality of mechanisms of governance and spheres of authority in the area of migrant and labor rights? Possible conclusions seem to be that even though migrants' representation remains marginal, the crises of unregulated labor relations in Lebanon have triggered responses from these power structures in the form of meetings, reports, and public statements. And, furthermore, while entrenched power structures of courts, the police, and household/employers have so far resisted more radical reforms, the Lebanese *kafala* system will remain the focus of efforts to reform, whether based on a care-taking discourse or on that of human rights.

Irregular migration constitutes a significant part of Mediterranean population movements—sometimes as transit migration with Europe as the goal and Africa south of the Sahara as starting point.[19] In 2009 the Italian and Libyan governments reached an agreement on cooperation in immigration control, which led to the Italian authorities returning intercepted migrants to Libya. The migrants are not Libyans, but people from sub-Saharan Africa. Derek Lutterbeck explores the extent and nature of migrant smuggling into Libya, and from Libya to Europe in a chapter based on interviews conducted with some 60 migrants of different nationalities who traveled from sub-Saharan Africa to Libya and from there by boat to Europe. Lutterbeck mentions that whereas some analysts suggest that migrant smuggling from Africa to Europe is characterized by a growing degree of organization, professionalism, and internationalization, others have emphasized the still rather local, small-scale, and amateurish character of human smuggling.[20]

The main argument by Lutterbeck is that human smuggling is indeed pervasive when it comes to irregular migration into and through Libya to Europe. However, claims often made regarding the level of organization, sophistication, and transnational character of migrant smuggling seem exaggerated. Human smuggling is indeed organized, to some extent, during certain parts of the migrants' journey from Africa to Europe and there is certainly a degree of professionalism involved; yet, this varies greatly between the different legs of their trip. Moreover, whereas cross-border linkages between migrant smugglers in different countries exist, one cannot really speak of integrated forms of transnational organized crime. Overall, migrant smuggling seems to be carried out by largely locally based and loosely structured networks with equally loose cross-border connections.

The complex political relations between Lebanon and Syria contain a migration dimension, which is closely related to the conflictual

political history of the two countries. The reconstruction of Lebanon and especially Beirut after the Civil War ended in 1990 was partly made possible through the import of cheap labor from Syria, which—given the political dominance from Damascus—not necessarily was popular in Beirut. However, the laborers were accepted as long as they didn't interfere in societal and political life. The assassination on February 14, 2005, of Prime Minister Rafik Hariri, who in many ways personified the reconstruction process, changed this situation, as the Syrian laborers in Lebanon became scapegoats for the tragic incident. Many Lebanese believed that agents from the Syrian regime was responsible for the assassination and were angry about the persistent rumors in Lebanon, that despite the withdrawal of the Syrian military in the spring of 2005, the Syrian intelligence network prevailed. Therefore, post-Hariri, life for the Syrian immigrants in Lebanon changed, with numeral Syrian workers persecuted and in some cases exposed to lynching by the Lebanese. The presence of Syrian workers became a major grievance for the Lebanese. Hence most of the workers went back to Syria. It is believed that many of them returned to Lebanon but, apparently, it took some time, as discussed by Peter Seeberg in chapter 8. Seeberg describes Syrian migration to the Gulf and the specific conditions there—highly different from the situation in Lebanon and based on local practices, including the so-called *kafala* system, which has a long history in the Gulf region and still plays an important role in organizing the conditions for the migrant labor in the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) states.[21]

The chapter describes changes in migration movements in and out of Syria over the past ten years and discusses the effects of the migration phenomenon for the Syrian state from a security perspective. It analyzes how historical, political, and societal changes in the region over time have created new tendencies in migration dynamics in and out of the country. Furthermore the chapter looks at the migration dynamics in Syria in the later years and the recent development related to the so-called Arab Spring, which, in Syria in 2011, seemed to develop into a violent confrontation between Syrian demonstrators demanding political reforms and an extremely repressive and brutal Ba'athist regime.[22] The Syrian army, paramilitary forces, and system-loyalists clamped down on the groups of protestors in Syrian cities throughout the year, which led to some other parts of the Middle East to experience new tendencies to embrace democracy and active political participation by the young citizens of Tunisia, Egypt, and several Middle Eastern states. This development has had and is likely to have significant consequences for the migration movements in the

MENA region, not the least due to the large refugee populations as a result of the Syrian crisis. Also, the chapter discusses to which degree the migration phenomenon can be seen as an expression of transnational integration in the Arab region, demonstrating how this tendency leads to changes in the conditions for citizenship.

Concluding Remarks

This volume chose to focus on two areas of migration issues outlined above (Part I: Migration, Rights, and Citizenship; Part II: Governance, Migration, and Security), though the analyses in the chapters do not provide any definitive answers. It is our intention to contribute to filling some gaps in research on migration in the context of the MENA region, a region that is experiencing rapid changes since early 2011.

The first part of this Introduction took its point of departure in the fact that hardly any region in the world can be found where migratory movements have had wider significance and implications than in the MENA region. The population in MENA has been among the most mobile regarding emigration to the West. However, the intraregional migration has also been very significant and, added to that, MENA has itself become a destination for global migration, partly as a transit area. Finally, the revolts in the Arab countries since 2011 have added new dimensions and modalities to the Middle East as a region, where migration plays a significant role.

The chapters thus, from a multidisciplinary perspective, demonstrate a highly diverse pattern of migration phenomena in the MENA countries, which seem to become more complex following the dramatic and in many ways unexpected and incomprehensible development in 2011. The ambition of this volume is double sided: (1) the chapters discuss how migratory movements inside and across the Middle East raise new questions concerning human rights, governance, and citizenship; (2) the analyses both present new perspectives on migration and security in the Middle East, reflecting significant tendencies concerning the actual migration in the Middle East, and at the same time involve themselves in theoretical discussions related to recent research on migration in the region.

Notes

1. The dramatic and unexpected events in the Middle East since late 2010 have been followed closely in the international media and in

political debates, and gradually in the scholarly research as well. An interesting example of the latter can be seen in a themed issue of Mediterranean Politics entitled "Political Developments in the Arab World: Theoretical Reflections on the Uprisings." See the "Introduction" in Michelle Pace and Francesco Cavatorta (2012).

2. The events started in late December 2010 in Tunisia and have, mainly in the media, created a large number of metaphors, of which the Arab Spring probably is the most common, but maybe also most misleading (if one for instance looks at the tragic development in Syria). Other "labels" were the Arab Awakening, the Arab Revolts, the Arab Revolution etc.

3. The EU has since the start of the Arab revolts been working on a new approach to migration in Mediterranean context, but also with explicit ambitions of issuing a policy with global aspirations, see (EU Commission 2011, 2011).

4. The monumental collection of many of the most significant and interesting articles on migration in the four-volume work edited by Andrew Geddes is an evident manifestation of this reality, see Geddes (2011).

5. The discussions about immigration to Europe with a focus on the agreements entered can be found in Adepoju, van Noorloos, and Zoomers (2010).

6. For an introduction to many of the debates related to the European policies concerning stability and security in a Mediterranean and Middle Eastern context, see Seeberg (2007).

7. For an overview of migration towards Europe and policies related to the main trends, see Aubarell and Aragal (2005).

8. It should be mentioned, though, that several think-tanks and other migration research institutions focus on the Middle East and include the mentioned dimensions, see for instance Consortium for Applied Research on International Migration (CARIM) in Florence. Examples of their research of relevance for this volume can be seen in Bartolomeo, Fakhoury, and Perrin (2010); Bartolomeo, Jaulin, and Perrin (2011, 2012).

9. For a profound presentation of the notion of citizenship in relation to migration see Joppke (2010).

10. An economically extremely important phenomenon is the remittances transferred from the country of immigration to the country of emigration, as for instance see in the relations between Libya and Egypt, Lebanon and Syria, Yemen and Saudi Arabia, Jordan and the Gulf states. The phenomenon is documented in reports from— among others—the World Bank and IOM. See Ratha, Mohapatra, and Silwal (2011) For an interesting study in a Jordanian context, see Mansour, Chaaban, and Litchfield (2011).

11. The much read Arab Human Development Report from 2002 with the subtitle Creating Opportunities for Future Generations documented

a widespread interest in migration among youngsters in the Arab countries, not the least for education purposes, see UNDP (2002).

12. The discussions about authoritarian resilience built on a number of academic works, among which two texts by Heydemann and Hinnebusch, respectively, see Heydemann (2007); Hinnebusch (2006).

13. For a discussion of new perspectives in the discussions about authoritarianism, where the Arab revolts are taken into consideration, see Teti and Gervasio (2011).

14. Building on material from a German context Rob Euwals et al discuss the issue of ethnic hierarchies in connection with the relation between citizenship and migration. See Euwals, Dagevos, and Roodenburg (2010).

15. The youth unemployment in Morocco is very high, constituting one of the main reasons for the propensity to leave the country and go to Europe, if possible. For an analysis of the social situation for the youth in Morocco with a focus on educated youngsters, see Bogaert and Emperador (2011).

16. For a discussion of discriminatory European practices related to immigrants arrived within the latest decades, see Reyneri and Fullin (2010).

17. For an economic analysis on the possibilities and perspectives in Maghrebian integration, see Péridy and Bagoulla (2012).

18. The rather closed Algerian society has been exposed only to a limited degree to scholarly research. A recent and well-informed contribution is Cavatorta's (2009).

19. For an introduction to the main issues related to the reconstruction of Libya and its importance for Europe, see Mikail (2012).

20. The European-Libyan relations are potentially significantly affected by the migration issue, not the least regarding transit migration via Libya to Europe. It is a field within which the EU and Libya share interests in controlling the phenomenon, as mentioned by George Joffé (2011).

21. For a description of the historical background for the conditions for labour migration to the Gulf and the *kafala* system, see Errichiello (2012).

22. The brutality has been documented by a large number of reports throughout 2011 and 2012, see for instance Human Rights Watch (2011).

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