

Cambridge University Press

0521858054 - Citizens Abroad: Emigration and the State in the Middle East and North Africa

Laurie A. Brand

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Citizens Abroad

Despite the fact that the majority of emigration today originates in the global south, most research has focused on the receiving states of Europe and North America, while very little attention has been paid to the policies of the sending states toward emigration or toward their nationals abroad. Taking the country cases of Morocco, Tunisia, Lebanon and Jordan, this work explores the relationship between the government of the sending states, the outmovement of their citizens and the communities of expatriates that have developed. By focusing on the evolution of government institutions charged with various aspects of expatriate affairs, this work breaks new ground in explaining the changing nature of the relationship between expatriates and their home state. Far from suggesting that the state is waning in importance, the conclusions indicate that this relationship provides evidence both of state resilience and of new trends in the practice of sovereignty.

LAURIE A. BRAND is Professor of International Relations at the University of Southern California. She is also the author of *Palestinians in the Arab World* (1988), *Jordan's Inter-Arab Relations* (1994), and *Women, the State and Political Liberalization* (1998).

Cambridge University Press

0521858054 - Citizens Abroad: Emigration and the State in the Middle East and North Africa

Laurie A. Brand

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Cambridge Middle East Studies 23

Editorial Board

Charles Tripp (general editor)

Julia A. Clancy-Smith Israel Gershoni Roger Owen

Yezid Sayigh Judith E. Tucker

Cambridge Middle East Studies has been established to publish books on the nineteenth- and twentieth-century Middle East and North Africa. The aim of the series is to provide new and original interpretations of aspects of Middle Eastern societies and their histories. To achieve disciplinary diversity, books will be solicited from authors writing in a wide range of fields including history, sociology, anthropology, political science and political economy. The emphasis will be on producing books offering an original approach along theoretical and empirical lines. The series is intended for students and academics, but the more accessible and wide-ranging studies will also appeal to the interested general reader.

A list of books in the series can be found after the index.

Cambridge University Press

0521858054 - Citizens Abroad: Emigration and the State in the Middle East and North Africa

Laurie A. Brand

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Citizens Abroad

*Emigration and the State in the Middle East
and North Africa*

Laurie A. Brand



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press

0521858054 - Citizens Abroad: Emigration and the State in the Middle East and North Africa

Laurie A. Brand

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press,
New York

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521858052

© Laurie A. Brand 2006

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception
and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,
no reproduction of any part may take place without
the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2006

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

ISBN-13 978-0-521-85805-2 hardback

ISBN-10 0-521-85805-4 hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for
the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or
third-party internet websites referred to in this publication,
and does not guarantee that any content on such
websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press
0521858054 - Citizens Abroad: Emigration and the State in the Middle East and North
Africa
Laurie A. Brand
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

For FayeZ

Contents

<i>List of tables</i>	<i>page</i> x
<i>Preface</i>	xi
<i>List of acronyms</i>	xiv
1 States and their citizens abroad	1
2 State sovereignty, state resilience	24
3 Morocco: expatriates as subjects or citizens?	45
4 Tunisia’s expatriates: an integral part of the national community?	92
5 Lebanon and its expatriates: a bird with two wings	133
6 Jordan: unwilling citizens, problematic expatriates	176
Conclusions: transnationalism, security and sovereignty	216
<i>Bibliography</i>	224
<i>Index</i>	238

Tables

3.1 Moroccan expatriate remittances	<i>page</i> 66
4.1 Impact of emigration on employment in Tunisia	97
4.2 Tunisian expatriate remittances	108
4.3 Tunisian expatriate numbers	109
5.1 Lebanese expatriate remittances	146
6.1 Jordanian expatriate remittances	180
6.2 Jordanian expatriate numbers	195

Cambridge University Press

0521858054 - Citizens Abroad: Emigration and the State in the Middle East and North Africa

Laurie A. Brand

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Preface

It was during a quiet Saturday afternoon in Los Angeles that a program on Arab-American television triggered my initial interest in the state and emigration. This particular day, the program featured an interview with Talal Arslan, the Lebanese Minister of Expatriates. Listening to the interview, I realized that I had not been aware that a ministry devoted to nationals abroad existed, in Lebanon or elsewhere in the Arab world. In the weeks that followed, I learned that in fact a number of Arab (and other) countries had similar institutions, but that little research had been done on them, and the idea for this research was born.

The subsequent development of the project, however, was far from what I had initially envisaged. First, heavy administrative duties as a center director, then the tremendous demands on my time placed by the aftermath of September 11 meant halting progress at best. By the time a sabbatical finally enabled me to focus fully on the research abroad, war drums had begun beating inside the Beltway. In spring 2003, the period I had set aside for the major drafting of the book, Washington launched its invasion of Iraq and, living in Beirut at the time, my attention turned from book writing to war protesting.

Since the invasion, there have been many times when the intellectual call of this project sadly paled in comparison with the need to devote time to speaking out against the Bush administration's domestic and foreign policy record. Indeed, there were times when doing anything other than standing against the evil of empire seemed not only pointless, but wrong. Nonetheless, I persevered in fits and starts, and have finally brought the project to fruition. It is for the reader to decide whether my time would have been better spent on more or less activism.

As I have noted in previous works that required extensive, multi-country fieldwork, my debts are many and my gratitude deep. First, for financial and fellowship support of this project I would like to thank: the School of International Relations at the University of Southern California for support for research in Jordan, summer 1999; the American Institute for Maghrebi Studies for a short-term grant for research in Morocco in

Cambridge University Press

0521858054 - Citizens Abroad: Emigration and the State in the Middle East and North Africa

Laurie A. Brand

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xii Preface

summer 2000; the University of Southern California for sabbatical year support, 2002–3; Fulbright, for a seven-month research grant for Morocco, Tunisia and Lebanon, summer–winter 2002; and the Council of American Overseas Research Centers for fellowship support for research in Jordan and Lebanon, spring–summer, 2003.

Yet, it is really people who make the project. My ability to make effective use of the financial support I have received was greatly enhanced by the advice and assistance I received from many, many friends and colleagues.

For support during my stays in Morocco my thanks go to: Alain Rousillon, formerly of the Centre Jacques Berque, Rabat; Dawud Casewitt and Saadia Miski of the Moroccan American Commission on Educational and Cultural Exchange; Professors Driss Ben Ali and Abdelkrim Belguendouz from Mohammed V University, for assistance with contacts and sources; the staff at the archives of the Ministry of Communications; Nasser Amiyar, for research help in Tangiers; Fatema Bellaoui, for years of friendship; and last, but perhaps most important of all, to Lamia Radi and Jamal al-Ouariachi-Miguel for their boundless hospitality and support both personally and professionally.

For help during my work in Tunisia, I am grateful to: Jeanne Mrad, Andrea Flores Khalil, Riad Saadaoui and Najoua Saadaoui, from the Centre d'Etudes Magrebines à Tunis (CEMAT), for research assistance and advice; Oussama Romdhani and Bushra Malki of the Tunisian Agency for External Communication, for invaluable assistance in setting up interviews; and colleagues at the Institut de Recherche sur le Maghreb Contemporain (IRMC), Tunis, for fruitful discussions and use of library facilities.

In Lebanon, my deep thanks to: Professor Farid al-Khazen, chair of the Department of Political Studies and Public Policy at the American University of Beirut (AUB), for assistance with affiliation, logistics and research contacts; Professors Huda Zurayk, Marwan Khawaja and their colleagues at the Faculty of Public Health at AUB, for offering office space to someone whose connection with public health was tentative at best, and for personal support during the awful days of the Iraq war; Professors Sami Ofeish and Sabah Ghandour of Balamand University for logistical assistance as well as wonderful advice and friendship all along the way; Elias Khoury, for assistance in gaining access to the archives at *Al-Nahar*, and to the staff at the archives; Professors Hassan Krayyem and Nizar Hamzeh, of AUB, for valuable suggestions, advice and assistance in learning my way around Lebanon; to Dr. Salim Nasr, director of the Lebanese Center for Policy Studies, for wide-ranging help with sources and contacts; Professor Lina Choueri, whose friendship and

Cambridge University Press

0521858054 - Citizens Abroad: Emigration and the State in the Middle East and North Africa

Laurie A. Brand

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Preface

xiii

support were true blessings; and to all the members of “Americans Against the War,” our group of committed anti-war activists who gave me hope and energy to keep going in what seemed the ugliest of times.

In Jordan, thanks go to Dr. Mustafa Hamarneh, Director of the Center for Strategic Studies, Jordan University, and to his wonderful staff for assistance, advice and friendship; to Zein Soufan for research assistance; and to Dr. Amal Sabbagh, Hania Jarallah and Ahmed Soufan for years of friendship and support for this and other research projects.

I am also deeply indebted to two anonymous readers for Cambridge University Press who provided literally pages of detailed and useful critiques and suggestions, which forced me to rethink and substantially reshape significant aspects of this work; and to my editor, Marigold Acland, for her patient and understanding shepherding of the last stages of revisions and production. Finally, for comments on individual chapters at various stages in the writing, thanks go to Hayward Alker, Jean-Pierre Cassarino, Fayez Hammad, Farid al-Khazen, Hassan Krayyem, Sami Ofeish, Salim Nasr, Mark Tessler, Greg White and Geoff Wiseman.

The last several years of often vicious attempts to intimidate members of the academy, particularly the Middle East Studies community, have been both disturbing and angering. In the context of a country led by an administration that has brought us Guantánamo, Abu Ghraib and Falluja, I have continued to wonder whether endeavors such as writing this book serve a larger purpose. In the end, I have come to the conclusion that no matter how grim the circumstances, engaging in honest scholarship, whatever the topic, stands as a protest against those who seek to curb the polyphony of the academy. Moreover, ideally, our scholarly endeavors should also energize us and inform our work for change outside the university. Thus, in the current political climate in the United States, my research and writing, along with my teaching and my efforts in the realm of public education, constitute my modest contribution to the voice of the larger community saying “no” to the trampling of free speech, “no” to violations of civil and human rights, and “no” to occupation and preemptive war.

LAURIE A. BRAND

Los Angeles, February 2005

Acronyms

AAE	– Amicales des Algériens en Europe
API	– l’Agence de Promotion des Investissements
BP	– Banque Populaire
CFCM	– Conseil Français du Culte Musulman
CME	– Communauté marocaine à l’étranger
CTE	– Communauté tunisienne à l’étranger
EC	– European Community
EEC	– European Economic Community
EU	– European Union
FFFLN	– Fédération de France du Front de Libération Nationale
FHII	– Fondation Hassan II pour les marocains résidant à l’étranger
FIS	– Front Islamique du Salut
GDP	– gross domestic product
IMF	– International Monetary Fund
IPC	– Investment Promotion Corporation
JBA	– Jordanian Businessmen’s Association
JD	– Jordanian dinar
JE	– Jordanian Expatriate
LE	– Lebanese Expatriate
ME	– Ministry of Expatriates
MENA	– Middle East North Africa
MFA	– Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation
MFAE	– Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Expatriates
MMCA	– Ministry of the Moroccan Community Abroad
MRE	– Marocain résidant à l’étranger
MTI	– Mouvement de la Tendance Islamique
NGO	– non-governmental organization
OFPE	– Office de la Formation Professionnelle et de l’Emploi
ONI	– Office National d’Immigration

Cambridge University Press
0521858054 - Citizens Abroad: Emigration and the State in the Middle East and North Africa
Laurie A. Brand
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

List of acronyms xv

OPETTE	– Office de la Promotion de l’Emploi et des Travailleurs Tunisiens à l’Étranger
OTE	– Office des Tunisiens à l’Étranger
OTTEFP	– Office des Travailleurs Tunisiens à l’Étranger de l’Emploi et de la Formation Professionnelle
PLO	– Palestine Liberation Organization
PSD	– Parti socialiste destourien
RCD	– Rassemblement constitutionnel démocratique
SAP	– structural adjustment program
SSNP	– Syrian Social Nationalist Party
TD	– Tunisian dinar
TME	– travailleur marocain à l’étranger
TRE	– Tunisien résidant à l’étranger
TTE	– travailleur tunisien à l’étranger
UAE	– United Arab Emirates
UNFP	– Union Nationale des Forces Populaires
USFP	– Union Socialiste des Forces Populaires
VAT	– value-added tax
WLCU	– World Lebanese Cultural Union
WLU	– World Lebanese Union