

Section 3. Shaping migratory cultures

Chapter 9

Connectivity, migration and socio-economic development with a focus on the Maghreb

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Abstract

This paper outlines the impact and influence of ICTs and the media in “migratory contexts”. It only considers sending and transit countries.¹ “Migratory contexts” mean those places where migratory pressure is high, whether they are receiving, transit or destination countries, and where a practical and ideal social imaginary “lives” and “operates” beyond occlusive boundaries, geographically, socially, politically and culturally speaking. These limitations quickly fall away when a user logs onto the Internet. This connection permits, in a way, an “on-site migration”. This concept will be a cornerstone for understanding our statements regarding relations among ICTs, migratory intentions and socio-economic performance.

In drawing this conceptual framework, the research focuses on North Africa, especially Morocco, although Tunisia and Algeria will be considered as well. This context offers a privileged panorama to do this kind of research because migration rates are very high, there is an important colonial past and the development of ICTs are among the highest in Africa and the whole Arab world.

Keywords: connectivity, migration, ICTs, “on-site migration”, social changes, development

¹ Although Maghreb countries are mainly sending and transit countries it is necessary to specify that these countries are destination countries as well. But for this research they will be considered sending and transit countries.

Introduction

Living and teaching in less-industrialised countries offers an observer a wide array of stimulating experiences that can broaden research interests through contact with unexpected points of view. Many of the points made in this paper reflect life experiences in Latin American or North African universities. The undeniable existence of expressions like *“In Spain the average salary is 3000 euros, isn’t it?”* and *“Here it is impossible, abroad you can do it”* causes one to wonder how the social imaginary developed to produce these statements? Taylor (2004) defined the social imaginary *“as the way ordinary people “imagine” their social surroundings, a way of thinking that is carried in images, stories and legends, which is shared by large groups of people and which makes possible common practices and a widely shared sense of legitimacy”*.

It is obvious from hearing these kinds of expressions that Vygotsky’s (1934), Hayakawa’s (1949) and Maturana’s theories concerning thought, language, emotions and actions have merit. According to Maturana and Varela, for the study of biology and the ontology of language, language, emotion and action are the same phenomenon. These expressions are a manifestation of a wide array of cultural values, both collectively and individually created (Krippendorff, 2005).

In addition, the consumption of symbols coming from occidental countries is overwhelming. In the Andean mountains or in a Moroccan slum, one sees satellite dishes perched precariously on roofs like a massive troop of stained mushrooms absorbing international information. Practically a majority of these households do not have a proper WC, instead having just a hole. Information from satellite dishes offers views of life in the North. Concerning the Algerian situation, which is comparable with the rest of the Maghreb and, possibly, with almost all non-industrialized countries, Martín Muñoz (1996) says:

Whereas parabolic dishes bring to Algerian households a consumerist and a liberal model, in Alger, a city with more than 2 million inhabitants, there are only 4 sportive centres, 7 swimming pools, no theatres have been built during the last quarter of the century and in many other cities, in 1962 there were more cinemas than today.

Some research questions could be: How is information stored and managed by individuals and collectives? What about their media diets? How many hours do they spend in front of the TV or the computer?

As for some other representative examples, many students who permanently or temporarily went to Europe or the United States found that, as soon as they communicated to friends and family that they would go abroad, they started to receive an increasing number of Messenger, Hi5 or Facebook invitations to remain in contact. It is also common to see girls and young women (rarely males) seeking potential boyfriends or husbands in cybercafés. This is an intensive activity in itself and demands several hours per day of searching and communicating by chatting. In short, all this evidence pushes one to research the impact of media and information and communication technologies (ICTs) (Castells 1996,1997,1998) in those societies where a huge “migration culture” is present.

Since 2004, surveys among young university students from Peru, Argentina, Chile and Ecuador, have been conducted to investigate to what extent they had a migratory intention. Migratory intention does not mean that an individual has already started the migratory process, but rather that he/she would like to migrate sooner or later, permanently or temporary. In any case, migratory intention, with all its grades and intensities, sets down a set of thoughts and convictions which shape the imaginary, guiding daily activities and short, medium or long-term objectives in a certain way. The

first survey results regarding migratory intention offered figures between 80 and 85 percent (Ureta, 2007). After broadening the sample and repeating the survey, the same trend appeared. Roughly modified, two new surveys were conducted in the Maghreb in 2008 and 2009. Outcomes regarding migratory intention remained almost constant.

After achieving these results, it was necessary to go in depth to find the causes behind these intentions, and moreover, reflect on possible effects and consequences. This paper aims to do that. To accomplish this, it has been structured into three main parts. First, it offers a summary of the main body of theories which try to explain migratory patterns throughout history. This first part is devoted to essential questions such as: why do people migrate? Have migratory patterns changed over the years, depending on economic, political, technological, social or cultural contexts, or, on the contrary, despite the many factors that can intervene in shaping migratory intentions, are there core and essential facts that are not mutable?

The second part describes the development of ICTs in Africa and the Arab world, focusing specifically on the Maghreb. This overview will offer a first step to contextualizing the outcomes revealed by the two surveys conducted in the Maghreb during 2008 and 2009. The third part analyses these outcomes, trying to be as objective as possible in order to highlight positive and negative effects of ICTs related to these complex contexts. The fourth, and final, part interprets these results critically, reflecting on how and to what extent these ICTs affect social change in migratory contexts, paying special attention to local development and economic performance.

Migration theories

Although not the purpose of this paper, it would be interesting to do a summary survey on the main theories dealing with migration issues, even though a comprehensive critical study has already been done by Douglass Massey et al. (2000). It must be said that there is not a common and accepted framework to study migration as a unified

discipline (Massey et al., 1994 and Massey et al., 1993). In spite of that lack, there are four main groups of theories. First, there are economic theories, then, historical-structural approaches, third, migration systems theory and, finally, transnational theory (Castles and Miller, 2003).

The first group of theories generally says that, according to available scientific literature, quality of life is a major driving factor that pushes individuals beyond their regional or national boundaries (Pei-Shan, 2001; Basu, 1992; De Jong and Fawcett, 1981; Varady 1983). Accordingly, individuals act on push-pull factors and are guided by autonomous decisions, which follow a cost-benefit analysis. Therefore, the decision to migrate appears to be a rational choice (Castles and Miller, 2003: 22). However, revisionist economists like Amartya Sen, in showing their opposition to the neo-classical economic doctrines, have described how the theory of rational choice has radical limitations (Sen, 1977).

It is difficult to deny that this group of theories does contribute to the understanding of migratory processes. However, the complexity of the phenomena, being wider, requires additional explanatory factors. Partially in response to these economic theories, the historical-structural approach, which has developed since the 1970s, stresses theoretical fundamentals using elements of Marxist political-economic theory in which asymmetrical relationships constitute a central part. Authors such as Saskia Sassen highlight the fact that combinations of objective elements such as poverty, or distortions in the local labour market, combined with emerging ideological stimulus, induce migratory processes (Sassen, 1988: 9). This ideological stimulus is related to the presence of foreign direct investment (FDI) and official development assistance (ODA) as well, which lead to an increasing need for a cheap labour force. As Castles and Miller (2003: 25) explain, migration has been seen as a method for mobilizing a cheap labour force and as means to maintain privileged positions of control over less developed countries (Cohen, 1987). Although this historical-structural approach also

presents some possible difficulties as a theoretical explanation, mainly in terms of generalising migratory processes, it may still be acceptable to explain certain migratory processes.

By accepting the complexity of international migration, migration systems theory offers an interdisciplinary approach, highlighting the importance of cultural, economic and even political links between sending, transit and destination countries. This theory has a certain explanatory power because it explains how migratory flows are affected by the interaction of three specific realms or structures which operate at macro, micro and meso levels. This interaction functions by intertwining formal, informal and “facilitating” factors such as the political economy, law, interstate relationships, social networks (Boyd, 1989) and the “migration industry”. This theory has been reshaped in part by Jennissen (2007) introducing four factors (economic, social, political and “linkages”) that work as causality chains within the framework of the international migration system.

Finally, transnational theory contains the elements to become one of the most important theoretical approaches to understanding migration related issues, mainly explaining current and future human mobility based on the deterritorialization of nation states (Basch et al., 1994). This mobility, this new interpretation of space, time and territory brings with it the concept of the “transmigrant” (Glick-Schiller, 1999) and the transnational model of citizenship (Castles and Miller, 2003: 45).

Media and ICTs influence on the social imaginary

The theories presented above reveal that academic efforts in trying to explain migratory flows use a wide array of methodologies and approaches. Most of them share an economic and political framework to understand how migration flows operate and how individual and collective behaviour is affected. As outlined, since 1990, we have seen an explosion of migratory flows worldwide and, coinciding with the mentioned period of

time, international migrations from developing countries to OECD countries have grown year by year. In 1990, 53 percent of international migrants lived in developed countries, but by 2005 this figure had risen to 61 percent. According to official reports released by the UN, the average annual growth rate in migratory flows hovered around 1,4 percent from the 1990s to 2005.

This coincides with another historical moment: globalization, where media and technologies have experienced a new dimension in transmitting images and icons, channelling information and values, connecting people, shaping economics and presenting a closer world (Castells, 2006). By accepting this new historical moment, but taking critical theories (Giddens, 1987) into consideration as well, new theoretical approaches must be adopted to look for new explanatory paths. Although we should accept that current international migration flows are not a unique event in history; the well-studied “migration hump” experienced a century ago revealing similar characteristics (de Haas, 2005; Martin and Taylor, 1996; Massey, 1991). Because of this, it is necessary to be very prudent in analyzing these new trends to avoid exaggerated conclusions based on simplistic, cause-and-effect explanations. Given that ICTs and the media play a decisive social role today, it is important to reflect deeply on their effects in shaping the social imaginary as it concerns migratory motivations, intentions and social changes.

“To be more systematic, we suggest that media may intervene in the migration process and in the individual and collective experience of migration in three ways; First, images transmitted from destination countries or by the global media generally, may be an important source of information for potential migrants. Whether this information is accurate or not, it can act as an important factor stimulating migrants to move (...) Second, host country media constructions of migrants will be critical in influencing the type of reception they are accorded, and hence will condition migrants eventual experience of

inclusion or exclusion (...) Third, media originating from the migration sending country, such as films, video and satellite television, as well as new global distribution technologies, such as the WWW, are playing a dynamic role in the cultural identity and politics of diasporic communities. (...) Such media may help migrants feel “at home” in their country of “exile” but at the same time perhaps slow down their processes of integration and incorporation.” (King, 2001)

Specific studies regarding the influence and the impact of the media and ICTs regarding migration flows are difficult to find (Blion, 2008). Despite some established convictions and intuitions, only a few works have been done considering the links between media, technologies and migration. Appadurai's Concept of Modernity offers a critical starting point to have a better understanding of media and development. His intellectual position concerning this dualism can be traced back to his theory of rupture (1996: 2-3), which actually reflects on media and migration as its two main concepts in analyzing how both function in shaping the social imaginary and constituting subjectivities. In so doing, Appadurai, by criticizing the traditional Western theoretical establishment and modernization theory, explains how media and technologies offer perpetual resources to nourish imagination concerning the self and its relation to the world. These media could intervene at two levels: imagination and fantasy. *“While fantasy implies passivity and false consciousness (...) imagination is today a staging ground for action, and not only for escape” (Appadurai, 1996: 7).*

Some studies about the first approach, the role of media and ICTs connected to fantasy, have been done to investigate, for example, the relations between media and migration. A very well-known case is the role of television in the Albanian migration to Italy (Mai, 2004), the Moroccan case (Sabri 2005) or Fujita's works about young Japanese “cultural migrants” and the construction of their Imagined West (2004). On the other hand, and focusing on the Arab world, some works have been done concerning media and social changes (Al-Hroub, 2006; Shteivi, 2006; Fakhro, 2006;

Al-Jassem, 2006; Sakr, 2001; Sakr et al., 2007), but these analyses do not pay specific attention to migration.

To bridge this gap, Russell (2001) asks, “*How do potential migrants receive knowledge or impressions about places they might think of relocating to?*” The question, rephrased in the specific jargon of the migration behaviourists, is, how do people construct “information fields” about areas and places which then become their “migration fields” (White and Woods, 1980: 30-4).

Beyond a doubt, the media and ICTs exert a major influence on individual and collective behaviour. Although, according to Castells, these technologies reflect the society, the “*Internet does not induce a new, virtual society. Rather, it expands, and develops, existing social networks*”. Regardless, since the nineties, TV, the Internet and mobile telephones have been channelling a tremendous flow of information worldwide.

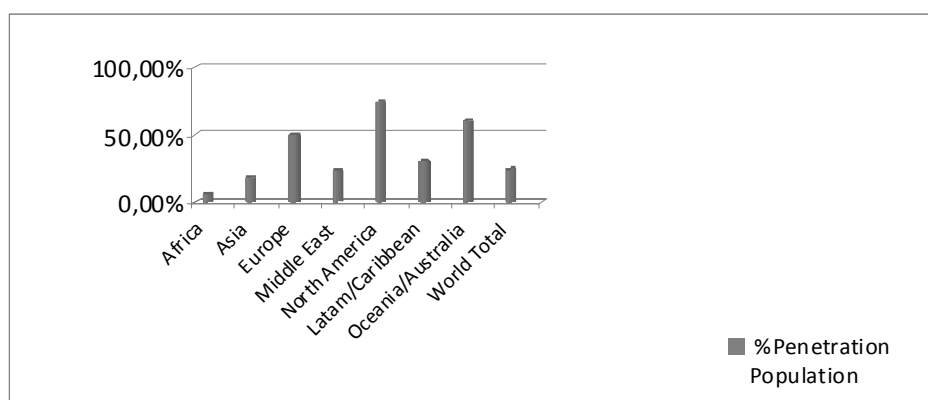
Media and ICTs development in Africa and the Arab world

As we can see in the table 9.1, Africa and the Middle East experienced the highest user growth during the period of 2000-2009, which is a logical conclusion shared by emergent regions. Africa grew 1.359,9 percent whereas the Middle East saw an increase of 1.360,2 percent. These amazing figures must still be analyzed with prudence. It is important to consider penetration rates (Prario and Riccheri, 2003). Despite the growth rates, this index better underlines the overall situation. And in this regard, the penetration rate in Africa stands at 6,7 percent while the Middle East's rose to 23,7 percent.

Table 9.1. Internet users. World regions, 2000 and 2009

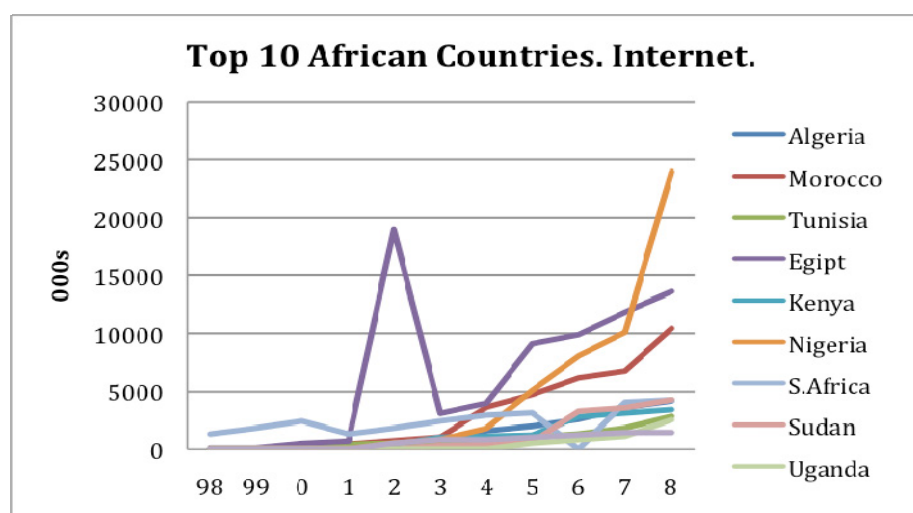
World Regions	Population (2009 est)	Internet Users Dec. 31, 2000	Internet Users Jun. 30, 2009	Penetration % Population	Users Growth 2000-2009	Users % of Table
Africa	991.002.342	4.514.400	65.903.900	6,7%	1.359,9%	3,9%
Asia	3.808.070.503	114.304.000	704.213.930	18,5%	516,1%	42,2%
Europe	803.850.858	105.096.093	402.380.474	50,1%	282,9%	24,2%
Middle East	202.687.005	3.284.800	47.964.146	23,7%	1.360,2%	2,9%
North America	340.831.831	108.096.800	251.735.500	73,9%	132,9%	15,1%
Latam/Caribbean	586.662.468	18.068.919	175.834.439	30,0%	873,1%	10,5%
Oceania/Australia	34.700.201	7.620.480	20.838.019	60,1%	173,4%	1,2%
World Total	6.767.805.208	360.985.492	1.668.870.408	24,7%	362,3%	100,0%

Source: Internet World Stats. June 2009.

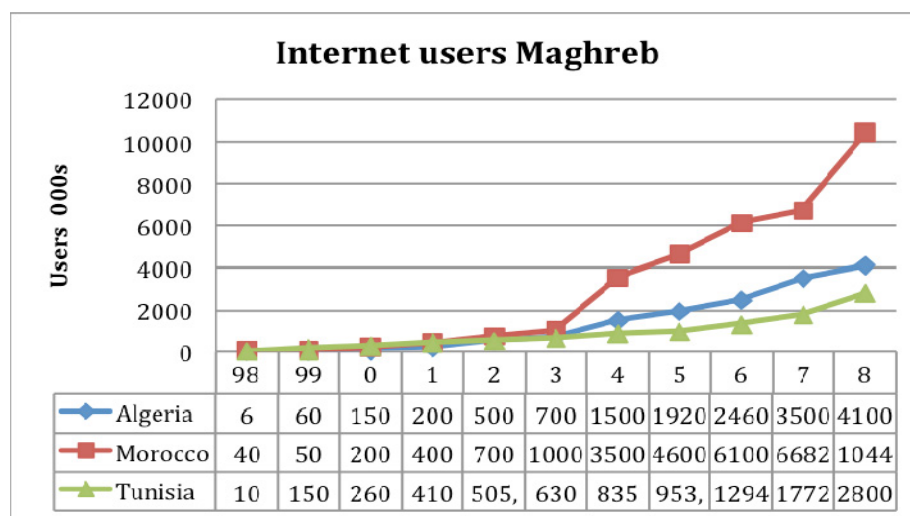
Figure 9.1. Internet penetration rates. Word regions, 2000

Source: Internet World Stats. June 2009.

By analyzing the African situation, we see that within the Top 10 Internet countries in Africa, three of them are from the Maghreb region: Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia.

Figure 9.2. Internet users (thousands): Top 10 African countries

Source: International Telecommunication Union.

Figure 9.3. Internet users (thousands): Maghreb

Source: International Telecommunication Union.

Regarding less developed countries, particularly the Arab World, there are intrinsic difficulties to understanding the extent to which ICTs affect social changes since credible and accurate information is hard to find (Al-Jasem, 2006). At the same time, to study the impact and development of Internet use in Arab countries, and a large number of other developing nations, one must take factors such as censorship into consideration. As Al-Jasem (2006) notes, one Arab government sought to block 400.000 websites. However, attempts to block and censor websites are almost unmanageable tasks. There are also overlapped effects which aim to have a certain impact within specific socio-economic groups. Concepts such as “e-jihad” or “global jihad” –regarding Abu Moussab Al Sourî’s approaches- are broadening their presence. As for possible social and political changes within Arab countries, Al-Jasem considers the importance of distinguishing Internet users by age since more than 60 percent of Arab internet users are under 35 years of age.

According to Al-Jasem (2006), “this age group is easily susceptible to influence, but in my view, it is not this age group that leads or imposes political or social change in Arab countries. It is likely that in some still hierarchical societies these factors have characteristics incomparable with western societies”. The introduction of and increasing

connectivity in Arab countries is especially evident in those countries where younger rulers have started to govern, such as Morocco, Jordan, Qatar or the Kingdom of Bahrain. Surely, there is still room to improve “electronic expression/freedom”. In Morocco, it is widely known that one can voice opinions about everything except against the monarchy. In any case, logging on the Internet, since its beginning, has always provided the right to choose, and this capacity can be very valuable within more or less rigid socio-political contexts. The more an individual can exercise his/her right to choose, the easier it is to generate a critical mass and consciousness among members of civil society (Abdulkarim Julfar, 2006).

The Maghreb case. Focus on Morocco

As pointed out by Belguendouz (2001: 4) and the OECD (2001: 253) in 2002, Morocco, along with Turkey, had the largest population of migrants in the European Union. Concerning Morocco, the expatriated population now reaches about 2 million, most being in Spain, France, Italy and the Netherlands.

Moroccan migration is not new. It started before the colonial period when many Moroccans went to the Middle East and Western Africa. Later on, during the second half of the nineteenth century, Moroccan merchants started to go to France and England. If we compare the Moroccan migration with the Algerian one, we find that Moroccans are located in more than thirty countries (ten of them are European countries) although, until the sixties, the main flows of Moroccan migrants almost exclusively ended in France.

The Moroccan migration in Europe has its roots in three pushing factors: first, the war against Algeria and its independence; secondly, a demographic trend which destabilized the match between population and resources and; thirdly, and most importantly, a European needs to build its labour force (Bonnet and Bossard, 1973).

From 1975 onwards, we observe an official interruption caused by stabilization and a search for new European destinations. At the same time, many borders were closed because the needs for a labour force were satisfied. Thus, petroleum producers like Libya and Saudi Arabia discretely attracted new migrants. Facing these new market restrictions, clandestine migrants started to spontaneously depart and, with a growing frequency, head to Europe again. Spain and Italy became preferred destinations. The consequence was a huge migration flow, especially during the nineties, which has not yet been accurately tabulated (Lopez Garcia, 1993; Bousetta et al., 2005).

It is, of course, possible to explain Moroccan migration in terms of political and economical matters, but according to our hypothesis, this analysis should be enlarged by investigating how media and new technologies affect or shape the social imaginary, values and subsequent migratory intentions. Currently there are 133 satellites delivering 4.665 TV channels and 1.445 radio programmes all over the world.

Along with this fact, a “migratory culture” is very present in Morocco, as Ennaji and Sadiqi (2007) recognized. This migratory culture has been studied at the level of migratory intentions to more accurately understand how the social imaginary and behaviour are shaped (Sadiqi, 2007; Ureta 2008). We infer that media and new technologies have a major influence on Moroccans' migration intentions. One example of the media's influence is the very well-known Moroccan TV program entitled “The Stars of Migration” which shows distorted views of reality, spreading huge misinformation. Also during June 2008, the Finnish group Nokia signed an agreement with the Moroccan SNRT (National Radio and Television Society) to broadcast TV programmes through mobile phones. To keep pace, the public (essentially, state) Moroccan television station decided to produce new thematic channels.

On the topic of the Internet, in 2007, the quarterly statistical report by the Moroccan SNRT showed the country had around 400.000 ADSL connections. This makes

Morocco the first African country in terms of connections, even higher than South Africa. The growth rate of ADSL connections reached 57,8 percent. Morocco has become an African leader in new technologies and creative proposals concerning communications. For instance, during 2006, Maroc Telecom offered the first “Push-to-Talk” (PTT) service on the continent, which it called *MobiTalkie*. Previously, in 2005, Morocco, followed by Lebanon, sent the most SMS transmissions in the Arab world.

After looking at these facts and figures, it is easy to assume that ICTs are changing many everyday aspects of life, from both individual and collective points of view. Regarding the Arab world, new information technologies and access to satellite channels are changing the way Maghreb families observe traditions like Ramadan. To quote Jankari (2009), “the arrival of the holy month of Ramadan means abstention from dawn to sunset, with an immoderate use of new technologies and satellite TV channels. One of the key-concept of Islam is the family. Due to the increasing usage of ICT’s family relations are changing.” Bourezg (2009) says, *“I would also say that the space taken up by computers at home has changed the habits of many families, making individuals more independent and careless about carrying on conversations with each other on a variety of topics (...) many Maghreb wives complain about the reluctance of their spouses to chat, debate and exchange views with them, as they prefer to spend their free time in front of the amazing computer”*. On the other hand, Al Gharbi (2009) stresses that, despite the availability of so many TV channels (1500) and Internet penetration, *“new information technologies seem to be original opportunities for sociability, where modernity is intertwined with tradition. During the month of Ramadan, Maghreb peoples manipulate these technologies by converting them into new sources of identity, structures and new or modified standards”*.

It is easy to imagine that ICTs and the media could have an influence in migratory contexts, especially because people can maintain fluent and permanent contact with those who are part of the diaspora or have access to a wide array of information. In

contexts where a “migration culture” exists, these elements could play a very important role in shaping individual or collective intentions and thoughts regarding mobility and migration. This is evident in the fact that the most active ICT users and the most likely to be migrants correspond to the same groups: young people with a variable level of education.

The impact of ICTs in migratory contexts

A two step research methodology was applied. An initial survey was conducted in Morocco during 2008. The main aim was to challenge the results obtained in Latin America regarding the relationship between three variables: education, migratory intentions and entrepreneurship. Firstly, we assumed that students of economics and business at undergraduate levels may be prone to engage in entrepreneurial activities. Secondly, it may also be likely that in countries with a high migration rate, this relationship could be weak or inconsistent. The hypothesis was that the existence of a massive migratory intention within a social context where migration is a valuable part of the culture could have negative effects on economic performance and on development policies.

The survey was applied to 3 groups of students (45 respondents each group) belonging to three Tangier based institutions: Abdelmalek Essaadi University, INAS (Institute National de Action Sociale) and the Ecole Supérieure des Sciences Techniques et de Management. We developed a test-retest methodology to assure higher reliability of outcomes. The socioeconomic background of these students was very broad as we selected these institutions to provide the necessary heterogeneous sample.

The survey was structured into three main parts: education, entrepreneurial spirit and migratory intention. For this paper’s purposes, we will only take the two aspects related to entrepreneurial spirit and migratory intention into consideration. It is interesting to

note that 93,93 percent of respondents wished to be entrepreneurs in Morocco and create their own businesses there. It is obvious that starting up a business not only demands time, but implies a massive amount of desire, perseverance, determination and financial resources. These qualities are needed to reach short, medium and long-term objectives. What is clear is that starting up a business is mainly a long-term activity.

On the other hand, 75,75 percent of respondents were convinced that they would like to migrate and live abroad because living conditions and opportunities are better in Northern countries. The main pushing factors were: lack of social justice (54,54 percent), economic instability (36,36 percent) and social despondency (24,24 percent). These two linked responses (entrepreneurship and migratory intention) are contradictory, given that migration implies nearly the same elements as entrepreneurship: desire, information, perseverance, determination and financial resources.

After achieving this contradictory, but important, outcome, the next step was to study the possible causes behind this “migratory culture”. Given the previously stated importance, overwhelming presence and use of ICTs, it was necessary to know to what extent these ICTs and the media are responsible for triggering, and expanding, this huge migratory intention.

A second survey was conducted in 2009, focusing on the same target group. This second survey had a specific objective to test some of the essential questions asked in the first survey. This second survey used “*Google surveys*”, where the questionnaire was uploaded in classical Arabic. This method has permitted enlarging the sample to get a larger number of respondents from Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia, although this system may present some difficulties and **reliability is reduced** as individuals **may fill out** the survey more than once due to technical problems experienced during the

process. In total, there were 149 respondents between the ages of 20 and 32, one third of whom were women.

Concerning Internet and mobile phone usage, 81,25 percent of respondents have been using the Internet and mobile phones for at least five years. 43,75 percent of surveyed students responded that they surfed 4 or more hours daily and everyday, whereas 37,5 percent use the Internet between 2-3 hours daily. They access Internet mainly from their homes (68,75 percent) and from cybercafés (12,5 percent). 50 percent start their sessions opening e-mail. This could signify that they do not use the Internet mainly as a working tool, but for leisure. There is another interesting aspect regarding places people connect to the Internet. In the Arab world, especially in the Maghreb, it is very common to see many women accessing the Internet in cybercafés. This may happen because there are not many public places, such as cafeterias, where they can go, as these places are mainly reserved for males. However, they can freely go to these cybercafés and there directly broaden the social and cultural dimensions of their lives, for a brief time escaping certain restrictive atmospheres. This is probably not the cause of the feminization of migration over the past years, but this factor should be taken into consideration to help explain it.

Considering respondents' Internet habits, 20,83 percent start with Google and 6,25 percent open some kind of social network such as Facebook, Twitter, Fotolog or Hi5. As for the social dimension of blogs, 56,25 percent recognised that they access blogs more or less intensively, whereas the rest did not demonstrate much interest in this kind of activity. 64,58 percent use social networks mainly as channels for keeping in touch with friends and family and for leisure. In contrast, just 35,42 percent responded that these social networks can be very useful to launch social initiatives to fight social problems, to promote dialogue and to improve the fabric of civil society. Concerning chatting, 14,58 percent used these systems frequently to search for potential boyfriends or girlfriends, while 54,16 percent responded that they did it sometimes.

91,66 percent of surveyed students responded that they could not stop using ICTs because they would feel isolated.

Specific questions addressed the influence of ICTs on potential migratory intentions. It was very interesting to see that 39,58 percent said that ICTs do not trigger their desires to migrate because they have information about both good and bad aspects of living abroad. This finding is very interesting if we relate it to the fact that 8,3 percent will migrate permanently, 35,42 percent will migrate temporarily and 37,5 percent have not yet decided, but plan to migrate sooner or latter. To sum up, 81,22 percent had a variable migratory intention. However, 54,16 percent recognised that the Internet would be very useful to get information once they have decided to migrate. These results seem very rational, but although the migration process could appear as a truly rational choice, this is not always true. To be a migrant means, more or less, to be a risk taker. In facing risks and moving forward with determination, rational choice is not always the main driving factor. It is not the poorest individuals who migrate. Those who migrate internationally (excluding smuggling, asylum seekers or refugees) must have financial resources and a certain amount of education. In Algeria, migration of young people is not freely permitted. The easiest way to obtain a visa is through abusive payments to corrupt officers, starting at about 2.500 euro.

“On-site migration” and possible consequences in less developed countries

Over recent decades, social inequality has increased all over the world (Massey, 1996) despite the efforts of governments, NGOs or supranational organizations. As Castells (1999) recognized, *“the interaction between economic growth and social development in the information age is still more complex...the reintegration of social development will not be accomplished by simply relying on unfettered market forces”*. As for migration issues, discourses in the nineties dealing with multicultural citizenship and multicultural policies were fashionable. Arriving at the threshold of the 20th century, this trend started to decline due to international worries about security. Regarding

international security and taking advantage of this discursive inertia, the events of 9/11 have “legitimized” sceptical visions over the preceding optimistic ones.

After 9/11, as pointed out by Lahav (2007), *“the implications of foreign networks were very much discussed in the media, raised the expected populism and led to arguments that liberal democratic governments would be compelled to dramatically rethink their border controls in a global world full of people on [the] move”*. Quoting Gerber (2002), *“since 9/11, migrants are perceived as potential terrorists”*. This means that migration issues have shifted from the domain of “low politics” to those concerns related to national security or “high politics”. In addition, as soon as economic indicators start to announce grey horizons, the first argument made by politicians is a very popular one: those aliens are jeopardizing our welfare and security.

In addition, there is a paradox. Article 13/2 of the UN’s Universal Declaration says, *“Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country”*. It is thus possible to appreciate that through the Internet, this right is permitted and enhanced. Most people in less-developed countries have the right to “migrate” on-site and a passport can act as a temporary visa. We can appreciate here the existence of an overlapped and a contradictory international situation. On one hand globalisation pushes people, physically and imaginarily, beyond national boundaries and on the other hand, political restrictions block this historic trend.

Following the discursive thread of the paper, it is important to highlight two essential points: 1) the migratory process is mainly an exercise in imagination and 2) through the migratory process the migrant seeks to increase the choice of opportunities. As for the first point, It is important to understand that the migratory process is mainly an exercise in imagination, where firstly, the “would be migrant” starts to imagine him/herself living a different reality. Imagination is, thus, the main driving factor regarding the migratory process. Given that the existence of this dimension is undeniable, the migratory

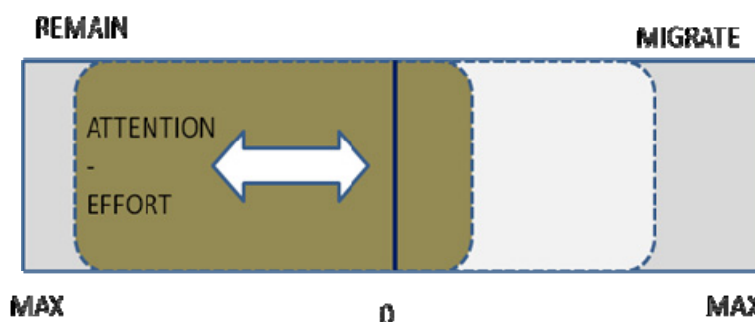
process is both a mental and a physical phenomenon. For us, the migrant should be studied as an individual who can migrate mentally and physically. For this reason, beyond economic or financial costs, emotional costs are the main burden international migrants face and suffer. Mentally speaking, and regarding ICT usage, this sort of migration could be called *cyber migration* (Zengyan et al., 2009). This phenomenon represents the largest movement of “migrants”, or cyber migrants, in the history of humanity.

Secondly and roughly speaking, those who expect to migrate, or who have a migratory intention, aim to broaden choosing capacities. In less developed countries the range of choices is definitely smaller than in industrialized countries. Hence, by migrating an increase in choosing capacities is “envisaged”. But If real or physical migration is restricted, an individual may still “migrate on-site” using Internet for example. This “on-site migration” typically lasts several hours per day, everyday, according to the survey. This “on-site migration” temporarily increases choosing possibilities but when the user logs-off, he/she returns to their quotidian realities. This could be called a “permanent transitional situation”, where the user fluctuates from real to imaginary contexts. There are surely negative effects as there is a rising awareness about the negative effects of the Internet on human behaviour and more specifically among young people (Young S., 1998; Simkova and Cincera, 2004; Weiser 2001; Chia Yi Liu and Yang Kuo 2007; Seo et al., 2009; Ferraro et al., 2009).

These two factors may have a direct impact on economic performance. According to Kahneman’s work (1994), attention and effort are two main driving elements of human action. They are a combination of motives, motivations and expectations operating across space and time. The migratory process or an “on-site migratory process” can be considered as factors that consume time, attention and effort.

As Figure 9.4 (Ureta, 2007) shows, this combination of attention and effort can be applied for either productive activities or to consolidate the individual migratory process, or even to remain in the “transitional situation” as well. The more an individual wants to migrate, the more attention and effort he/she applies to reaching that objective, thus, productive activities are not a priority. Considering “on-site migration” in these socio-cultural contexts, the impact on economic performance could be the same, having negative consequences for less-developed countries as we might speak of the existence of “*cyber brain-drain*” of young and educated people.

Figure 9.4. The individual migratory process seen as a combination of attention and effort



This kind of “cyber brain-drain” could have worse consequences than the normal brain drain, which, on the contrary, can be productive in terms of knowledge transfer, remittances etc. “Cyber brain-drain” through “on-site migration” is literally a drain of actual work and intellectual forces within a country, or society, which are badly needed to improve elements linked to efficiency, efficacy and creativeness. This “on-site migration” could increase episodes of social fracture as well. E-movements promoting extremist Islamism, found in less-favoured social groups, find an excellent niche for potential members. I suggest that, in this migratory context, if one has the right to migrate on-site, but not the possibility of migration with the same ease, this can cause a number of frustrations.

Thus, because of frustrations such as the lack of ability to migrate or to broaden choosing capacity, increased individualism and less social understanding may provoke social fractures.

Conclusions

In the beginning of this paper, hypothesis regarding the huge impact of ICTs and the media regarding migration issues were presented, but it is necessary to develop a more critical point of view in order to avoid simplistic cause-and-effect approaches.

Although ICTs are a new phenomenon, when discussing “space of flows” and network societies (Castells, 1996) it is necessary to point out that current international migration flows are not a single, unique event in history. In the past, there were certain periods with similar figures and impact (de Haas, 2005; Zlotnik, 1998; Nyberg-Sorensen et al., 2002). Thus, we are not facing unique events today. Communication and social networks always existed. Otherwise, these massive human movements would be impossible.

What is clear is that ICTs and the media have influence regarding social interactions. Initially, it was reasonable to think that images from the North could act as a very strong pulling factor. To conclude this research, we observe that individuals have a natural predisposition to migrate or not. We do not consider asylum seekers or environmental refugees. Surely, international migration (clandestine or regular) has some implicit risks, and these risks are taken into consideration, more or less seriously, by potential migrants. A potential migrant can access some information on the Internet, which may sometimes offer a distorted, overly easy view of the so-called “boat trips”.²

² http://www.senegalaisement.com/senegal/venir_en_france.php «En cas de D-DAY aux Canaries, l'étape suivante est l'Espagne. En effet, après un court séjour dans un asile de regroupement (vous y mangerez mieux qu'au Sénégal, serez soignés et hébergés gratuitement et pourrez même téléphoner !!!), vous aurez probablement un billet d'avion GRATUIT vers le continent (souvent vers la ville de Madrid) payé par Zapatero Si vous souhaitez sortir de ce pays, la porte de sortie la plus pratique est la ligne de train Port-Bou-Montpellier. C'est également la solution la moins coûteuse. Entre Port-Bou (Espagne) et Cerbère (France) franchissez la frontière en passant sur la colline car les contrôles sont évidemment nombreux y compris dans le train. >>> C'EST GAGNE !!! VOUS MERITEZ UNE CARTE DE SEJOUR VOIR MEME LA NATIONALITE !!! Une petite partie des souscripteurs du pack D-DAY échouent dans leur entreprise. La cause est TOUJOURS LA MÊME : une fuite sur votre nationalité. Un de vos co-passagers ou vous-même avez

In these cases, of course, we have to consider that the people accessing these technologies do not belong to illiterate groups.

To sum up, migratory intention does not mean migration. Migratory intention means a mental predisposition, more or less intense, which may, but not always, lead to migration. There are fewer people who actually migrate than those who would like to. ICTs and the media can help or influence those who want to migrate become those who have a real intention to migrate. For those who have no real intention, these technologies can be good or bad allies. These effects only depend on usage. It is reasonable to think that within those contexts where migratory culture is valued, migratory intention is very high and the use of ICTs and satellite channels is extremely intensive, a number of frustrations can arise. Depending on socio-economic background, these technologies can help individuals channel their intentions or, on the contrary, frustrate their desires. Individuals can have access to the Internet and be in contact with friends abroad, but when they want to put plans into motion, passport issues and severe administrative rules may get in the way if they do not have sufficient financial resources. Before or after experiencing these frustrations, “on-site migration” can be an exit for many young people.

venu la mèche en avouant votre sénégalité. >>> ECHEC, retour à la case départ (...)Ténérife est l'île la plus belle et la plus touristique. Les plages de débarquement sont nombreuses et aménagées (douches, WC, chaises longues, etc...). Las Palmas a l'avantage d'être agricole. Les plages de débarquement y sont moins nombreuses mais dans le cas où vous souhaiteriez profiter quelques jours du tourisme, de nombreux champs - dont de nombreux bananiers - permettent de se restaurer gratuitement. Fuerte Ventura est l'île la plus désertique, attention ! Peu de possibilités de restauration gratuite et débarquement plus difficile. C'est l'île la moins recommandée pour un pack D-DAY. Lanzarote est l'île la plus septentrionale. N'y allez que si vous souhaitez visiter Arrecife est ses jolis petits ports de pêche artisanale ou son église du XVIIe siècle».

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