Interrelationships between Internal and International Migration in Egypt: A Pilot Study

Ayman Zohry

Forced Migration & Refugee Studies Program
American University in Cairo

July 2005

Development Research Centre on Migration, Globalisation and Poverty
University of Sussex
Falmer, Brighton BN1 9SJ
United Kingdom
E-mail: ayman@zohry.com

Table of Contents

1. INTRODUCTION:

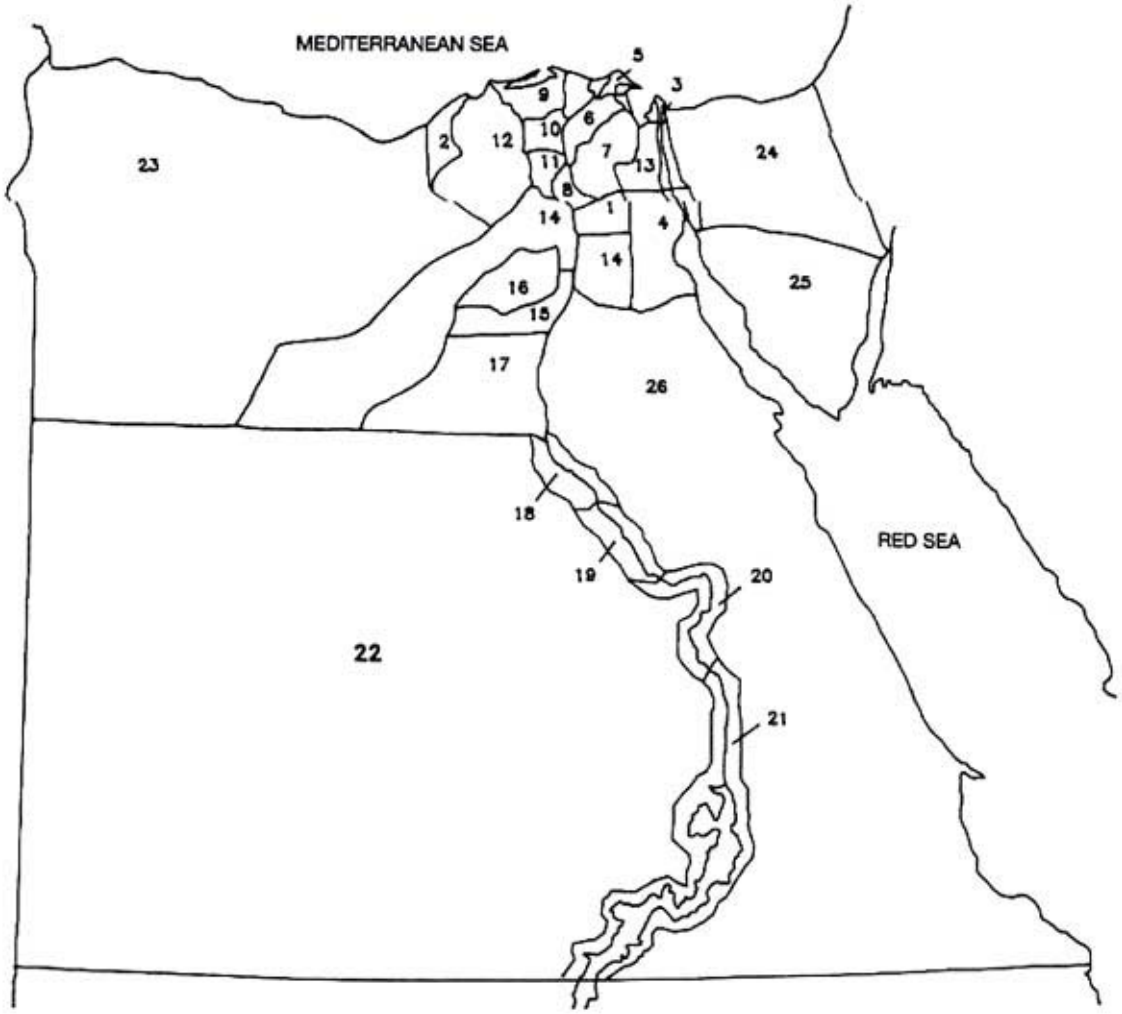
Migration in Egypt is strongly influenced by poverty, economic difficulties, and improper socio-economic policies. Until the mid-1950s, foreigners came to Egypt but Egyptians rarely migrated abroad. Egyptian emigration was not only a reflection of the oil boom in the Arab Gulf countries and the need for manpower in neighboring countries, but also of economic problems and high rates of population growth in Egypt. Internal migration was a natural response to poverty and the uneven distribution of economic activities, and played a major role as a balancing mechanism, as Egyptian migration flows to the Gulf and elsewhere began. Internal migration still plays a major role in sustaining the livelihoods of many families in rural Egypt.

The dominant geographical feature of Egypt is the River Nile. The Nile represents the main source of water for agriculture, and consequently is a major determinant of the spatial distribution of population and economic life. Administratively, Egypt is divided into 27 governorates; four of them are totally urban (Cairo, Alexandria, Port Said, and Suez). Nine governorates are found in the Nile Delta (Lower Egypt), which extends from Cairo to the Mediterranean Sea, and nine are located in the Nile Valley (Upper Egypt). An additional five frontier governorates are found on Egypt's western and eastern boundaries (See Figure 1 for more details).

Rapid population growth is one of the crucial problems that have hindered development efforts in Egypt. While the doubling of Egypt's population between 1897 and 1947, from 9.7 million to 19 million, took fifty years, the next doubling took less than thirty years, from 1947 to 1976. Today, Egypt's population is about 72 million. The annual population growth rate is around two percent. About 95 percent of the population is crowded into around five percent of the total land area that follows the course of the Nile. The remaining 95 percent of the land is desert. Although it can be seen as a kind of 'natural response' to the geography of economic opportunity, migration to large cities has further unbalanced Egypt's population distribution.

Figure 1

Map of Egyptian Governorates



1	Cairo	8	Qualyoubyya	15	Beni-Sueif	22	New Valley
2	Alexandria	9	Kafresheihk	16	Fayoum	23	Matrouh
3	Port-Said	10	Gharbia	17	Menia	24	North Sinai
4	Suez	11	Menoufia	18	Assiut	25	South Sinai
5	Damitta	12	Behera	19	Souhag	26	Red Sea
6	Daquhlyya	13	Ismailia	20	Qena & Luxor		
7	Sharqyya	14	Guiza	21	Aswan		

Associated with rapid population growth is a high level of unemployment. Official estimates placed unemployment at about 9 percent in 2004, but independent estimates push the number up to 20 percent. However, to control unemployment, Egypt will need to achieve a sustained real GDP growth rate of at least 6 percent per year. The economy has to generate between 600,000 and 800,000 new jobs each year in order to absorb new entrants into the labor force. Between 1990 and 1997, however, only about 370,000 new jobs were created each year. The size of the informal sector and the level of over-employment in the public sector add to the complexity of the problem.

With about 2.7 million Egyptians abroad (1.9 million in the Arab Gulf countries) and the severity of overpopulation and unemployment, Egyptian migration can be seen as a survival and livelihood strategy. At the macro level, Egypt's economy relies mainly on four sources of income: tourism, remittances from Egyptians working abroad, revenues from the Suez Canal, and oil.

1.1 Objectives of This Study

This is a pilot study that explores the interrelationships between internal and international migration in Egypt. The project involves both desk study (statistical data and literature) and new primary research based on field interviews in Upper Egypt and Cairo. Since there are no studies on the interrelationship between internal and international migration in Egypt, the literature and statistical reviews document separate strands of material on internal and on international migration, but there is not much attempt to connect the two in any way.

Fieldwork took place in two locations; one in Upper Egypt (Beni-Madi Village in Beni-Sueif governorate, 120 kilometers far from Cairo); and the other one is located in Cairo (Imbaba, district/suburb). A well-known migration stream is observed between the two points. The choice of Beni-Madi – a reasonably typical of rural Upper Egypt – made it easy to move back and forth between the two research sites.

Key Questions Addressed by the Study through Fieldwork:

1. Do different categories of people engage in internal and international migration?

2. Do migrants initially migrate internally before going abroad? Or is the sequence the other way round?
3. Are internal and international migration simultaneously deployed within the same family/household by different members?
4. What are the effects and impacts of the two kinds of migration (eg. on remittances, poverty alleviation, return, family dynamics etc.)?

1.2 Methods and Materials

Fieldwork was carried out in the two research areas in Cairo and Upper Egypt. My research assistant in Cairo – Taha - is a migrant from Beni-Madi and lives in Cairo so that he knows the origin and the destination communities and families. He was my guide to the community in Cairo. Taha's youngest son, Ali was my guide to the village community.

Research subjects can be grouped as follows:

1. Non-migrants in the village: This group is used to compare living conditions of migrants and non-migrants and to enquire about their migration intentions in the future (internally and internationally)
2. Return migrants to the village (internal and international): This group is used to assess return migrants' living conditions vs. non-migrants and to explore reasons for return and their willingness to re-migrate
3. Internal migrants in Cairo: This group is used to investigate living conditions of internal migrants and their intentions to migrate internationally
4. Migrants from the village who migrated to Cairo after their international migration experience: This group is used to explore the impact of international migration on internal migration

The Sample

A statistically representative sample is far beyond the ability of a single researcher since it needs a sample frame that includes a listing of all residents in a specific area according to some basic characteristics. Hereby, I used two local research assistants – one in Upper Egypt and one in Cairo -- to identify subjects that lay under each group of population (as mentioned above). I visited,

interviewed, and observed many cases, persons, families, and households as available until reaching a saturation point, where adding an extra subject would have added almost nothing to the knowledge I had gained. I visited and interviewed more than 90 individuals/families in Upper Egypt and Cairo. After excluding redundant cases, and non-informing cases, I reported 34 cases (17 each) in chapter six, but the analysis goes beyond the cases mentioned in this chapter to cover my observations, literature, and in some cases my own judgments, in addition to my own experience as an old migrant from Upper Egypt to Cairo.

Data Collection Tools

Since this study is almost qualitative, a "semi-structured interview protocol" was developed. Broad questions covered the following areas:

1. socio-demographic background
2. migration intentions
3. migration experience (internal and international)
4. the sequence of migration movements (internal/international/internal)
5. remittances use and allocation (for migrants only)
6. migration decision making, socio-economic factors affecting migration, and the choice of destination (internal/international)

Participant observations and interviews/discussions with key informants were used to collect data on living conditions of international, internal migrants, and non-migrants. I visited households with no migrants, internal migrants, and return international migrants to assess the differences in household conditions as related to remittances and migration experience

Data Collection

The present study provides ethnographic documentation of individuals/families' migration histories and current socioeconomic settings. The ethnographic evidence presented is from an Upper Egyptian village and a suburb in Cairo, but illustrates similar processes taking place in all Egyptian governorates. Although there are slight variations within the different governorates, these do not invalidate the general picture which this study aims to construct regarding the interrelationships between internal and international migration in Egypt.

As I mentioned before, the data is presented in the form of case-studies of individuals/families in the village – Beni-Madi – and Cairo, and also based on field observations by the researcher. These cases were collected over a three-month period, November-December 2004, and January 2005. The use of pseudonyms is employed in the cases I present in this report.

2. A LITTLE THEORY

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

2.1 Linkages Between Internal and International Migration

For some decades, various disciplinary and multi-disciplinary approaches have been trying to analyze and provide a fundamental understanding for the phenomenon of migration. There are multitudes of theoretical as well as empirical studies, which are concerned with the determinants both of international and of internal migration. In the migration studies literature there are two groups of researchers with two different points of view regarding the interrelationships between internal and international migration. While the first group argue that international migration is an extrapolation of internal migration, the second group points to the inherent differences in the two types of movements where international migration implies political controls that regulate movement across national borders (Arnold and Abad 1985). Where there is political interest in international migration and its linkages to human trafficking and international security, there is relatively less interest in internal migration and their international migration linkages. However, in the past, some studies have been concerned with internal and international migration as well, such as the studies of Speare 1974; Pryor 1978; Goldstein and Goldstein 1981; De Jong et al. 1983; Arnold and Abad 1985, and recently Adepoju 1998.

2.2 Internal vs. International Migration

The main difference between internal and international migration is that the later implies crossing national borders, but two other main differences exist and regulate migration streams; distance and culture. With respect to the first factor, international borders represent a political barrier and are regarded as part of countries' sovereignty and authority. Crossing international borders is usually regulated by migration laws and regional and international agreements. However, in many regions of the world, physical boundaries do not exist; they only exist on political maps. In Africa, national boundaries are generally not an obstacle to potential migrants (Adepoju 1983 and 1998).

While international boundaries and political controls on international migration play an important role in directing migration, their impact varies from one region to another according to the tightness of these controls. In the Egyptian case for example, an Egyptian can move freely between Egyptian and Libyan territories. Most recently, the Egyptian and Sudanese governments signed an agreement guaranteeing the freedom of movement, residence, work, and property ownership between the two countries. According to the agreement, Sudanese nationals would be entitled to own property in Egypt, as well as rightfully work and reside there. Egyptian nationals would also enjoy the same rights in Sudan. Needless to say, the European Union agreements enabled the citizens of 25 countries to cross national borders freely as if they moved internally. According to Arnold and Abad (1985), 'This would seem to strengthen the case for treating both internal and international migration within the same framework.'

The second main difference between internal and international migration is distance. Since Ravenstein's Law of Migration dating back to the 1880s, distance is an important fact in migration studies in general, and in migration decision-making in particular. International migration is stereotypically associated with long distance movements. Crossing international borders implies long distance moves. Long distance moves are associated with the high cost of moving and other expenses. But in some cases distance is not an obstacle. In West Africa, for example, distance is not an obstacle. As Adepoju (1998) puts it succinctly:

> Movement between Lagos and Maiduguri in Nigeria spanning about 1,700 kilometers is classified as internal migration based on a distance (spatial) criterion while a person moving from Idiroko in

Nigeria to Ifoyin in the Republic of Benin – a distance of about ten kilometers – becomes an international migrant.

With respect to Egypt, movement between Aswan and Alexandria in Egypt spanning about 1,200 kilometers, is considered as internal migration while movement from Rafah in Egypt to Rafah in the Gaza Strip – less than one kilometer – is considered as international migration.

More important than crossing the national boundaries and distance are the socio-cultural differences between origin and destination. After September 11, it seems impossible to make a statement about migration without reference to security aspects and xenophobia (Castles and Miller 2003; Tirman 2004). Languages, customs, norms, and traditions vary across countries than within a country (Goldscheider 1971; Fawcett, Arnold, and Minocha 1984; Arnold and Abad 1985). International migrants are exposed to different lifestyles and they are expected to normalize in order to be part of the new society. Internal migration implies a moderate degree of variation between origin and destination, but there are many exceptions to this rule; Zohry (2002) noted that a significant proportion of unskilled Upper Egyptian migrants in Cairo have little in common with Cairien society.

2.3 Migration and Development

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

Theoretical models were proposed to assess the relationship between migration and development (see for example Fischer et al. 1997). However, empirical studies reveal different impacts of

migration on development depending on the type of movement (permanent versus temporary or circular), effects of remittances, and the stage of development in origin.

A recent study by de Haas (2003) on migration and development in Southern Morocco indicates the importance of internal and international migration in enabling livelihood diversification among households through remittances of labourers who work in other places in Morocco or internationally. This study indicated that households that receive international migration remittances are more likely to invest than other households. With respect to the relationships between internal migration and development, many studies indicated the importance of internal migration as a means to escape poverty and narrow regional economic imbalance. However, one might justifiably ask: is it migration and development or migration and poverty alleviation? Development means growth and evolution while poverty alleviation is just to move up from behind the poverty line. Needless to say the impact of migration varies according to the stage of development of the sending region/country, type of migration (internal, circular, or international), and the magnitude of remittances.

3. INTERNAL MIGRATION

3.1 Characteristics of Egyptian Internal Migration

Trends and Directions of Internal Migration

Internal migration in Egypt has generally been: a) from South to North, b) from South and North to the Canal Zone, c) from Egypt's hinterland to Cairo and Alexandria, and d) from Egypt's centre to its peripheries. As numerous studies have shown, the biggest convergence of migration streams is in the Greater Cairo Region, which includes Cairo, Giza, and Qualyoubyya governorates (Adams 1986; Aldakhil 1999; Burden 1973; El-Boraey 1984, 1986; El-Kurdy 1974; Ibrahim 1986; Nassef 1985; Sharaa 1964; Sharnouby 1968).

a) Migration from South to North: By 'South' in the present context, we are referring to the governorates of Middle and Upper Egypt. Hence South includes Fayoum, Menia, Beni-Sueif, Assiut, Souhag, Qena, Luxor, and Aswan. These governorates represent a narrow strip of green

land on both sides of the Nile. As a function of limited opportunities for either vertical or horizontal agricultural expansion (through intensification of the already highly intensive agricultural regime or expansion of cultivation to new areas), mounting population pressure has been felt for the last hundred years. One response to this pressure has been a steady stream of migration to the north.

Souhag, Qena, Aswan, and Assiut have been the major suppliers of migrants to the North. Hassan (1969) estimated the net loss from the South to the North at about one million over the first six decades of the twentieth century. Of course, this figure is much lower than the volume of internal migration recorded in recent decades, but the total Egyptian population was itself much lower in the past; in 1947 it was only 19 million. El-Badry (1965), after elaborate calculations, contends that the four southernmost governorates exported a net 13 percent of their combined population to other regions in Egypt during these same decades. From the 1960s to the 1990s, the same trends continued, but with some variations. Aswan, for example, is now more of a population exchanger, having seen a marked decline in its net loss.

b) The Suez Canal Zone: Until the 1947 census, this area was administratively divided into two governorates: the Canal (which comprised the two cities of Port Said and Ismailia) and Suez. By the following census (1960) the Canal was sub-divided into two separate governorates known at present as Port Said Governorate and Ismailia Governorate – with the latter incorporating substantial rural areas. The inflow of migrants to the three governorates began upon the opening of the Suez Canal in the 1860s. The two neighboring governorates of Daquhlyya and Damitta accounted for most of the supply to Port Said. Sharqyya provided most of the inflow to Ismailia. Qena, in the deep South, contributed the largest share of the net migration gain of Suez.

c) Migration from the hinterland to Cairo and Alexandria: The two largest Egyptian cities have been the greatest magnets for migration. Besides their net population imports from the South, the two cities attract similar streams from the Delta.

About two-thirds of the scholarly studies on Egyptian migration have concentrated on the capital city of Cairo. Over the long term, Cairo's net gain from the South averages about 40 percent of its total in-migrants. The Delta governorates have contributed the balance of 60 percent during the twentieth century. Most of this hinterland contribution to Cairo's population has come from

Menoufia, Souhag, Assiut, Gharbia, Daquhlyya, Qualyoubyya and Qena (Abdel-Hakim 1966, 1968, 1974, 1975; Aldakhil 1999; Nassef 1985). Only in very recent years has the momentum of (recorded) population arrival begun to slacken.

Students of Egyptian migration have not focused on Alexandria to the same extent as on Cairo, even though it is the second largest city and displays many of the same demographic dynamics. Alexandria has seen net migration gains since the turn of the century, although at a rate smaller than Cairo. Like Cairo, Alexandria received most of its migrants from Menoufia in the Delta, and from Souhag, Qena, and Aswan in the South. Other migrants from the Delta have come from Behera, Gharbia, and Kafresheihk.

d) The Frontier Governorates: A minor stream of migration has occurred from the centre to the Red Sea and Sinai areas from the late 1930s onwards. (Naturally, the flow to Sinai was interrupted during the years of Israeli occupation, 1967–84). Although very small in absolute volume, it looms large in relative terms because of the low population of these areas. The main suppliers of migrants to the frontier areas were Qena, Souhag, and Cairo itself. The expansion of the Red Sea and South Sinai coastal resorts will probably stimulate further migration to these developing coasts – provided the tourism industry emerges from its current stagnation.

One-Step versus Multi-Step Migration

One-step migration refers to direct migration from the place of origin to the place of settlement, whereas multi-step migration involves intermediate stays in a third place before final settlement. Egyptian census data do not provide information on the number of steps in the migratory process. There are, however, a few old small sample surveys that shed light on this point (Hegazy 1971; Ouda 1964; Saad 1976). The available evidence reveals that the overwhelming majority of migrants to Cairo, for example, have come to it directly from their communities of origin, bypassing small and medium-sized towns. In one sample survey, one-step migrants accounted for 78 percent of the total (Saad 1976). Another sample survey indicated that only 13 percent of the migrants had engaged in more than one move between the point of origin and the destination, the rest (87 percent) having engaged in one-step migration (El-Kurdy 1974). The spatial distribution of population, transportation, and settlement in Egypt, together with the long establishment of migration flows probably account for the lack of a stepwise migratory process in Egypt.

Characteristics of Migrants

Studies of Egypt's internal migrants illustrate their characteristics. Most studies concentrate on the statistical age and sex composition; a few describe the occupational, educational and socio-economic profiles of migrants. The overall conclusions are the strong preponderance of males over females, and of young over old; and the lack of an explicit 'selection process' as regards migrants' socio-economic characteristics. The studies show, however, that the migrants tend to be of relatively higher educational and occupational background than their counterparts at the point of origin, but lower than their counterparts at the destination (Attiya 1976; CAPMAS 1989).

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

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

The Decision-Making Process

Few studies have focused on the decision-making process in migration. Reviewing this limited literature, *communication*, *inducement,* and *facilitation* seem to be three key variables which explain the differences in migration patterns among rural Egyptians who otherwise appear to have similar socio-economic profiles. Two dated empirical studies (Ouda 1974; Saad 1976) revealed that migrants had first- or second-hand knowledge about the chosen destination while still at their place of origin. Pre-migration visits to the destination were common. Those who had made prior visits to the target destination had learned about it from friends, relatives, or the media. Serving in the army was also a way of getting acquainted with urban areas. The inducers of migration were

either persuasion from relatives and friends, or the desire to emulate others in the home community. The facilitator variable refers to actual or expected help upon migrating to the new community, where kin, friends, and co-villagers facilitate new migrants' arrival and settlement, for example in terms of housing and work.

Modes of Adjustment

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

Causes of Internal Migration

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

a) Mounting Demographic Pressure: Mounting demographic pressure is often inferred from the rising population density and rapid population growth in the twentieth century (Abdel-Hakim 1966, 1975; Ismail 1990; Nassef 1985; Sharnouby 1967, 1968). Demographic pressure is not in itself a cause of migration; it becomes a causal factor when mediated through a relationship with economic resources such as employment, income, or land. In Egypt, high population density is assumed to interact most significantly with the extent of cultivable land. As the pressure increases, a population increment which cannot live off the land has to go somewhere; migration thus acts as a 'safety-valve'.

b) Declining Economic Opportunities: Declining economic opportunities are explained in the case of rural areas in terms of 1) the increasing number of landless families; 2) the increasing fragmentation of land-holdings because of inheritance, thus making it progressively more difficult

for a family to support itself; and 3) the low level of wages for those who can find employment locally (Abdel-Rahim 1971; CAPMAS 1973; Fadil 1978; INP-ILO 1968; Magdoub 1972; Toth 1999).

Adams (1986) confirmed that internal migration from rural to urban areas in Egypt is one of the strategies that the rural poor use to survive. During the winter months (December to March), when there is limited demand for agricultural laborers, poor peasants were found to temporarily migrate to Cairo in search of unskilled work. With the recent boom in the construction industry in Cairo, many of these poor peasants have found temporary employment as brick-carriers, cement-mixers, laborers, and porters.

A more recent study by Aldakhil (1999) suggested that low income levels in Egyptian rural governorates encourage people to move towards high-income governorates. Theoretically, this should mean that inter-governorate wage differentials have been narrowed by migration, but the statistical evidence to verify this hypothesis hardly exists. Aldakhil found that the unemployment rate was a major determinant of an individual's decision to migrate. Although the official estimate of rural unemployment by the Ministry of Manpower is 11 percent, this figure probably hides a great deal of underemployment and disguised inactivity. Higher rates of unemployment at origin undoubtedly tend to encourage migration from rural and urban areas. Migration to urban areas is more responsive to unemployment than migration to rural areas.

c) Scarcity of Services and Other Social Amenities: Several authors have collected data to show the relative deprivation in some areas of Egypt in terms of education and health services. The greatest differentials are obviously between rural and urban Egypt. But even among the urban centers, Cairo and Alexandria have a disproportionate share of these resources as opposed to provincial capitals and smaller towns (Abdel-Hakim 1975; CAPMAS 1989, 1999; El-Kurdy 1974; Fadil 1978; Ibrahim 1977).

If push factors underlie the decision to leave the community of origin, it is the pull factors which determine where migrants go. Most studies of Egyptian migration have highlighted the tremendous concentration of production, employment opportunities, services, wealth, and political power in Egypt's major urban areas, especially Cairo and Alexandria. This concentration has made them unrivalled magnets for the country's internal migrants from both rural and smaller urban areas

(CAPMAS 1973; El-Kurdy 1974; Farag 1970; Hegazy 1971; Hussein 1988; INP-ILO 1968; Saad 1976).

3.2 Rural/Urban Migration

An overview of inter-governorate migration for urban and rural areas by rural/urban origin or destination for the last three censuses − 1976, 1986, and 1996 − is in Table 1. In Table 1 and subsequent census-based tables in this study, migration is recorded by comparing present residence with previous residence in a different governorate. There is no time limit on the inter-governorate residential move. Hence the move could have taken place one year before the census date or twenty years before. In the latter case the same people are likely to be recorded as being migrants across successive censuses, unless they die or make another move across a governorate boundary. The censuses therefore contain no information on the length of a migrant's residence.

Table 1

Urban/Rural Migration by Type of Movement, Egypt, 1976–1996*

	Census Year		
	1976	1986	1996
Urban–Urban	2,577,959 (64.3%)	3,003,054 (72.9%)	2,535,864 (60.4%)
Rural–Urban	984,469 (24.6%)	540,933 (13.1%)	562,471 (13.4%)
Urban–Rural	260,295 (6.5%)	422,955 (10.3%)	949,489 (22.6%)
Rural–Rural	186,724 (4.7%)	152,296 (3.7%)	147,611 (3.5%)
Total	4,009,447 (100%)	4,119,238 (100%)	4,195,435 (100%)

Source: Calculated from the 1976, 1986, and 1996 census data (CAPMAS 1979, 1989 and 1999)

*Place of current residence vs. place of previous residence

Two further background notes must be borne in mind for the following discussion. First, governorates are divided into 'urban' and 'rural' areas. In most governorates, the 'urban' consists of the governorate capital, plus the smaller 'district' capital settlements, whilst the 'rural' consists of villages, scattered rural settlements (satellite villages and hamlets) and Bedouin encampments (in the frontier governorates only). Frontier governorates include New Valley, Matrouh, North and South Sinai, and the Red Sea. They comprise only about one percent of Egypt's total population. Four governorates are entirely urban: Cairo, Alexandria, Port Said, and Suez. The second point to note is the very uneven size and unusual configuration of governorates, dictated by Egypt's unique geography and population distribution (see Figure 1).

Rural to urban migration decreased as a proportion of total migration from 24.6 to 13.1 percent between 1976 and 1986. Between 1986 and 1996, the percentages remained about the same, but the volume of movement increased slightly, in view of the overall Egyptian population growth. In contrast, urban to rural migration increased from 6.5 to 10.3 percent of the total inter-governorate flows between 1976 and 1986, then to 23 percent in 1996. Urban to urban migration (inter-urban) is the largest. It fluctuated from 64.3 (1976) to 72.9 (1986) and to 60.4 percent (1996). Rural to rural migration was the least important type of movement, at around 4 percent at each census.

Other points can be drawn out of the aggregate data in Table 1. The first is the remarkable consistency of the total migration recorded in each of the three censuses – a little over 4 million. Whilst this continuity is indeed remarkable, it is partly explained by the census's method of measuring migration, whereby the same individual migrant continues to be recorded at each census as a 'migrant' no matter how long he or she has been there. On the other hand, the disaggregation of migration types – urban to urban, rural to urban, and so forth – shows that the nature of migration flows is indeed changing. Hence, total migration seems to remain constant, whilst the individual components of that mobility are shifting. Two noteworthy trends can be highlighted: the sharp fall of rural to urban migration between 1976 (984,000, 25 percent) and 1986 (541,000, 13 percent), and the equally sharp rise of urban to rural migration between 1986 (423,000, 10 percent) and 1996 (950,000, 23 percent).

3.3 Inter-Governorate Migration

More details about the four types of rural-urban in- and out-migration are given at the governorate level in Table 2. In this table, 'urban to urban' refers to migrants from urban areas of other governorates to urban areas of the given governorate, or out-migrants from urban areas of the given governorate to urban areas of other governorates. The same is true for 'rural to rural' streams. 'Urban to rural' refers to in-migrants from urban areas of other governorates to rural areas of the given governorate or out-migrants from urban areas of the given governorate to rural areas of other governorates, and 'rural to urban' refers to the reverse streams. The magnitude of the various streams in absolute numbers is given in Table 3. The criterion for recording migration – the simple fact of a cross-boundary change of residence at some unspecified time in the past – remains the same for Tables 2 and 3, as it was in Table 1. The flows recorded in these tables are simple gross migration moves.

From Table 2 it is clear that the 'urban to urban' in-migration stream is the largest. The proportion of 'urban to urban' stream is higher than the national average in Port Said, Cairo, Suez, Alexandria, Luxor, and Giza. The dominant role of inter-urban flows amongst the major metropolitan centers should be remembered here, as was pointed out above. The 'rural to urban' stream's proportion is above the national average in 17 governorates out of 27. The 'urban to rural' flow is the second largest stream, but its size is about one third of the "urban to urban" stream. Its proportion is above the national average in 18 governorates. The highest was found in Damitta governorate while the lowest was found in North and South Sinai. The last and the smallest is the 'rural to rural' in-migration stream which constitutes less than 5 percent of all in-migrants. Behera, New Valley, Kafresheihk, and Matrouh have significantly higher proportions for this type of movement.

The proportion of relative distribution of out-migrants among the four types of rural/urban migration streams indicates that the 'urban to urban' stream is the largest one in all governorates without exception. The second largest stream is 'urban to rural' with the highest percent in Giza and Ismailia. The third largest stream is 'rural to urban'. It represents 22.6 percent of all out-migrants. Its proportion is higher for New Valley, Qena, and Menia; while significantly lower for Luxor, Ismailia, and Red Sea. The last stream, 'rural to rural', constitutes only 3.5 percent of out-migration.

Table 2
Percentage distribution of inter-governorate in and out urban–rural migration streams, place of previous residence data, Egypt 1996

Governorate	In-migration				Out-migration			
	Urban to Urban	Rural to Urban	Urban to Rural	Rural to Rural	Urban to Urban	Urban to Rural	Rural to Urban	Rural to Rural
Cairo	89.0	11.0	NA	NA	69.1	30.9	NA	NA
Giza	64.4	6.1	28.1	1.4	44.8	44.5	8.7	2.0
Qualyoubyya	50.7	10.1	36.1	3.2	51.7	26.4	17.8	4.1
Alexandria	83.7	16.3	NA	NA	76.4	23.6	NA	NA
Damitta	9.8	11.1	68.0	11.1	60.4	30.0	8.1	1.5
Daquhlyya	18.7	27.2	48.8	5.2	56.1	17.4	17.7	8.8
Sharqyya	29.4	28.5	35.5	6.7	56.0	20.6	18.2	5.2
Kafresheihk	16.7	22.9	45.2	15.1	43.5	29.4	21.5	5.7
Gharbia	24.1	32.6	38.8	4.5	54.4	21.3	19.8	4.4
Menoufia	26.5	30.4	38.4	4.7	62.4	10.9	21.5	5.2
Behera	12.6	7.5	62.2	17.8	46.9	31.7	17.0	4.4
Ismailia	52.4	6.8	30.1	10.7	55.2	36.8	6.1	1.9
Port Said	91.1	8.9	NA	NA	84.4	15.6	NA	NA
Suez	87.0	13.0	NA	NA	87.0	13.0	NA	NA
Fayoum	26.0	26.6	42.1	5.3	67.6	15.2	13.9	3.3
Beni-Suif	27.2	22.8	41.0	9.0	67.1	14.9	15.1	2.9
Menia	17.2	30.8	45.7	6.2	56.4	18.5	22.3	2.7
Assiut	30.3	37.7	28.9	3.1	62.9	12.7	19.7	4.7
Souhag	21.9	30.0	44.4	3.6	62.9	12.1	20.2	4.8
Qena	27.5	18.0	49.3	5.2	59.9	11.4	23.6	5.2
Aswan	49.8	20.8	23.0	6.4	71.4	16.8	10.2	1.6
Luxor	74.0	7.6	12.7	5.8	77.3	13.4	6.5	2.8
Red Sea	50.7	31.4	12.2	5.8	66.0	25.1	5.6	3.3
New Valley	34.4	28.7	20.1	16.9	50.1	13.9	34.0	2.0
Matrouh	47.8	8.9	29.0	14.3	60.9	27.7	10.7	0.8
N. Sinai	58.4	24.0	9.6	8.0	43.5	35.4	10.0	11.1
S. Sinai	57.1	29.2	9.9	3.8	57.6	29.3	12.1	1.1
Total Egypt	60.4	13.4	22.6	3.5	60.4	22.6	13.4	3.5

Source: Calculated from the 1996 census data (CAPMAS 1999)

Table 3

Volume of Inter-governorate In and Out Urban–Rural Migration Streams,
Place of Previous Residence Data, Egypt 1996

Governorate	In-migration				Out-migration			
	Urban to Urban	Rural to Urban	Urban to Rural	Rural to Rural	Urban to Urban	Urban to Rural	Rural to Urban	Rural to Rural
Cairo	716,640	88,556	NA	NA	593,648	266,004	NA	NA
Giza	567,778	53,727	247,312	12,719	98,722	98,217	19,166	4,470
Qualyoubyya	243,275	48,407	173,048	15,167	84,833	43,261	29,247	6,722
Alexandria	231,524	44,975	NA	NA	77,167	23,797	NA	NA
Damitta	5,771	6,542	40,058	6,512	65,725	32,606	8,796	1,667
Daquhlyya	17,687	25,722	46,102	4,949	197,213	60,998	62,088	30,979
Sharqyya	40,553	39,259	48,931	9,209	194,184	71,444	63,005	17,917
Kafresheihk	10,835	14,807	29,274	9,789	40,935	27,714	20,215	5,339
Gharbia	28,580	38,722	46,068	5,323	136,387	53,459	49,751	11,080
Menoufia	16,403	18,798	23,740	2,920	177,208	31,052	61,010	14,707
Behera	18,697	11,098	92,621	26,423	85,039	57,500	30,850	7,980
Ismailia	122,662	15,810	70,470	25,065	24,205	16,144	2,668	853
Port Said	190,639	18,603	NA	NA	17,585	3,238	NA	NA
Suez	166,139	24,749	NA	NA	27,494	4,111	NA	NA
Fayoum	6,041	6,172	9,763	1,220	72,114	16,189	14,786	3,559
Beni-Suif	9,143	7,688	13,797	3,018	67,246	14,930	15,106	2,866
Menia	9,617	17,193	25,520	3,453	80,946	26,631	32,059	3,938
Assiut	12,868	15,998	12,276	1,320	138,289	27,857	43,229	10,369
Souhag	10,694	14,641	21,673	1,775	178,304	34,327	57,159	13,504
Qena	6,876	4,505	12,344	1,303	100,566	19,115	39,582	8,731
Aswan	28,944	12,118	13,358	3,749	45,151	10,631	6,429	1,015
Luxor	2,895	297	495	225	16,101	2,784	1,362	575
Red Sea	20,337	12,576	4,881	2,306	3,849	1,461	327	192
New Valley	6,742	5,629	3,942	3,306	6,266	1,736	4,254	245
Matrouh	14,592	2,709	8,835	4,371	2,643	1,201	464	35
N. Sinai	21,370	8,787	3,501	2,918	3,353	2,731	773	855
S. Sinai	8,562	4,383	1,480	571	691	351	145	13
Total Egypt	2,535,864	562,471	949,489	147,611	2,535,864	949,489	562,471	147,611

Source: Calculated from the 1996 census data (CAPMAS 1999)

NA = Not applicable (Cairo, Alexandria, Port Said, and Suez have no rural areas)

Governorate Migration Indices

When the streams are grouped by type of destination for in-migrants and by type of origin for out-migrants, one can throw some light on in- and out-migration for urban and rural areas. It is, however, more informative to compare in-, out- and net-migration for urban and rural areas (Table 4).

The first striking fact revealed by Table 4 is that urban areas are net losers in the majority of non-urban governorates of Lower and Upper Egypt. Thus, the net loss of 387,018 is the net balance of considerable net gains in some of these areas and net losses in others. The major net gains in non-urban governorates are those of urban areas in Giza and Qualyoubyya in the Greater Cairo Region (GCR). The 387,018 net gain to rural areas represents the balance of net gains of 648,956 in these areas in a number of governorates and 261,938 net losses in the remaining areas.

Again, the major net gains in non-urban governorates are those of rural areas in Giza and Qualyoubyya, mainly those within the GCR. Migration from rural Egypt to rural areas in these two governorates comprises 60 percent of the net gain to rural areas (388,641 out of 648,956). I may assume, with a high degree of confidence, that this is an implicit rural to urban migration. This may be attributed, in part, to the housing problem in Cairo. Migrants prefer to live in the peri-urban villages, slum areas, and suburban districts where housing is less expensive than in the older planned areas in Greater Cairo. This trend is confirmed by mappings of Cairo's census districts (*kisms*) in Sutton and Fahmi (2001), which show consistent decline, sometimes over several censuses, in centre-city *kisms*, and rapid growth in outer districts. These peripheral areas are considered in the census as 'rural' areas. The definition of rural areas in Egypt depends mainly on administrative custom, rather than their 'objective' rural or urban character, which of course changes over time. Due to the desire to limit public expenditure and protect agricultural land, the government of Egypt tends not to revise the official rural/urban split.

Table 4: Migration Streams by Governorates and Urban–Rural Categories, Egypt 1996

Governorate	Volume						Indices (per 1000 population)					
	Urban			Rural			Urban			Rural		
	In	Out	Net	In	Out	Net	In	Out	Net	In	Out	Net
Cairo	805,196	859,652	-54,456	NA	NA	NA	119	127	-8	NA	NA	NA
Giza	621,505	196,939	424,566	260,031	23,636	236,395	242	77	165	119	11	108
Qualyoubyya	291,682	128,094	163,588	188,215	35,969	152,246	218	96	122	96	18	78
Alexandria	276,499	100,964	175,535	NA	NA	NA	83	30	53	NA	NA	NA
Damitta	12,313	98,331	-86,018	46,570	10,463	36,107	49	393	-344	70	16	55
Daquhlyya	43,409	258,211	-214,802	51,051	93,067	-42,016	37	220	-183	17	31	-14
Sharqyya	79,812	265,628	-185,816	58,140	80,922	-22,782	83	276	-193	18	24	-7
Kafresheihk	25,642	68,649	-43,007	39,063	25,554	13,509	50	135	-84	23	15	8
Gharbia	67,302	189,846	-122,544	51,391	60,831	-9,440	64	180	-116	22	26	-4
Menoufia	35,201	208,260	-173,059	26,660	75,717	-49,057	64	380	-316	12	34	-22
Behera	29,795	142,539	-112,744	119,044	38,830	80,214	33	157	-124	39	13	26
Ismailia	138,472	40,349	98,123	95,535	3,521	92,014	387	113	274	270	10	260
Port Said	209,242	20,823	188,419	NA	NA	NA	444	44	400	NA	NA	NA
Suez	190,888	31,605	159,283	NA	NA	NA	459	76	383	NA	NA	NA
Fayoum	12,213	88,303	-76,090	10,983	18,345	-7,362	27	198	-171	7	12	-5
Beni-Suif	16,831	82,176	-65,345	16,815	17,972	-1,157	39	188	-150	12	13	-1
Menia	26,810	107,577	-80,767	28,973	35,997	-7,024	42	168	-126	11	14	-3
Assiut	28,866	166,146	-137,280	13,596	53,598	-40,002	38	218	-180	7	26	-20
Souhag	25,335	212,631	-187,296	23,448	70,663	-47,215	37	314	-276	10	29	-19
Qena	11,381	119,681	-108,300	13,647	48,313	-34,666	22	232	-209	7	25	-18
Aswan	41,062	55,782	-14,720	17,107	7,444	9,663	99	135	-36	31	13	17
Luxor	3,192	18,885	-15,693	720	1,937	-1,217	19	115	-95	4	10	-6
Red Sea	32,913	5,310	27,603	7,187	519	6,668	291	47	244	218	16	202
New Valley	12,371	8,002	4,369	7,248	4,499	2,749	181	117	64	99	61	38
Matrouh	17,301	3,844	13,457	13,206	499	12,707	148	33	115	140	5	135
N. Sinai	30,157	6,084	24,073	6,419	1,628	4,791	215	44	172	63	16	47
S. Sinai	12,945	1,042	11,903	2,051	158	1,893	483	39	445	82	6	75
Total Egypt	3,098,33	3,485,353	-387,018	1,097,100	710,082	387,018	123	139	-15	32	21	11

Source: Calculated from the 1996 census data (CAPMAS 1999)

3.4 History of Internally Displaced Persons

In the second half of the twentieth century, Egypt experienced two major forced displacements: after the 1967 Arab-Israeli War and during the construction of the Aswan High Dam.

Forced Migration after the 1967 War

As a consequence of the Arab-Israeli War of 1967 and the Israeli occupation of Egypt's Sinai Peninsula, Egyptian sovereignty temporarily ended at the Suez Canal. The three governorates on the west bank are Port Said in the north, Suez in the south, and Ismailia in the middle.

After the Arab-Israeli War, the three cities of Port Said, Suez, and Ismailia were evacuated. Over 60 percent of their populations became temporary forced migrants in other parts of the country. The total number of forced migrants was nearly three-quarters of a million. Many migrants settled in Sharqyya governorate, the nearest governorate to the Canal Zone. Zagazig – the capital of Sharqyya governorate -- received 56,000 migrants from the Canal area. This would have been about 6-7 percent of all migrants. The vast majority of migrants re-located in Cairo or in their father's homeland governorates in the Nile valley and the Delta. The peak of migration from the Suez Canal area to the rest of Egypt was in 1967-1969. Starting in 1974, after the 1973 Arab–Israeli war, many of them returned home. The return movement continued until about 1976 (Abdel Shakur et al. 2002).

The Aswan High Dam and the Nubian Exodus

The region known as Nubia is the area stretching from the Nile's First Cataract, in the north near Aswan, to the southern end of its great bend, midway between the Third and Fourth Cataracts. Nubians constitute an ethnic group of nearly 120,000 people (0.29 percent of the total population of Egypt at the time of relocation in 1963).

The Aswan High Dam was completed in 1970 and is one of the largest earthen embankment dams in the world. Although the reservoir has benefited Egypt by providing power and controlling floods, it has also had detrimental effects on the Nile system. Before the dam was built, an estimated 110 million tons of silt was deposited by the annual flood of the Nile, enriching agricultural lands.

Cernea (1990) has calculated that 1.2 million to 2.1 million people are internally displaced worldwide every year by the construction of dams. The number of people affected by major dams in the last few decades ranged between 12 thousand (Nangbeto dam, Togo/Benin) and 383 thousand (Danjiangkou, China). The people affected by development-induced migration in general, and the construction of dams, are often the very poorest and the least powerful in society (Cernea, 1990; Scudder and Colson, 1982).

When it was built, the new reservoir required relocation of nearly 100,000 residents and some archaeological sites. The people who were most affected by the dam were the Nubians. All Nubian lands within Egypt and about one-third of the Sudanese Nubian Valley were completely flooded. All Egyptian Nubians and those Sudanese affected by the new lake had no choice but to leave their homeland (Fahim 1981, 1983).

The Nubian resettlement to Kom Ombo (New Nubia) in 1963-64, a district belonging to Aswan governorate 'created a number of stresses associated with the move itself such as shifts in agricultural styles, food and water problems, and the general upheaval of the social structure' (Fahim 1983: 66). The Nubians have always felt that the dam severely disturbed their traditional life and placed them, against their will, in an uncertain situation.

3.5 New Types of Internal Migration

The growing difficulties that the Egyptian population faces in finding productive employment created new types of human movement. Youth in rural areas, where the economic base is largely dependent on agriculture, face a different set of employment problems than do young people in urban areas, where the economic base is more varied. This new type of migration is known as 'survival migration' (Hugo 1998; Zohry 2002). In the Egyptian case, rural youth who represent the surplus of the agricultural sector have no way to survive other than migrating to cities, but their movement to urban areas is somewhat different from classical rural-urban movements due to agrarian systems and agricultural seasonality. Their movement is circular/pendular and independent of agricultural seasons since at any point of time, surplus labor exists.

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

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

Zohry (2002) used a specialized survey to capture the 'labor circulation' phenomenon between Cairo and Upper Egypt. He interviewed 242 migrants, and found that the circular movement is a 'survival strategy' to sustain the basic needs of migrants' families left behind in Upper Egypt. Upper Egyptian laborers live a miserable life in Cairo in order to ensure a decent life for their families. This marginalized group, which is partially absorbed by the capital's large informal economy, has some similarities with refugees in Cairo in terms of living and working conditions. This type of migration is totally male-dominated. It is not socially acceptable for women to undertake such migration.

4. INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

4.1 Phases of International Migration

International migration has always been considered a demographic and socio-economic phenomenon, which is affected by both internal and external factors. The most important among

these factors is the labor market at the international level and the political conditions in both sending and receiving countries (Choucri 1999). Egyptian government policy toward migration has gone through different phases. Phases are defined by changing international conditions and international labor market needs, particularly in the Arab region. These phases overlap and the beginning and end points of each phase are not discrete. There are no standard phases in the Egyptian migration literature that are agreed-upon by all researchers.

Phase 1: The Early Phase of Migration (Before 1974)

Historically, Egypt was a land of immigrants rather than emigrants. Students went abroad in the nineteenth century and some temporary migration for political reasons occurred in association with early Egyptian nationalism. However, systematic migration started only with Egypt's provision of school teachers to Iraq in the 1930s, a programme that spread to additional countries after the 1952 revolution (Sell 1988). Until about 1961 other migration policies mostly concerned immigrant issues, such as the legal status of the non-Egyptian heritage population. Little attention was paid to Egyptians who left or wanted to leave. Political controls on migration were in force, mainly through 'exit visa' requirements (Choucri 1977).

Egyptians' interest in migration began in the mid-1950s. This was due to political, demographic, and economic pressures. The government was motivated to bear the burden by providing job opportunities. However, increasing population growth, along with the lack of growth in the economic and technological sectors, diminished the state's ability to provide jobs. This phase was characterized by virtual full-employment, as unemployment rates were very low.

After 1967, many factors combined to motivate the state to promote migration. The state had previously imposed restrictions on the migration of skilled workers, but in mid-1966 it eased migration procedures and permanent migration commenced. Many graduate students were tempted to stay abroad due to unfavorable economic conditions at home after the 1967 war. This was the start of the Egyptian 'brain drain'.

In 1971, permanent and temporary migration was authorized under Article 52 of the 1971 Constitution, which stated that 'all Egyptians are granted the right to emigrate and to return home'.

Also in 1971, the government issued Law 73, which gave public sector employees the right to return to their jobs within one year of resignation. This was then extended to two years and other legal impediments were removed. Large numbers of temporary migrants began to work in the Arab Gulf countries.

Phase 2: The Expansion Phase (1974-l984)

The expansion phase started directly after the 1973 war. The oil embargo led to a large increase in oil prices, which was followed by ambitious development programs in the Arab oil-producing countries. This situation increased the demand for Egyptian labor. The number of Egyptian emigrants was estimated by the Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS) to be about 70,000 in 1970. By 1976 the figure had increased to about 1.4 million according to that year's census.

During this period, the government further eased migration procedures. Migration became a top priority for the following reasons:

- To solve unemployment problems
- To use remittances to supply payment deficits and finance private projects
- To supply Arab countries with required labor
- To relieve pressure caused by political and economic factors

There was a sense of stability in relation to labor migration, as government agencies took responsibility for organizing labor migration.

Increasing demand for teachers became evident in other Arab countries during this phase. Government supported migration from the health sector, including doctors, veterinarians, pharmacists, and dentists. Iraq became a favored destination for unskilled labor due to its liberal immigration policies towards fellow Arabs, and its need for foreign labor as a result of the war against Iran.

However, the inflow of cheaper Asian and South Asian labor to the labor-importing Arab countries began to threaten Egyptian workers. To counter this, Presidential Decree No. 574 of 1981 established the Ministry of State for Emigration Affairs. This new ministry sponsored Egyptians going abroad and provided them with a number of services. In addition, it drew up an overall migration strategy aimed at national development.

Phase 3: The Contraction Phase (1984-1987)

The contraction phase began around 1983 after the start of the Iran-Iraq war, which depressed oil revenues. From 1983, the number of Egyptian emigrants became smaller. From the second half of the 1980s, Egyptian migrant labor faced a number of new problems:

- End of the Iran-Iraq War in 1988
- Fall of oil prices
- Declining demand for construction workers in Arab countries
- Policy of replacing foreign labor with nationals in the Arab Gulf states

During this period, skilled workers migrated to the labor-importing countries to replace the unskilled workers who had been dispensed with. Some countries implemented schemes to provide training for national workers to reduce the dependence on foreign labor. The promulgation of the Emigration and Sponsoring Egyptians Abroad Law No. 111 of 1983 was one of the most important outcomes of this period. Consisting of five chapters, this law is regarded as the main migration law in Egypt.

Chapter 1 covers the general provisions applicable to all migrants, whether permanent or temporary. The chapter elaborates the responsibilities of the Minister concerned with Emigration Affairs. Chapter 2 covers permanent emigration. According to the provisions stated in this chapter, a permanent migrant is the Egyptian who:

- Stays abroad permanently (by obtaining the nationality of a foreign country and or a permanent residence permit)
- Stays abroad for at least 10 years
- Obtains an immigration permit from one of the countries of destination

The Emigration Law stipulates that permanent potential migrants shall be granted a 'permanent emigration permit' after obtaining the approval of the countries of immigration. The data of potential migrants are to be recorded.

The law grants migrants the right to retain their Egyptian nationality along with the nationality of the country of destination. Permanent migrant status may also be dropped in the following cases:

- If the person does not travel to the country of destination within six months after obtaining the emigration permit.
- If the person returns and stays in Egypt for more than one continuous year, providing that his stay is not due to forced reasons

If a migrant stays in Egypt for more than one year, he must obtain the permission of the Ministry in order to regain migrant status.

Chapter 3 covers temporary emigration. A temporary migrant is someone (not a student or seconded worker) who works abroad for one continuous year. Migrant status is dropped if the citizen returns home for more than six months; or if the citizen returns to work in Egypt. Chapter 4 covers migrants' rights to sponsorship and to exemption from taxes and fees on the returns of their deposits invested in Egyptian banks. Moreover, migrants' capital invested in projects in Egypt is granted the same advantages as foreign capital. Chapter 5 enumerates various rules and transitional provisions.

Phase 4: The Deterioration Phase (1988-1992)

This stage was characterized by a significant flow of return migrants from the Gulf area to Egypt and a continuous decline in the number of contracts granted to new emigrants from Egypt. With 1988 as the base year, the number of contracts halved in 1989. This big decline was due to the decrease in the number of contracts with Jordan, Iraq, Yemen, Saudi Arabia, and other Arab Gulf countries. In 1990, the number of contracts further decreased to 43 percent (of the base year 1988). In 1990, however, contracts with Saudi Arabia and Libya increased. The 1990 Gulf War

forced almost all Egyptian immigrants in Iraq and Kuwait to return to Egypt.

Phase 5: The Recent Phase (1992-2004)

After the Gulf War, migration rates returned almost to *status quo ante* the beginning of the war. Receiving countries wanted to minimize the number of immigrants. Moreover, many returned migrants settled down in Egypt. According to the findings of the latest census of 1996, the number of migrants abroad was almost 2.8 million.

The responsibility for migration and for Egyptians abroad was added to the Ministry of Manpower and Emigration by Presidential Decree No. 31 of 1996. A Higher Committee for Migration (HCM) was formed in accordance with Resolution No. 2000 of 1997. It incorporates all the government entities concerned with migration. The membership of the HCM includes representatives of the ministries and entities concerned with migration, and is headed by the Minister of Manpower and Emigration. The competencies of the HCM had already been enumerated in Article 5 of the Emigration Law No. 111 of 1983:

- The establishment of professional training centers for potential migrants.
- The organization of specialized courses for the purpose of qualifying potential migrants.
- Providing Egyptians abroad with media and cultural materials to maintain ties with their homeland; providing the means of teaching the Arabic language to migrants' children; and supporting the efforts by Egyptian religious entities to deepen the spiritual heritage among Egyptians abroad.
- Suggesting the facilities to be granted to migrants, whether before their departure, or during their stay abroad, or after temporary or permanently returning back to their homeland.

The HCM convenes at least once every three months, by request of its chairman. The committee may set up other secondary committees to study specific issues.

The HCM was formed fourteen years after Emigration Law No. 111 of 1983, which stated explicitly that a Higher Committee for Migration was to be formed. Most of the tasks of the HCM were not implemented, particularly the establishment of professional training centers for potential migrants.

The main feature of this phase is that it witnessed massive migration flows to Egypt from neighboring African countries due to conflict and political instability in the Sudan and Sub-Saharan Africa. In addition, this phase witnessed an increasing involvement of Egyptian youth in illegal migration to Europe through the Mediterranean Sea.

4.2 Temporary versus Permanent Migration

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

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

The majority of Egyptian labor migrants are expected to return home eventually, but thousands left their country each year with the intention of permanently resettling in various Arab countries, Europe, or North America. These emigrants tended to be highly educated professionals, mostly doctors, engineers, and teachers. Iraq was the Arab country most likely to accept skilled Egyptians as permanent residents. Iraq, which sought agricultural professionals trained in irrigation techniques, encouraged Egyptian farmers to move to the sparsely populated but fertile lands in the south. Outside of the Arab countries, the United States was the preferred destination.

Temporary Migration

'Egypt is now experiencing what is called *the permanence of temporary migration*' (Farrag 1999: 55). In the last three decades, flows of temporary migrants to neighboring Arab countries exceeded permanent migration to Europe and North America. Official secondment through government authorities on the basis of bilateral contracts is one of the main forms of temporary migration, with work largely in branches of Egyptian companies, particularly the construction sector.

According to CAPMAS estimates, the total number of Egyptian temporary migrant laborers is about 1.9 million. Most of the demand for Egyptian labor comes from Saudi Arabia, Libya, Jordan, and Kuwait. Migrants to these countries comprise 87.6 percent of the total number of Egyptian migrant laborers. In recent years, and after the end of its civil war, Lebanon became a new destination for unskilled Egyptian migrants working in construction (See Table 5 and Figure 2).

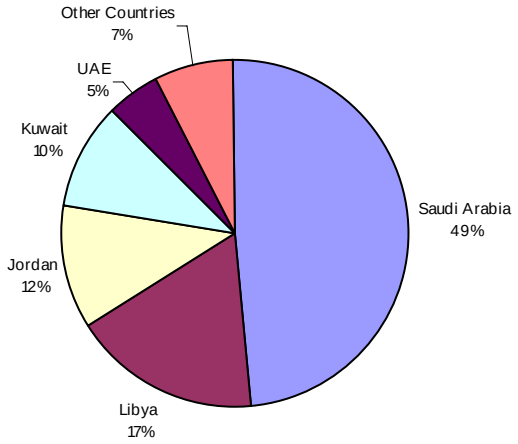
Towards the end of the 1980s, Egyptians in Saudi Arabia and other Gulf countries comprised a much smaller proportion of the foreign workforce than in the late 1970s before major construction projects were completed. In the 1980s, Egyptian workers represented 40 percent of the total foreign labor in Saudi Arabia. A smaller workforce was in Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, and the UAE. The fluctuation of the number of migrant laborers to Iraq and Libya in the last three decades was affected by political tensions including the Iran-Iraq War, the Gulf War, and the political and economic sanctions on Libya.

Table 5
Temporary Egyptian Migration by Receiving Country, Egypt 2000

Receiving Country	Number of migrants	Percentage
Saudi Arabia	923,600	48.3
Libya	332,600	17.4
Jordan	226,850	11.9
Kuwait	190,550	10.0
UAE	95,000	5.0
Iraq	65,629	3.4
Qatar	25,000	1.3
Yemen	22,000	1.2
Oman	15,000	0.8
Lebanon	12,500	0.7
Bahrain	4,000	0.2
Total	1,912,729	100

Source: CAPMAS (2001)

Figure 2
Percentage Distribution of Temporary Egyptian Migrants by Receiving Country, 2000



Contracts for Egyptians to Work in Arab Countries: The total number of contracts by year represents the flow of migration and its dynamics. When the total number of contracts for Egyptians to work in Arab countries is tracked from 1991 until the most recent available data for 2001, we notice that the data series fluctuates. This may be related to the close relation between migration and politics.

The total number of contracts increased from a very low level of 589 in 1991, after the Gulf War, to 39,812 in 1992. Contracts reached their peak in 1993/94, and then decreased sharply to reach the lowest level in the 1990s in 1999. However, the number has started to recover in the last few years. The total number of contracts presented in Table 6 represents contracts through the Ministry of Manpower and Emigration; they do not represent the overall flows of migration from Egypt.

Table 6
Number of Contracts for Egyptians to Work in Arab Countries (1991-2001)

Year	Number of Contracts
1991	589
1992	39,812
1993	83,464
1994	83,458
1995	49,372
1996	9,601
1997	4,643
1998	7,201
1999	6,586
2000	17,652
2001	14,722
Total	317,100

Source: General Directorate for External Employment, Ministry of Manpower and Emigration.

Characteristics of Current Temporary Migration: Egyptian temporary migration involves both skilled and unskilled people. All professions migrate temporarily, ranging from scientists and technicians to laborers. At least 90 percent of temporary labor migration to the oil-rich Arab countries since 1970 has consisted of men.

During the earlier phases of massive labor movement in the mid 1970s, most workers were employed in construction. Since then, the proportion of scientists and technicians has increased and the share of laborers has declined (though it still made up one-third of emigrants in 2002). Unskilled laborers face competition from new streams of cheap labor from Southeast Asia. The percentage of scientists and technicians increased from 20.4 percent of the total professions in 1985 to 40.2 percent in 1990. The rate for 2002 is almost the same as that for 1990. Egyptians generally fill jobs that citizens of receiving countries are either untrained or unwilling to do. Duration of stay abroad varies according to skill level (see Table 7 for more details).

Table 7
Percentage Distribution of Contracts for Egyptians by Occupation Between 1985 and 2002

	Occupation	1985	1990	2002
1	Scientific and technicians	20.4	40.2	41.0
2	Managers	0.3	0.3	2.4
3	Clerical workers	8.8	8.0	1.5
4	Sales and services	18.5	17.3	12.7
5	Agriculture, animal husbandry and fishing	8.9	5.3	8.6
6	Production workers	43.0	28.9	33.8
	Total	100	100	100

Source: Ministry of Manpower and Emigration

Saudi Arabia, Libya, Kuwait, UAE, Qatar, Yemen, and Oman absorb most highly skilled Egyptian workers. The percent of technical and scientific migrants to these countries ranges between 69.1 in Yemen to 40.5 in Saudi Arabia. The highest proportion of unskilled migrants is found in Lebanon, where they comprise about 75 percent of the total number of Egyptian migrants. Iraq and Jordan rank second, where 69.2 percent of migrants are unskilled laborers. Some 50 percent of the

Egyptian migrants to UAE are unskilled laborers. The percent of unskilled Egyptian laborers in other Arab countries ranges between 37.4 percent in Qatar and 7.7 percent in Yemen. The Gulf Cooperating Council (GCC) countries plus Libya absorb most of the skilled Egyptian laborers; while Iraq and Jordan and the GCC countries absorb most of the unskilled Egyptian migrants (see Table 8 for more details).

Table 8
Percentage Distribution of Egyptian Migrants by Occupation in Arab countries, Egypt 2002

	Country	Occupation						Total
		Scientific and technicians	Managers	Clerical workers	Sales and services	Agriculture, animal husbandry and fishing	Production workers	
1	Saudi Arabia	40.5	0.4	0.3	20.6	7.1	31.1	100
2	Libya	57.0	9.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	34.0	100
3	Jordan	1.4	0.0	2.1	1.7	31.9	62.9	100
4	Kuwait	53.5	1.1	9.6	21.5	0.2	14.1	100
5	UAE	41.1	4.0	1.0	2.9	0.9	50.1	100
6	Iraq	2.6	0.0	0.0	1.5	33.0	62.9	100
7	Qatar	51.5	1.9	2.1	6.1	1.0	37.4	100
8	Yemen	69.1	18.1	4.0	1.1	0.0	7.7	100
9	Oman	52.9	8.1	2.0	4.1	1.4	31.5	100
10	Lebanon	0.0	0.0	2.0	2.3	21.1	74.6	100
11	Bahrain	27.2	5.5	9.3	24.3	0.0	33.7	100
	Total	39.0	2.4	1.5	12.7	8.6	35.8	100

Source: Ministry of Manpower and Emigration

Permanent Migration

From the beginning of the 1960s, political, economic, and social developments led some Egyptians to migrate permanently to North America and European countries. According to CAPMAS estimates, the total number of permanent Egyptian migrants in non-Arab countries is slightly more than 0.8 million (824,000). About 80 percent of them are concentrated in five countries: USA

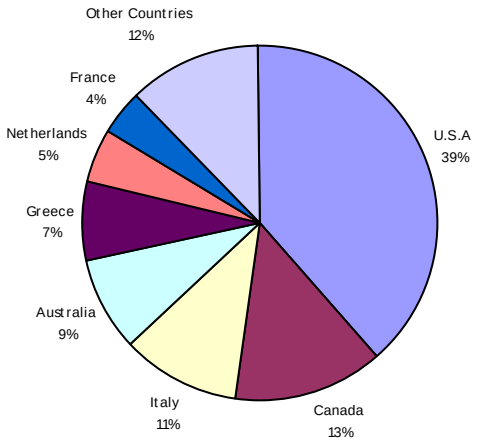
(318,000 or 38.6 percent), Canada (110,000 or 13.3 percent), Italy (90,000), Australia (70,000), and Greece (60,000). The other 20 percent are mainly in Western European countries, such as Netherlands, France, England, Germany, Switzerland, Austria, and Spain (See Figure 3 and Table 9 for more details).

Table 9
Estimated Number of Permanent Egyptian Migrants by Country of Destination, Egypt 2000

Country of Destination	Number in Thousands	Percent
U.S.A	318	38.6
Canada	110	13.3
Italy	90	10.9
Australia	70	8.5
Greece	60	7.3
Netherlands	40	4.9
France	36	4.4
England	35	4.2
Germany	25	3.0
Switzerland	14	1.7
Austria	14	1.7
Spain	12	1.5
Total	824	100

Source: CAPMAS 2000- 'The United Evaluation 2000'

Figure 3
Percentage Distribution of Permanent Egyptian Migrants by Country of Destination, 2000



The statistics given by CAPMAS are just estimates which are drawn from the reports of Egyptian embassies abroad, records of cross-border flows from the Ministry of Interior, emigration permits from the Ministry of Manpower, and some other sources. Receiving countries' estimates differ from those of CAPMAS. For example, the Italian government estimates there are around 35,000 Egyptians in Italy whereas CAPMAS gives a figure of 90,000. Estimates by CAPMAS may need to be revised whenever reliable data are available.

Migration Flows: The Travel, Migration and Naturalization Department (TMND) of the Ministry of Interior collects data on Egyptian emigration through forms submitted by Egyptian citizens in Egypt (Form No. 348) or by Egyptians abroad who are naturalized (Form No. 349). These data, which were compiled by CAPMAS (CAPMAS 2001), do not, however, include all Egyptians who were naturalized abroad.

The total number of permanent migrants amounted to 590 in 2000, of whom 221 travelled in their capacity as permanent migrants and 369 were naturalized. It is clear that these figures seem unreasonably low. The number of male migrants amounted to 441, which is about 75 percent of the total number. The greatest number of migrants is in the USA (158 migrants, comprising 70 percent of those who initiated their migration from Egypt). Those who were naturalized are mostly in Italy (113 migrants, which is 30 percent of those who were naturalized).

Most permanent migrants were in the age groups of 30-39 and 40-49 years. The number of migrants in these two categories is 185, which is almost one-third of the total number of recorded permanent migrants. Migrants who initiated their permanent migration from Egypt are younger and concentrated in the first age group, while those who were naturalized abroad are older and concentrated in the second age group (40-40).

Migrants working at foreign entities and those who have never worked constitute 388 migrants, which is about two-thirds of the total number of migrants. The total number of migrants with university degrees and postgraduate degrees is 271, which is 46 percent of the total number for the year 2000 (See Table 10 for more details).

Table 10
Number of Emigrants and Who Acquired the Nationality of Another Country While Being Abroad, Egypt 1991-2000

Year	Emigrants from Egypt	Acquired another nationality while being abroad	Total
1991	797	360	1156
1992	765	444	1209
1993	494	337	831
1994	701	371	1072
1995	1395	453	1848
1996	769	484	1253
1997	451	549	1000
1998	381	501	882
1999	258	475	733
2000	221	369	590

Source: CAPMAS (2001): 'The Permanent Migration of Egyptians 2000'

3.3 Illegal Migration

Illegal migration is motivated by the will of the individuals in less developed countries to move to a new land, settle down and work in the host country in order to improve their living standards and socio-economic conditions and escape poverty in their origin. 'Illegal migration is badly viewed by people and officials alike. It is considered a negative move that should be combated' (Ennaji, no date: 1).

In the face of the tightened policy adopted by the European community, especially after the Schengen agreement in 1990 and the Maastricht Treaty (requiring a visa, strict border surveillance, and imposing a selective ceiling for work permits), illegal migration increased and illegal migration networks grew, especially from Morocco to Spain across the Straits of Gibraltar and from Tunisia and Libya to the nearby Italian coasts and islands across the Mediterranean. Statistically speaking and due to the clandestine nature of this movement of people, accurate figures of the numbers involved are difficult to estimate. Although the governments of sending countries set measures to stop illegal migration, they can not eradicate it completely. Similarly, the governments of host countries in Europe can not stop the movements of illegal migration with high rates of success.

5. FINDINGS FROM THE FIELD

Here I present 34 case studies and interviews that took place in both Upper Egypt and Cairo to explore families' and migrants' diverse experiences.

5.1 Fieldwork in Upper Egypt

Case 1: Ahmed, the football lover

Ahmed (26 years old) warmly welcomed us at the door of his house. He was wearing the T-shirt of British Football National Team. Ahmed was ten when his father died and left him with his seven brothers and sisters without any regular income. His mother had to work buying fruits and vegetable from farmers in the village where they lived and selling them in the city market in Beni-Sueif. They also had a small piece of farmland, six carats (a feddan is 24 carats), which Ahmed's elder brother, Ezz, used to cultivate, besides working in other peoples' land.

In 1996, Ahmed finished his education having a secondary school diploma in agronomy and immediately moved to Cairo to work there upon the advice of some village friends who asked him to company them to Cairo. He worked as a plumber in new cities around Cairo, especially 6th of October city (in the west) and Salam city (in the east). He also worked in Mokattam suburb. Because of hard work conditions he could not advance in this profession and moved to work in a downtown Cairo restaurant and then to a smith workshop with the help of some village friends.

In 1999 Ahmed's older brother Ezz paid LE 500 to a labor migration broker in Fayoum (a neighboring governorate) to get a contract to work abroad as a farmer in an agricultural project in Jordan. After he got to Jordan, Ezz managed to send a contract to his brother Ahmed to work with him at the same farm. In the year 2000, Ahmed arrived in Jordan to work with his brother. Five months after Ahmed's arrival, Ezz returned to Egypt and got married, but did not go back to Jordan to take care of the family and the little farmland they own.

Ahmed continued to work in Jordan for a year and then moved to Mafrak area (also in Jordan), where he learned to paint walls from Egyptian friends who hired him as an assistant. After 30 months of work in Jordan, Ahmed returned to Egypt for a visit, and to prepare for marriage. He built two rooms in the family house for this purpose.

After a while, Ahmed went back to Jordan again, but this time did not stay for long. He quickly returned to Egypt (two months ago) and got married, planning to go back to Jordan after a long holiday (about 4 months) spent with his wife and extended family. 'The only loss I suffer when staying abroad is getting home-sick for being away from my people. I seriously think of bringing my wife to stay with me in Jordan in my next visit to Egypt,' Ahmed said. Ahmed believes that working abroad is financially much better than working in Cairo. 'You get a small income working in Cairo and you can't save much money, but the most important thing I learned from traveling to Jordan was that I learned a new profession,' Ahmed said.

I asked Ahmed a question about the effect of traveling to work abroad on there life style. 'The important thing about working abroad is that we could lift the financial burden of my mother and help my brothers and sisters, but my mother is still the controller of the house, I even sent her all

the money I could save (from 100$ to 200$ a month) and she could do whatever she wishes with that money. Working abroad totally changed our life style. Without traveling I would not have been able to refurbish the house or even get married or help my brother get married. Besides, we now live in a better house,' Ahmed concluded.

Case 2: Sameh, the master

Sameh (23 years old) is the fourth in rank amongst six sisters and brothers (3 males and 3 females). In 1998 Sameh finished his education by getting a diploma from a secondary technical school. He did not find a job in his village, so he traveled to work in Cairo. After he arrived in Cairo, old friends helped him get a job with them in a marketing company as a salesman in Giza area. His work needed him to travel to deliver commodities ordered by phone (phone sales). During his work in Cairo, he stayed with colleagues in a flat owned by the company he worked for. Most employees were from Beni-Sueif and Fayoum governorates. After six months of continuous work in this company, Sameh found out that the effort did not match the income he got. After all, he was paid a monthly salary of LE 180 plus a very small percent of sales if he exceeded his quota. Work was very hard and he could not save any money during his six-month work in the company. 'It was my first real work experience other than farming the land we own. Despite the fact that my brother works in the Ministry of Justice in Cairo, I didn't ask him to help me during my stay in Cairo. It was a good opportunity to live in Cairo and discover a new world,' Sameh said.

'Afterwards, I returned to the village and got married. My father undertook all my marriage expenses since I didn't save any money. I stayed in a house owned by my father, next to the family house,' Sameh said. After returning to the village and getting married, Sameh found out that he did not have any work to do but to cultivate the farmland the family owned, which was relatively sizable compared to farmland owned by other village families. His father owns five feddans. Sameh started to think of working abroad. He was sent to his uncle who was working in Kuwait to help him find a job there. Because Sameh's uncle has been living in Kuwait for a long time (more than ten years), and since he had good connections in the contractors company he worked for, he managed to get Sameh a contract to work in the same company as a woodworker. They put him under the supervision of a master Egyptian woodworker because he did not have enough experience in that domain.

After 15 months of work, Sameh managed to master the profession and was treated as a master. Sameh is now spending his first holiday in Egypt after two years of continuous work in Kuwait. He will go back after one month to continue his work. 'I can't take my wife to live with me in Kuwait. Living conditions there are difficult. If my wife accompanies me to Kuwait, expenses will be more and I would not be able to save good money that compensates my alienation and being away from my home country,' Sameh said.

'I think of starting a business of my own in the future, because I know that working abroad will not last forever. Now, I am strong enough to do this hard work, but I can't do it forever. Someday, I must return to Egypt. If conditions remained as it is now, I expect a final return to Egypt after ten years to start a private business,' Sameh said.

As for his Cairo work experience and its effect on his work in the Gulf, Sameh says: 'I benefited much from my Cairo work experience after my graduation. I learned how to deal with people in a work environment, how to supervise work and how to deal with my bosses. That was of much importance in coping with the new work environment in Kuwait.'

It should be noticed that Sameh's family is relatively rich compared to many other families in the village, but working abroad was important to Sameh because it gave him the opportunity of a profitable work, besides learning a new profession.

Case 3: Taha Ramadan, Jordan in mind

After getting a diploma from a technical school in 2001, Taha moved to Cairo to work in Dar el-Salam area. He worked in a confectionary shop owned and run by a man from his village. All workers in the place were from the same village. They all (five persons) were living in one room in the ground floor behind the shop. This residence was prepared for them by the owner of the confectionary shop. Taha was paid LE 7 a day which was not enough for him, so he left the job after a short time. While visiting his village after leaving the job, he met a person who told him that he inaugurated a small factory for light bulbs and he needed workers from the village. Taha went back to Cairo to work in that factory which lies in the industrial zone in 6th of October City.

‘When I first arrived to the factory and got acquainted with work there, I found out that work was very simple. All we did was to assemble the bulb parts imported from China. As for residence, there was a place in the factory for workers to sleep. They also offered lunch every day. The problem was that the factory was far from populated areas. Sometimes I felt imprisoned, especially with the factory operating for only one shift,’ Taha said. In most occasions, Taha spent his weekends in his village. He was paid LE 180 a month. Taha continued working in the factory for seven months and left it for its little income, besides being bored. He returned to his village and stayed there for a little time, then went back again to work with some friends in a restaurant in Faisal area in Giza for LE 11 a day. He stayed with a group of workers from the same village in a room nearby his workplace. They were 13 persons, all in one room, but due to different work hours for each one of them, they were always less than this number in the room.

‘I am bored of moving from job to job while I couldn't save any money. I asked my brother-in-law who works in Jordan to help me find a job there or send me a work contract. I sent him all necessary documents and I’m waiting to hear from him. If his reply doesn't come soon, I have to go back to Cairo for work. It's better than staying here jobless, since we don’t own any farmland, and my mother works hard and she should take a break,’ Taha said.

Did Taha benefit from working in Cairo? ‘Financially, I couldn't save a piaster. It's true I helped my brothers and sisters and bought them some clothes, but this is not enough. I want a permanent job, get married and live a steady life. Working in Cairo for sure will not grant me any of these wishes. It can temporarily solve the problem but is absolutely not valid to start a stable life and it can't be dependable in the long run,’ Taha said. Taha was not the only one in this family who moved to work in Cairo. His brother Mohammed also works there in a department store. It seemed that work of Mohammed and Taha, in Cairo, didn’t bear fruit. The whole family, financially, depended on the mother who sells fruits and vegetables in the village market. It seems that selling fruits and vegetables is a prevailing activity among women in this village.

Case 4: Mahmoud, the seconded teacher

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

'I benefited a lot from work in Saudi Arabia. Moneywise, working for one year there equals to working for ten years in Egypt. I also, while being there, went four times to the holly land in Mekka for *hajj* (pilgrimage) and 15 times for *omra* (mini pilgrimage),' he said. After he returned, Mahmoud bought a piece of land where he built a house, preparing for marriage. He also renewed the family house and built an extra flat for his brother. Besides, he gave a hand in the family expenses and invited his father for *hajj* when he was in Saudi Arabia. No doubt that Mahmoud's work experience in Saudi Arabia has influenced his ideas about working abroad. Now, he is ready to pay any amount of money to buy a work contract in any Arab Gulf country. Working in Saudi Arabia anyway was not Mahmoud's first trip abroad. He went to Jordan when he was a college student in 1993, and worked there for six months in construction. Mahmoud has an opinion about internal immigration and the increasing demand on private tutoring teachers in Cairo. 'I absolutely don't think of migration to Cairo even under the temptation of the good revenues of private tutoring. Life in Cairo is strenuous, my colleague teachers work from 7 a.m. until 1 a.m. the day after, it is exhaustive. It also causes a lot of social problems because you will be always far from your family and your home will be a bedroom,' he said.

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

Case 5: Abdelhadi, early to Jordan

Abdelhadi is an agricultural worker who didn't finish his primary education. He is married, has five kids (3 males and 2 females). His eldest son has had a secondary school diploma in agronomy last year, while his youngest is five years old, and the rest are still studying in different stages of education. Abdelhadi was among the vanguard that first traveled to Jordan from his village in 1984. He continued working there for two years and returned to his village to get married and lead a stable life, but marriage expenses exhausted all the money he brought from Jordan. Because he has only six carats of farmland, he had to go to Cairo to look for a job. He was not lucky enough to find a suitable work there. He traveled to Libya and stayed there for a year but there were too many Egyptians working there at that time and he couldn't survive competition and, thus, returned to his village.

Abdelhadi tried to get a contract to work in any Arab Gulf country but couldn't afford enough money. Employment offices asked for big amounts of money to secure a contract, especially to Saudi Arabia or Kuwait. A relative of him in Saudi Arabia finally sent him a contract to work there in a farm. He worked in the farm for two years and returned to Egypt for a visit when a relative of him offered to help him get a permanent government job in the village's health unit as a janitor. He accepted the offer, preferring to stay in Egypt, and have a regular income and social security for him and his family. He gave up searching for work abroad.

Abdelhadi's humble home doesn't differ than other houses in the village. The reason may be attributed to the fact that Abdelhadi spent short periods abroad from a country to another. Besides, he preferred to return to his village and accept a government job offer in an early stage of his life. High fertility (number of children) is also noticed among families in this village. This negatively

affects their economic and social situation and worsens their living standards. Abdelhadi thinks that his work experience in Jordan was the most important experience because through which he managed to secure marriage expenses.

It is worth mentioning that Abdelhahdi's eldest son (Hamada) is getting himself ready to work in Cairo with his relatives in Imbaba, since he finished high school a few months ago. In the mean time, Hamada asked his uncle who works in Jordan to help him find a job there.

Case 6: Ahmed Galal, working in Cairo is not bad

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

Ahmed sees the new job offers a good income despite hard work (he works 10 a.m. to 10 p.m.). He resides with a group of friends and workmates in a place nearby the store. "Although my father fulfilled all my brothers' needs, I sometimes help them in education expenses, bring them presents and clothes and give them money too. I also help my father. He has no income but his salary, which is reasonably good but can't fulfill all family needs. We have to buy all our needs from the village market since we don't own farmland or raise cattle," Ahmed said.

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

Case 7: Mamdouh Mahdi, working between the village and Cairo

Mamdouh left school in primary stage to work after his father's death. He moved with his mother, brothers and sisters to stay with his uncle in the same village. His uncle taught him wall painting in

an early stage followed by his brother Ali. 'First time I leave the village was when I went to Cairo with my uncle. We tackled the finishing of a whole building. It took us two months to do the job,' Mamdouh said.

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

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

Case 8: Yousef Awad, working in the field of petroleum

His brother had been working in an oil company in Matrouh area when Yousef finished his technical school diploma in 2001. He asked his brother to take him to work with him in the company. The company's manager was from Beni-Sueif and it is well known that he welcomes all workers coming from his governorate. Most unskilled employees and laborers in this company are from Beni-Sueif. Yousef got a job in this company washing dishes in the company's restaurant and cleaning skilled workers' and engineers' hostel attached to the company.

He continued doing this work until he was promoted to assistant chef. Now he spends a short vacation in the village before returning to his work. He works continuously for 20 days and then takes a ten-day vacation, etc. Yousef's youngest brother Mohammed went to work in construction in Libya two months ago. His brother Samir who was working in the company with him had had worked in Jordan for nine years before working in this company. He saved enough money to buy farmland, renew the family house and get married. He also contributed to his brother Radwan's marriage expenses. After Jordan, Samir went to work in Saudi Arabia but returned after one year because his sponsor (*kafeel*) used to pay him only 400 Saudi Rials a month, while his salary in the work contract was 800 Rials.

Yousef says that he helped his brother Mohammed travel to Libya after he worked for two years in Cairo. 'We don't like to remain in the village. We are too many and work opportunities in the village are rare. Working abroad or in Cairo is the only way for us to survive. Everyone must give a hand, help himself and help his brothers,' Yousef said.

Yousef's family represents a pattern of large-sized families who grew in a poor environment as a result of their large number and lack of resources. Their father was a landless poor farmer. But when the sons entered job market, they could turn their large number into an asset instead of being an intervening factor. They orchestrated work between themselves, one works abroad, another works in Cairo, a third in Matrouh, and a fourth stays home to take care of the family and parents and so on.

Case 9: Refaat Shafeek, working abroad is good

Refaat got his secondary school diploma in agronomy in 1993. Like a large proportion of youth in his village, he moved to Cairo. Supported by some friends from the village, he worked there in a coffee shop in Pyramids area. He continued working there for two years. His mother and young brothers took care of farming the land the family owns (12 carats). He asked his brothers Mohammed and Salama who both work in Jordan to help him travel to Jordan and get a job there. He considered it the easiest way to work abroad because at that time (1996) traveling to Jordan didn't need any permission, work permit, or a contract. His brothers helped him stay and introduced him to the labor market. Refaat stayed in Jordan for five years and returned to Egypt to build, with

the help of his brothers, a modern house for the family. Refaat went back to Jordan after a long vacation in which he got married. He worked for two years and returned to Egypt again for a visit to see his wife and his two years old kid for the first time.

This time he returned after securing a work contract for him. He said that starting from 1998; any foreigner who wants to work in Jordan must have a work contract. Work contract costs 210 Jordanian Dinars (about LE 2,000) and must be renewed annually. 'Sometimes the worker has to pay the whole amount of money and other times the employer pays part of the money,' Refaat said.

'Working abroad is a very useful experience. I advise young people to pursue it. If they stay in Egypt they wouldn't be able to fulfill their ambitions,' Refaat said about his experience of traveling to Jordan or traveling abroad generally. Refaat's family owns 12 carats of farmland cultivated by his father while all three brothers work abroad. Only their married sister remained with the parents. The eldest brother works in Jordan, while the youngest brother paid LE 11,000 to get a contract to work in Kuwait three years ago. He built a house of his own on a piece of land owned by the family. Refaat and his older brother stayed with their parents after renewing the family house. Refaat doesn't think of taking his wife to Jordan and advices men going to work in Jordan not to take their wives because living conditions there are difficult and not suitable. 'Working abroad is a must. If I had an alternative, I wouldn't have traveled and left my wife and family. Sometimes I ask myself "How long will I be alienated?" and I don't know the answer. It depends on good health, work circumstances and God's will,' Refaat said.

Case 10: Taha Hassan Ali, 20 years in Jordan

Taha (43 years old) received a secondary school diploma in agronomy in 1979. One year later, he traveled to work in Jordan, where he stayed there for about 20 years and permanently returned to his village in 1999. In the beginning, he stayed for three continuous years away from his family. 'I lived in Jordan as if I was in Egypt. Many friends from the village and relatives of mine had visited me in Jordan, and I helped a lot of them get jobs there. Among those was my brother Mahmoud who kept working there for 14 years,' Taha said. Taha worked for a long period in a company that

imports fruits and vegetable. He financially benefited a lot from working abroad. His paycheck sometimes reached 700 Jordanian Dinars a month (about LE 7,000).

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

After all these years Taha spent in Jordan leaving his wife and children for long periods (he didn't witness any of his children's birth), he decided to permanently return and settle in his village. Taha got a job in the village's Agricultural Unit and had a spare time to manage his private business in the village. Taha says he returned because he realized that his children have grown up and needed his care. He has four children; an older daughter in secondary school and his youngest son still in primary school.

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

Case 11: Hajj Amer's family, the immigrants' factory

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

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

Although their father has become old, he is the maestro of the house. Hajj Amer's sons send to him their savings, and he is the one who decide on allocating their resources. Hajj Amer built a luxurious house compared to other houses in the village. The house is equipped by all modern life requirements; electrical appliances, TVs, and even a satellite dish and a receiver.

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

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

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

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

Case 12: Abu Zeid El-Saaidi, back to village

Abu Zeid earned a secondary school diploma in commerce in 1987, and traveled to Jordan to join his brother who was there five years earlier. He managed to get a construction job with the support of his brother. Although construction work was difficult, Abu Zaid could endure, and stayed in Jordan for five continuous years before returning to Egypt for a visit in 1992. After his return to his village, Beni-Madi, Abu Zaid invested what he saved while in Jordan. He bought a piece of land and built a new house far from the big family house. His big family consisted of his parents, six brothers and two sisters. Abu Zaid got married and stayed in the village for about one year before he went back to work in Jordan. He went back and forth for three times after marriage until he permanently returned to Egypt in 2001. 'I got bored from work in Jordan and staying alone there. Conditions there wouldn't allow me to bring my wife to live with me, and my kids have grown up (two kids, five and six years old) and they need more care. I decided to permanently return to my country,' Abu Zaid said.

'After returning to the village, I was getting bored to stay without work. We have little farmland and my brothers and sisters are many. I decided to move to Cairo for work. I worked in a restaurant in Imbaba for LE 8 a day, but the most important thing was that I could visit the village every two weeks,' he said. Working in Cairo for a short time, Abu Zaid managed to get a job in an oil company in Sinai. His contract is renewed annually, and he is paid good money. He spends 20 days at work and ten on vacation at the village.

'My work in Jordan for a long time has stolen my life. I was 19 when I first went there and permanently returned when I was 33 years old. Anyway, working abroad has its own benefits. When I first went to Jordan, we didn't have any possessions. Now, I have a house and a wife, and I managed to help my family. My recent work is profitable but I prefer to have a government job and to live in my village,' Abu Zaid said.

Case 13: Adly Mansour, from Libya to Iraq

Adly (49 years old) was among the pioneers who traveled to Libya from Beni-Madi village. He went there illegally through border crossing with the assistance of Bedouins who reside in the Western Dessert in 1974. 'A group of Egyptian Bedouins helped me sneak to Libya, after paying a sum of money to a mediator in Cairo called 'Albatal'. It was a common way to travel to Libya at that time and this "Albatal" was very famous at that time. After crossing boarders to Libya, we didn't encounter any difficulties because the Libyan revolution was in its beginnings and they welcomed 'Nasser's people', as they used to call us even after Nasser,' Adly said.

In Libya, Adly was offered a job in an agricultural project. He worked for four years before returning with savings that covered his marriage expenses. He stayed with his wife in the family house. Anyway, he didn't have a permanent job or income, and his family's farmland was small while brothers and sisters were many. Because there were many people from his village in Jordan, plus the above mentioned reasons, he traveled to Jordan in 1979. 'I stayed in Jordan for one month to find too many Egyptians working there. I moved to Syria then to Iraq, where I worked with an Egyptian master in the field of constructions for six months. I heard that my father's health was deteriorating, so I returned to Egypt. My father died a short time after I arrived to the village. I stayed in the village for four years,' Adly said.

After he returned to the village, Adly realized that for him to go back abroad again, he needed to master a profession. He went to a mason and worked as an assistant for four years until he believed he mastered the profession. Adly traveled back to Jordan in 1985 and worked there applying his new skills. Although Jordan's economic situation had become worse than it was when he was there before (his opinion), his work experience this time was better than the previous one. He managed to work for a big contractors' company and benefited from being a skilled worker. That encouraged him to continue working there for three years until his return in 1988.

'I morally and materially benefited a lot and gained experience in dealing with people, but I had to return because of health problems. After I have returned to my village, I joined a government job with a little income in addition to a mini-market I own,' Adly said. It is worth mentioning that Adly's eldest son had finished his university education, and plans to travel to his uncle who has been

living in France since 1976 to work there. The younger son is still in college but he spends all holidays working in an internet cafe in Cairo. He intends to move to Cairo after graduation.

Case 14: Khaled and Ussama, Europe in mind

Khaled's first steps outside Beni-Madi village were to Cairo to study Arabic language in the Faculty of Arts, Cairo University. 'I didn't want to stay in this village. I found it better to study at Cairo University, considering it's the Mother University and to stay in Cairo,' Khaled said. However, Khaled worked for a year teaching in the village after graduation but afterward he moved to work in an investment company in Cairo.

Khaled's eldest brother, Ussama traveled to Austria in 1988 with the intention to emigrate. He entered Austria with a study visa after being accepted to study at a university there. He earned a diploma and excelled in the local language. Afterward he applied for a Master's degree but he abandoned studying and started to work there until he gained Austrian nationality in 1997. He returned to Egypt and got married to an Egyptian and went back with her to Austria. Now he works in a government job there. Although he visits Egypt once every year, his brother Khaled said, he does not intend to permanently stay in Egypt in the near future.

Based on Khaled's desire, his brother Ussama helped him apply to an Austrian university to study there. The university recently sent him a letter of acceptance and now he gets himself ready to go to his new home, not feeling remorse for leaving his old one.

Case 15: Sobhi, the cross-Atlantic migrant

'Sobhi always dreamed of traveling to America,' Sobhi's father said. Sobhi graduated from the Faculty of Agriculture, Cairo University, and worked in the Agricultural Administration in Beba (the administrative center of Beni-Madi village). But he always looked forward to go to America. Sobhi went to Cairo to join a program for training agronomists, sponsored by an American organization in cooperation with the Egyptian Ministry of Agriculture. With the recurrence of joining such programs, he was chosen as a trainer in the local training programs held in his governorate. The American organization announced a three-month training program to be held in the United States. Sobhi

applied and his application was accepted. He left to America in October 2003. After he has finished the training program, he didn't go back to Egypt.

'Since that time Sobhi has never come to Egypt but he phones us and we knew that he moved from place to place and from work to work. He worked in a gas station and then in a farm. He phones us from time to time, and his mother insists that he comes back but he always tells her that he will never return until he gains the American nationality,' his father said.

Sobhi is not the only migrant in the family, his younger brother Sayed works in a Cairo restaurant and weekly visits his family. He has become the family sponsor, especially after his father's retirement and deterioration of his mother's health because of Sobhi's immigration, which she calls 'escape'.

Case 16: Hajj Soliman's family, another migrants' factory

In addition to hajj Amer's family, hajj Soliman's family is another immigrants' factory or a 'public supplier of migrants'. 'I raise and educate my children and they migrate and leave me. Anyway, I am happy with them because I see them happy and successful. I am proud of them in front of all village people," hajj Soliman said. His eldest son, Taha, was born in *Raissiya* village, 600 kilometers south of Beni-Sueif. Hajj Soliman was working there as a policeman. He moved after some years to work in Beni-Sueif and the family returned in Beni-Madi. Hajj Soliman has seven children (5 males, 2 females). His wife passed away while giving birth to his youngest son, Ali.

He now lives in his humble house in Beni-Madi with his second wife and youngest son, Ali, who studies in the Faculty of Education in Beni-Sueif. His daughter lives in a nearby house with her husband and kids. The rest of his sons left to Cairo and Jordan. Hajj Soliman's eldest son, Taha, was the first to leave the village. He was 17 when he left to Cairo in 1981 to peruse his university education. After he had finished education, he got married to a relative living in Cairo. His father had to sell their little farmland (6 carats) to partially cover his son's marriage expenses. Taha, worked as a sales agent in a ceramics company. Meanwhile, the second son, Ahmed, got his secondary school diploma in agronomy and moved to Cairo to join his brother who started his own

business in the field of ceramic tiles marketing. Later on, Taha expanded his activity and called upon their younger brother, Atef, to work with them.

In addition, their youngest sister, Jihan, got married and moved to reside in Cairo. Because of competition and market saturation, ceramics trade has become stagnant and Taha and his brothers abandoned the trade. Yet, Taha managed to get a job, teaching in a government institute and turned the ceramics store into a mini-market for his brothers to take care of. He also helped them to get married to two relatives who reside in Cairo.

Three years ago, and upon completion of his secondary school education, their brother Mohammed traveled to Jordan. As I mentioned before, the only son who still lives with hajj Soliman is his son Ali. Ali, however, spends all his summer holidays working in a coffee shop in Imbaba. He told me that he doesn't think he will stay in the village after graduation. He probably prefers to be with his brothers in Cairo.

Despite the substantial migration in this family, their house looks humble compared, for example, to hajj Amer's plush house. The reasons could be the tendency and the desire of hajj Amer's family members to stay in the village despite being away for some time, besides Hajj Amer's control of all family resources and investment decisions. Hajj Soliman's case is different; the eldest son plans for his brothers in Cairo. Adding to this the fact that Hajj Amer's sons' immigration is external in general, while Hajj Soliman's sons' migration is internal. Mother's absence in the case of Hajj Soliman's family could represent a factor that weakens the relation between the sons and their rural origin.

Case 17: Hamdi, the commuter

Hamdi commutes daily from Beni-Sueif to Cairo for work. After he had finished his secondary school education, Hamdi, like the most of his fellows in the village, traveled to Cairo searching for Cairo. He worked there with village friends until the opportunity came to travel to work in Jordan with fellow villagers. After three continuous years of work, he returned to his village. He renovated his family house where he lives with his mother after his father's death and marriage of his two sisters Mariam and Nadia. Hamdi got married and stayed in the village spending what he has

saved from work in Jordan until he ran out of money. Because he was responsible for his mother, wife and his coming son, he went, again, to Cairo and worked in a garage in Pyramids area. He used to visit his family in the village once every two weeks to spend a night or two with them.

While working in the garage, Hamdi managed to learn driving and got himself a professional driver's license. Meanwhile, a taxi owner in the garage offered him to work on his taxi from 8 a.m. till 4 p.m. Hamdi, at that time, used to reside in the garage. His mother and wife insisted that he returns everyday to stay with them in the village and go back to Cairo in the morning. 'I wake up at 5 a.m. and leave the village at 5.30 a.m. I take the train to Giza station (in Cairo). I always sleep in the train. I go to the garage to pick the taxi and start work at 8 a.m. I return about 4 p.m. to find the taxi owner waiting to start his shift. Sometimes he gives me a ride to the train station to go back to the village,' Hamdi said.

'Frankly speaking, I got used to work in Cairo and the trip is not a big deal. It's the same time I would have taken to get to Giza if I was living in any of the new cities around Cairo like Rehab, Shorouk or New Cairo. Working in Cairo is profitable. I make here six times what I would have made if I worked in the village. I couldn't stay alone in Cairo, and I couldn't bring my wife and my son to live with me and leave my mother because she wouldn't agree that we leave the family house in the village. To be more frank, I benefit from good income in Cairo and cheap living expenses in the village where we raise some cattle and poultry and farm a small piece of land (6 carats). Besides, I get two days off weekly,' Hamdi answered when asked why he does not permanently stay in Cairo or work as a driver in his village.

5.2 Fieldwork in Cairo

Case 18: Sayed Abdel-Mottaleb Hashim, Cairo is better than the village

I met Sayed at a home of one of his relatives in Imbaba. He told me that he intends to move to Cairo in the beginning of the next school year (2005-2006) and that he is looking for a suitable apartment. Sayed works as a teacher in a secondary school in Beni-Sueif. He was raised in Beni-Madi village and got his bachelor of education in 1978 from Cairo University as there were no higher education institutes in Beni-Sueif at that time. 'That was my first visit to Cairo. I spent all my

life hearing tales about Cairo without ever seeing it. In spite that we had many relatives living in Cairo, I haven't had the chance to visit them before joining Cairo University. Cairo was more beautiful in the past. It was also quieter and more disciplined. Nowadays, Cairo still better than Beni-Sueif after all,' Sayed said.

Since he had started teaching in a school in Beba (the administrative center of Beni-Madi village), Sayed had dreamt of being included in the educational missions sent by the Ministry of Education to Arab countries (figuratively called 'Secondement'). Like most of his colleague teachers, he continued to submit applications to the Ministry of Education that he was interested in being seconded to work in an Arab country.

'With my newborn child (Yasser) coming to life, I was surprised of the school headmaster's congratulations, not only because of my new baby but also because I was accepted to be seconded to work in Kuwait in the same year (1982). I traveled to Kuwait in September 1982. My wife and son followed me after two months. I stayed there teaching for four years (the legal secondement period) and in 1986 I returned to Egypt,' Sayed said. Before leaving the village to Kuwait, Sayed was not connected to land farming. His family does not own more than one Feddan of farming land on which his brothers works. Because of that, he submitted an application to teach in a secondary school in Beni-Sueif (the governorate's capital) and moved with his small family to live there.

'Beni-Madi's living conditions were difficult. Services were scarce and infrastructure was bad there – still bad. I decided to move to the city of Beni-Sueif because, frankly, I wanted my son to live in the same living standards as he used to for the first four years of his life in Kuwait, or at least to live in a standard better than that of the village. Kids got better education in the city, especially that we were blessed with another two children, Mona in Kuwait and Ali after return to Egypt. Besides, Beni-Sueif was not too far from the village (20 minutes driving). We used to visit the village once every week until my mother died three years ago and my kids had grown up and became uninterested in seeing the village,' Sayed said.

But why he wants to move to Cairo? ‘My kids had grown up and were about to join college. I thought they had better opportunities to pursue their higher education in Cairo, because there are many choices here (four governmental universities and many other private Egyptian and international universities). Besides, staying in Beni-Sueif city is not different than staying in Cairo. It's true that we would be far from our village, but there are many people from the village who are living in Cairo,’ Sayed said.

Now Sayed is looking for a suitable apartment in Cairo. He does not wish to live in Imbaba where many of his fellow villagers live. Rather, he wants to find an apartment in a better area and wishes to be as close to Imbaba as possible.

Case 19: Ramadan Mohammed Ahmed, the taxi driver

After completing his education and getting a secondary school diploma in agronomy, Ramadan was recruited in the army to complete his obligatory service. Since he had to be recruited in Cairo, like most Beni-Sueif province's young men, Ramadan's first entry to Cairo was mandatory. To help his very poor family, like many other families in Beni-Madi, he had to work in his days off from the army. His relatives helped him find jobs in Cairo. ‘I worked in almost all kinds of jobs. Among others, I worked in a coffee shop, at a butcher's shop, in poultry, and in construction. The best profession I had learnt during my military service was driving. I worked as a driver for the Egyptian Armed Forces during my service there. It helped me very much in my practical life,’ Ramadan said.

Ramadan decided to remain in Cairo after he had finished his military service because his family doesn’t own farming land in Beni-Madi. He stayed with a group of his fellow villagers in a rented room in Imbaba, owned by a man from their village. Ramadan returned to work in coffee shops and other temporary jobs for two years until he finally obtained a professional driving license, qualifying him to drive a taxi or a van. He worked for a short time driving a van for a foodstuffs' company, and then permanently worked as a taxi driver. After three years of continuous work driving a taxi, he was able to rent an apartment of his own and get married to a relative from Beni-Madi. His wife moved to live with him in Cairo. Now he has three children in different stages of education. Two years ago Ramadan was able to buy a new taxi (in credit). He worked for one shift on his new taxi

from 6 a.m. until 3 p.m., and then another driver rent it from him to work on from 4 p.m. until midnight for LE 40 every day.

When I asked Ramadan if he had thought of traveling to work abroad, he said: 'Thank God, I am better off here than those who work abroad. The LE 40 of the second shift covers the monthly installment of the credit, and the revenues of my first shift are more than enough for our daily expenses and family needs. Traveling abroad was beneficial in the past, not nowadays. Staying here among my kids is worth the world.'

Case 20: Tarek Morsi, love makes miracles!

Love makes miracles! Tarek Morsi (28 years old) traveled to Cairo because his marriage was on precondition that he moves to stay in Cairo. It all started when Tarek traveled to Iraq after the second Gulf War (the Kuwait Liberation War) and returned to settle in his village (Beni-Madi). He farmed the small piece of land owned by his family and from time to time worked as a wage earner in other peoples' lands. Besides farming, he could raise some cattle in his home and fed them from what he cultivated in his land. It helped him much in securing the expenses of his big family and in taking care of his mother, brothers and sisters, after the death of his father.

When Tarek felt that he was able to secure marriage expenses, and when he managed to renew one room of the family house to group him and his wife-to-be, he asked his mother to look for a good wife for him (with the wide prevalence of arranged marriage, it is a custom among young men in rural Egypt to ask their mothers for that). His mother advised him to marry his cousin (her brother's daughter) who lives in Cairo. The bride-to-be refused to move with Tarek to stay in Beni-Madi and insisted that they live in Cairo. 'It was a critical precondition and I had to decide whether to accept this condition and stay in Cairo, or to refrain and go back to the village to look for another wife. I found out that, by refusing this precondition, the relations between my mother and her brother would be disturbed. Also, if I agreed to stay in Cairo, the new room in the house in our village would be available for my younger brother to get married in. Besides, my uncle offered to help me get a job in Cairo and to stay in his new house which he prepared for his five children (an apartment for each one of them),' Tarek said.

Tarek and his mother settled the matter and agreed that he stays in Cairo after getting married to his cousin. They consummated the wedding in few months and Tarek moved to stay with his uncle in Imbaba. In the beginning, he worked in different temporary jobs in and outside Imbaba, until his uncle managed to get him a permanent job in The Arab Contractors Company (one of the largest contractors companies in Egypt), the company that his uncle is working for.

Tarek is keen to visit his mother, brothers and sisters in the village every week. He is also keen to take his wife and his son Mohammed with him. 'I want my kids to always remember that their roots are there in the village, and to be connected to the countryside where I was raised,' Tarek said.

Case 21: Hariedi Osman Hariedi, the minibus driver

My assistant, Taha, who guided me from house to house and from place of work to another during my fieldwork in Imbaba, said: 'Hariedi was one of the village's poorest, even destitute persons. He was working with his relatives fishing the little river branch opposite to their village. After spending all night fishing, they would go in the early morning to the market to sell what they had fished for a little amount of money that barely keeps them alive. His family doesn't own any land to cultivate.' Escaping those miserable circumstances, Hariedi traveled to Cairo in 1996 to look for a better opportunity. He stayed in the beginning with a relative in Imbaba and worked with him in construction. After he had settled in Cairo, Hariedi got to know a Cairene girl who ran a private business in her family's house; tailoring clothes and marketing them to women and girls in the area where she lives. The relationship between Haridi and the girl was consolidated and then, they decided to get married. They were able to obtain one of the subsidized apartments from those distributed by the State for the unable. But the problem they faced was that the apartment was in one of the new cities on the out skirts of Cairo. It was far from his wife's customers and from his work in Imbaba. They returned to live in his wife's family house in Imbaba and then they were able to rent an apartment in the same area. Meanwhile, Hariedi changed his profession from working in construction to driving a minibus. 'Working in construction was very tough and I couldn't spend all my life doing this job. Driving a minibus meant more income and less effort,' he said.

Hariedi and his wife were able to buy a piece of land after eight years of work in Cairo. He built a house and brought his younger brother to work with him in Cairo and offered him an apartment in

his new house. His wife also opened a small store in the same building to market products of hers together with others she bought from traders in Attaba area.

Case 22: Shehata Mohammed Abdel Mottaleb, the janitor

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

Shehata stayed in Cairo with fellow workers from his village in an area close to his workplace. In the beginning he was happy that he got this job, but later he tried to move to the institute's branch in Beni-Sueif to be close to his family in Beni-Madi. After his trials for a whole year to move to Beni-Sueif had failed, he was convinced to stay in Cairo. To increase his income, Shehata started an afternoon part-time job in a coffee shop. After five years of hard work in the government and private sector, Shehata managed to get married to a relative from his village, whom he brought to stay with him in Cairo.

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

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

Case 23: Hajj Mouawad, the veteran

Hajj Mouawad (68 years old) is one of the earliest generations immigrated to Imbaba area from Beni-Madi village. He left Beni-Madi in the beginnings of the sixties of the last century, escaping poverty and miserable life in the countryside of Egypt -- at that time, and (to some extent) until now. 'The whole area was a farming land when I first arrived to Imbaba. No one dreamt that it would be that crowded or that real estate would be as expensive as it is now. There was nothing in the area at that time but few farmers' houses,' Hajj Mouawad said. As soon as he arrived in Cairo, Hajj

Mouawad worked in Al-Shorbagy Weaving Company in Imbaba area as an unskilled worker and stayed in a place close to his work.

After three years, Mouawad managed to learn the profession of 'wall plastering' and left his work at the weaving company. He later got married to one of his relatives and rented the flat at which he lives until now. It was a small flat composed of two rooms, a bed room and a sitting room. Working in wall plastering, he was able to get a contract to work in Saudi Arabia through a broker in 1975. He continued to work there in construction sector for 10 years. In one of his annual vacations, Hajj Mouawad managed to buy a 100 meter piece of land close to his house. He returned to Egypt in 1986 and built a five-floor building on the land he bought. He dedicated a floor to each one of his 5 children (4 sons and a daughter). Hajj Mouawad and his elder son, Hassan, left to Libya in 1988. One year later, they returned to Egypt as they did not like working there.

Although three of his sons were not married yet with their three flats empty (in the new house), he and his wife insist on living in their old house which witnessed their early days. His eldest daughter obtained a school diploma in commerce and got married to one of her relatives who left to live in Cairo a little shorter before marriage. She lives with her husband and kids in her father's new house. Although the eldest son failed to complete his education, he has learnt how to read and write and is now working in a governmental institute. He got married to one of his neighbors and lives in the house of his father. In addition, his father paid all the expenses of his marriage. The other three sons didn't receive any education and are now working in the vegetable market in Imbaba, and are living with their father and mother in the old house.

Case 24: Farag Ahmed Farag, barely literate

Farag (52 years old) is literate, he reads and writes difficultly. He worked with his father and brothers in farming the few feddans they own in their village (Beni-Madi). Farag was 22 when he arrived in Cairo to work in a heavy industry factory. After he had settled there, he rented a small apartment consisted of one room and a reception in the outskirts of Monira area in Imbaba, and then moved to a larger apartment after his financial situation was improved. He has five children now, two boys and three girls.

Farag regularly sends his children to join Beni-Madi village's schools. They stay there with their grandmother during the school season. They return to Cairo in summer. 'Living conditions in Cairo doesn't help students to concentrate on their lessons, because there are too many temptations, besides wasting too much time in transportation going to school and back to home. Also, big city's students had bad manners. Besides, education costs are less in the village, and private tutoring are much cheaper than in Cairo. How would I be able to pay LE 40 an hour for private lessons here? My mother takes care of my children there and feels secure with them around her. I also want them to be affiliated to the village,' Farag said.

Farag's eldest daughter studies Pharmacology at Cairo University, after she had finished secondary school education two years ago. It is worth mentioning that, two of Farag's brothers had gone to Jordan and worked there for three years and returned to Beni-Madi. His younger brother came to work and stay in Cairo. Farag helped him get a job in a private sector company and got married to his cousin who was staying in Cairo. They moved to live in 6th of October City to be close to his work.

Case 25: Mohammed Abdel Kader, the kebab vendor

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

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

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

Case 26: Ahmed Mabrouk, the fruit seller

Ahmed Mabrouk (52 years old) owns a store to sell fruit in a posh area in Haram Street in Giza. His sons alternately work with him according to their availability. Although Ahmed hasn't had enough education, he granted his sons what he could not obtain when he was their age. He has three sons; two of them have already graduated from the university, while the third one is currently studying Engineering at Cairo University.

'When I decided to leave to Cairo, I had no other choices. My brothers and I didn't own farming land or any other income resource except working in others' farmland, as work earners for a meager payment. It was either to leave or starve to death. If we had stayed there, we would have killed each other because of poverty and limited resources,' Ahmed said. Ahmed left his village, heading to Imbaba, the focal point of those who come to Cairo from his village. He worked in construction in the beginning with the help of his relatives who work in this profession, but he could not continue because of his poor health condition.

Ahmed worked as a hawker to sell fruit. He rented a handcart and roamed the streets with it all day. He was able to rent a room from a relative from his village after a short time of hard work and got married to one of his village relatives whom he brought to live with him in Cairo. He could obtain a small shop to sell fruit in Imbaba after having enough experience in fruit selling. 'Haram was considered a remote area at that time. Lands were cheap and shops were abundant and sold in credit. I got a large shop there and transferred my activity to that area,' Ahmed said.

Ahmed managed to spend on his kids' education from the revenues of the new store and was able to buy a piece of land in Basrawy area in Imbaba. He built a four-floor building on this land to be a residence to him and his children, and he adhered to stay there.

‘I thought of traveling abroad when I first came to Cairo. But now I never think of traveling abroad and I don't like any of my sons to travel to work abroad. It is true that the country's circumstances are difficult, yet as they say east or west, home is best. Sitting with my kids around me is worth the world,’ Ahmed said.

‘My connection to the village is still strong. I am always with them in happiness and sadness. I am always keen to take my sons to visit the village so that they don't forget their relatives there,’ Ahmed said. Despite the fact that Ahmed is living in Cairo for more than 25 years, and that his three sons were born in Cairo, they all insist on wearing loose garments (gallabyia) and follow village traditions in their food and clothing.

Case 27: Mahmoud el Sellini, the ironer

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

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

In 1989, Mahmoud has received an offer – by a broker -- to work as an ironer in an international hotel in Saudi Arabia. The broker asked for seven thousand Egyptian Pounds for Mahmoud’s

contract, the amount of money Mahmoud prepared through selling some gold possessions of his wife, and renting the farming land he inherited to one of his relatives. Mahmoud worked in Saudi Arabia for nine years and returned in 1998. 'Travel to Saudi Arabia was an excellent experience with all measures, despite home sickness and harsh work conditions, and mostly being parted from wife and children. Beside saving a lot of money, I have benefited more out of learning the new techniques used in ironing like dry cleaning services, recalling my old ironing method I used to practice,' Mahmoud said.

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

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

After returning to the village, Mahmoud found it impossible to stay without work, although he is taking care of his farmland and raising cattle in the back of his house. He changed one of the

rooms in his house into a crops mill project. On top of all that, and from time to time, he does not miss spending some time in Cairo.

Case 28: Ahmed Abdelaleem, the aluminum manufacturer

Although he was born in a wealthy family, Ahmed has escaped unbearable farming work in the land his family owns and working with his father, a well known crops trader in Beni-Sueif governorate. He traveled to Jordan after he finished his education (secondary technical diploma). Ahmed worked in an aluminum factory (producing aluminum doors and windows), and within a short time he excelled in this profession. He, later, got married to his employer's daughter, and permanently stayed in Jordan. Missing his father's funeral, a deeply well established tradition for all rural Egyptian people to attend, many things changed in his life. He returned together with his Jordanian wife and children and settled in Egypt, but he didn't return to the village but stayed in Cairo and established an aluminum workshop. His work as an aluminum doors and windows manufacturer was prominently a model lately followed by others in the beginning of the eighties of the last century.

In a short period of time, Ahmed managed to reach high standards of professionalism and reputation, getting many contracts with large contractor companies. Expanding his work and accepting new offers from contractors affected his retail work. Ahmed asked his brother, who used to work in the village's agricultural association, to settle in Cairo and work with him to be able to expand his work. When Hamed, his younger brother, arrived in Cairo, he shortly managed to work independently at a lower scale than his brother. Ahmed, on his turn, managed to establish a big aluminum workshop in one of the new cities. After a while, he turned the workshop into a factory, producing unprocessed aluminum materials to smaller workshops.

Success in that profession tempted Salah, his middle brother, who used to work as a teacher in the village preparatory school. He moved together with his family to Cairo, leaving the last member of the family, the uneducated brother, to look after the farmland the family owns. Despite these three brothers migrated to Cairo, they are still connected to their roots, their village.

Case 29: Eid Mansoor, the guard

He left his village after poverty had tightened its grip on him, and went to work in Cairo as a lookout in a housing project with his brother, who joined this project ahead of him. The older brother returned to the village after the project was completed, but Eid continued to work in the same place after the housing units were handed to the owners by the company. They chose him to work as the building watchman (*bawabb)*. After five months of living in the entrance of the building, the owners built a small room for him on the rooftop. They also donated him some pieces of furniture. 'The monthly salary is meager. I depend mostly on what the inhabitants of the building pay in consideration of the services I provide – like cleaning their cars and buying what they needed from the market. I also lift building substances necessary for internal finishing of some apartments, and lift furniture for new inhabitants. Some inhabitants donate me food and clothes, especially in feasts and social occasions,' Eid said.

After three years of work in Cairo, Eid got married to a relative from his village and brought her to live with him. They were blessed with their first child – he is three years old now. 'When first arrived in Cairo, my wife was alarmed at living in the city. However, after a short period of time, she was able to help me in cleaning the building's entrance, the stairs, and other places in the building. She also cleans apartments for residents who need her services to increase our income,' he said. Eid thought that this work is much better than working in agriculture in the village, since farming income is low, and work is not available permanently. He sees that his current work is also better than working in construction.

What about working abroad? 'Traveling abroad was profitable in the past. Nothing is left for young men except traveling to Libya or Jordan, although the living standards in these countries are not like before. Besides, these countries became overcrowded with young men traveling from Egypt. Working in Egypt is better than traveling to these countries…Libya is no longer the same!' Eid said.

Eid was able to bring his younger brother Ragab, to work in the same profession in a neighboring building, he was working in construction. He also brought his nephew (11 years old) to work with him. Inspite that Eid works and resides in Haram area, which is far from Imbaba, he is keen to visit his relatives and friends in Imbaba and hear about his village from time to time. He and his fellow

villagers gather in a popular coffee shop in Imbaba, drink tea, smoke *shisha*, and talk about their village. Eid often visits his village to see his parents and the family of his wife.

Case 30: Waleed Faissal, the painter

After completing his secondary education (industrial technical diploma), where he studied decoration and painting, Waleed impatiently looked for any work opportunity. So that, he traveled to Cairo and stayed with one of his relatives in Imbaba. He worked as an assistant to a relative who works in wall painting and construction services. Depending on the skills he has developed through his humble education, he managed to advance his practice, and gained his boss's trust. After two years, Waleed got married to the daughter of the family that he lives with and he moved to stay with his wife in a rented flat nearby his wife's family.

After marriage, Waleed tried to work independently on his own, but he faced many difficulties and failed to take this step. He, alternatively, thought of returning to his village but his wife refused to accompany him. Later, they had to go to Beni-Sueif as life got harder and harder. After returning to his village, Waleed started work immediately, and continued for two years, through which he could afford their living expenses. Later, and due to the small size of his village, his profession diminished, not to mention the effect caused by competitors who learned the profession from him while working as his assistants. In addition, and as part of the customs and the norms of Upper Egypt, he was to offer his services free of charge for close relatives.

In 2002, Waleed and his family returned to Cairo, and had to work again as an assistant to a well-known wall painter. 'I do not know what to do, since I have tried work in both the city and the village, and failed to adapt to either. It is certain that I will not hesitate to travel to work abroad, but I don't have enough money to pay for a good contract,' Waleed sadly said.

Case 31: Mustafa Kamel, the taxi driver

Mustafa is the oldest son of a person who, long time ago, immigrated to Cairo from Upper Egypt. His father moved to Cairo in the beginning of the manufacturing era in Egypt in the sixties of the last century, after he was grip tightened with poverty. His father was able to find a work opportunity in a public sector factory in Helwan area and they gave him a public housing unit. He got married to

an immigrant from Menia governorate, who was working in a weaving factory at the same area where he used to work. Mustafa completed his education getting a technical school diploma, but was not able to find a job in the public sector. He had to work in a private sector workshop for car repair in the same area, but couldn't bear hard work conditions; in addition, his paycheck was too little. One of his old school colleagues helped him get a job in a clothes' store at downtown Cairo.

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

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

Case 32: Wa'el Abdelhafez, the primary school teacher

After his graduation from the College of Education in Beni-Sueif, and inspite of his family's good financial situation, Wa'el decided to move to live and work in Cairo. Work opportunities for graduates of Colleges of Education are granted since The Ministry of Education appoints them in its schools. 'Life in the village is boring and tedious. In addition, my work as a teacher in Cairo is more profitable. Private tutoring prevails in Cairo, and their income is much higher than the government salary. Students in the village pay five pounds per month for private lessons and some of them were relatives who don't pay anything, while students in Cairo pay 20 pounds per session,' Wa'el said.

When he arrived in Cairo, Wa'el worked in a primary school in Zeitoun area, and temporarily stayed with a relative from his village until the school headmistress helped him get a shred apartment nearby the school. In his first year, Wa'el managed to work as a teacher in the school in the morning and as a private tutor in the evening. After two years of work, he started to think of getting married and establish a family in Cairo. 'I first thought of marrying the daughter of my school's headmistress. She is a well mannered girl whose mother (the school headmistress) helped me a lot. Besides, she [the mother] knows best my financial and life conditions in general,' Wa'el said.

'Every teacher in Egypt dreams of working in an Arab country, either through ministerial secondments, or through direct contracts with any of the missions coming to Egypt to contract teachers to work in the Gulf countries. Annually, I apply to be seconded through the ministry, which is, after all, better than traveling through a contract due to the high volume of applications and the rigorous measures of contractors,' Wa'el commented on the issue of international migration.

Despite the high income Wa'el gains of working as a teacher in Cairo (salary plus private tutoring revenues), not to mention having two children, he thinks of returning to his village. 'Despite income here in the city is far more than that in the village, I find life here much more expensive day after day. Sometimes, I seriously think of going back to my village, only to enjoy the quietness, away from the city's crowdedness. I may accomplish what I have dreamt of in case I have a secondement chance (which usually lasts for four years), making considerable savings that enable me to better ensure my future,' Wa'el said.

Case 33: Ali Hassan, Monsieur Ali

Ali was the first in his family to have a university degree. After his graduation form the Faculty of Arts (French Literature), he tried to work in a governmental school as a teacher of French, yet failed. He left to Cairo to live with a family from his village. Ali's pride as a well-educated young man forbade him the idea of working in construction as an unskilled worker like many of his village-mates.

He moved from a job to another in the trading and services sectors. He worked as a seller in a bookshop, then a seller in a mobile phone services shop. He also tried other professions in which

his experience and patience were the least. But his dream was to work as a teacher of French language in any private school in Cairo. 'I asked a relative of mine to help me get a job as a teacher or any other permanent or semi-permanent job. He is a senior government employee, but unfortunately he did not respond,' Ali said.

Ali, in my opinion, is not a rare case to find in Cairo, for there are many others. 'I thought I would find a suitable job once I graduate, so that I may pay a little of debt I owe my father and brothers, who chose to live a miserable life to afford me my college education. My father strived to put food on our table. I pictured myself finishing my college education and work to share a greater part of responsibility with my father, meeting all needs of my family, yet dreaming,' Ali said.

Case 34: Safwat Abul-hamd, the chef confectioner

Safwat was raised in a humble family, with his father working as a policeman and his mother a housewife, together with other three family members. His father has sold his share of the farmland he inherited to his brothers and built a new family house in the central residence area in the village. The father's main income before passing away, two years ago, was his salary.

Finishing his technical secondary school, Safwat managed to get a contract to work in Saudi Arabia through one of his father's friends, and worked in a constructions company in Reyadh. After three years working in Saudi Arabia, Safwat returned to his village and got married to on of his mothers' relatives. The money he managed to save while abroad helped him cover marriage expenses. After a period of time his money was almost gone, Safwat remembered that he is back to the unemployment trap, the same as millions of Egyptian youth. Safwat searched for any suitable work in his governorate and could not find one, the reason why he considered migrating to Cairo like many others in his village, to escape unemployment and poverty. 'On my return to Egypt, and spending all my money to meet marriage expenses, I recalled the feelings I once had before working in Saudi Arabia, back to square number one. The two destinations that I thought of were Libya and Cairo. I decided to go to Cairo so as to find a chance to work and also to be as close as possible to my family, but I have left my wife back in the village,' Safwat said.

In Cairo, Safwat adopted many professions; he worked in coffee shops, supermarkets, etc. until he finally managed to work in a famous confectionary shop downtown. All unskilled workers and few skilled workers in this shop were from the same village in Upper Egypt. At this time, he used to live in a residence that was provided by the employer with fellow workers. In two years of going back and forth between his village in Upper Egypt and his workplace in Cairo, Safwat managed to rent a suitable apartment to live in with his wife and his first baby boy. 'Of course, my visits to my village became fewer than before. But after my father's death, I frequently visit my village to look after my mother and see my brothers and their families,' Safwat said.

After years of hard work, he was promoted to a chef confectioner with a very good salary, and he moved to a flat close to his workplace. 'Traveling abroad not in my agenda now, especially after the promotion,' Safwat concluded.

6. DISCUSSION

The penultimate chapter reflects upon this study's contribution to the understanding of the interrelationships between internal and international migration and their role in poverty alleviation in Egypt. It briefly summarizes the principal results, and points to the most gaps in knowledge and sets questions for further studies.

6.1 Who migrates internally/internationally, and who stays behind?

In this sub-section, I attempt to answer the first question of this study: Do different categories of people engage in internal as opposed to international migration? In order to answer this question, I first go through each type of population movement I observed in the field, and then I associate each type with the characteristics of migrants involved.

Typology of Upper Egyptian mobility

The measurement of population movement is the most difficult and problematic aspect among the three aspects of population change, the others being fertility and mortality (Skeldon 1990). Bearing

in mind the measurement difficulties, population movements can be differentiated by their temporal and spatial dimensions. Temporal dimensions include 'circulation' and 'migration', although the difference between the two is often blurred in practice. Circulation encompasses a variety of movements, usually short-term and cyclical and involving no long-standing change of residence. Migration involves a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence. Circulation can be subdivided into daily, periodic, seasonal, and long-term (Gould and Prothero 1975). Daily circulation involves leaving a place of residence for up to 24 hours. Periodic circulation may vary from one night to a year, although it is usually shorter than seasonal circulation. Seasonal circulation is a type of periodic circulation in which the period is defined by marked seasonality in the physical or economic environment. This type of circulation involves persons or groups who are absent from their permanent homes during a season or seasons of the year. Long-term circulation, defined by Gould and Prothero as absence from home for longer than a year, affects groups such as wage laborers and traders, who maintain close social and economic ties with their home area and intend to return.

Migration is therefore just one form of the broader phenomenon of human mobility, while others include, for instance, short and long-distance commuting, shuttle migration, and circulation. With respect to the time-span of population movement, it varies widely from a very short period of absence to a very long period of many years which may – or may not – end with permanent residence in a new destination.

Upper-to-Lower Egyptian migration is a long-standing phenomenon, statistically traceable to the first population census in 1897, but probably in existence before that date too (Zohry 2002). A significant number of Upper Egyptians started to migrate to the Arab Gulf countries by 1975. With respect to internal migration (from Upper Egypt to Cairo), one can distinguish two main phases of this long-distance migration: pre-modernization and post-modernization. The Egyptian revolution led by Nasser (1952) and the independence from British colonization (1956) made the boundary between the two migration eras.

The pre-modernization phase was characterized by a low, but consistent, migration stream from Upper Egypt to Cairo, in which migrants were mainly motivated by the search for better health

services, education for their children, and other amenities, which were all lacking in Upper Egypt. Migrants of this type and time established typical migration selectivity rules: they tended to be more open-minded and ambitious, and with better education (and, therefore, aspirations for more education), than the norm for Upper Egyptian population. Most of these migrants settled permanently with their families in Cairo, keeping, at least initially, strong contacts with their extended families in Upper Egypt. With successive generations, however, these contacts became less strong until they reached a minimal, symbolic level – perhaps by burying their dead in the village.

Not all the migrants to Cairo before the 1950s were of the above type. Other poorer segments of Upper Egyptian population were also migrating at that time. Whilst the Cairo construction sector was not big enough to absorb many migrant workers, most of the servants, private drivers, and porters in Cairo did originate from Upper Egypt. Before the building of the Aswan Dam in the 1960s, many peasants in Upper Egypt used to work seasonally in agriculture and 'circulate' for the rest of the year under what was known as the *taraheel* system (for more details on this see Toth 1999). Rural-based subcontractors, who had prior contacts with the main contractors involved in public works and civil engineering schemes, were specialized in hiring unskilled rural laborers (usually in village groups of about 20-50 workers) to work on projects such as paving roads and cleaning and digging new canals in Lower Egypt. This system started with the building of the Suez Canal in the 1860s. Labor circulation and *taraheel* work afforded a minimum level of living for the poorer peasant families of Upper Egypt, and can be seen as a kind of historical antecedent of the less organized and more informal contemporary circuits of labor migration. In that phase, international migration from Egypt was negligible. 'Egyptians have the reputation of preferring their own soil. Few ever leave except to study or travel; and they always return… Egyptians do not emigrate' (Cleland 1936:36, 52).

The post-modernization era saw a profound change in the social and economic geography of Egypt. Nasser's 'industrial revolution' moved Egypt from an agricultural society to a partially modern industrial society; heavy industrial zones were established, mainly in and around the capital, notably at Helwan in the southern part of Cairo and Shubra-el-Kheima in the northern part of the city. Tens of thousands of unskilled laborers migrated from all parts of Egypt to work in the

new factories, enjoying both a secure job and a housing unit. This period – the late 1950s and the early 1960s – can be called the 'golden age of internal migration' in Egypt. However, some of those who moved during this golden age – the less qualified – failed to get access to public sector industrial jobs; they settled in Cairo doing unskilled work in services and general laboring.

The intimate relationship between Egyptians and the soil of Egypt as sketched by Cleland (1936) was the case until the middle of the twentieth century with few exceptions; only small numbers of Egyptians, primarily professionals, had left the country in search of employment before 1974. Then, in that year, the government lifted all restrictions on labor migration. The move came at a time when oil-rich Arab states of the Persian Gulf and neighboring Libya were implementing major development programs with funds generated by the quadrupling of oil revenues in 1973. By 1975, when President Sadat announced an open-door economic policy (Nasser had restricted international migration as part of his socialist revolution), massive numbers of Egyptians migrated on a temporary basis to the Arab Gulf countries. In the early 1980s, another major emigration took place to Iraq to replace the local workers who were engaged in the Iran-Iraq War. By this time, the building boom had started in Cairo, fueled by two factors: remittances from Egyptian workers in the Gulf; and the construction of satellite towns surrounding Cairo, such as the '6th of October' and the '10th of Ramadan' settlements. This construction boom stimulated a large and constant, yet unorganized, stream of unskilled laborers, mainly from Upper Egypt, who migrated on a circular basis, replacing the old *taraheel* system. This migration stream has been sustained and reinforced by many factors; land fragmentation and agricultural rent increases, overpopulation of rural areas, the return of hundreds of thousands of Egyptian workers from Iraq and Jordan after the Second Gulf War, and the size and centralization of economic activities in Cairo, as well as the dynamism of the informal sector and its ability to absorb very large numbers of rural laborers.

After this long elaboration on the socioeconomic and political background one can list most of the types of Upper Egyptian movements as follows:

- Migration from Upper Egypt to Cairo
- Circulation (between the village in Upper Egypt and Cairo)
- Migration from the village to the capital of the governorate (Beni-Sueif city for example)

- Migration from the village to Cairo then abroad
- Migration from the village to another country then returning to the village
- Migration from the village to another country then returning to Cairo
- Migration from Cairo to the village
- Migration from the village to Cairo then return-migration to the village
- Migration from the village to work in another governorate in Egypt then return-migration to the village
- Migration from the village to work in another governorate then migration to another country.
- Migration to another country as a seconded skilled migrant
- Other possible routes.

Due to the complexity of migration routes and their interrelations, mapping all the above-mentioned routes in a graphical form could be confusing.

The main destination of internal migration is Cairo. With respect to international migration one can identify three main destinations that distinguish migrants and sort them according to the opportunities available for each one of them, their skills, and degree of wealth/poverty:

1. Migrants to Libya
2. Migrants to Jordan
3. Migrants to Arab Gulf Countries (mainly Kuwait, UAE, and KSA)
4. Migration to the West (very few cases)

Migrants versus non-migrants

Who migrates and who stays behind? Egyptian international migration – and to some extent internal – is temporary, economic (labor), and male dominated. Who migrates internally? Migrants to Cairo and elsewhere in Egypt are the poorest of the poor who represent the surplus of the agricultural sector. Young rural males migrate, in most cases temporarily, to Cairo seeking any work opportunity in the informal sector. Most of them return to their villages after achieving a

certain goal, such as helping the family, renovating the family house, and getting married. After marriage they return to Cairo to sustain their families' lives.

The old generations were a bit luckier than the young ones. They migrated to Cairo at a time where the economic base of the capital was able to absorb and contain them due to rapid industrialization -- from the early 1960s till 1975. The Nasser regime's socialist policy enabled many migrants from the rural sector to easily find jobs in the governmental sector in Cairo. Young migrants nowadays face a lot of constraints to permanently stay in Cairo. Most of them circulate between their villages in rural Egypt and Cairo (Zohry 2002). One can draw a sketchy profile of those who migrate internally as follows: Young males, newly graduated with technical a secondary school diploma (a low status certificate in Egypt), unskilled, primarily unemployed, who have failed to find a permanent job in the government, belong to landless or near landless families, and cannot afford the expenses of international migration.

How about international migrants? Are they different from those who migrate internally? International migrants are a bit older than internal migrants, yet young. One can classify international migrants into two categories:

Migrants to 'internal-like' destinations

'Internal-like' destinations are Libya, Jordan, and Iraq (before Gulf War II), such that migration to any of these destinations does not imply any international cross-border regulations. Egyptians are allowed to enter Libyan territories without a visa or even a passport. They can use their national identity cards to cross borders. Daily buses between Cairo and Tripoli are there for an average of LE 100 (about $17). Mini vans and microbuses from home to home are available from some villages in Upper Egypt to specific destinations in Libya, where all passengers belong to one village and in many cases one family. Migration to Libya is the most viable, and the cheapest border crossing option for unskilled laborers in Egypt. In two recent visits by the author to Libya in 2002 and 2004 it was noticed that the types of jobs that migrants seek in Cairo and in Libyan cities are likely to be similar, where migrants are engaged in unskilled work in the informal sector of large cities.

A valid passport is needed to enter the Jordanian territories, but no visa is required. Egyptians can enter Jordan without a visa, but in order to work there, they need a work contract which costs about LE 2,000 (about $340). In the past it was easy to enter, stay, and work in Jordan without any restrictions, but since 1998 Egyptians who wish to work in Jordan should secure a work contract through their relatives and friends there before entering the country, otherwise their passport would be stamped 'Not Allowed to Work in Jordan' upon entry. Because of these regulations Egyptian laborers in Jordan are better off than their counterparts who work in Libya. The only difference between internal migration and the 'internal-like' migration is the distance and the cost of transportation.

Migrants to the Arab Gulf Countries

In spite of the declining economic indicators of the Arab gulf countries due to the political instability in the region and securing burdens, in addition to the nationalization schemes of the labor forces in these countries, migration to work in these countries is still a dream in the minds of many Egyptians, to escape poverty and unemployment in Egypt. The 'first class' passages to international migration are the 'secondement' or purchasing a work contract in a first class country. Secondement is regulated by the ministry of Education in Egypt. The Ministry of Education receives requests of secondement from the Arab Gulf ministries of education every year; hundreds of thousands of Egyptian teachers apply every year. High performers are seconded for four years (non-renewable). Employers offer a full package that includes, in addition to the salary, family housing, yearly airline round trip tickets, education for children under 18, and other allowances. Married teachers always migrate with their families while un-married teachers find it a good chance to cover marriage expenses when they return back home (see case 18: Sayed Abdel-Mottaleb Hashim).

The second and most expensive first class passage to work abroad in an Arab Gulf country is to purchase a work contract through labor brokers. The costs of contracts vary from LE 4,000 to LE 20,000 depending on the country of destination (Kuwait is the most expensive) and the salary. Usually, it takes between four months and one year for the migrant to cover the initial expenses of migration (including the cost of transportation). Migrants to the Arab Gulf countries are skilled and semi-skilled professionals (see cases 2, 11, and 27).

Who stays behind in the village?

Women do not migrate. Migration, internal and international, is dominated by young men. In addition to women, older men realize that they cannot compete in the labor market. They sometimes have control on remittances and their deployment (see for example case no. 11: Haj Amer's family). In addition to women and old males, government employees cannot afford leaving their secure jobs and migrate internally. With respect to international migration, government employees can apply for leave without pay for unlimited time to work abroad, but they should have a work contract in hand to apply for such leave. Most government employees cannot afford the expenses of having a work contract abroad.

6.2 Migration Routes and Sequences

Do migrants initially migrate internally before going abroad? It is sometimes hypothesized that migration is step-wise, where migrants first move from villages to provincial centers, and then to large cities. In urban settings migrants acquire the resources to undertake long-distance international migration. However, evidence for this process is not comprehensive and in some cases, international migrants may be long-term urban residents, or rural dwellers who move directly international destinations. In turn, international migration may promote 'replacement' migration to areas from which international migrants have left. In terms of international migration processes, evidence from Latin America suggests the predominance of direct migration from small villages and hamlets to urban centers and metropolises (Merrick and Graham 1979; Roberts 1995; Lozano-Ascencio et al. 1999). International migration also appears to mainly involve direct movements of the population from rural areas to foreign countries (Durand and Massey 1992).

In the Egyptian case, direct migration from rural areas to international destinations seems to have been the norm in international migration flows from Egypt to Libya, Jordan, and Arab Gulf countries. It is important here to mention that international migration (especially to Libya and Jordan) is deployed by Egyptian rural youth as a cheap and accessible alternative to internal migration. However, evidence from fieldwork indicates that some international migrants move to live in cities within their governorates and in Cairo after their international migration experience

(see cases 18, 20, 27, 28, and 34). The overpopulation problem, urban crowding, and the fact that migrants from rural areas usually live in less-served, slum, and crowded urban areas, in addition to the expensive living burden in urban areas make it undesirable for many rural residents to stay permanently in urban areas.

In the past, older generations were able to stay in Cairo, find permanent jobs, build houses, and settle in Cairo. New generations cannot do this since having permanent residence in Cairo – even in a slum area – is very expensive. In order to enjoy the cheap living expenses in the village, and to have an urban work opportunity, one of the villagers I interviewed returned to the village and decided to commute between his village in Beni-Sueif and Cairo -- about 120 kilometers (see case 17). It should be mentioned here that 120 kilometers in the Egyptian cultural setting is a long way for people to commute.

Due to the ease of traveling to work in 'internal-like' countries – Libya and Jordan – and the fact that migration networks play an important role in stimulating migration streams between the village and these destinations, the role of the capital ceases to have a significant effect. Migrants to Libya can directly take a microbus or a bus from their villages to any destination in Libya without even passing through Cairo. Migrants to Jordan can go directly from Suez or Safaga ports in Egypt to Aqaba port in Jordan for less than LE 150 (about $25).

Stepwise versus one-step migration

Direct migration from rural areas in (Upper) Egypt to international destinations (including internal-like countries) seems to have been the norm in international migration flows from Egypt. Within this context, international migration could be regarded as an alternative to internal migration to urban agglomerations (mainly Cairo and Alexandria).

One can confidently say that internal and international migration flows are closely interconnected. The reasons behind these interconnections are the changing context of rural-urban migration and the ease of traveling to work in neighboring countries. With respect to the earlier reason, and due to the increasing fragmentation of land-holdings because of inheritance, the peasant economy has almost disappeared as a dominant form in rural Egypt, thus putting more pressure on young males

to migrate internally or internationally to support themselves and their families. The socio-economic characteristics of these migrants have changed over time. In the past it was the better-educated, less poor segments of the rural population who migrated seeking urban services and amenities. Nowadays, migration to urban areas is mainly economic and as a means to escape unemployment and rural poverty. The nature of the movement has changed over time also from permanent rural/urban migration or temporary migration through labor brokers to work in development projects in the lean seasons of agricultural activity (Toth 1999), to temporary unplanned rural/urban circulation to work in the informal sector of the capital's economy (Zohry 2002).

The second reason behind the interconnection between internal and international migration is the availability and accessibility of a cheap route to international migration directly through traveling to work in the informal sector of the Libyan or the Jordanian economy. There are many cases of migrants who frequently circulate between their village and urban agglomerations in these two countries (see for example cases 1, 9, 11, and 16); some of them with an internal migration history (to Cairo) and some without. The Egyptian case is almost unique where people migrate alternatively internally (to Cairo) and internationally (to Libya and Jordan). But it is important here to bear in mind the nature of the movement; it is temporary labor migration and people move between origin (the village) and the other two destinations without a fixed order. The only difference between migration to Cairo and migration to Tripoli for a peasant from Upper Egypt is the duration of stay - they stay longer in Tripoli – and the revenues they remit more from Libya. More on remittances in a separate sub-section below.

Lozanzo-Ascencio et al. (1996) report that in Mexico international migration mainly involves direct movements of population from rural areas and small villages to foreign destinations (mainly to USA), which is similar to the Egyptian case.

Secondement to Superior Destinations

Governmental secondements to Arab Gulf countries are evenly distributed by region of residence in Egypt weighted by the number of employees in each region. Migrants through this scheme and upon their return to Egypt are more likely to migrate internally, especially those who spend their secondement in urban areas. One may link this to the fact that these migrants are highly-skilled,

and in many cases their families accompany them. In the Gulf countries, the families of the seconded employees (mainly teachers) are exposed to urban settings, their children are exposed to different educational systems, and they gain new societal experiences. Add to all of these factors are their remittances that may enable them to migrate to urban areas in Egypt upon their return to keep the same living standards they have got used to in the Gulf. The case of Sayed Abdel-Mottaleb Hashim is an example of this type of movement (see Case no. 18 for details). However, secondement is a well-organized process that regulates labor migration but it is not the only pass for Egyptian laborers to the Arab Gulf countries. Many labor brokers' agencies are there in Cairo and other governorates (few are there out of Cairo) who provide services for skilled and semi-skilled laborers who wish to work in the Gulf for relatively large fees. The fees range from LE 4,000 to LE 20,000 for a good work contract in the Gulf. Migrants through labor brokers' offices are financially and professionally better off than those who migrate to Lybia and Jordan, but in most cases they are less well-off than seconded employees. Compared to seconded employees – mainly teachers – migrants through labor brokers offices migrate without their families to save money and because their benefit packages do not include family benefits in most cases. As such, they tend to return to their origin. Few of them migrate internally after they return.

In sum, it is clear that Egyptian international migration is an alternative to internal migration. Egyptians migrate internally and internationally without specific order. The availability and accessibility of channels of international migration (to Libya and Jordan) blurs the lines between internal and international migration.

6.3 Migration Typologies Within the Families

Are internal and international migration simultaneously deployed within the same family/household by different members? Most recent internal and international movements of population in Egypt are economically motivated. Migration is a strategy to cope with limited economic resources, unemployment, and to escape poverty (Zohry 2002; Zohry and Harrell-Bond 2003). In order to maximize benefits and to minimize hazards, internal and international migration are simultaneously deployed within the same family/household in many cases. However, chain migration is highly observed in rural Egypt, where eldest brothers who migrate first to Cairo or internationally are

committed to help their family members and relatives to follow in their footsteps. Social and family networks lubricate the migration flows from the village to internal and international destinations.

Migration typologies

Internal migrants are less likely to be involved in international migration, especially cheap international migration (migration to Libya and Jordan). Families in the village wish to send their young males to distinguished destinations (Arab Gulf countries) since they are more beneficial. Since this alternative is the most expensive migration choice, few males are engaged in this type of migration: only seconded teachers and those who can afford the fees of labor brokers to get a work contract there. The very poor families send their young males to Cairo since this is the cheapest alternative to escape rural poverty.

Families with migrants in Libya or Jordan make it easy for other members to follow in their footsteps. It is common for rural youth, after getting a secondary diploma, to work for a while in an urban area and o circulate between their village and, say, Cairo. If they can afford good jobs in an urban area, they settle there; if not, they continue circulating or they migrate internationally (to Libya or Jordan). Young males in rural Egypt leave their villages to help themselves and their families without precise migration plans in mind. They would go anywhere; if they have relatives in Libya or Jordan they go there, if not, they consider circulating internally.

Migration networks

Migration networks play an important role in lubricating migration flows and help sustain specific migration streams. Having a base in Cairo, especially close relatives, helps maintain a flow of migrants between the village and urban agglomerations. The case of Hajj Soliman's family is a clear example of the importance of family networks in maintaining the migration stream. When the eldest son migrated to Cairo, he established a base for his brothers to join him there. Ahmed Abdelaleem (see Case 28) is another example of the importance of family networks in lubricating migration between the village and Cairo.

With respect to international migration and, as I mentioned before, the main flow of less costly and less restrictive (in relation to Arab countries) international migration in the last two decades has

been to Iraq, Jordan, and Libya (now to Jordan and Libya). Many of these migrants established strong networks in Libya and Jordan to the extent that one can confidently say that at least one person from each village in Egypt is available in these destinations to receive new migrants. Remittances, marriages, and new buildings by migrants stimulate and sustain migration streams between the village and these internal-like destinations. It is part of the cultural heritage of rural (Upper) Egyptians to help not only their relatives, but also any one who comes from their village. They offer shelter, accommodation, and they introduce them to the labor market. One of the migrants to Jordan (Taha) recalls his experience there: 'I lived in Jordan as if I was in Egypt. Many friends from the village and relatives of mine had visited me in Jordan, and I helped a lot of them get jobs there,' said Taha (Case 10).

In sum, internal and international migration are simultaneously deployed within the same family/household by different members. Women, children, old males, and government employees do not migrate. A great proportion of young males leave the village to any possible destination without concrete plans of their futures. They circulate or migrate for temporary periods -- either internally or externally.

6.4 Migration and Development: Internal vs. International

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

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

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

At the macroeconomic level, remittances of workers abroad are among Egypt's largest sources of foreign currency, along with Suez Canal receipts and tourism. According to the Central Bank of Egypt (CBE) data for the fiscal year 2001/02, the total remitted money by Egyptians abroad was $2.8 billion. According to the International Monetary Fund data, Egypt ranked fifth among developing countries in remittances (Zohry and Harrell-Bond 2003).

The fieldwork shows that large proportions of remitted funds are used for daily expenses such as food, clothing and health care. Funds are also spent on building or improving housing, buying land or cattle, and buying durable consumer goods. 'Financially, I couldn't save a piaster. It's true I helped my brothers and sisters and bought them some clothes, but this is not enough. I want a permanent job, get married and live a steady life. Working in Cairo for sure will not grant me any of these wishes. It can temporarily solve the problem but is absolutely not valid to start a stable life and it can't be dependable in the long run,' Taha said (Case 3). 'Although my father fulfilled all my brothers' needs, I sometimes help them in education expenses, bring them presents and clothes and give them money too. I also help my father. He has no income, but his salary which is reasonably good but can't fulfill all family needs. We have to buy all our needs from the village market since we don't own farmland or raise cattle,' Ahmed said (Case 6). 'We renovated a part of the family house... We also bought a farmland.... and raised few cattle and poultry, and now I

prepare to get married. Except for working in Cairo, I couldn't do all this,' Mamdouh said (Case 7). Generally, only a small percentage of remittances are used for savings and 'productive investments', i.e. for activities with multiplier effects towards income and employment creation.

Remittances of international and internal-like migrants are higher than internal migrants. A successful example of migrants to Jordan is Taha who worked there for about 20 years, 'Working in Jordan, I managed to renew the family house and build another house on a piece of land I bought. Also I financed my marriage and my brothers' marriages. I bought farming land for my father to take care of, and entered into partnership with my brother in a raising cattle business. Finally, I inaugurated a mini-market,' Taha said (Case 10). The high remittances of international and internal-like migrants may be – in part – due to the fact that international migrants remit less frequently than internal migrants who visit their villages frequently to deploy money they saved while working in urban agglomerations. International migrants remit annually or semi-annually so that they can remit larger amounts than internal migrants. Add to this higher income of international migrants and their commitment to save large amounts of money because it is not easy for them to fail and return home without fulfilling what the society expects of them. Most international migrants are expected to renovate their family house or build a new house, get married (if they are still single), and help other family members as much as they can. Internal migrants are only expected to sustain their lives and fulfill daily expenses and commitments.

International migrants, especially to the Arab Gulf countries remit better than internal migrants. 'I benefited a lot from work in Saudi Arabia. Moneywise, working for one year there equals to working for ten years in Egypt,' Mahmoud said (Case 3). 'Travel to Saudi Arabia was an excellent experience with all measures, despite home sickness and harsh work conditions, and mostly being parted from wife and children. Although I have saved a lot of money,' Mahmoud el Sellini said (Case 27). 'The most important achievement I attained from traveling to work in Saudi Arabia was marriage. I was able to save marriage expenses. Without traveling to work abroad, I wouldn't have been able to save money even if I continued to work in Egypt until retirement age,' Mustafa Kamel said (Case 31).

Migrants to distinguished destinations (Arab Gulf countries) and households with many migrants abroad seem to employ remittances in economic bases more than migrants to Cairo and internal-like destinations. The family of Haj Amer (Case 11) is an example of a successful family migration experience; they renovated the family house, built another house, got married, and founded a project. Another example is Taha (Case 10) who stayed in Jordan for 20 years. When he returned, he managed to employ his savings properly. Success stories are observed among internal migrants who managed to convert from circulars and unskilled laborers to established migrants in Cairo and owners of businesses such as Hariedi (Case 21), Shehata Abdel Mottaleb (Case 22), Mohammed Abdel Kader and his brother (Case 25), and many others.

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

7. CONCLUDING REMARKS

A number of points need to be clarified further as concluding remarks for this research. Rural to urban migration has increased as landless farm laborers, deprived of the means to improve their living conditions in their origin, are pressured to abandon work and life in the rural areas and migrate in search of wage labor in the urban centers and agglomerations where the economic base is largely dependent on the informal sector. The relatively better-off laborers can afford a bus ticket to Libya where work in the informal sector is the same as working in Cairo or Alexandria. The third alternative for the jobless is to work in Jordan, but they need to afford a work contract. In the past (till 1998) it was easy to enter, stay, and work in Jordan. Nowadays, those who want to work in Jordan should secure a work contract through their relatives and friends there before entering the Jordanian lands, or their passports are stamped 'Not Allowed to Work in Jordan' upon entry. The fee for getting a work contract is 2,000 Egyptian pounds, but in many cases this amount of money is not available.

The 'first class' passage to international migration is the 'secondement' route, or purchasing a work contract through labor brokers in a first class country (Arab Gulf countries). Secondement is only applicable to teachers. The Ministry of Education manages the process of teachers' application, their evaluation, interviewing, and destination, which is usually one of the Arab Gulf countries.

With respect to the sequence of migration, the literature and fieldwork indicates that international migration is an alternative to internal migration. Egyptians migrate internally and externally without a logical order or a common pattern. People can move from a small village in Upper Egypt to international destinations in the Arab Gulf countries or elsewhere. The ease of crossing borders to Libya and Jordan made it possible for any young man in Egypt to search for work in these destinations.

Internal and international migration are simultaneously deployed within the same family/household in Egypt. Since migration is a response to economic pressures and limited work opportunities, families and households, in their attempts to escape poverty, deploy both types of movements to

sustain decent living conditions. Migration networks play a major role in directing migration streams, and chain/family migration is practiced widely.

With respect to the development impact of migration, it is important to recall the fact that Egyptian migration is a response to poverty, so that its impact on economic development is limited. Egyptian internal and international migration – especially to Libya and Jordan – should be regarded as a sort of survival migration rather than migration for development.

The conclusion to be drawn from this study is that Egyptian internal and international migration are deployed to escape poverty and mal economic development. Migration is a survival strategy; it is more to decrease hazards than to maximize benefits.

Bibliography

Abdel Shakur, M.; Mehenna, S.; and Hopkins, N. (2002): *War and forced migration in Egypt: The experience of evacuation from the Suez Canal cities,* Unpublished MS, FMRS Library, American University in Cairo.

Abdel-Hakim, M.S. (1966): "Migration to Cairo," Proceedings of the *Second Conference of Statistical Studies and Research*, Cairo University, pp. 169–80 (in Arabic).

Abdel-Hakim, M.S. (1968): Migration to Cairo. *Magazine of Arab Geography* 51: 102–17 (in Arabic).

Abdel-Hakim, M.S. (1974): "Migration to Cairo," *Population Studies* 6: 1–12 (in Arabic).

Abdel-Hakim, M.S. (1975): Population growth in Greater Cairo and the role of migration in it. *Population Studies* 19: 1–15 (in Arabic).

Abdel-Rahim, M. (1971): *Rural–Urban Migration in the Arab Republic of Egypt: Patterns, Motives, and Consequences*. National Research Centre, Cairo (in Arabic).

Abu-Lughod, J. (1961): Migrant adjustment to city life: The Egyptian case. *American Journal of Sociology* 67: 22–32.

Abu-Lughod, J. (1969): Varieties of urban experience: Contrast, co-existence, and coalescence in Cairo. In: Lapidus, I. ed. *Middle Eastern Cities*. Berkeley CA: University of California Press.

Adams, R. (1986): *Development and Social Change in Rural Egypt*. Syracuse NY: Syracuse University Press.

Adepoju A. (1983): "Issues in the study of migration and urbanization in Africa south of the Sahara," In: Morrison PA, ed. *Population movements: their forms and functions in urbanization and development*, Liege, Belgium, Ordina Editions, pp: 115-49.

Adepoju, A, (1998) "Links between internal and international migration: the African situation" published in selected articles initially published in 1984 to commemorate the 50th Anniversary of International Social Science Journal, UNESCO, Paris.

Aldakhil, K. (1999): *Patterns and Determinants of Internal Migration in the Arab Countries: The Case of Egypt*. Cairo: Economic Research Forum.

Arnold, F and Abad, RG. (1985): "Linkages between internal and international migration: the Ilocos Norte experience," *Philippine Population Journal*, 1(2):1-17.

Attiya, M. (1976): *Internal migration, its impact and motives: An empirical study of the characteristics of migrants from the village of Mushairaf to Cairo*, PhD dissertation, Ain

Shams University, Cairo (in Arabic).

Brinks, J.S. and Sinclair, C.A. (1980): *International Migration and Development in the Arab Region.* ILO, Geneva.

Burden, S.K. (1973): "Population movement and distribution over time and place," in Omran, A. (ed.) *Egypt: Population Problems and Prospects*. California Population Center, University of North Carolina, Boston.

Caldwell, J.C. (1969): *African Rural–Urban Migration: The Movement to Ghana's Towns*. Columbia University Press, New York.

CAPMAS (1973): *Internal Migration and its Impact on the Structure of Labor in the Arab Republic of Egypt*. Cairo (in Arabic).

CAPMAS (1979): *1976 Population Census Results*. Cairo.

CAPMAS (1989): *Housing and Population Census, 1986*. Cairo.

CAPMAS (1999): *Housing and Population Census, 1996*. Cairo.

CAPMAS (2001): *The Permanent Migration of Egyptians 2000*. Cairo

Castles S. and Miller M. J. (2003): *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, Guilford Press, New York.

Cernea, M. (1990): "Internal refugee flows and development-induced population displacement," *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 3(4): 320-339.

Choucri N. (1977): "The new migration in the Middle East: A problem for whom?", *International Migration Review.* 11(4), pp. 421-43.

Choucri, N. (1999): "New perspectives on political economy of migration in the Middle East," Appleyard, R. (ed.) *Emigration Dynamics in Developing Countries.* Volume 4: The Arab Region. pp. 19-43.

Cleland, W. (1936): *The Population Problem in Egypt: A Study of Population Trends and Conditions in Modern Egypt,* Science Press Printing Company. Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

de Haas, Hein (2003) *Migration and Development in Southern Morocco: The Disparate Socio-Economic Impacts in the Todgha Oasis Valley,* Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. Nijmegen: University of Nijmegen

De Jong GF, Abad RG, Arnold F, Carino BV, Fawcett JT, Gardner RW. (1983): International and internal migration decision making: a value-expectancy based analytical framework of intentions to move from a rural Philippine province. *International Migration Review*, 17(3):470-84.

Durand J; Massey DS. (1992): "Mexican migration to the United States: a critical review," *Latin American Research Review*, 27(2):3-42.

El-Badry, M.A. (1965): "Internal migration in the United Arab Republic," *Contemporary Egypt*, 319(56): 31–44 (in Arabic).

El-Boraey, A.H. (1984): "Trends and patterns of internal migration in south Upper Egypt economic region," in *Research Monograph Series No. 12*. Cairo Demographic Center, Cairo: 107–31.

El-Boraey, A.H. (1986): "Internal migration differentials in Upper Egypt economic regions," in *Research Monograph Series No. 15*. Cairo Demographic Center, Cairo: 241–55.

El-Kurdy, M. (1974): *The Social Impact of Urban Polarization: An Empirical Analytical Study of Some of the Centers of Urban Development in the Arab Republic of Egypt*, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cairo University, Cairo.

Ennaji, M. (no date) Illegal Migration from Morocco to Europe, University of Fès.

Fadil, M.A. (1978): *Socio-economic Transformations in the Egyptian Countryside*. National Authority for Books, Cairo (in Arabic).

Fahim, H. (1981): *Dams, People, and Development: The Aswan High Dam Case.* Pergamon, New York.

Fahim, H. (1983): *Egyptian Nubians: Resettlement and Years of Coping.* University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.

Farag, F.N. (1970): *Internal Migration between the Governorates of the United Arab Republic as One of the Indicators of Economic and Social Differences between Governorates*, Institute of National Planning, Research Series No. 533, Cairo.

Farrag, M. (1999): "Emigration dynamics in Egypt," Appleyard (ed.) *Emigration dynamics in developing countries*, Volume 4: The Arab region: 44-88. IOM and UNFPA.

Fawcett, J.T., Arnold F., and Minocha, U. (1984): "Asian immigration to the United States: flows and processes," paper presented at the *Conference on Asia-Pacific Immigration to the United States*, 20-25 September, East-West Population Institute, Honolulu.

Fei, J.C.H. and Ranis, G. (1961): "A theory of economic development," *American Economic Review*, 51: 533–65.

Fischer, Peter A.; Martin, Reiner; Straubhaar, Thomas (1997): "Interdependencies between Development and Migration, in: Hammar, T.; Brochmann, G.; Tamas, K.; Faist, T. (eds.), *International Migration, Immobility and Development. Multidisciplinary Perspective,* Oxford, New York, 91–132.

General Directorate for External Employment, Ministry of Manpower, and Emigration (no date): *Number of Contracts for Egyptians to Work in Arab Countries (1991-2001),* unpublished tabulation.

Goldscheider, C. (1971): *Population, Modernization, and Social Structure*, Boston: Little Brown and Company.

Goldstein, S. and Goldstein, A. (1981): *Surveys of Migration in Developing Countries: A Methodological Review*, Papers of the East West Center Population Institute, N° 71, Honolulu.

Gould, W.T.S. and Prothero, R.M. (1975) "Space and time in African population mobility", in Kosinski, L.A. and Prothero, R.M. (eds) *People on the Move: Studies on Internal Migration*. Methuen, London, 39–49.

Guhl, N. and Abdel-Fattah, M. (1991): "Rural Upper Egyptian laborers in Cairo," *Research Monograph Series No. 21*. Cairo Demographic Center, Cairo.

Harris, J.R. and Todaro, M.P. (1970): "Migration, unemployment, and development: a two-sector analysis", *American Economic Review*, 60: 126–42.

Hassan, A.M.N. (1969): *Internal Migration in the United Arab Republic in 1960: A Demographic Study in Human Planning*, Master's Thesis, Department of Geography, Faculty of Arts, Cairo University (in Arabic).

Hegazy, E. (1971): *Urbanization*, National Center for Social and Judicial Studies, Cairo (in Arabic).

Hugo, G. J. (1998): "Migration as a survival strategy: the family dimension of migration" in Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, United Nations, *Proceedings of the United Nations Expert Group Meeting on Population Distribution and Migration*, Santa Cruz, Bolivia, 18-22 January 1993, United Nations, New York, 139-149

Hugo, G.J. (1982): "Circular migration in Indonesia," *Population and Development Review,* 8: 59-83.

Hussein, S. (1988): "Socio-economic disparities and internal migration among Egyptian governorates," *Research Monograph Series No. 17*. Cairo Demographic Center, Cairo, 199–247.

Ibrahim, M.F. (1986): "Volume and patterns of internal migration in Cairo economic region," *Research Monograph Series No. 15.* Cairo Demographic Center, Cairo: 257–82.

Ibrahim, S. (1977): "Population of the Arab world: an overview," Ibrahim and Hopkins (eds.) *Arab Society in Transition,* American University in Cairo.

Institute of National Planning – International Labor Organization (INP-ILO) (1968): *Final Report on Employment Problems in Rural Areas*. Cairo.

Ismail, M.M. (1990): "The relationship between fertility and internal migration in Egypt," *Studies in African and Asian Demography: CDC Annual Seminar, 1989*, Cairo Demographic Center, Cairo: 145–82.

Lee, E.S. (1966): "A theory of migration", *Demography*, 3(1): 47–57.

Lewis, W.A. (1954): "Economic development with unlimited supplies of labor", *The Manchester School of Economics and Social Studies*, 22(2): 139–91.

Lozano-Ascencio, F., Roberts, B. and Bean, F. (1999): "The interconnections of internal and international migration: the case of the United States and Mexico", in Pries, L. (ed.) *Migration and Transnational Social Spaces*. Ashgate, Aldershot, 138–61.

Magdoub, A. (1972): "The problem of internal migration in Egypt," *Al-Ahram Economist*: 414: 42–43 (in Arabic).

Merrick, Thomas W., and Douglas H. Graham. (1979): *Population and economic development in Brazil: 1800 to the present*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Mitchell, J.C. (1985): "Towards a situational sociology of wage-labour circulation," R.M. Prothero and M. Chapman (eds.) *Circulation in Third World Countries*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London: 30-53.

Nassef, A.F. (1985): "Some aspects of rural/urban migration in Egypt," *Research Monograph Series No. 13*. Cairo Demographic Center, Cairo.

Ouda, M. (1964): "Migration to the city of Cairo, its patterns and motives," *National Review of Social Sciences*, 11: 6–61 (in Arabic).

Ouda, M. (1974): "Migration to Cairo," *National Sociological Journal*, 12: 5–60 (in Arabic).

Pryor, R. J. (1978): "Interrelations between internal and international migration, with some evidence from Australia," in *Solicited Papers: Conference on Economic and Demographic Changes: Issues for the 1980s*. Liege: International Union for the Scientific Study of Population.

Ravenstein, E.G. (1885): "The laws of migration", *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 48(2): 167–277.

Ravenstein, E.G. (1888): "The laws of migration", *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 52(2): 241–301.

Roberts, B. (1995): *The Making of Citizens: Cities of Peasants Revisited Roberts*, London: Edward Arnold.

Saad, S.I. (1976): "Internal migration to the city of Cairo and its relationship to changes," *Traditions and Values of Migrants,* International Islamic Center for Population Studies and Research, Al-Azhar University, Cairo (in Arabic).

Scudder, T. and Colson, E. (1982): "From Welfare to Development: A Conceptual Framework for the Analysis of Dislocated People". In: *Involuntary Migration and Resettlement: the problems and responses of dislocated peoples*. Art Hansen & Anthony Oliver-Smith. Boulder: Westview Press.

Sell, R. (1988): "Egyptian International Labor Migration: Towards regional integration," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 22 (3): 87-108.

Sharaa, M.H. (1964): *Net Migration of Cairo Governorate by Age and Sex*, Cairo Demographic Center, Cairo.

Sharnouby, M. (1967): *Net Migration in Urban Governorates in the United Arab Republic and its Measurement from 1950 to 1960*, Cairo Demographic Center, Cairo (in Arabic).

Sharnouby, M. (1968): *Migration from Rural Areas to the Major Cities in the United Arab Republic*, Ph.D. thesis, Ain Shams University, Cairo (in Arabic).

Skeldon R. (1990): *Population Mobility in Developing Countries: A Reinterpretation*, Belhaven: London.

Skeldon, R. (1997): *Migration and Development: A Global Perspective*. Longman, London.

Skeldon, R. (2003): *Migration and migration policy: a synthesis of selected cases*, a report prepared for and published by the Department for International Development (DFID), London.

Speare, A. Jr. (1974): "The relevance of models of internal migration for the study of international migration", in Tapinos, G. (editor) *International Migration Proceedings of a Seminar on Demographic Research in Relation to International Migration*, Paris: CICRED.

Stark, O. (1991): *The Migration of Labor*, Cambridge: Basil Blackwell.

Tirman, J. (2004) *The Maze of Fear: Security and Migration after 9/11*, The New Press, New York.

Todaro, M.P. (1969): "A model of labor migration and urban unemployment in less developed countries", *American Economic Review*, 59: 138–48.

Toth, J. (1999): *Rural Labor Movements in Egypt and Their Impact on the State, 1961 – 1992*, University Press of Florida, Gainesville.

Zohry, A. (2002): *Rural-to-Urban Labor Migration: A Study of Upper Egyptian Laborers in Cairo*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Sussex.

Zohry, A. and Harrell-Bond, B. (2003): "Contemporary Egyptian migration: an overview of voluntary and forced migration," *Country Background Papers (WP-C3)*, Development Research Center on Migration, Globalization, and Poverty, University of Sussex.

.