Creative State

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Forty Years of Migration and Development Policy in Morocco and Mexico

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For Maria

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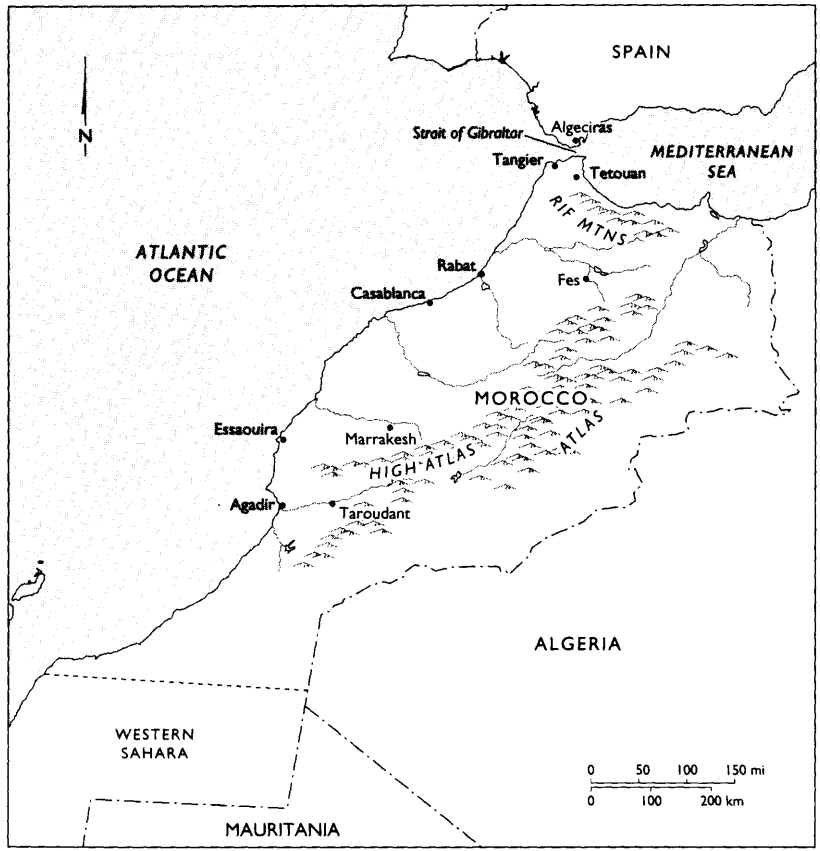
Acronyms

ADEME	Agence de l'Environment et de la Maîtrise d'Énergie
ADS	Agence de Développement Sociale (Agency for Social Development)
AFME	Agence Française pour la Maîtrise de l'Énergie
AMF	Association des Marocains en France (Association of Moroccans in France)
ATMF	Association des Travailleurs Marocains en France (Association of Moroccan Workers in France)
BCP	Banque Centrale Populaire
CFDT	Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail (French Democratic Confederation of Workers)
CTM	Confederación de Trabajadores Mexicanos (Confederation of Mexican Workers)
DACGE	Dirección General de Atención a Comunidades Guanajuatenses en el Extranjero
DGCME	Dirección General para las Comunidades Mexicanas en el Extranjero
EDF	Électricité de France
FCZSC	Federación de Clubes Zacatecas del Sur de California (Federation of Zacatecan Clubs from Southern California)
FND	Frente Nacional Democrático (National Democratic Front)

IME	Instituto de los Mexicanos en el Extranjero (Institute for Mexicans Abroad)
IRCA	Immigration Reform and Control Act
MALDEF	Mexican American Legal Defense Fund
M/D	Migrations et Développement (Migration and Development)
MECHA	Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán
MRE	Marocains Résident à l'Étranger (Moroccans Living Abroad)
MTA	Mouvement des Travailleurs Arabes (Movement of Arab Workers)
OFAM	Oficina de Atención a Migrantes y Sus Familias (Agency for the Support of Migrants and Their Families)
ONE	Office Nationale de l'Électricité (National Office of Electricity)
PAGER	Programme d'Approvisionnement Groupé en Eau Rurale (Program for the Collective Provision of Water in Rural Areas)
PAN	Partido Acción Nacional (National Action Party)
PCME	Programa para Comunidades Mexicanas en el Extranjero (Program for Mexican Communities Abroad)
PERG	Programme d'Électrification Rurale Globale (Total Program for Rural Electrification)
PNCRR	Programme Nationale de Construction de Routes Rurales (National Rural Roads Program)
PNER	Programme Nationale pour l'Électrification Rurale (National Program for Rural Electricity)
PPER	Programme pour la Pre-Électrification Rurale (Program for Rural Pre-Electrification)
PRD	Partido Revolucionario Democrático (Democratic Revolutionary Party)
PRI	Partido Revolucionario Institucional (Institutional Revolutionary Party)
SEDESOL	Secretaría de Desarrollo Social (Secretariat for Social Development)
SRE	Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores (Secretariat of Foreign Relations)
UMT	Union des Travailleurs Marocains (Moroccan Workers' Union)
UNAM	Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Mexico (National Autonomous University of Mexico)



Map of Morocco

Map of Mexico

Morocco		Mexico
Hassan II becomes king	1961	
Labor export agreements signed with European countries	1963	Bracero program renewed for last time by U.S. government
	1964	Bracero program ends
	1968	Government fires on student protestors
Banque Centrale Populaire offers bank accounts to emigrants	1969	MECHA sends its first delegation to Mexico City
Unsuccessful coup attempts against Hassan II	1971 1972	
European countries adopt restrictive policies for labor immigration	1974	
Green March into Western Sahara	1975	
	1982	President de la Madrid declares moratorium on debt payments
Emigrants instated as parliamentary representatives for Moroccan migrants	1985	

	1986	◆	Immigration Reform and Control Act passed in U.S. Congress; informal matching-funds program for migrants launched in Zacatecas (One-for-One)
Goverment establishes Hassan II Foundation, Ministry for the Moroccan Community Abroad, and Bank el-Amal for migrant investors ◆	**1990**	◆	Program for Mexican Communities Abroad (PCME) established
	1992	◆	One-for-One formalized as Two-for-One program in Zacatecas
	1993	◆	Casas Guanajuato program begins
Ministry for the Moroccan Community Abroad downgraded to subministry ◆	**1994**	◆	NAFTA goes into effect; Zapatista rebellion begins; Proposition 187 passed in California
Ministry for the Moroccan Community Abroad abolished ◆	**1997**		
	1998	◆	Two-for-One program augmented to Three-for-One in Zacatecas
Mohammed VI becomes king ◆	**1999**		
	2000	◆	Fox elected president of Mexico; Three-for-One program applied nationwide
Subministry for the Moroccan Community Abroad created ◆	**2002**	◆	Institute for Mexicans Abroad (IME) established
	2005	◆	Mexican emigrants acquired right to vote in Mexican elections via absentee ballots
	2006	◆	Four-for-One program begins in Zacatecas in partnership with Western Union
Council for the Moroccan Community Abroad established ◆	**2007**		

Creative State

1

Introduction

Interpretive Engagement in Morocco and Mexico

In late August of 1989, a Spanish immigration officer observed the crush of Moroccans returning to Europe by ferry from Tangier at the end of their summer vacations. "Morocco is becoming to Spain what Mexico is to the United States," he complained (as quoted in Riding 1989). For decades, Moroccan migrants had pushed on through to Europe's wealthier countries, but as Spain's economy started to expand, Moroccans began to stay and fill the growing demand for cheap labor. They took the same kinds of menial jobs in Spain's fields, factories, restaurants, and homes that they had worked in for more than a generation in France, Belgium, Germany, and the Netherlands. These jobs were strikingly similar to the low-wage jobs, an ocean away, that Mexicans crossed into the United States to fill. Morocco added Spain to the list of countries to which it could export its unemployed youth and also, when possible, the men who made up the political opposition that mounted occasional but serious threats to Morocco's fragile monarchy. Mexico, meanwhile, continued to let millions of its unemployed and underemployed seep north past its border, just as it had for over twenty years, with its autocratic one-party government quietly grateful for the economic relief as the country lurched from crisis to crisis.

"We're separated by water, but people still keep coming," remarked the same Spanish immigration officer as he surveyed the narrow Strait of Gibraltar. In response to increased immigration, Spain had built higher walls around its outposts in Morocco, Melilla, and Ceuta, and it had begun to draw on the arsenal of restrictive immigration policies its European counterparts had been honing for years. Likewise, the United States steadily tightened its own immigration policy, launched increasingly virulent raids, and began erecting a fortress

wall in San Diego that would, for the next two decades, advance doggedly east, progressively girdling the belly of the continent.

People kept coming, however. As they came, they began to transform the places that they had left as well as those to which they traveled. The same longing that had propelled them across increasingly dangerous borders provided them with the motivation, political power, and resources to change the places they left behind. "Each year, I traveled back with a van filled with things for the poor," remembered a Moroccan migrant I spoke with over a decade later, in 2000. "It never erased my memory of need, of not having shoes, of going to bed hungry. But I built my house and my parents' house, and this year, I am bringing back supplies for the clinic we opened in my village three years ago" (interview, Tangier, July 2000). His sentiments were echoed in the reflections a Mexican migrant shared with me at a border crossing halfway across the globe, in San Diego. "I went for three years without seeing my children; I was gone when my eldest sister died in childbirth. That absence still sits heavy in my heart," he said, "but now, there is a sign with my name on it at the entrance to the road that I helped pave. It connects my town to the hospital an hour away" (interview, San Diego, August 1999).

This book tells the political story of how migrants from Morocco and Mexico changed the communities they left, and how their initiatives, small and bold, would ultimately transform the nations from which they had emigrated. Accounts of the ways migrants have changed their communities of origin for the better have become widespread; in their most celebratory versions, migrants' philanthropic efforts at community development offer reassuring confirmation that small is indeed beautiful and that economic change can occur far outside the reach of the state. These laudatory portrayals omit a central protagonist. They minimize, when not completely obscuring, the role of governments in shaping the impact that migrants' efforts to improve the lives of their families have on their communities and, more broadly, on their nation. However, the clinic in the mountain village in Morocco was not built nor was the road between the isolated Mexican town and the modern hospital paved without government support. In both cases, government policies mediated migrant investment in their communities of origin. In Morocco, government guidelines for medical equipment and the nursing staff the government provided turned the small concrete room into a working health center. In Mexico, municipal officials with maps of the potential roads in hand sought out migrants and asked them to raise funds for the project, with the promise that any road paved with migrant dollars would serve as a permanent symbol of their strong commitment to their communities, despite the border that kept them far from home.

This book rehabilitates the place of the state in the narrative about the relationship between migration and development. It argues that the impact that migrants had on the welfare of their communities and countries of origin grew directly out of their involvement with the very governments that had—discreetly in the case of Mexico, enthusiastically in that of Morocco—encouraged their

departure while actively neglecting the development of the areas they came from.

Whether the migrants of Morocco and Mexico elbowed their way into everyday practices of governing or whether the governments of those countries sought out their counsel, their exchanges would rework the patterns of state interaction with migrants and their communities of origin. As migrants and state bureaucrats worked together, they came up with new ways for migrants to contribute to development and new ways for the state to support their initiatives. Over time, the engagement between migrants and government bureaucrats became so dense that it began to blur the line between state and society. But it also grew so vital that it transformed the state in this context from a solid structure into a verb. From being a set of agencies and fixed policies, the state dissolved into fluid practices that both migrants and state actors renegotiated and reinterpreted as they went along. Out of the engagement between migrants and their states emerged policies, striking in their creativity, that tied emigration to development. Over time, these policies revolutionized the way the governments of Morocco and Mexico perceived migration, crafted their national economic development plans, and reacted to migrant petitions for a greater political voice.

The Paradox of Success

At the turn of the twenty-first century, the impact of emigration on the places migrants left behind had begun to catch the attention of policymakers around the world, and the experiences of Morocco and Mexico in this domain acquired salience overnight. Conversations about globalization and development that had formerly focused on trade, foreign direct investment, and multinational production began to appraise international migration—the movement of people across borders—as a key determinant of local and national development. After the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, the increased vigilance of governments that strove to track formal and, especially, informal flows of money made remittances newly visible. It became clear that migrant remittances worldwide had risen to stratospheric levels, mushrooming from an estimated $11 billion in 1975 to over $150 billion in 2004—a sum already almost triple the amount of international development aid and one that would, in a couple of years, surpass even foreign direct investment (Chami et al. 2005; International Monetary Fund 2005). For many developing countries, migrant remittances emerged as an indispensable source of capital, a flow of cash that could literally make or break their economic fortunes.

Over and above these infusions of hard currency, international migration had provided sending countries with other critical factors for economic development. Migration had sparked knowledge and learning transfer across national boundaries; it had woven social networks that served as infrastructure for

international production and exchange, and laid the foundation for powerful political lobbies that influenced the policies of both the countries migrants had left and those they adopted as their new home. Through countless small transfers of savings and innumerable social exchanges, migrants were transforming the places they had left in fundamental and irrevocable ways. Community by community, they were changing their countries, redefining nationhood itself, and opening new avenues for economic development.

The sheer magnitude of migration's effect on economic development made it impossible to ignore, and governments of migrant-sending countries around the world began searching for ways to capitalize on it for economic growth. As they cast about for policy solutions, many looked to the experience of a handful of nations with long-standing policies that tied migration to development. Morocco and Mexico featured prominently as sources of "best practice" in this area. In 2001, they ranked as two of the top recipients of remittances in the world, with Mexico placing second behind India and Morocco ranking a decent fourth behind the Philippines. But the impact of emigration on the national development of both countries had less to do with the volume of those financial flows, or the flows of ideas and networks that accompanied them, than with the way both governments engaged with those resources and with the migrants that produced them. The governments of both countries had policies to forge a relationship between the emigration of low-skilled workers and economic development that were effective and well established; some had been functioning successfully for decades.

Morocco pioneered financial institutions and services that met the needs of large numbers of emigrants with no previous exposure to banking and formal money transfer services. The financial tools it created, administered through a state-controlled bank, the Banque Centrale Populaire, allowed migrants to send money home, to save and invest, while at the same time making remittances available to the government for monumental national development projects, ranging from dams to industrial parks. The Moroccan government also collaborated with migrants and their communities of origin to design better and cheaper systems to deliver basic infrastructure, such as roads and electricity, to rural areas; once supplied with services that linked them to the rest of Morocco, formerly isolated villages were brought into the national economy. The Moroccan government complemented these economic and structural interventions with initiatives to support emigrants' participation in the cultural and political life of their country of origin: it established several agencies, including a royal foundation and a ministerial office for emigrants, which nurtured emigrants' sense of belonging to their homeland.

In Mexico, after a couple of false starts, the government launched a major national program to encourage emigrant investment in communities of origin. The program matched migrant contributions to the provision of basic services, ranging from sewage to drug rehabilitation clinics to the beautification of village squares, with government monies; the program not only led to the development

of migrants' communities of origin but it also supported organizing efforts by migrants on both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border. The Mexican government expanded and refined its consular services to make them among the most attentive in the world: their offerings spanned everything from health counseling to legal advocacy to cultural and language programs for children. It opened new channels for migrants to exercise political influence in Mexico and in the United States: it afforded Mexicans abroad the ability to vote in Mexican elections and created a representative body for migrants so that they could help to shape the policies on both sides of the border that affected their lives and the development of their communities.

Despite their different emphases, the policies of Morocco and Mexico shared two important characteristics that made them remarkable among attempts worldwide to link emigration and development. First, they were innovative in their design. They embodied groundbreaking ways of drawing the resources generated by emigrants into national economic development. In particular, both governments' policies involved migrants, either directly or indirectly, in economic development planning, especially in the envisioning of new possibilities for—and even new definitions of—economic transformation. Second, the policies were dynamic. Less like tools, they were more like expressions of changing patterns of interaction. They improved over time as the engagement between migrants and government deepened; they manifested the new ways of relating that migrants and government bureaucrats discovered. As a result, the policies became more responsive to the specific and emerging needs that migrants felt as their experience of migration changed, and more attuned to the possibilities for development that migration represented.

Even as they evolved—or rather, because they did—Moroccan and Mexican policies remained consistently innovative, sometimes exceptionally so, propelling government into new functions, extending it into unfamiliar geographic territory, and enlisting aspects of migration as slippery as cultural identity for political and economic ends. They also proved impossible to replicate. When governments new to policy making in the field of migration and development mimicked Moroccan and Mexican policies, the results they saw were decidedly mixed. In the best cases, the imitations were not as effective as they had been in their original settings, and on numerous occasions they turned out to be counterproductive, alienating emigrants and stunting economic growth, and had to be abandoned. Rarely tailored to the specific needs of these other economies and their emigrants, the borrowed templates often constrained the possibilities for positive transformation that migration could hold.

My project was to move beyond this problematic "best practice" approach to policy making that migrant-sending countries seemed to be adopting as they eyed Moroccan and Mexican migration and development policy. Whereas a "best practice" approach congealed a broad, evolving, contextualized set of practices into a policy instrument, identified it as better than all the rest, and then applied that instrument indiscriminately in contexts that were very different

from the place where it had emerged, I wanted to understand the processes by which governments made sense of migration and then designed policies to seize on the opportunities that it offered for economic transformation. More pointedly, I wanted to get to the bottom of how those processes had emerged in Morocco and Mexico decades before the potential of migration as a catalyst for economic development caught the attention of other governments, scholars, and development institutions. Why—and more importantly, how—were their governments able to perceive the changes caused by out-migration, some of them very subtle and diffuse, and how were they able to translate those perceptions into innovative policies, often reframing their own role and mission in the process?

What I found was that, paradoxically, the Moroccan and Mexican policies emulated as models of excellence were never designed with a view to using migration for economic development, or at least not a version of economic development that included migrants and their communities in any meaningful way. Instead, they were initially devised to respond to domestic political crises. Both the Moroccan and Mexican governments dealt with migrants when doing so seemed likely to shore up their own often shaky political legitimacy. They engaged with migrants on an international level in order to strengthen their domestic hold on power. Furthermore, even though Morocco's and Mexico's policies fundamentally—even radically—redefined nationhood, development, and citizenship for both countries, the process of policy development was so iterative and improvisational that neither the governments nor their migrant constituencies ever predicted, much less intended, their outcomes.

This book chronicles how these policies, used as blueprints for building bridges between migration and economic development in the early years of the twenty-first century, came to be, and argues that it was precisely the indeterminacy surrounding their emergence that was the source of their originality. For the governments of Morocco and Mexico, the conceptual connection between migration and development became clear only when the policies to link them were already well established and being copied by other sending states. The question—how to link migration and development—and the answer—the policies that did so—arose in tandem. The welter of contradictory ideas and nascent understandings that permeated the process of policy development may have made it impossible for government planners, and the migrants they engaged with, to see where they were going, but it was also what allowed them to get there.

The Politics of Ambiguity

Rarely are the terms "creative" and "state" used in the same phrase. The state has generally been portrayed as a creaking behemoth badly in need of overhaul. The prescriptions for reform have focused on making sure the state fulfills its

tasks with as little wastage as possible. Transparency, accountability, and efficiency have dominated as catchphrases of the day, and efforts to refurbish dreary state bureaucracies have combined a free market–inspired drive to reduce the size of government with a bureaucrat's obsession for standardizing the procedures that remain. Cultivating the ability of government to come up with new ways of doing things—to innovate—has almost never made it onto the reformers' agenda. Instead, the handful of policies tapped as successes have been carefully scrutinized in order to identify why exactly they worked. An analytic scalpel has been taken to them, and they have been meticulously dissected to pinpoint exactly which elements can be replicated in other settings. *How* the new policy instruments are invented, however, has received far less analysis, if any.

This tendency to overlook the process behind government innovations stems from an assumption that the political process by which novel ideas are embraced and fashioned into policy is too unpredictable to chart. Analyses of policy innovations characterize them as the product of random events or political maneuvers, with causal antecedents that are impossible to model: a bureaucrat serendipitously stumbles onto a new solution for an old problem (Tendler 1997); under political pressure from their constituents, legislators institute a policy that turns out, fortuitously, to be successful, although not at addressing the problem it was designed to target (March 1994); a political crisis on the scale of a war or national fiscal default unexpectedly comes to a head and forces a reluctant government to consider policy suggestions that it previously had disregarded or actively suppressed, and even then, the approaches adopted are likely to have only a loose correspondence with the crisis that compelled their consideration (Schon 1971).

Ever since policy analysts began debunking the notion in the 1970s that the state followed any sort of linear or rational model in designing policy (Schon 1971; Cohen et al. 1972; Nakamura 1987), uncertainty and ambiguity have figured prominently in theories about policy development (Kingdon 1995; Feldman 1989). The cause of the ambiguity is the fact that there are as many takes on any given social problem as there are different actors, institutions, and political camps involved in policy making (Feldman 1989; Zahariadis 2007). The ensuing confusion can rarely be remedied with additional data, especially if those data reflect only one particular worldview. The issue is not a lack of information but an abundance of viewpoints.

According to policy analysts, this ambiguity provides a platform, a wide-open stage, on which policymakers or social movements can push their agendas, and it is their political skill and the power that they accrue, rather than rational choice or impartial analysis, which sways the outcome. How this political pressure manifests itself depends on who you ask: institutional analysts tend to focus on bureaucracies and social rules, such as laws and norms (Ostrom 2000; Powell and DiMaggio 1991); observers of coalitions and social movements stress the contingent relationships and identities that political actors form to

advance their agendas (Jansen 1991; Marsh and Smith 2000; Skocpol 1992; Fantasia and Voss 2004); proponents of punctuated-equilibrium theories of policy making, who argue that policy change occurs in brief heady bursts that interrupt long stretches of stasis, attend to the political factors that make government susceptible to lurching policy shifts (True et al. 2007). There is, however, broad consensus that shaping meaning in this ambiguous political field is the most potent means of applying pressure. "Decision making," concludes March, "may in many ways be better conceived as a meaning factory than as an action factory" (1997: 23).

Yet despite the careful stratagems or social momentum behind meaning-making tactics, the policy outcome still remains uncertain. Policies are the product of competing efforts at political persuasion, to be sure, but they are also the product of a haphazard, even chaotic, collision of events and actors. Who will win the struggle to author policy is always far from clear. Cohen, March, and Olsen (1972) go so far as to call the decisions that go into policy making an expression of "organized anarchy" in which different ideas, problems, and solutions are dumped into a proverbial "garbage can." With those different elements jostling around in the can, policies are the product of solutions that actors opportunistically attach to problems, of viewpoints that interest groups muscle onto platforms where they can be aired, and, more prosaically, of policymakers finding work to justify their presence on the payroll.

Confronted with so many confounding variables, policy observers of all stripes tend to derive the meanings used to push a given policy agenda retrospectively. Meanings are "read off" policies once they have already been instated. But policy innovations, because they—by definition—represent a break from past practice, often cannot be traced backed to a well-worn set of meanings in this way. Consequently, they are represented as the product of a process that is especially opaque and random—one that is hopelessly indecipherable. Narratives about policy innovation reach back only to the point in the policy development process where the conceptual building blocks for the new policies have already been clearly articulated and adopted by the relevant bureaucracies, and the practices they embody have already been well rehearsed, if not already formalized into a policy intervention. These accounts start after the action is already over.

The experiences of Morocco and Mexico suggest that we need to pay attention to the murky, unruly ambiguity that is the prologue to policy innovation. Both countries demonstrate that far from being an institution resistant to change, the state can be a remarkable site of creativity. They also show that to understand the state's potential for creativity and to nurture it, we need to delve into the messy and disorienting confusion that characterizes policy making and explore the processes through which state and nonstate actors make sense of the conflicting, hazy, incomplete meanings that are found there. In Morocco and Mexico, ambiguity did not just provide the stage on which political power struggles were played out, where competing constituencies jockeyed to advance well-defined