

CARIM – Consortium for Applied Research on International Migration

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CARIM – Migration Profile

Mauritania

The Demographic-Economic Framework of Migration

The Legal Framework of Migration

The Socio-Political Framework of Migration

Report written by

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and **DELPHINE PERRIN**

on the basis of CARIM database and publications

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The Demographic-Economic Framework of Migration

Since its independence in 1960 Mauritania has seen intense migratory movements.

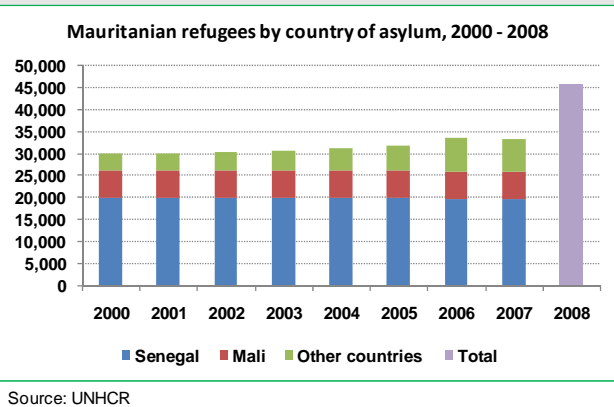
Outward flows started in the 1970s due to an interplay of several factors, i.e. the degradation of the agro-pastoral system caused by severe and frequent droughts together with high levels of poverty and unemployment. Early flows were mainly directed towards African countries, such as Senegal, Mali, the Ivory Coast and Gambia. During the late 1980s and early 1990s, buoyed by the violent 1989 Mauritania-Senegal conflict, outward flows were directed towards job opportunities offered by the oil-producing Gulf countries as well as by other areas such as Libya and the European countries.

Inward flows have even more ancient roots. Coming mainly from neighboring countries, immigrants' flows should be understood against the background of state-building efforts in Mauritania. The arrival of labor migrants was, in fact, motivated by the need to fill gaps in the labor market and to address construction and infrastructures challenges. Later, while the 1990s had been characterized by large inward flows of refugees and asylum seekers due to civil conflicts in African countries (i.e. Liberia, Sierra Leone and the Ivory Coast), during the 2000s, Mauritania has also evolved into an important transit country, attracting irregular migrants attempting to cross to Europe through the Canary Islands.

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<p>Stock</p> <p>According to the Mauritanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, 250,000 Mauritians resided abroad in 2004, 8.1% of the Mauritanian population.</p> <p>Mauritanian emigrants by region of residence, 2004</p> <table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>Region of residence</th> <th>Number</th> <th>%</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>West Africa</td> <td>128 000</td> <td>51,2</td> </tr> <tr> <td> <i>of which the Ivory Coast</i></td> <td>50 000</td> <td>20,0</td> </tr> <tr> <td> Mali</td> <td>40 000</td> <td>16,0</td> </tr> <tr> <td> Gambia</td> <td>20 000</td> <td>8,0</td> </tr> <tr> <td> Senegal</td> <td>10 000</td> <td>4,0</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Other African countries</td> <td>17 500</td> <td>7,0</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Gulf countries</td> <td>24 000</td> <td>9,6</td> </tr> <tr> <td> <i>of which Saudi Arabia</i></td> <td>20 000</td> <td>8,0</td> </tr> <tr> <td> United Arab Emirates</td> <td>4 000</td> <td>1,6</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Other countries</td> <td>80 500</td> <td>32,2</td> </tr> <tr> <td> <i>of which France</i></td> <td>20 000</td> <td>8,0</td> </tr> <tr> <td> Canary Islands</td> <td>2 000</td> <td>0,8</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Total</td> <td>250 000</td> <td>100,0</td> </tr> </tbody> </table> <p>Source: Mauritanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation</p> <p>A majority (51.2%) live in Western African countries especially in the Ivory Coast (20.0), Mali (16.0%), Gambia (8.0%) and Senegal (4.0%) but important numbers are also found in Gulf States (9.6%) and in France (8.0%). It is worth mentioning that numbers of Mauritians residing abroad do not take into account the estimated 25,000 refugees still living in Senegal.</p>	Region of residence	Number	%	West Africa	128 000	51,2	<i>of which the Ivory Coast</i>	50 000	20,0	Mali	40 000	16,0	Gambia	20 000	8,0	Senegal	10 000	4,0	Other African countries	17 500	7,0	Gulf countries	24 000	9,6	<i>of which Saudi Arabia</i>	20 000	8,0	United Arab Emirates	4 000	1,6	Other countries	80 500	32,2	<i>of which France</i>	20 000	8,0	Canary Islands	2 000	0,8	Total	250 000	100,0	<p>Stock</p> <p>In 2000, according to census data, 34,481 foreign nationals resided in Mauritania. However, this number has to be used carefully since the census took place in November 2000 just after new political tensions flared up Mauritania and Senegal and the subsequent programme of return migration on the part of Senegalese residents in Mauritania. In this regard, it is worth mentioning that in 1988 (one year before the Mauritania-Senegal Conflict), Senegalese immigrants accounted for 63.8% of the total foreign population, while after 1989 thousands of Senegalese residents in Mauritania had been repatriated as well as their Mauritanian counterparts in Senegal.</p> <p>Foreign resident population in Mauritania by country of citizenship, 1988, 2000, 2005</p> <table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th rowspan="2">Country of citizenship</th> <th colspan="2">1988</th> <th colspan="2">2000</th> <th>2005</th> </tr> <tr> <th>Number</th> <th>%</th> <th>Number</th> <th>%</th> <th>Number</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Senegal</td> <td>32,729</td> <td>63.8</td> <td>13,068</td> <td>37.9</td> <td>n.a.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Mali</td> <td>6,497</td> <td>12.7</td> <td>10,793</td> <td>31.3</td> <td>n.a.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Guinea Conakry</td> <td>2,635</td> <td>5.1</td> <td>1,207</td> <td>3.5</td> <td>n.a.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Algeria</td> <td>1,391</td> <td>2.7</td> <td>n.a.</td> <td>n.a.</td> <td>n.a.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Maghreb countries</td> <td>n.a.</td> <td>n.a.</td> <td>2,000</td> <td>5.8</td> <td>n.a.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Arab Gulf countries</td> <td>n.a.</td> <td>n.a.</td> <td>1,310</td> <td>3.8</td> <td>n.a.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Other Arab countries</td> <td>1,720</td> <td>3.4</td> <td>34</td> <td>0.1</td> <td>n.a.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Other African countries</td> <td>4,210</td> <td>8.2</td> <td>4,483</td> <td>13.0</td> <td>n.a.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Other countries</td> <td>2,148</td> <td>4.2</td> <td>1,586</td> <td>4.6</td> <td>n.a.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Total</td> <td>51,330</td> <td>100.0</td> <td>34,481</td> <td>100.0</td> <td>66,053</td> </tr> </tbody> </table> <p>Source: Mauritanian Census (years 1988, 2000), United Nations Population Division, UNDP (year 2005)</p> <p>For 2005, the UN Population Division provides an estimate of 66,053 foreign nationals, representing 2.2% of the residing population.</p>	Country of citizenship	1988		2000		2005	Number	%	Number	%	Number	Senegal	32,729	63.8	13,068	37.9	n.a.	Mali	6,497	12.7	10,793	31.3	n.a.	Guinea Conakry	2,635	5.1	1,207	3.5	n.a.	Algeria	1,391	2.7	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	Maghreb countries	n.a.	n.a.	2,000	5.8	n.a.	Arab Gulf countries	n.a.	n.a.	1,310	3.8	n.a.	Other Arab countries	1,720	3.4	34	0.1	n.a.	Other African countries	4,210	8.2	4,483	13.0	n.a.	Other countries	2,148	4.2	1,586	4.6	n.a.	Total	51,330	100.0	34,481	100.0	66,053
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In OECD countries, Mauritians emigrants are more likely to be men (75.2%), with a low level of education (63.4%), employed in low skilled occupations (63.1%). As to their occupational profile in West Africa, they are mainly employed in the retail market while in Gulf countries they have worked in well remunerated but temporary jobs, e.g. in the police and the security services.

Many Mauritanian emigrants are refugees. They are concentrated in Senegal and Mali as a result of the 1989 Senegal-Mauritania conflict which ultimately led to the expulsion of around 53,000 Mauritanian nationals with black-African origins and the contemporaneous repatriation of thousands of Mauritians expelled by the Senegalese authorities.



Flows

According to the Mauritanian Ministry of Interior, in 2007 the migratory balance for nationals was around (+) 1,700 (46,000 exits vs 47,700 entries). An important characteristic of Mauritanian outward flows is the shift – during the 1990s – in the choice of destination from West Africa to the Gulf, to Libya as well as to Europe, a tendency which is likely to continue in the next years.

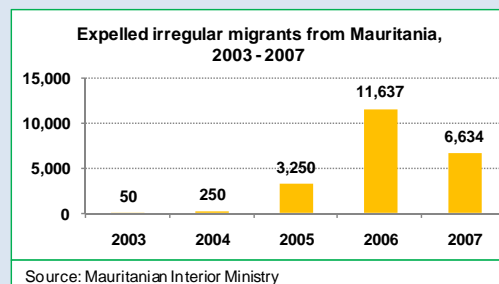
As to the refugee repatriation programme, 14,147 refugees (comprising 3,634 families) returned home until October 2009 (UNHCR).

Besides labor migrants, Mauritania hosts large numbers of refugees who arrived during the 1990s as a consequence of internal conflicts in the neighbouring countries including Liberia, Sierra Leone and the Ivory Coast. In 2008, more than 34,000 asylum seekers and refugees were registered with UNHCR.

Flows

According to the UNDP, the net migration rate equaled (+)0.8‰ and (+)2.1‰ for 1995-2000 and 2000-2005, while the projected values for the periods 2005-2010 and 2010-2015 were respectively (+)0.6‰ and (-)1.1%. Indeed, Mauritania seems to evolve into a significant country of immigration for neighboring countries and at the same time a major country of transit.

One of the most important feature characterizing Mauritanian inward flows is the complex phenomenon of irregular and transit immigration. For a long time, irregular migration has not been considered a national issue but rather a structural phenomenon in the Mauritanian society. The legislation on immigration has not been much applied and as a matter of fact being an irregular worker was almost “normal”. According to a recent survey carried out by the Ministry of Employment and Vocational Training in 2007, 80.0% of foreign workers do not have a work permit and 7.0% do not declare their legal status.



During the mid 2000s due to the strengthening of Southern Europe’s border controls, together with the more severe migration norms put in place by Maghreb countries, Mauritania evolved into an important transit country towards the Canary Islands, which had become one of the major points of entry to Europe. However, its importance as a transit country has considerably decreased starting from 2007. As to their profile, transit migrants come mainly from Senegal and Mali (72.8%) and tend to be men (88.0%). Finally, several surveys found that the main reason for taking this risky route to Europe was not job, strictly speaking, but family pressure.

The Legal Framework of Migration

Mauritania began a global reform of the legal framework governing foreign nationals in the country. In 2010, Migration was regulated by texts adopted in the 1960s and by some extremely recent provisions for, since 2003, Nouakchott has proceeded with progressive thematic reorganization. Legal updates have been related to the repression of human trafficking (2003), the status of the refugee (2005) and the employment conditions of foreign manpower (2008).

Foreign nationals' entry and stay conditions are currently defined by two decrees from 1964 and 1965, but a reform is being discussed. As happened in neighbouring Maghreb countries, this reform may strengthen sanctions against irregularity, but also give protection to some categories of foreign nationals, especially protection from expulsion. It might also govern emigration. Whereas exit visas were suppressed in 1985 as part of the country's democratization, Mauritania has worked with Spain and FRONTEX since 2006 to combat irregular emigration by readmitting foreign nationals who transited through the country and who are placed in detention camps before repatriation.

The Nationality Code has not changed in thirty years.

Mauritania has concluded a large number of bilateral agreements in order to facilitate circulation and the stay of people, and to regulate the use of manpower. It is also party to many international conventions.

	Outward migration	Inward migration
General legal references	<i>Decree 64-169</i> of December 15, 1964 modified by <i>decree 65-110</i> of July 8, 1965 on the immigration regime. Reform currently under discussion.	
		<i>1990 Convention</i> ¹ : ratified <i>ILO</i> : 42 conventions ratified ²
	<i>Bilateral agreements</i> on circulation and establishment of people with Mali (1963) and Algeria (1996), on entry and stay with France (1992), on manpower with Senegal (1972), Algeria (2004), Spain (2007), and some Arab-Persian Gulf countries.	
	Member State of the <i>African Union</i> , the <i>Arab Maghreb Union</i> , the <i>League of Arab States</i> and the <i>CENSAD</i> ³ . Left the <i>ECOWAS</i> ⁴ in 1999 but the network of bilateral agreements is still in force.	
Circulation Entry and Exit	The right to leave the country is guaranteed in the <i>Constitution</i> . Suppression of exit visa for nationals in 1985. There are still exit visas for foreign nationals. The legal conditions to enter the country of destination may be checked by national authorities before leaving.	No visa requirement for nationals of states linked to Mauritania by circulation or/and establishment conventions. Visa required for other foreign nationals. Distinction between non-immigrant and immigrant foreign nationals. The former have to present their passport and a return ticket. The latter have to present: passport/visa; vaccination certificate; medical certificate; police record; consignment receipt; labour contract or an authorization necessary for their planned activity.

¹ Convention on the protection of all migrant workers and members of their family

² Including convention C111 concerning Discrimination in Respect of Employment and Occupation, but excluding conventions C118 Equality of Treatment of Nationals and Non-Nationals in Social Security, C97 concerning Migration for Employment and C143 concerning Migrations in Abusive Conditions and the Promotion of Equality of Opportunity and Treatment of Migrant Workers.

³ Community of Sahel-Saharan countries.

⁴ Economic Community of West African Countries.

Struggle against irregular migration	Palermo protocols ⁵ : ratified Law 25-2003 of July 17, 2003: human trafficking became punishable with a five- to ten-year hard-labor confinement and a fine of between 500,000 and 1 million ouguiyas.	
	Agreement on the control of migratory flows (and readmission) with Spain in 2003 and 2006. Arrested transit migrants are detained and repatriated.	Law 65-046 of February 23, 1965 on penalties related to the immigration regime punishes foreign nationals who irregularly enter or stay in Mauritania with a two-month to a two-year prison sentence. Involvement in fraud is also penalized.
Rights and settlement	Emigrants' duty to register in Consulates. Voting submitted to more than 6 months effective residency in Mauritania. Electoral representation of expatriates in the Senate and the Economic and Social Council. Expatriates' right to parliamentary eligibility.	Distinction between privileged (on an establishment convention basis) and ordinary foreign nationals. The former have the right to stay (with a resident card) indefinitely. The latter have to apply for a foreign-national identity card, for an indeterminate period, but which needs a visa every year. Family reunification: legal silence. Access to employment: Decree of April 16, 2008 related to the employment conditions of foreign manpower sets out 3 categories of work permit with variable terms (temporary or indeterminate) and access rights (to trade or to the liberal professions, for example). Equal access to employment, except for those linked to sovereignty (public, judicial security service, etc). The low implementation of penalties against irregular employment; a high proportion of informal work. Equal access to public services and access to estate ownership.
	Nationality : Law n°1961-112 of June 20, 1961 enabling the Mauritanian Nationality Code, modified in 1962 and 1976: <i>jus sanguinis</i> by descent of father or mother, though persisting sex discrimination. Children born to a Mauritanian mother in the country are given citizenship, but have the right to repudiate citizenship when they come of age; born abroad, they can opt for their mother's nationality when they come of age. <i>jus soli</i> : simple, with a declaration at age (birth + 5 years residency); and double right of soil. Automatic acquisition of nationality through marriage with a male Mauritanian (unless otherwise requested). No right to nationality through marriage with a female Mauritanian: possibility of naturalization without past residency requirement. Dual nationality prohibited.	
Refugees	Tripartite agreement with Senegal and UNHCR for the voluntary return of Mauritanian refugees from Senegal (2007).	1951 Convention ⁶ : ratified 1969 Convention ⁷ : ratified Conditions of implementation in decree 2005-022 of March 3, 2005 : creation of a National Consultative Commission on Refugees to the Ministry of Interior, in charge of eligibility to refugee status, based on UNHCR RSD ⁸ .

⁵ Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially women and children, and Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, 15 November 2000.

⁶ Geneva Convention relating to the status of refugees.

⁷ OAU Convention governing specific aspects of refugees in Africa.

⁸ Refugee Status Determination.

The Socio-Political Framework of Migration

Depicted as an intersectional and multifunctional junction⁹ connecting various migratory corridors across the Sahel and the Mediterranean, Mauritania has an overburdened migration agenda where emigration, immigration and transit-migration imperatives converge.

Notwithstanding the country's diversity, ethnic divisions and confrontations, particularly during the 1980s, have cast doubt on Mauritania's stability and human-rights record. Illustrative of the country's difficult migration legacy was the 1989 refugee crisis. Following Mauritania-Senegal border tensions, ethno-political upheavals culminated in the expulsion of Senegalese and Black Mauritians from the country. In the wake of this crisis, Mauritanian-Senegalese relations degenerated and the balance of power in the country tipped¹⁰

In the last decade, with a view to dealing with pressing migration matters, Mauritania has invested considerable effort in institutionalising its migration apparatus. Mauritania has, moreover, consolidated cooperation in the fields of irregular and transit migration with international stakeholders. Further, in the wake of Mauritania's unconsolidated political opening,¹¹ the government has, since 2008, coordinated the return and reintegration of Mauritanian refugees from Sub-Saharan Africa (Senegal and Mali). Specialised committees formed to study the governance of migration and to oversee the return of Mauritanian refugees expelled from the country in 1989¹² have been set up.

Mauritania has also assumed an increasingly important role on the Euro-Mediterranean migration scene in the last years. A participant in the 5+5 regional process (2005) and a founding member of the Union for the Mediterranean (2008), the country has taken on a more visible role in the governance of migration flows from Sub-Saharan Africa to Europe.

In an effort to boost the country's development and alleviate unemployment, the government has consolidated temporary economic migration frameworks with the EU and its member states (e.g. Spain) and with Arab and Gulf countries.

Despite these reforms which should be read against the backdrop of Mauritania's fragile political liberalisation, the country's migration apparatus still lacks an integrative and strategic perspective to put emigration as well as immigration in the context of sustainable development. Emigration policies remain fragmented, and have so far not consolidated links with Mauritanian emigrants; nor have they developed adequate channels to ensure that remittances spur structural development. A case in point is the establishment of a transitory State Secretariat in charge of Mauritanians abroad in 2008, which was dissolved as a consequence of governmental change.

It is also noteworthy that the country relies on some immigrants' skills in certain sectors (education, services and the like). This need for professional immigrants can be partly explained by the lack of concentrated Diaspora groups of skilled Mauritanian professionals.

The scarcity of Mauritanian skilled emigrants established abroad notwithstanding, the government has not devised action plans to incite these professionals to return and take up positions in their homeland.¹³ In this context, it is also important to highlight the paucity of local knowledge regarding these professionals' trends.

⁹ See Ali Ben Saad "Mauritanie: la dimension politique et sociale des migrations", *Rapport sur les Migrations Méditerranéennes 2008-2009*, sous la direction de Philippe Fargues, CARIM, RSCAS, p. 195.

¹⁰ It was only in 1991 that an agreement was negotiated by the Senegalese President Abdou Diouf to reopen the borders between Senegal and Mauritania.

¹¹ In 2007, the election of the new president Sidi Mohamed Ould Cheikh Abdallahi marked the beginning of a new phase of political liberalization as well as the beginning of the refugee repatriation process. The Abdallahi government initiated measures so as to repatriate thousands of Mauritanian refugees in Mali and Senegal under UNHCR assistance programme.

¹² For instance, the National Agency ANAIR that supervised the repatriation of Mauritanian refugees.

¹³ It is noteworthy that the issue of highly-skilled emigration is not central in Mauritania. Still, the educated Mauritanian religious elites in several Muslim countries as well as the skilled Mauritanian Diaspora in high-tech sectors in northern countries are worth mentioning. Statistical information for these trends remains nevertheless scarce. See Zekeria

Due to Mauritania's position as a juncture between Northern and Sub-Saharan Africa, its proximity with a peripheral part of EU territory (the Canary Islands) as well as its relatively lax border controls,¹⁴ today's challenges include managing clandestine and transit migration, and sensitizing the local population and government officials to the human rights of asylum seekers and undocumented migrants. In spite of a flourishing civil society advocating democracy and a human-rightist approach towards migration governance, Mauritania has been severely criticized for its treatment of undocumented immigrants and refugees in the last years (Amnesty International Report 2008).

Another difficult task facing the present Mauritanian government is how to consolidate the link between labour migration policies and sustainable development. These challenges have yet to be met in a volatile political and economic national setting

Mauritania's socio-political framework	Outward migration	Inward migration
Governmental Institutions	Ministry of Interior; Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation; Ministry of Employment (called 'Ministère de l'Emploi, de l'Insertion et de la formation professionnelle'); the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Development; specific governmental committees dealing with migration management: e.g. the inter-ministerial committee overseeing the return and repatriation of Mauritanian refugees from Mali and Senegal; the study group on the management of migratory flows (GEFM) etc.	Ministry of Interior; Ministry of National Defense; Ministry of Employment; Ministry of Justice; Ministry of Economic Affairs and Development; specific governmental committees dealing with migration flows and migration management: e.g. the inter-ministerial committee, the study group on the management of migratory flows (GEFM), the Consultative Committee on Asylum.
Governmental Strategy	The development of policies regulating emigration and exit; sustaining links with the Mauritanian Diaspora; encouraging remittances; spurring Mauritians abroad to invest in the country; monitoring bilateral agreements related to economic emigration; promoting temporary labour migration or circular migration schemes (mainly between Mauritania and Europe – e.g. Spain – as well as with the Gulf countries); devising plans for the return and repatriation of Mauritanian refugees: e.g. the Mauritanian refugees in Sub-Saharan Africa (Senegal and Mali) whose return has been monitored since 2008).	Regulate immigration with regard to admission, residency and work permits of foreign nationals; assess the labour market's need for foreign labour; develop action plans for attracting economic immigrants in certain job sectors (services, fishery, education) and for ensuring that employment contributes to local economic development; reinforcing border management and developing policy frameworks so as to deal with the increasing trends of irregular and transit immigration; reducing the number of undocumented immigrants by apprehending, regularising or deportation procedures; identifying asylum seekers on Mauritanian territory and defining their status and rights as well as conditions for their stay
Civil Society Action	(a) Initiatives of Mauritanian migrant associations as well as professional and student transnational networks aimed at: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – providing services for Mauritians abroad and establishing links between them as well as maintaining ties with Mauritania (e.g. L'Association Culturelle des Etudiants Mauritaniens (ACEM)); 	Civil society initiatives aimed at: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – providing services and safeguarding the interests of immigrants and immigrant workers (La Confédération Générale des Travailleurs de Mauritanie); – encouraging a national debate on migration management (e.g. Association pour la Protection de

Ahmed Salem. "La migration hautement qualifiée: aspects et questions sociopolitiques en Mauritanie ». *CARIM analytical note* 2010, forthcoming.

¹⁴ Lax border controls are a question of a historical tradition of free circularity, largely due to Mauritania's multi-ethnic and varied socio-economic structure.

CARIM Migration Profile: Mauritania

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - carrying out research studies on the potential role of Mauritanian expatriates in their country's development and collecting data on the Mauritanian Diaspora; - involving Mauritanian expatriates in local development or in homeland politics: e.g. the "For Mauritania initiative" created by Mauritanian expatriates in the US for endorsing democratic reform in the homeland; the Citizen Call for Recognising Mauritians Abroad (L'Appel Citoyen pour la Reconnaissance des Mauritaniens de l'Etranger (ACREME)) <p>(b) local Initiatives aimed at:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - raising awareness against irregular emigration and dissuading potential irregular emigrants from moving (e.g. l'Association mauritanienne de lutte contre l'immigration illégale - AMLI); - sensitising the local population and governmental officials with the reinsertion of Mauritanian refugees into Mauritanian society. 	<p>l'Environnement et Action Humanitaire (APEAH), Le Centre Guide pour la Migration);</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - providing services and assistance to vulnerable migrant categories such as irregular migrants, refugees and asylum seekers (e.g. le Croissant rouge, le programme pour le développement durable et la réduction de la pauvreté de Dar Naim).
<p>Challenges</p>	<p>The necessity to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - provide adequate and sustainable policy responses over the political grievances of Mauritians residing abroad who ask for more political involvement in their country – it is noteworthy in this respect that in the summer of 2009, Mauritians abroad were involved in the presidential elections¹⁵; - consolidate relations with the Mauritanian Diasporas residing in North America, Saudi Arabia, Senegal and France so as to benefit from their competences and human capital; - make up for the lack of data on the Mauritanian Diaspora stocks, characteristics, distribution and education levels ; - devise action plans that can offer incentives and attract highly-skilled Mauritanian professionals who in certain cases prefer to leave in search of better professional opportunities 	<p>The necessity to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - devise an integrative immigration policy ensuring the harmonisation of development, labour and human rights; - ensure better sea and land border management in order to curb irregular and transit migration while improving the socio-economic rights of clandestine and transit migrants (e.g. improving the conditions prevailing in the retention center in Nouadhibou); - settle policy making tensions regarding Mauritania's status in co-managing migration flows with the European Union. Take the divergences over the EU's attempt to 'export' its migration management model to the country and empower Mauritania in the migration dialogue for security concerns¹⁶ or the clash regarding the application of the readmission agreement signed between Mauritania and Spain.

¹⁵ See Salem, "La migration hautement qualifiée".

¹⁶ For more information on how internalising European migration dynamics in Mauritania could have negative implications, see Ben Saad, 202-203. See also Amnesty International Report (2008) available at <http://www.amnestyusa.org/document.php?id=ENGAFR380012008&lang=e>.

<p>International Cooperation</p>	<p>Multiplying bilateral and multilateral cooperation frameworks (e.g. with the EU and IOM) in migration-related fields so as to ensure that Mauritanian outward migration (particularly temporary migration) contributes to local economic and human development; cooperating with international organisms such as the IOM so as to craft a sustainable labour migration policy; consolidating cooperative mechanisms with international organisations (e.g. IOM) with a view to mobilising Mauritanian expatriates' competencies abroad and facilitating their return; defining cooperation frameworks with external stakeholders (IOM, UNHCR, EU, Spain...) with a view to identifying the root causes of irregular emigration and reinforcing border management (e.g. Mauritania-FRONTEX cooperation); developing cooperative mechanisms with UNHCR and the UNDP so as to ensure the repatriation of Mauritanian refugees following the 1989 refugee crisis, and to sensitise the local population in favour of their reintegration.</p>	<p>Developing cooperative mechanisms with international and external parties (e.g. UNHCR, IOM, EU, Spain...) in order to mitigate the effects of irregular and transit immigration on Mauritanian territory and to reinforce sea and land control; consolidating national capacity-building in collaboration with international organisations (IOM) so as to craft labour-migration policies; developing collaborative mechanisms with UNHCR so as to sensitise the population as well as governmental authorities regarding the human and socio-economic rights of refugees on Mauritanian territory.</p>
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(1) This socio-political framework does not claim exhaustive coverage but intends rather to provide a synthetic picture of the socio-political facets and policy developments shaping migration developments and governance in, across, and from Mauritania.