

# Country Paper:

## Morocco

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### The state of research into international migration from, to and through Morocco

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## Introduction

Reviewing the current state of research into international migration in relation to Morocco is a challenging task, plagued with difficulties, if only because of the way this research has been scattered across different disciplines in different parts of the world. Today, the vast majority of this research is being generated outside of Morocco, and not only in Europe, at such a rate that it is difficult in practical terms to keep up with all the new developments in terms of concepts and issues.

When looking at the structure of this research, it must be stressed that foreign Universities play the key role. The university thesis, presented in Europe or Morocco, but chiefly prepared by Moroccan researchers, was the main driving force, but today the baton has been passed on to research teams, with international backing and foreign researchers.

In order to establish a database of research into international migration around Morocco, we looked at its three characteristic present-day forms.

Firstly, there is international migration from Morocco, whose effects are felt outside the country, and which is the best studied and the best understood.

Then there is international migration into Morocco, which can take three different forms: returning migration by Moroccans, migration by Sub-Saharan Africans who stop here en route to Europe, and also a new type of north-south migration which leads increasing numbers of Europeans to settle in Morocco. Whilst the first two forms of immigration into Morocco are starting to be understood, the last is practically ignored by researchers as a form of migration.

The third and last main form is transitory migration by these same Sub-Saharan Africans, which tends to be confused with immigration leading to settlement in the country.

Such is the complexity of the issue. Hence the value of this report, which attempts to give as clear a picture as possible of Morocco's migration profile. It should be understood that such a profile can only have short-term validity, with the situation in a state of constant flux.

The total information collected, despite its appreciable volume, is far from exhaustive. We have only kept those reference materials which deal explicitly with migration, leaving aside whole swathes of literature which, if included, would swell this bibliography to several thousand references. This would include, for example, works whose main objective is not migration, but which deal indirectly with the issues of migration, whilst focussing on other issues. In particular, we are thinking here of all the regional monographs which, in order to provide a complete analysis, are obliged to include international migration as a parameter. Included in the annex is a presentation which covers the methodology used in establishing the bibliographical database.

Even though it is not exhaustive, this analysis makes it possible to establish the country's migration profile and to highlight the main contributions made by this research to our understanding of the issue of migration, but also to identify any gaps and routes for further investigation.

- When presenting this profile, it is important first of all **(i)** to look again at **the establishments** where the current knowledge of Moroccan migration is generated. The prime characteristics of Moroccan migration can be seen through **(ii) a chronological breakdown of its development** over time, which sets it apart from other Maghrebian migration and **(iii) its geography** in terms of the national territory.
- One of the major themes for research deals with the dichotomy between **(iv) the definitive return to the country** as the last stage of the migratory plan and **(v) inclusion in transnational mobility** as opposed to the alternatives of integration into the host country or a definitive return to the home country.
- The other major theme looks at **the effects** of migration on home countries and regions through **(vi) the issues of transfers, (vii) the relationships between emigration and development, (viii) the effects on the home region in rural areas, (ix) the effects on the home region in urban areas, (x) the interplay between international migration and internal migration and the (xi) relationships between migration and gender.**

- Finally, a newcomer to the discussion of Moroccan migration is (xii) the flow of **Sub-Saharan migrants**, who are starting to be used as the basis for research and publications.

## **Establishments generating the current knowledge of Moroccan migration**

Scientific knowledge about international migration in relation to Morocco has been generated first and foremost by universities. Chronologically speaking, the first theses on this subject were submitted to French universities by French researchers, and the baton was progressively passed over to Moroccan universities and Moroccan researchers. But some theses were also submitted to Dutch and German universities. The discipline which has paid the greatest attention to this field is geography, doubtless because of the mobility and spatial aspects of the phenomenon. In this case, the majority of the theses, even those submitted in France, have come from Moroccan researchers. Thus over twenty years or so, geography has produced 44 theses devoted to the topic of population and indirectly tackling migratory movements, but about thirty of these deal solely with international emigration. These theses can be supplemented by a number of human geography theses which, although not dealing explicitly with international migration, need to include an analysis of the phenomenon in order to understand the developments within the areas and societies studied. The University of Poitiers in particular, through its Migrinter research unit, has trained a number of researchers now active in this field.

Across other disciplines, there has been a striking lack of interest from those disciplines such as sociology, law and psychology, which should have been interested in the migratory phenomenon. In all, just a few theses have been gathered from French and Moroccan universities.

The vast majority of these theses were produced in the 1980<sup>s</sup> and 1990<sup>s</sup>, a period when there was a spectacular proliferation of geographical research on Morocco, reaching a record figure of 882 theses dealing with Morocco, of which 648 were submitted to French universities, and 234 to Moroccan universities. Most Moroccan universities have small teams or individuals

dealing more or less effectively with the topic of migration. Some universities have teams specially dedicated to this field, such as the University of Oujda, where a centre (Maghrebian Migration Research Centre) has been working on this topic for a few years with some ups and downs. The University of Agadir has a migration observatory which is described as multidisciplinary. In Rabat there is a migration research association (Moroccan Association for the Study and Research of Migration – AMERM) based at the Mohammed V University – Agdal, and in Casablanca there is a Unesco chair in “Migration and Human Rights”. In other universities, teams and individuals are working on the issues of migration, although that is not their main preoccupation. We could mention the Universities of Casablanca and particularly Rabat, where fundamental studies have been carried out on behalf of the European Community delegation (GERA study on Moroccan migration to the EC) and where collective research projects in partnership with German universities have brought an undeniable contribution to the analysis of the effects of international migration on the home regions (principally in the eastern Rif region) and where, as an extension of this research, a number of theses have been submitted. The E3R (Team for Research into Regions and Regionalisation), in its consideration of local and regional development had to develop an understanding of migratory movements as a relevant factor in analysing local and regional dynamics. Without claiming to be a specialist team when it comes to international migration, it has built up a number of theses dealing with the subject and around twenty publications in the form of collective works or articles in international reviews. It is currently managing two major projects on the new Moroccan forms of migration and mobility and is preparing two more as part of the doctoral qualification process for which it has just been accredited.

However, there has been a clear tailing-off, if not a complete halt, in doctorates being awarded since the end of the 1990<sup>s</sup>. This is a trend which has been seen in all scientific disciplines in Moroccan universities. Indeed, the main driving force for this relatively abundant production is linked to careers and obtaining posts in higher education. With total saturation of the possibilities for recruitment into universities, there has been a clear tailing off, if not a complete halt, in the production of theses. There are hints of a recovery, with work being

put forward by young Moroccan emigrants in Europe who, having arrived at university, choose this topic for reasons of sentiment and identity. The cause has also been taken up in part by the few works financed by international cooperation and international research finance programmes.

Indeed, international emigration seems to be one of those subjects which most interests European countries, for obvious reasons. It often features among the top priority subjects for research support and is therefore suited to international partnership when setting up research projects and to cooperation between countries such as Germany, France, Italy and increasingly Spain, which is now deeply involved. In this case, it is economic disciplines which are most evident, often being involved in collective research projects requested by European organisations.

Alongside universities, specialist institutes such as INSEA (several collective publications and surveys) or CEREC<sup>1</sup> should be mentioned. The Hassan II Foundation for Moroccan Expatriates has launched a series of studies and surveys over recent years, producing ten or so publications which it has financed in their entirety and 13 publications which have received financial support from the foundation. We could also mention a number of establishments such as the National School of Agriculture or the Institute for African Studies or the Institute for University Research, which have also set up a few studies. In this case, it is more the presence among the researchers from these establishments of geographers or sociologists with an interest in the subject which explains why these topics appear in their programmes. However, there is one exception to be highlighted: that of the Institute of African Studies which, in view of its mission, manages small-scale research into Moroccan migration in the Sub-Saharan countries or into migratory flows among those from Sub-Saharan countries, although it has not distinguished itself with an appreciable volume of research. Finally we should note a new arrival in the field of the development of our understanding of migration: the Consultative Council of Moroccan Expatriates, which intends to launch a research programme on the situation facing these nationals.

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<sup>1</sup>) The Centre for Demographic Studies (CERED) is a department of the High Commission for Planning. The latter has organised a survey on the reintegration of returning migrants (2003-2004)

The fact remains that the majority of scientific material on international migration, whilst being produced within universities and research institutes, is actually down to university and international research establishments. Our analysis shows in fact that the overwhelming majority is produced abroad. Unlike Moroccan research, which is due to individual initiatives, without any strategy or planning from the authorities managing the research, that which is initiated in European countries enjoys considerable funding, well-defined strategies and consistent research support programmes.

Produced by national researchers or their international colleagues, the knowledge of international migration from, to and through Morocco is not inconsiderable and is being enriched daily. Today, from this scientific material, it is possible to paint an initial picture of the characteristics of this migration, and particularly of those topics most frequently visited by researchers. It is quite clear that the development of the main questions being asked below often mirror the development of the phenomenon. But sometimes the development limits itself to a scientific discussion without the research being sufficiently developed to support the theories underlying the scientific discussion. Whenever possible, attention must be drawn to this discrepancy.

## **The development of international migration from, to and through Morocco**

To make it easier to define the characteristics of the migration around Morocco as evidenced by the research, this migration needs to be put into context in terms of its development over time.

Starting under French colonisation which affected the three countries of the Maghreb – Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia – international migration in these countries and Morocco in particular saw its mechanisms and structures being established progressively over the whole of the last century. So from the time the first country-dwellers from the Rif area set out at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century to work in colonial enterprises in Algeria under French occupation up to the young Moroccan university graduates who today have settled in Italy or Spain, this century of migration has woven close ties across the Mediterranean between

Morocco on one side and the European area on the other. These ties have developed over the country's recent history, and can be seen in the construction of solid informal networks allowing the operation of a transnational family-based economy. Although the interests of researchers and the media as well as the management of mobility are focussed on just one aspect of these various forms of mobility (south-north migration, legally in the past and largely illegally today), leaving aside the other aspects, the migratory phenomenon in Morocco has not been limited in the past – or now – simply to relations with neighbouring Europe or to south-north movements. Indeed, it is often forgotten that Morocco has, since the start of the 1960<sup>s</sup>, remained **a land of immigration** rather than of emigration, and that north-south flows have been larger than south-north flows in the past. Still today, even though south-north flows are more evident in terms of numbers, **north-south flows** are starting to be detected.

Moreover, migratory movements to and from Morocco, like everywhere else, are a phenomenon whose characteristics change constantly over time. They have gone through different phases, some of which have been characterised by real upheaval. Study of this mobility cannot be undertaken without a consideration of the deep historical roots or without looking at the realities of migration in the long term. This is why this review begins by presenting the major phases in the development of migration from, to and across Morocco. Although any division by time period is something of an oversimplification, four major phases are proposed here:

- From the start of the last century to the mid-1970<sup>s</sup>
- From the mid-1970<sup>s</sup> to 1990
- From 1990 to 2000
- Current trends

***From the start of the century to the mid-1970<sup>s</sup>: the classic model for Maghrebian migration***

This model is characterised by the following points:

- Emigration from Morocco, like that from northern Africa, was first and foremost the emigration of workers, the product of the colonial system, and thus

directed most of all towards France. The colonial effect translated itself into the mobilisation of populations which had until then been relatively stable. The signs of this mobility included flows of Moroccan workers, whether attracted by the French labour market or recruited by force, heading off to the colonial motherland. A second phase saw the an extension of migratory movements into countries other than France. Thus Moroccan emigration was to be directed towards Belgium, the Netherlands and Germany, whilst continuing to grow towards France. This increasing flow and its distribution across a number of European countries over this new phase can be explained by the competition which sprung up at the time between European countries which, through bilateral agreements with the three Maghrebian countries, each tried to guarantee supplies of labour for their economies.

- Because of its origin, Moroccan migration into Europe was mostly of men, with the workers' families remaining in the home country. It was also cyclical, with constant "comings and goings" (Charbit, Hily, Poinard, 1997) between the country of origin and the host country.
- Finally, this migration was highly selective in geographical terms, and had the greatest effect on rural areas and those relatively peripheral regions which suffered from a glaring imbalance between natural resources and the population. The initial foci were the Souss in the Southwest and the eastern Rif. Membership of old established Tamazight-speaking rural communities explains the effectiveness of the village migratory networks and can be seen in the regrouping of people from the same village in the same host region, the same district, and sometimes the same company.

In conclusion, it can be said that until the middle of the 1970<sup>s</sup> the Moroccan migratory model in Europe was characterised by the absolute predominance of male migration from clearly defined home regions, the effectiveness of the migratory networks and channels, the poor qualifications of the migrants and a strong attachment to the family and the home society (G. Simon, 1979).

## ***The closure of Europe and family regrouping***

During the 1970<sup>s</sup>, the immigration movement came to a halt following a new policy from European countries, which no longer needed labour from northern Africa. In addition to the progressive closure of borders, special policies to regroup families alongside attempts to promote a return to their country of origin attempted to stabilise the existing quantity of immigrant labour in Europe. This led to the following new aspects:

As a way of getting round these restrictions, those hoping to emigrate used the family regrouping process as much as possible (De Mas, 1990). This could be seen in profound changes to the demographic and socio-professional structure of Maghrebian communities in Europe which, from having a male demographic composition, became more balanced.

These demographic changes among the Moroccan community settled in European countries could be seen in practically all countries, though not simultaneously, as a result of differences in the rate and time at which they settled there<sup>2</sup>. These were studied in some detail at the start of the 1990<sup>s</sup> in the case of people from the Rif area settled in Germany (M. Berriane, 2007). In order to illustrate these profound changes, we shall use this example. The closure of European borders was to limit the comings and goings of Moroccan migrants, and the migratory plan then turned into permanent migration, pushing the majority of workers to have their families join them in Germany, this being the only way that immigration into Europe was possible. Moroccan workers were to embark on a quite remarkable regrouping phase as a result. Firstly, there were primary regroupings, which consisted of bringing families over from Morocco where they were living, then there was widespread recourse to a secondary grouping process with the building of new households by means of marriages between two persons, one of whom was settled in Germany and the other in Morocco, and thus able to request the regrouping of their family.

The results of a survey of the records held by the two Moroccan consulates in Germany illustrate this massive regrouping movement well. Official records of

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<sup>2</sup>) On this subject, see the country-by-country analysis given in the excellent publication, the Directory of Moroccan Emigration, co-led by K. Basafao and H. Taarji (1994) and published by the Hassan II Foundation for Moroccans Living Abroad and the two more recent publications, "Moroccans Abroad", published by the same foundation, the first in 2003 and the second in 2007.

women, who made up less than 17% of all Moroccans registered with the two consulates at the start of the 1970<sup>s</sup> saw spectacular growth from 1979, reaching a high of 60% during the 1980<sup>s</sup>. Young people aged under 20, who were virtually absent from those registered were strongly represented among those registered in the 1980<sup>s</sup> and 90<sup>s</sup>.

Following these changes, there was a rebalancing of the demographic structure of the Moroccan community in Germany and the stabilisation of immigrant families. From the early 1990<sup>s</sup>, the demographic structure of the Moroccan community living in Germany was to take on a completely different complexion from how it had been up to the second half of the 1970<sup>s</sup>. A comparative breakdown by age and sex of the situation at the end of the first two phases we have identified and in 1993, the year in which the data were studied, gives an impression of the major changes. Of a total of 4847 Moroccans settled in Germany and registered with the two consulates up to 1993, 59.7% were female.

These changes are also evidenced by a younger population. The size of the category for those aged under 30 (37%) gives an indication of the younger Moroccan population living in Germany.

Today, the Moroccan community in Germany is quite mixed demographically speaking. It certainly includes the elements already described in 1970, i.e. immigrant workers who arrived during the first phase and of their own volition. But this community now includes other elements. There are the young people from the second generation who, unlike the generation of the first migrants, are often in direct contact with German society and culture and take a different position in respect of this culture. Their integration however poses serious problems in terms of culture, economy and identity.

- In the country of origin, the migratory phenomenon is no longer limited to the traditional areas in the mountains where life is difficult and the population high. Moving on from Souss, the oases and the eastern Rif, the phenomenon has spread to the Prérif, a large part of the eastern side of the country and, paradoxically, is spreading across the plains where modern agriculture is established, such as Tadla. It has also reached the towns and cities, particularly

the regional capitals, which have become a focus for those sectors of society which have already been deeply touched by international migration: Agadir, Fes, Meknes, Nador, Al Hoceima, Taza, Oujda, Tangiers. Casablanca, the great metropolis, is not unaffected, and it makes up quite a sizeable proportion of overall international migration (around a quarter) (Simon, 1995, Berriane, 2001).

- These newcomers are to help broaden the spread of Maghrebian migration to Europe, since they are settling in new regions and new countries, particularly those which were the last to close their borders. Spain and Italy become the new destinations. Moroccan migrants show a particularly great ability to find new countries for immigration and although they have only recently arrived in Italy they are already well distributed across practically the whole of the country.
- Emigration changes in nature over this new phase. It is often illegal, but now involves young people who have been educated, sometimes even in universities. Although the flow of illegal immigrants also includes people without qualifications from peripheral districts housing those who have newly relocated to the towns and cities, these emigrants are found to include increasing numbers of women, white collar workers, technicians and qualified labour.

However, for European countries, this phase which lasted approximately until the end of the 1980<sup>s</sup> was supposed to be the phase when Maghrebian immigration stopped and the community already settled in Europe was integrated. There need therefore to be a move towards a system which tried to stop international mobility, with migrants either being “here” or “over there” where they had returned for good (Ma Mung et al, 1998). Yet all the indications tend to prove that this was far from the case.

### ***1990 to 2000: the accentuation and complexity of the phenomena of migratory circulation between the Maghreb and Europe***

An initial survey of the work on migratory circulation (Emmanuel Ma Mung et al, 1998), leads to the view that the circulation of people between northern Africa on the one hand and Europe on the other, rather than slowing down as

European migratory policy had intended, actually tended to increase and to become more complex:

- Researchers and analysts of northern African migration would not hesitate to use the term Maghrebian “diaspora”. Whilst this term was long reserved for the distribution of the Jewish people, Anglo-Saxon research has thought further on it and broadened it to include other peoples (Gabriel Sheffer, 1986, Armstrong, 1976). By applying the criteria adopted by these authors to define a diaspora (a great dispersal, the maintenance and development of an identity which is peculiar to the “diasporised” people, internal organisation of the diaspora which is distinct from that of the home or host state, and ongoing real or symbolic contact with the country of origin) one can indeed describe Moroccan migration as a diaspora. Indeed, dispersal of these communities is now the rule since alongside France (1,131,000 Moroccans)<sup>3</sup>, emigrant Moroccans can now be found in Belgium (285,000), the Netherlands (278,000), Germany (130,000), but also in Spain (547,000), Italy (379,000) and in Scandinavian countries. This migratory area has now extended beyond Europe to affect Libya (120,000) or Saudi Arabia (28,000), but also northern America (100,000 in the USA and 60,000 in Canada), and even Australia and New Zealand. Among the three Maghreb countries, it is the Moroccan diaspora which is the most remarkable, since it includes the most nationals outside its borders, with an estimate in 2007 of 3,292,599 Moroccans living abroad. It also covers the widest area, even before considering the numbers accounted for by the first, second and third generations, who often have dual nationality.
- This geographic dispersal of Moroccan emigration is also a sign of a new reality which harks back to what is now known as transnational networks and migratory circulation. Essentially involving labour at the outset, this migration has seen some profound professional changes, which have led a great number of Moroccans, particularly those from Souss, to set up businesses and establish real commercial networks which operate between different European countries and the countries of origin. Like Asians, they go from retailing to wholesaling, before setting up Import-Export operations, strengthening their economic

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<sup>3</sup>) These very recent estimates are taken from a publication by the Hassan II Foundation for Moroccans Living Abroad, “Moroccans from abroad” (2007).

positions in their country of origin and finally mastering the European-Mediterranean economic niche.

- In parallel with this, the other categories of migrants, whilst settling once and for all in the host European countries, compensate for this by increasing their travel to the country of origin. This kind of mobility being a characteristic trait of a diaspora (A. Tarrus, 2000), we see the establishment of “nomadic territories” in which groups of migrants move freely from one place to another as an alternative to integration or assimilation. The Maghrebian migrant now living in Europe is not either “here” or “over there”; he is both “here” and “over there” at the same time.

In the end, the final establishment of the migrant Moroccan population in Europe has certainly not led to a loosening of the ties with the region of origin. Rather, this establishment by means of intensified migratory circulation and the operation of networks – a process which forms a logical part of the broadest globalisation process – increases these ties and can now be seen as having new and complex effects on the home regions.

### ***Current trends: south-south and north-south migration***

This trend towards greater complexity in the phenomenon continues today, and the mobilisation aspects of transnational and circulatory networks become more and more striking. In addition to these trends, new flows are developing and require new approaches and new methods. These are flows which are diametrically opposed in their orientation: a south-south flow and a north-south flow.

The most obvious flow because of extreme media coverage consists of migration which is Sub-Saharan in origin. These include migration which can be described as clandestine or illegal, but there are also many entries which are completely legal. In fact, the complexity of the phenomenon reveals itself in the terminology and concepts used, which leads to confusion in discussion of the issue, a poor understanding of the phenomenon and its exploitation by politicians and the media (De Haas, 2008). Migration, entries, legal and illegal stays, person trafficking, transit migration: all of these are terms which, used in

different situations and contexts without prior definition, do not make analysis any easier. Whether they have entered legally or in secret, the main aim of these populations is to pass through Morocco on the way to Europe. The fact remains though that the majority of these flows settle in Morocco, awaiting their hypothetical passage to Europe. The figures and estimates are very approximate, but the first surveys carried out by researchers bear witness to the presence of populations originally from a number of countries in western and central Africa. They may be countries where there is proven conflict such as the DRC, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast, Rwanda, Sudan or Angola, or countries affected by latent conflict such as Nigeria, or countries whose internal political situation is basically stable but where there is growing poverty such as Senegal, Niger, Mali, Benin or Guinea, or other countries without any declared conflict such as Cameroon (Escoffier, 2006). The survey carried out by Ali Bensaad (2002) in 2000 showed that of the 65,000 migrants passing through Agadez every year, which is one of the Maghreb's main entry points, 45% are Nigerian, 30% Ghanaian, 13% from Niger, 6% from Mali, and 5% (3500) are central African nationals (including Congolese) or from English-speaking countries involved in war. According to this survey, the majority of these migrants (80%) go to Libya, either to work or to transit, and the remaining 20% (around 15,000 people) pass through Algeria and then possibly Morocco. Escoffier's surveys (2006) in Morocco have shown that central African nationals are less numerous than Nigerians, Ghanaians or Malians, which has also been confirmed by censuses of the waiting areas around the two enclaves of Sebta and Melilla.

Since this phenomenon has been relatively recent and has appeared quite suddenly, particularly because of the extensive media coverage, research is only in its earliest stages, and the earliest results tend mostly to highlight those questions which are most frequently asked. The fact remains that this migration is always treated without consideration of the possible interactions with Moroccan migration. Also, only the most spectacular aspects are chosen for study and analysis. One such instance is the African student migration to Morocco, which is part of the internationalising movement of student migration, but is also part of this migratory push from Sub-Saharan Africa.

There is another flow which is less obvious than the first, but no less significant or consequential. This is the **arrival of Europeans** in ever-increasing numbers coming to settle in Morocco. In fact, more and more foreigners are investing in old city centres across Morocco. They buy old residences to stay there as second homes, to set up a business, or to move there. Old city centres such as those in Tangiers, Asilah, Chaouen, Tetouan and Rabat are opening up more and more to international residents. However, the development of such a large foreign community still remains the preserve of cities such as Marrakech, Essaouira or Fes. The phenomenon started in Marrakech in the 1960<sup>s</sup>. The first to arrive at that time were hippies, artists and top fashion designers. However, it was years before this that the painter Jacques Majorelle had discovered the charm of the East in Marrakech. In 1917, he decided to settle there, buying a *riad*<sup>4</sup> in the old city, before being obliged to leave it later on in the early 1920<sup>s</sup> because of the town development policies of the protectorate.

Nowadays, the circle has widened and the phenomenon has grown from the first half of the 1990<sup>s</sup> to affect other layers of western society. Intellectuals, senior white collar workers, fashionable tourists and so on. The development of a dynamic community such as the one in Marrakech remains unmatched, and to the end of 2000, 457 foreigners had bought more than 500 homes in the old city of Marrakech. These newcomers are of different nationalities, with French nationals making up 60%. Today, Marrakech has become saturated, the prices there are exorbitant and beyond the reach of young middle-class investors who prefer to invest in other old towns such as in Essaouira, at more or less accessible prices.

Essaouira, formerly Mogador, is a coastal town on the shores of the Atlantic, 175 km west of Marrakech and 170 km north of Agadir. Its old city, in the Moroccan-Portuguese style, extends over about thirty hectares, and is only one tenth of the total area of the town, housing around 25,000 of the 70,000 people living in the town as a whole.

Like Marrakech with its large *riads*, Essaouira has been chosen as a place to live by foreigners of different backgrounds from all over the world; painters, musicians and writers have long found this town to be a symbolic place for

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<sup>4</sup>) Or Riyad: a large urban dwelling with a large internal garden

creativity and art, just as it was a key location in the hippy world (Jimmy Hendrix) of the 1960<sup>s</sup>. This settlement has become more democratic since the end of the 1990<sup>s</sup>, and foreign investors from all over the world buy the old residences in the old city either to use as a home or to run a guest house. Indeed, the dynamic progress in the purchase and restoration of these old residences which started among the foreign owners has become much more extensive to reach more or less the same rate as in Marrakech. Surveys have revealed that no fewer than 200 houses in the old city have foreign owners.

Finally, the city of Fes has joined these old conurbations housing more and more European migrants who come to settle in Morocco as part of a recent and original movement which reverses the flows between Morocco and Europe. In July 2008, the old city of Fes was home to some 251 foreigners who had settled there, although the phenomenon did not take hold until 2004, benefiting from the development of budget air fares to Morocco and Fes, which means that this is a process which is only just beginning. The French head the list, making up 50% of this foreign community, followed by the English (20%), the Americans (9%), the Spanish (3%), then the Irish, Australians, Germans, Dutch etc..

These foreigners who have come to settle for good in Morocco have thus far been treated by research as tourists, and never as immigrants. Yet these new actors match the definition of migrants perfectly and deserve to be studied as such.

As part of the same process which generates the north-south flows towards Morocco, the residential migration of retired Europeans is also growing, and increasingly so. Geographical and economic proximity, the possibility of reducing fixed and operating costs for European service organisations and the possibility of a quality of life linked to the sunshine, all of this enables Europe, which has a considerably ageing population, to give a large part of these populations the hope of living out their retirement in good health and more cheaply. Statistically, this phenomenon is still marginal, but the tendency is for it to increase, which raises a number of questions for researchers to study.

## ***Conclusion***

In the end, it can be seen that as it has developed over time, Moroccan migration has taken on a character all of its own, and while it is often identified with emigration from the three Maghreb countries, it stands out by virtue of some startling differences. These differences come firstly from its history, but also from its size (more than three million Moroccans live abroad) and its great geographical distribution. Despite its changing aim from temporary migration to settlement in the host country, it is still distinguishable by a strong attachment to the country. Finally, the other striking character of this migration is how it is constantly changing and those changes which have affected its characteristics. Therefore research into this migration is constantly looking out for changes to the phenomenon. With the new trends, and particularly following the appearance of new flows heading into the country or passing through it, Morocco is now at the centre of increasingly complex migratory activities.

The highlighting of the individual nature of Moroccan migration is one of the main things to come out of several decades of research into Moroccan migration. This research has also highlighted other aspects, and the findings are not negligible. The first concerns the geography of migration.

## **The geography of Moroccan emigration**

Up to the end of the 1950<sup>s</sup>, Moroccan international emigration was a very selective phenomenon in geographical terms, and only involved very limited areas. The main origin of emigration to France seems to have been the Souss, with other regions in the south of Morocco adding to it from time to time. In the north of the country, the eastern Rif which, like the Souss, had a long migratory tradition, was sending out flows of seasonal or temporary migrants, principally to Algeria, from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, up to this point it was not involved in emigration to Europe (Noin, 1970 ; Bonnet and Bossard, 1973).

With the 1960<sup>s</sup> and the developing need for labour in western Europe on the one hand, along with the halting of temporary emigration to Algeria following the latter's independence on the other, the eastern Rif and the northeast of the country in general became the main Moroccan source of labour for European

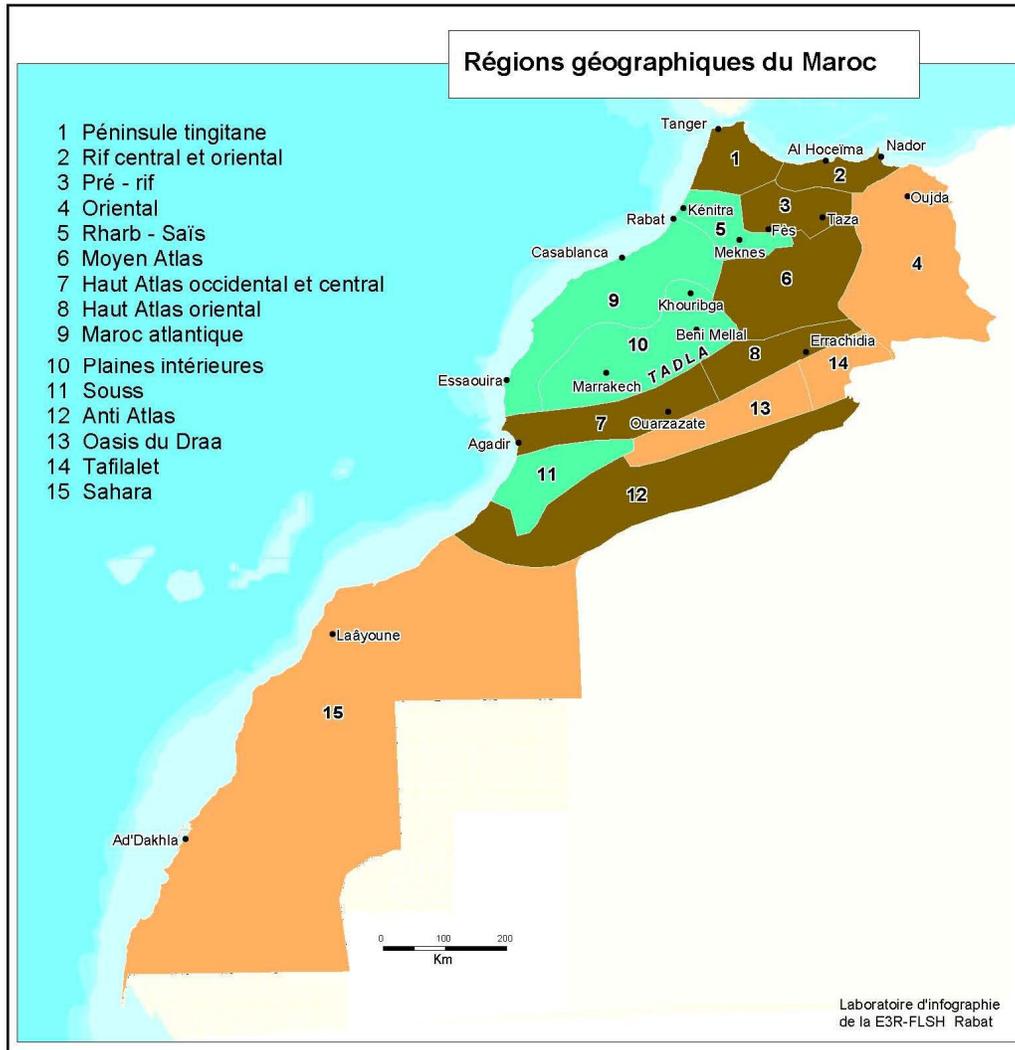
countries where there was a demand. In the survey organised by the Interior Ministry in 1966, the proportion of workers sent to European countries by the Rif and the Northeast was already roughly 33.5% compared with 23% for the Souss and the remainder of southwestern Morocco (Noin, 1970 ; Bonnet and Bossard, 1973).

Very soon the phenomenon was to spread across the whole country. During the period 1968-73, the Souss, the eastern Rif and the Northeast together now only made up 34.4% of the total, with 10.6% of departures from the provinces of Agadir, Ouarzazate and Tarfaya and 23.8% from Oujda, Nador and Al Hoceima. The coastal Kenitra-Casablanca axis, which covers the provinces of the same names in addition to those of Rabat and Mohammedia, by now occupied second place, followed by the provinces of Meknes and Fes. The Southwest was now appearing in fourth position, followed very closely by the province of Taza.

This geographical distribution at the time gave an indication of the intrinsic social and economic character of the regions affected by migration, enabling the causes of these movements to be identified. Indeed, the phenomenon tended to affect rural regions more than the towns and cities, and affected certain relatively marginal and overpopulated areas more than those where the environment and natural resources were more favourable. This gives an illustration of the so-called “push factors” which are specific to the rural setting and which fed into both urban growth in the country and external migration. But one corollary to this “historic” inequality – in terms of how long the various regions had been exposed to external migration as an economic opportunity – was a regional diversity in terms of the global impact of these human movements (GERA, 1992).

The circumstances of migration originating from four different regional units fit in with the idea of chronological succession: The Souss region (the earliest migration), northern Morocco and the Northeast in particular (where immigration became the greatest source of subsistence revenues in the 1960<sup>s</sup>), the Saharan oases (affected from the end of the 1960<sup>s</sup> and particularly in the early 1970<sup>s</sup>) and, finally, the central region, which has most recently become

involved, and is characterised by a clear trend for the migration to be in the direction of Italy.



### ***The Souss: Intense early emigration***

This is a vast triangular plain enclosed by the High Atlas Mountains in the north, the Atlantic Ocean in the west and the Anti-Atlas massifs which close it in on the southern and eastern sides. The traditional agricultural economy was marked by strong contrasts: small islands where irrigated strips of horticulture (located around springs and wells, or alongside wadis) stand out in the middle of vast dry expanses of extensive agriculture, most frequently given over to grazing by sheep and goats. The whole region is dry and its resources as well as its traditional economic activities are based around the various technologies for transferring water other than rainwater for irrigation purposes. It has been home

for a number of centuries to mostly (though not exclusively) Tamazight-speaking peoples. The average population density ranges from 50 to 160 inhabitants per km<sup>2</sup>, but these densities are only meaningful in relation to irrigated area. There is strong State involvement in the Souss: in the 1950<sup>s</sup>, French colonisation claimed around 28,000 hectares. After independence, today's irrigation boundaries were formed. around Taroudant (the so-called Souss-Amont project: 7,500 Ha), along the Oued Issen (irrigated by the Abdelmoumen dam: 13,000 Ha), and the Chtouka area (18,300 Ha, irrigated by the Youssef ben Tachfine dam).

It is in these modern irrigated areas (by pumping or damming) that the agribusiness sector sprang up. It relies on major technical and financial resources, but has nothing to do with the local population, because it has been set up by various non-native business leaders. This is where profit-driven growing of tomatoes, peppers, citrus, strawberries, flowers, bananas etc. takes place, which lies behind Souss's reputation. At the same time, the old traditional food production areas are experiencing a decline and have been desertified through the combined effects of drought due to the drying-up or dramatic lowering of the water table (due to mechanical over-pumping, which has resulted in unbridled competition for the poor small country landowners); and the haemorrhaging of the working male population, which lies behind the social decline which is tending to become more widespread. Only the areas in the foothills retain their former agricultural intensity (arboriculture, cereals and livestock), partly because their surface water resources remain relatively plentiful.

In this context, the phenomenon which has seen a large part of the active male population emigrate since the start of the last century is a major geographical factor which has helped to allow a rebalancing of population and resources in this region. Here, emigration is a long-established phenomenon: to towns and cities in Morocco, but also, at a very early stage, to former French Algeria, then to Europe (and particularly France). At the start of the 1980<sup>s</sup>, one in every two homes on average was relying on money being sent back by emigrants, and this proportion remains generally applicable today. But as a result of its early

involvement, the Souss now has more retired former emigrants than working emigrants who still have strong links with their home area.

***A region where emigration is the most intense in Morocco: the Northeast (Nador Province).***

Chronologically speaking, out of Morocco's traditional rural regions, the eastern Rif and, in second place, northeastern Morocco, were the second major area for the recruitment of emigrants for countries in the European Community. However, in terms of numbers, they come first (relative to the total population in the area, external migration here is certainly the highest in the whole of Morocco. During the period from 1970 to 1973, this area was ranked first for the absolute number of those leaving. Furthermore, this region stands out for the great diversity of destinations for the migratory flows: instead of France dominating the flows as in the Souss, it was to the Netherlands, Germany and Belgium that the majority of emigrants headed. History helps us to understand this choice of destination: it was Spanish (not French) colonisation which affected this part; for a long time, Spain was hardly attractive for emigrants, so they chose to go elsewhere.

The eastern Rif is characterised by low natural potential and more particularly by the residual character of traditional irrigation. But despite the constant threat of drought, and despite the marginalisation from which it has long suffered, the eastern Rif remains a highly populated area. The population density, and even in the mountains, is generally in excess of 100 per km<sup>2</sup>, and there are sectors where the highest density is in the region of 300-400 inhabitants per km<sup>2</sup>. Some valley areas have seen irrigation in conjunction with intensive agriculture, whilst the slopes were home to a number of trees such as olive and fig trees. Livestock rearing centred around goats has provided additional resources. But in general, overpopulation was very marked.

The rapid growth of the population worsened the pressure (growth of 2.9% per year between 1950 and 1960 and 2.5% between 1960 and 1983). Unlike the Souss for example, the local economy, based mainly on agricultural activities, has not changed much. The percentage of country dwellers without land is estimated at between 30 and 40%; those who have land live on very small farms (average 2 to 3 ha per smallholding). Added to this, given the unreliable

climate, the limited potential for irrigation, the impossibility of extending the workable land (constrained by relief and soil types), local agricultural production has become insufficient: by 1970, it was estimated that it could only provide 4 to 5 months of subsistence; the situation has worsened since then.

The impact of colonisation (by Spain) was totally negligible, and explains the why this area has fallen behind in terms of basic equipment and the marked compartmentalisation which is still a characteristic of the region. The former colonial metropolis was not in the least attractive in terms of labour migration, so that migration was to avoid it, at least up until the end of the 1970<sup>s</sup>. Very soon, seasonal migration to Algeria on one hand or the Moroccan interior on the other was to become established. Following colonisation of Algeria in 1830, the local workforce became accustomed to heading off to colonial farms and enterprises (20 to 25% of the working population went off to Algeria). From the 1960<sup>s</sup>, the characteristics of this migratory flow changed: on the one hand, the seasonal or temporary emigration for work became permanent or began to extend over a number of years, and on the other hand emigration started towards Europe, and particularly Germany or the Netherlands.

In all, external migration was to provide the eastern Rif with the “solutions” that the internal structures could not guarantee. The poor country dwellers, those without land and craftsmen were pushed into emigrating because of the difficulties of daily life. The picture of success painted by the first to leave soon encouraged everyone who was able to leave. Thus, once the movement had started, it soon reached tremendous proportions.

### ***The oasis regions: third largest source of the emigrant contingent***

The oases in the south and southeast of Morocco (Tafilalet, Dades and Draa, Figuig) are agricultural areas which are limited in area, but where bustling human populations have been built up over the centuries. Their existence is due to water resources, bringing life in the midst of the surrounding desert. These are therefore microcosms, “complete” water-centred civilisations which have sometimes been central to Morocco’s history. But the demographic pressure, the

scarcity of resources, the change in attitudes etc. have resulted in a general quest for non-oasis, and thus external, resources. Intense emigration – at first internal, then external – has become established in the very structures of these oases.

The oases developed one of the most intensive traditional agricultural systems in the world, to meet the needs of their high concentrations of people. These form artificial areas in the middle of the desert. The agricultural intensity, due to irrigation, reflects the multiplicity of the trees and crops that the oasis sustains. The trees appear in distinct sections (date palm, olive, pomegranate, apricot). The annual crops (grown in between) are: cereals (barley, wheat, maize), legumes and fodder crops.

Since independence, Morocco has shown some interest in its oases: two large-scale operations have taken place: on the one hand, the development of the great plain of Tafilalet, and on the other hand the development of the Draa Valley. In both cases, the aim was to master the irregular flows in the wadis coming from the High Atlas, so that a regular supply of water could be guaranteed to the different oases that depend upon them. The consequences have been mixed: these operations have not failed to bring some negative effects, the seriousness of which is becoming more and more apparent: increased soil salinity, reduced supply of fertile alluvium, reduced natural replenishment of groundwater deposits. However these have made a strong contribution to the sure preservation of these oasis areas as real resources for the supply, albeit partial, of the population's food needs. At a stroke, they have also reduced potential migratory pressure.

In the past, Morocco's oases have only rarely functioned as systems closed to any external influence; they have played a role in the trans-Saharan caravan trade, and have maintained ambiguous, intense and complementary links with the nomadic livestock farmers living around them. However, the traditional self-sufficient economy dominated. Now, since the collision with French colonisation, the oases, like other regions in Morocco, have had to confront a new situation in which their economic inferiority has been revealed in the harsh light of day. Incorporation into a capitalist monetised economy, very strong demographic growth (more than 3% per year over the past quarter of a century) and the resultant pressure on the scarce water and agricultural resources are just

some of the factors which will have a bearing on their future. So movement from the economic centres of gravity to the towns and cities and the coastal regions has led to an inversion of roles, to the detriment of the Saharan areas. This development was taking place at a time when individual needs were growing (with delays, shortages and privations no longer being culturally acceptable). The poverty of the oasis areas (and, in particular, of the most socially and ethnically deprived sectors of society) has been laid bare. The only way out of this crisis has been found in the search for other activities outside of agriculture, mainly through emigration. Since the 1960<sup>s</sup>, internal and then external migrations have been the most significant aspect to report. The whole economy has become based on money sent back by migrants. Indeed, everywhere there has been an exodus to the towns and cities and to the industrial heartlands of the interior. The major cities (Casablanca, Rabat-Salé, Fes, Agadir and Marrakech) and the large towns promoted to fulfil administrative duties are attracting the oasis populations, mainly from Draa and Tafilalet. Following this, for some oases, it is external emigration which comes into play, pushing thousands of oasis dwellers towards the European labour markets. This external migration has had a particularly dramatic effect on the Moroccan oases of Dadess, Todgha, Mgoun, Draa and Figuig. It has affected them to such an extent that there are few oasis households without at least one family member working abroad and providing more or less substantial income.

### ***A region recently affected by emigration: the Tadla***

For a long time, the geographical distribution of the migratory phenomenon had crystallised around areas with “prior income”: the movement was amplified by feeding back into the areas which had first benefited from it. The regions on Morocco’s Atlantic plateaux and plains, outside the main towns, were only slightly affected until the start of the 1970<sup>s</sup>. It so happens that the spread of the phenomenon which took place at that time happened just as the traditional openings were being closed (France, Belgium, FRG and Netherlands). The case of these new entrant regions is interesting to study, because it was orientated towards “new frontiers”, mainly Italy and Spain. The Tadla, and its regional capital Beni Mellal, is a good example.

The region of Fqih Ben Salah is part of the Tadla, and one of the jewels of the Moroccan water-agriculture policy. Of the 200,000 ha covered, roughly 28,000 ha are irrigated. The irrigation water comes from the Oum er Rbia, one of the great Moroccan rivers. The population had reached some 130,000 in 1991, of whom 70,000 were concentrated in the boom town of Fqih Ben Salah (which only had 13,500 inhabitants in 1960).

When studying the issues of migration, the case of this region repays investigation: an agricultural modernisation policy intended to improve living conditions for the population – and therefore to encourage it to stay – did not manage to achieve these results in any convincing manner. This does not necessarily imply the failure of this agricultural policy; rather, it illustrates just how complex migratory movements are. For many sectors of society, the migratory alternative is the main choice, as it has been for the thousands of emigrants who have left since the mid-1970<sup>s</sup>. It is because the glaring inequalities which arise from the land ownership structures are deeply felt: within the modern irrigated boundaries, 40.7% of properties have less than two hectares and cover just 12.3% of the total area, whilst properties with more than 20 hectares make up 1.8% of the total, but cover 19.2% of the land. In addition, there is a significant number of households with no land. For these people, as for those who are poor, migration, into towns at first, then elsewhere, has become a necessity.

Having arrived at the solution of external migration rather late in the day, the structure of migration in this region has different characteristics:

- it is basically directed at new countries: Italy comes top, attracting 80% of emigrants; after this, 10% of emigrants have headed towards Spain;
- it is direct: 97.5% of emigrants have had no migratory experience before setting out;
- it is no longer the preserve of the uneducated rural masses: only 30% of emigrants have never received a school education, but 20% have received secondary education and 20% have even embarked on university courses;

- finally, just 14% of these emigrants are not accompanied by their family. This shows the vulnerability of these new emigrants, the majority of whom find themselves in a more or less illegal situation.

Several observations can be drawn from this study of the geographical distribution of the regions with high international emigration levels. The first has to do with the socio-geographical and chronological characteristics of the home areas, whilst the second has to do with the type of area:

- Socio-geographical and chronological characteristics of home areas
  - It is known that the weight of push factors is very high and makes this geographical distribution easy to understand. The regions with high migration are either areas with high human pressure (i.e. areas with a long history of settlement), or areas which are relatively marginal, suffering from real or impending drought, and where resources have not managed to keep up with human demand.
  - However, when the details are studied, it appears that external emigration also obeys evident historical factors. Indeed, there are historical economic returns linked with earlier departures which, by a progressive cumulative effect, have benefited some regions and not others. The most obvious example concerns the middle Atlantic plains, which have a high population, located at the southern limits of dry farming, which have no traditional irrigation, and for which external emigration remains a residual phenomenon.
  - However, since the end of the 1960<sup>s</sup>, through the influence of towns and cities, the practice of migration has spread more generally; few rural regions have escaped, but for all that, the differences in the size of the phenomenon from one region to another remain.

- The type of home area

Depending on the earliness or recent nature of emigration, the home areas can be divided into two broad categories:

- Regions with a conventional migratory profile: these are those generally rural areas where migration started quite early (e.g. the Souss, Northeast etc.). Here, the conventional nature of the migration can be seen in the numbers of male

inhabitants leaving, the individual nature of the initial departure, followed by the regrouping of families, the low level of migrants' qualifications and education.

- Recent departure foci are characterised by a different migratory structure. Emigrants are more often literate, if not educated to a high level, and they leave by way of an urban route (sometimes being more or less "smuggled" out); the emigrant is still young, he leaves alone, often heading for Italy or Spain.

Here we have two types of migration, from two types of setting, which therefore require different approaches for analysis and diagnosis.

## **The main contributions in terms of knowledge of the phenomenon**

In dealing with the topic of migration, research has been intimately linked with the development of the phenomenon. For a long time, the majority of the research looked at the effects of international migration on the home regions, starting with the rural setting, which was the first focus for departures, then towns and cities, and finally the spread of the phenomenon to cover the whole country. As for the spin-offs for the regions where migration has originated, the researchers' interest from the outset has been focussed on the transfers and their use, the effects on urban growth and particularly micro-urbanisation, the production of housing, the stimulation of the land and property market, the distribution of the considerable revenue being injected into local economies and having something of an energising effect on economic activity due to the demand from the families of emigrants and the consequences for consumer behaviour.

Whilst there is unanimity about the energising effects of emigration in the urban setting, there is disagreement about the impacts on rural areas and the relationships between migration and processes of agricultural change in the home areas. There are two opposing views. The first concludes that there is either negative or little effect on rural areas. According to this view, international migration leads to the depopulation of some country areas, which are emptied of all impetus, which can be seen through the abandonment of land

which was previously well managed; moreover, the money sent back is just sufficient for the survival of the families who stay behind and, although the sums are considerable, they are only invested in low-production sectors. Indeed, the effects of emigration on numerous regions such as the central and eastern Rif could be cited as an example. The second view, however, stresses the opposite effect. In this case, emigration actually allows rural populations to be maintained in an unfavourable environment, thanks precisely to the money sent back by emigrants. This is the main explanation given for the continuing high rural population densities in regions with limited potential, such as the eastern Rif and the High and western Anti-Atlas Mountains in Morocco. In other cases, the emigrant can have a role as a real actor for innovation and agricultural development in their home region. They may undertake considerable investment, such as the acquisition of land, the provision of resources for farming such as motor-driven pumps other modern equipment, and the introduction of new crops.

With the closure of European countries and the halting of the migratory movement, the process of family regrouping is evidenced by far-reaching changes in the demographic and socio-professional structures of the Moroccan community in Europe, whose migratory plans, though temporary at the start, have become permanent. In connection with these changes, the idea of returning or not returning takes on a new importance. However, it has soon been realised that the circulation of people between Morocco and Europe, rather than slowing, has actually tended to increase and become more complex. This geographic dispersal is a sign of a new reality which harks back to what is now known as transnational networks and migratory circulation. Research has quickly turned to how migrants, who were mostly labourers at the start, have tended more and more to be tradesmen and import-export businessmen, controlling a European-Mediterranean economic empire. The most detailed research at the moment is looking at the transnational networks, the nomadic territories and the migrants who will move without a second thought from one place to another as an alternative to integration or assimilation. The migratory model is being dropped more and more by researchers, who now talk more of mobility. To add extra complexity to the migratory phenomenon, Sub-Saharan migration has now

become a feature of discussions about Morocco's future as a country of transit or immigration.

Below, we shall focus in our report on the secondary themes which seem to be most relevant and which have received sufficient scientific attention for the main findings to be clearly explained.

### ***The issues of returns***

The permanent settlement of emigrants in the host countries following developments in the phenomenon as described above suggests stabilisation within the community and roots being set down in the country. Observers of Moroccan emigration are worried about what consequences this migration becoming rooted in the host country might have for the relationships between this migration and the home country, starting with the spin-offs, particularly in terms of currency transfers. Some are already saying, though without providing proof, that Moroccan emigrants are now investing in their host countries; others maintain that, with the third generation, ties with the home country will be severed for good. The main question to come out of the various studies and research is as follows: Does settlement for good in Europe result in the disappearance of reasons for returning?

The study of returning migration implies the collection of statistical data which will allow this phenomenon to be most clearly perceived. Unfortunately, the current state of statistics on Moroccan international migration does not in any way allow figures to be produced on the number of returns compared with the number of departures. When looking at the question about the previous residence in the 1994 general population census, the CERED estimated the number of returned migrants to be 151,197 which is just under 5.7% of the total population of the country and 50% of the whole emigrant population (CERED, 2006). But this evaluation, even in the view of the drafters of the report themselves, underestimates the true situation. Other studies which looked at this subject (Casarino, 2008) are based on survey results where data regarding the intention to return are given preference.

Indeed, it must be admitted that the number of people returning is relatively small compared with the numbers of people from the Moroccan community living abroad. However, studies of precise areas have shown that there are people here and there who have stayed in Europe for a greater or lesser period of time (but not always until retirement) and who have been working in different sectors. The departure of the first generation was linked to work, and their return was thus at the very basis of their plans; the thinking behind this economic immigration implied a return to the home country. This suggests that the final return to be considered here should coincide at the latest with retirement, resulting in “returning migration” which should thus be linked to life cycles. Now, while there is actually a very low number of returns which match this definition, there was found to be a number of respondents who declared a return which took place after a more or less short-term stay. This has been observed in the eastern Rif (Berriane, 2003).

Sometimes the host countries’ official statistics can help in estimating these returns. So the centrally-compiled statistics from the Federal Statistical Office in Germany (the main country of immigration for people from the eastern Rif) makes it possible to track the numbers of Moroccans coming to settle in Germany, and those leaving the country. It is clear that these statistics only cover official movements covered by declarations and registrations. Similarly, it has been supposed that all those who leave Germany do so to return to Morocco. Bearing these reservations in mind, the official data tell us that there is a real coming and going between the two countries. In total, Germany is seen to have received 36,169 Moroccan immigrants between 1992 and 1999, but at the same time 21,094 Moroccans, i.e. more than 58% of arrivals, left. Certainly the balance of migration remains positive (15,075) and higher than that of several other communities (some of which even show a negative balance), but we are far from seeing the absolute settlement of Moroccans in Germany. In some years (1994 et 1995), this balance is very low, with departures being quite high.

Detailed surveys conducted in Nador and the surrounding region confirm these trends. By gathering together the responses to questions concerning the years of departure and return, and concerning both business owners, in the case of the

town of Nador, and the heads of households in the case of Al Aaroui, and their relatives, we have been able to track the development over time of departures and returns among this population sample. For 2,470 departures declared between 1954 (first declared departures) and 1994 (last year in the survey), we were able to find 539 returns, which means returns correspond to 22% of departures. These figures make it possible to follow the major trends.

In particular, it can be seen that migratory flows have continued whilst reducing during the 70<sup>s</sup>, 80<sup>s</sup> and 90<sup>s</sup>, despite the closure of the immigration countries, which is confirmed by the figures obtained from the consulates and already analysed, particularly following the phenomenon of family regrouping. But the most interesting information concerns the large number of returns relative to departures. Representing around 12% of departures during the 50<sup>s</sup> and 60<sup>s</sup>, these returns increased appreciably over subsequent decades, reaching more than 31% of departures. Thus, even though the situation is far from one where returns outnumber departures, the volume of returns is too significant to be ignored when considering international emigration.

However, these returns often occur after more or less short-term stays. The percentage of the group made up by former emigrants who have stayed abroad for between 1 and 10 years is greater than or approaching half for the sample as a whole (52.3% in Grand Nador) and this category can no longer be ignored on the grounds that they have interrupted their migratory project. Certainly, all the former short-term emigrants do not come across as individuals who have been successful in their migratory plans, and they are often to be found managing small businesses and providing basic services. But most of the former emigrants who have managed to become real entrepreneurs in modern economic sectors belong to this category (M. Berriane et H. Hopfinger, 1999). It is even possible to support the idea that professional success, following emigration abroad, is closely linked to short-term emigration. An early return, when not linked to external constraints, in this case corresponds to success. So particular importance should be ascribed to this category of emigrants who have managed to realise their migratory plan as originally conceived, namely a short absence to build up money and know-how and return to the country.

Moreover, a return, though becoming harder and harder to achieve, is both a dream and a desire for the majority of emigrants originally from Nador, and remains firmly implanted in their thinking, when questioned there or in Germany. Different indicators tend to confirm this assertion, such as the frequency of returns during time off, with the figure for returns during holiday periods now in excess of 2 million per year; there is also an attachment to the region which is still the rule, thanks to the volume and diversity of flows of goods and money reaching emigrant communities and the region.

However, the fact remains that the issues of returns, which is an integral part of the home country return / host country integration relationship, is now largely being demolished by the new model which explores new dynamics and will, according to its defenders, be sustained by circulatory movements and should result in new territorial boundaries being drawn.

### ***Emigration and redrawing the territorial boundaries of mobility***

In fact, during the first phases of the historical breakdown given at the start of this paper, the migratory routes became established through family or village networks, namely as a result of community migratory behaviour organised through specific channels. Today, by contrast, these migratory movements tend to be directed to more individual and less collective channels. So there is a widening of the target areas for migration both in Europe and outside of Europe, with flows becoming more global and more complex. Routes from the departure point to the end point of the migration are no longer linear and have become complicated, particularly by the addition of more and more stops and greater distances. Once in the host country, the migrant is subject to great mobility which leads him or her by various stages to ever-changing destinations. This circulation, replacing migration, is also transnational and involves, as has already been seen, several borders and several focal points. Hence the migrant is taken away from their territorial frame of reference and takes on a network identity instead (Badie, 1995). This predominance of network over territory has encouraged researchers to analyse the existing relations between the countries on the southern shores of the Mediterranean, including Morocco, and Europe

using new models and new concepts (Simon, Cesari, Badie, Tapia, Tarius). So the talk is more and more of circulation instead of migration (Doraï, Hily, Loyer, Ma Mung, 1998, p. 66), leading to the notion of circulatory and nomadic territories (Tarius, 2000). This change in the scientific discussion fits in very well with the changing reality of migration and empirical studies demonstrate it (Berriane, 2002, Arab, 2005).

However, whether he or she is part of classic migratory movements or part of this circulatory territory, the Moroccan emigrant continues to demonstrate a very strong attachment to their home country and region, and does not fail to share a part of the savings they accumulate with them.

### ***The issues of transfers***

Moroccans' foreign migratory movement has led to the birth and development of a special sector among the main areas of the national economy. The size of this sector is now an essential element of the country's economic wellbeing. It is underlined by the following figures: With more than 3 thousand million euros, remittances now provide more than 40% of the income from exports and between 8 and 9% of the country's GDP. Among all the countries of origin of immigrants living in Europe, Morocco appears as the greatest beneficiary of flows of finance from immigrants to their home country, since it has received 11.5% of the 18.7 thousand million euros sent by immigrants living in the European Union.

At the macroeconomic level, a study of the economic spin-offs from emigration thus involves the central issue of the transfer of funds in hard currencies whose product is considered to be a balancing factor in exchanges between the country and abroad. Concerning those households which are directly or indirectly involved, the proceeds from emigration form the basis of their subsistence. In both cases, it must be stressed that the spin-offs from emigration are not limited just to budgetary, accounting and domestic aspects, but also, and most importantly, involve undeniable multiplying effects for the whole of the national and local economy.

As a result of this, research soon focussed on monitoring this sector, with the interests of researchers and professionals drawn to understanding the extent of the transfers, where they were targeted and how they were assigned, which were essential variables for measuring the extent of the profit to be gained from them. In addition, these variables explain other socioeconomic aspects, for example certain forms of urbanisation experienced by Morocco in connection with migration and to which we shall return later. However, the subject is still little (or poorly) understood, due to the frequency of parallel exchange practices, informal transfer methods, ambiguity in the terms used, the diversity of statistical sources etc.. For Morocco, only a small number of systematic and regular surveys are available to monitor this phenomenon.

Research firstly looked at the different repatriation methods. With the post office, banks, informal channels and now more and more modern international payment means (Western Union), there has been a spectacular increase seen in the control of financial flows by the banking sector. It can also be seen that the Moroccan migratory system, when compared with other countries in the Maghreb, particularly Algeria, has much less room for “underground” transfers, or at least unrecorded transfers, which largely rely on a system of compensation and the flow of goods. This particular characteristic can be explained in large measure by the incentives set up in the past by the Moroccan state and banks to encourage emigrants to send as much of their savings home as possible.

The effects of these transfers are manifold, and apart from the obvious macroeconomic spin-offs it is the microeconomic spin-offs which seem the most important to highlight. In fact, family members who have stayed in the country and benefit from transfers made by emigrants enjoy an undeniable revenue differential when compared with families of non-migrants. It is also certain that these transfers help to form the income of households and thus play a crucial role in the survival of many families in Morocco.

In a town such as Nador, for example, 52% of households have additional income, the total of which is around 16.4% of income from the main activity. There are grounds for believing that at least half of this additional income is down to funds arising from emigration. As a result of this – but also, it must be said, because of the spin-offs of flourishing and more or less illegal trading with

the enclave of Mellila – the annual income per person is estimated at 4200 DH, compared with just 1700 DH in Tetouan and 1947 DH in Tangiers, i.e. in those cities which are more vigorous economically speaking. It is certain that in some regions where resources are less diversified, the share of household revenue made up by money sent back by emigrants is even greater. Therefore, it would be possible to assess the implications for the social and economic balance of the regions concerned, at least in the medium term, of any drying-up of the source of revenue represented by workers' emigration. Hence the officials' concern regarding any possible change in the habit of saving money and sending some of this money to the home regions.

Furthermore, and in a more general way, these transfers play a key role in rolling out banking institutions to the furthest-flung regions and in modernising the sector. Hence more than 67% of accounts opened in small communities in the Northeast (Zeghaneghane, Midar, Jbal Aroui) belong to migrants (Berriane and Hopfinger, 1999). In Taza, this figure is 61% and in Tiznit it is 65%. Here, emigration has had an indirect effect on improving banking system coverage and modernising the economic environment. One could go so far as to say that without the emigrants, there would be places (the little communities of the Northeast) where there would be no provision of banking facilities.

By means of these transfers, Moroccans' international migration will have considerable effects on the home areas which have been the focus for the most part of the studies and research conducted by geographers and others.

### ***International emigration and development***

Analysis of the relationship between international migration and development moves beyond the effects of emigration in terms of the money sent individually to families, and looks at the role that emigrants can play in terms of the development of their home country on a larger scale.

Interest in this topic is explained by the significance of international migration in terms of human and financial potential circulating between the home country and the host country, allowing a relative correction to be brought to the imbalances which caused it.

Scientific research has shown great interest in this field and opened up the research channels, enabling an understanding of the migratory phenomenon and helping decision-makers to see what measures should be taken to optimise the use of skills and funding from emigrants.

In addition, the link between international migration and development has become an essential preoccupation for organisations with responsibility for managing the problems of migration and nation states involved as sources or destinations of migrants.

A way of “using the sending of funds as a more effective tool for poverty reduction and economic development in the home country, and finding new and more effective solutions to facilitate the involvement of the diasporas in the process of developing their home country.”<sup>5</sup>

For even though the objectives may differ, the convergence of interests has resulted in this political issue becoming the basis of a new configuration for international cooperation between those countries sending out flows of migrants and those countries which receive them.

Indeed, while for the former, the emigrants’ involvement in the development of their country is a new dawn, allowing states which are in difficulty because of the problems of poverty and underdevelopment to take advantage more effectively of the potential which until now has been rather disparate and poorly managed, for the latter, apart from the creation of a better lifestyle for the population, the encouragement for emigrants to invest more in the development of their region is also aimed at helping the migratory flows to be slowed or even halted.

But beyond the political strategies which go with it, the link between migration and development has, on the one hand, allowed emigrant populations to be involved more systematically in the development of their country, and on the other hand, through associations and even party membership, has opened the way to more dynamic political involvement in the host country.

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<sup>5</sup>) Migration and development: Opportunities and challenges facing decision-makers. IOM. Migration Research Series n° 22

In tackling this theme, research has developed in parallel with conceptual changes regarding the two terms of international migration (emigration/immigration) and development.

On the one hand, international migration was, initially, perceived as a one-way phenomenon linking the two countries, whose determining factors could be explained in terms of the situation of underdevelopment in the home country. Over the last two decades, this correspondence between migrant society and state territory has tended to unravel, giving way to territories which are organised into transnational networks. For not only has there been an opening up of the migratory field, in Europe and to other destinations, but also the field in which emigrants' activities have been deployed, in a context marked by the jobs crisis, has imposed an itinerant lifestyle and created a territory where there is constant circulation.

On the other hand, the notion of development relied on an economic approach focussed on "the mechanical link between productive accumulation and the growth dynamic" in addition to the massive role given to the state, before coming to be seen as part of the changes shaking the world from the last two decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

In parallel with the globalisation movement and the restored interest in the beneficial aspects of the market and international exchange, as well as the entrepreneurial role played by actors, the notion of development also hinges on a consideration of cultural uniqueness, ethics, good governance and respect for environmental balance.

Work on international emigration and its impact on development in Morocco is plentiful and dates back to the end of the 1960<sup>s</sup>. The accent is placed on transformation, in the urban or rural setting, sociodemographic, economic or cultural aspects of society, where the emigrant is the vector for change, through the money they send to their loved ones or by their resettlement in the country<sup>6</sup>. The consideration of the notion of development as defined by the various theories to study the positive or negative role of international emigration on the

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<sup>6</sup>) (See below the bibliographical sources mentioned in the subchapters dealing with "The effect on the home regions").

home country is also long-established, but rarely made explicit. The term “development” rarely occurs in the titles of published works on the subject.

Among those studies which have concentrated on the relationship between emigration and development, one could mention those which hark back to two different approaches from different time periods: the first, already old and relatively outmoded, links the migratory phenomenon with a situation of underdevelopment and sees the state as the agent responsible for the implementation of development policies; the second, which is newer and more novel, sees emigration as a phenomenon brought about by transnational exchange and the development of business regulated by the state by which results from the actions of entrepreneurs and other actors organised into networks.

### **Emigration / development in Morocco in the context of the 1970<sup>s</sup>-1990<sup>s</sup>**

The first studies on emigration and development in Morocco date back to the start of the 1970<sup>s</sup> and were conducted as part of projects commissioned by countries receiving Moroccan labour. This was the case with the REMPLOD project (“Reintegration of emigrant manpower and the promotion of local opportunities for development”), through which the Dutch government tried to facilitate the return of Moroccan, Tunisian and Turkish emigrants to their countries of origin.

In Morocco, this project led to a study conducted jointly by the National Institute for Statistics in Rabat and the Social Geographical Institute (SGI) at the University of Amsterdam.

A number of publications have come out of this study and have tackled the issue at different levels.

In “Development migration. Underdevelopment migration. A study on the impact of international migration in the rural areas of Morocco”<sup>7</sup>, the main conclusions give a detailed picture of the effect of emigration to the Netherlands

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<sup>7</sup>) Rabat/The Hague. INSEA/IMWOO/NUFFIC/REMPLOD.

on the development of the home regions. This emigration is not considered solely in terms of its contribution to economic and general development and the improvement of living standards for families in the country, but also in terms of its contradictory effects insofar as it is the result of underdevelopment and a driver of underdevelopment. Instead of resolving the problems of underdevelopment, emigration reinforces them because it perpetuates the dependency relationships with the host country.

In the same vein, though at a regional level, the study published by Paolo De Mas on the Rif (Paolo de Mas, 1978), demonstrates the structural obstacles inherent in Moroccan structures at the time which were responsible for the marginalisation of some peripheral regions. State interventionism blocked possible participation by emigrants and prevented cooperational development programmes from achieving the desired effects.

In a study on the urban environment (Hamdouch et al. 1981), a snapshot of the changing characteristics of Moroccan emigration is given through a series of sociodemographic, economic and cultural parameters. In relation to the impact on development, beyond the effects on living standards and housing conditions which improve in the case of the families of emigrants in contrast with the families of non-emigrants, the investment made by emigrants is evaluated through its use in the house-building sectors, in the purchase of agricultural land and in the creation of small businesses.

Other research conducted during the 1980<sup>s</sup> and 1990<sup>s</sup> at the local, regional and national level, essentially focussed on the economic impact of emigration, each time pointing out the particular aspects arising from the nature of the case or the region being studied.

Because the families from which emigrants have come do not all react in the same way to the material and non-material benefits brought about by emigration. Some have difficulty in meeting essential needs, whereas others have additional potential allowing them to save money, or even to invest productively (Lassonde, 1981).

The effects of migration on regional development are an area to which geographical research is generally devoted. Of course, each author has their own

idea of what is meant by a “region”, which may be a local territory or a large natural or institutional region. At a time when regional development was not yet a political priority, studies devoted to the topic were keen to demonstrate those aspects of the impact of international emigration which could be retained as a striking characteristic to set high-emigration regions apart from the others.

But it was shown that emigrants’ home regions were not all in the same state of marginalisation. Not only did they not all experience the same level of destructuring of the traditional system, but they did not all enjoy the same level of valuable state involvement. Also, some regions, such as the Rif, having a large community living abroad, did not make the most of the migratory revenues from their emigrants. In the absence of a real regional development policy, a large part of the money from emigration was invested in the most favoured parts of the country. Studies have shown that the added value of investment by emigrants, as was the case for their bank deposits, was siphoned off to those regions which were most dynamic in economic terms, located on the Atlantic axis. Which deprived the emigrants’ home regions of important financial help which would have been useful for their development. (Lazaar 1990, Hopfinger 1998, Lacomba 2004).

At the regional level, therefore, there are certain distinctions to be made regarding the role of financial contributions to development. For although the emigrants’ capital contributions are considerable in volume, the modernising effect on the economic fabric could not be seen as an indication that a development process has been triggered. This can be explained either by the weakness of state provision, particularly in the rural areas, which does not enable investment possibilities to be fully exploited (Popp 1998), or by the fact that success in the migratory career only involves emigrant categories and therefore is not the rule (Kagermeier 1998).

At another level and on the macroeconomic scale, other analyses discussed the fact that funds sent back and originating from emigrants are in constant growth and better managed in terms of the positive effects that they might bring to a number of fields, from the acceleration of urbanisation to demographic transition, through the growth of school education, the reduction of educational

inequalities between the sexes, changes in the place of women in society, and the reduction of poverty and social inequality. (Berrada 1993).

Similarly, emigration is also seen as a factor which has contributed to the reduction of poverty through direct transfers to families and/or through investment which has created employment (Bouchrachen 2000).

## **Emigration at the time of emigrants as actors in development**

During the last two decades, the emergence of emigrants as actors in development has stirred the interest of a number of studies tackling the issue at different levels and from a number of viewpoints.

Some studies have defined the issue starting with the emigrant as an actor for change whose entrepreneurial initiative can generate an economic dynamism at a local level (Berriane 1998).

Others have homed in on an analysis of the role played by immigrants, starting from the destination country, in the development of their home society. Through actions undertaken through the medium of associations formed in the host country whose initiatives are backed up by work by official organisations as part of a co-development strategy.

Moroccan immigrants' associations in Europe were the pioneers when it comes to linking migration with development in the home society<sup>8</sup>. Their development projects have gone from assistance (donations of school and health equipment etc.) to local development activities (integrated, sustainable projects). Some associations formed around a set locality have developed into emigrant organisations working for the country as a whole or a particular region. But problems continue regarding cooperation between emigrant associations and local associations in the development of common projects. In addition, development activities are not always directed at the most needy regions (Lacomba 2004).

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<sup>8</sup>) The case of Migration and Development in France, REMCODE in Spain.

The emigration / development relationship also has a political dimension. In sticking to the democratic principles of good governance, the state shares its prerogatives in terms of territorial development with actors from various backgrounds, including emigrants' associations.

But the perception of the roles that the new actors are expected to play and the room for manoeuvre allowed to them for their actions can lead to differences between the states affected by the issue of links between migration and development.

So in the case of Moroccan migration in Spain and its effects on development in Morocco (Lacomba 2004), Moroccan official organisations and NGO<sup>s</sup> see this relationship as positive, whilst it is seen as negative by their Spanish counterparts.

Other studies see this relationship as an aspect of transnational migration and of the strategies deployed by the home and host territories which form a network. (Lacroix 2005)

Generally speaking, development by migration is seen as having an indeterminate effect in the context of emigration. And this situation has generally been explained by two essential factors; (i) the absence of a clear policy and a real strategy to bring migration and development together in a direct way, (ii) the shortage of science-based material on the relationship between international migration and development, the two notions often being tackled separately.

### ***The effects on the home regions: rural areas***

The impact of emigration on the socioeconomic and environmental situation in the country is seen as one of the topics which has been studied most frequently in connection with migration.

Given the changes in the socioeconomic and cultural situation in both home and host countries, emigration in all its forms has become a key area for research in the field of rural studies, and has provoked many rethinks and advances in terms of theory and methodology.

## **The origin of social research on the relationship between emigration and rural life**

The interest accorded to this issue is nothing new, and can be traced right back to the studies which looked at the changes occurring in Moroccan rural areas as a result of colonisation. This was seen as having a destructuring effect on the traditional rural social system. It lies behind the triggering of migratory movements which resulted in the depopulation of some country areas. The demographic surplus which resulted from improvements in hygiene and a reduction in mortality was simply invested in supplying the colonial system with labour and manpower to staff the army and administration.

The first studies to mention this issue (Montagne 1958, Berque 1955, Lesne 1958, Le Coz 1964) looked at the extent of this destructuring, but at the same time they underlined the importance of impacts in terms of social change, changes to production structures and access to modern facilities, drivers for which were the soldiers returning to the country after demobilisation following the Great War, or sons of noble families who were integrated into colonial culture through the education system.

Up to the early 1970<sup>s</sup>, international emigration as a phenomenon affecting the rural community was not dealt with directly (Adam 1972). Studies in the fields of geography, history, sociology and anthropology tackled the issue from the point of view of the uprooting and decline of the rural population under the effects of emigration.

Here it is possible to see approaches to research which followed in the tradition of sociologists such as Bourdieu and Sayad (Bourdieu and Sayad 1964), whose work was devoted to the fields of Algeria and opened the way to this kind of position, or Mendras in his work on the end of the peasant (Mendras 1970).

But these positions, which struggled to hide their negative reaction against anything which could disturb the ancient order of the fields were to be adjusted in the light of theoretical and methodological advances in the specialist study of international migration.

Contrary to received ideas, international emigration at the start did not have a lasting depopulating effect, because not only was the positive rate of demographic growth maintained (see successive censuses), but also because the departures, at the start, were not for good. International emigration, even though it had a community character, concerned individuals from different families. The women, children and family members who stayed at home guaranteed the continuity of the production system, and maintained the ties between the emigrant and their homeland. Except in very special situations, linked to the extension of agricultural land ownership as a result of colonial or urban capitalist activity, such as in the Rharb, Tadla and Haouz regions, or those where international emigration took the place of an already long-established internal exodus such as the Rif or the Souss, it could be said that right up to the early 1970<sup>s</sup>, the Moroccan countryside had still not felt structurally the effects of international emigration in terms of demographic stability and the stability of production systems.

### **Changing migratory behaviour and new social studies on its impact on the countryside**

Indeed, a number of people feel that international migration when through a change after the first oil crisis of 1973. Restrictions imposed by European states on the admission of labour from the Maghreb countries and regulations introduced to help migrants to return home and to regroup families had consequences for the immigrants' home countries. On the one hand, assistance to return, even though it only affected limited numbers, caused a surge of old emigrants to return to their villages, whilst on the other hand, those emigrants who preferred to stay in Europe seized the opportunity of family regrouping to have their families join them, thus leading to the departure of women and children, who were the demographic bedrock of the villages.

Whilst the return of some old emigrants can be seen as an incidental phenomenon, the family regrouping process not only compromised the demographic future of the countryside, but it also contributed to the abandonment of ties between the emigrant and his or her homeland. This

relationship is seen in a different light depending on those family members (father, mother and brothers) who have remained in the country and the size of the family farming and livestock operations.

But it must be said that the trend for the severing of ties between emigrants and their homeland was to increase at the start of the 1980<sup>s</sup>. This saw the combination of drought and the introduction of an austerity policy with the Structural Adjustment Policy, which destabilised family farming and stimulated an exodus to the major conurbations or local rural centres.

There then began a phase of residential mobility which also affected emigrants' families who had stayed in the country. For alongside the crisis in the countryside, Morocco began to experience a vast phenomenon of urban sprawl and the development of construction funded largely by the money sent back by Moroccans living abroad.

Sensitive to the social transformations connected with the change in the migratory phenomenon, the social sciences were to take a systematic interest in the many facets of international emigration, going from an analysis of the causes behind it to the effects it had on the home country, including studies of the socioeconomic and cultural profiles of the emigrants.

But the different disciplines did not tackle the aspects of the impact of international migration on rural areas in such a relevant way.

Works from the field of economics adopted an approach on two levels, looking at the country at a macroeconomic level, and households at a microeconomic level. On the one hand, they identified the importance of the financial contribution to GNP made by the emigrants, and hence their involvement in overall economic growth (Hamdouch et al. 1981 and 2000, Belguendouz 2006), and on the other, studies focussed their interest on changes in family life as a consequence of the assistance they received from their family members who had migrated (Chaabita, 2007).

In sociology and anthropology, studies have long been directed towards an analysis of the transformation of the countryside as a result of international emigration. The topics raised concerned the fragmentation of traditional social systems and social change in a general manner, in which the emigrant is seen as

a driver of modernity, participating in spreading new models of behaviour and consumption (Pascon 1983, Hart and Raha 1999, Mernissi, 1998).

Geographical studies on this subject are more plentiful and come from a tradition which, in addition to concentrating on the most clearly defined areas, from the regional to the local, has long been dominated by rural studies which also tracked migratory issues.

A first assessment of geographical studies on the subject of international migration and its impact on rural communities was given in an article signed by Bencherifa, "External migration and agricultural development in Morocco" (Bencherifa 1993), the main thrusts of which are given here.

The article is a theoretical and methodological review of the issue which is a long way from the hasty judgements which characterised the earlier studies of the rural setting. The author makes his views clear, putting forward the argument that "Emigration is one of the responses to which the Moroccan population has most frequently resorted during the 20<sup>th</sup> century in response to the socioeconomic constraints which weigh heavily upon it, such as, for example, shortages and needs engendered by a galloping demographic. Temporary or permanent, internal or external, one cannot fail to see its strong, direct impact on Morocco's traditional agrarian systems. A number of rural Moroccan regions now only "function" because of the considerable injections of revenue from external emigrants" (Bencherifa, 1993 p.51).

But this forceful argument does not prevent him from putting forward his views on the doubt which persists over the relevance of the studies and their scientific objectivity.

For while the negative impact of emigration, though the depopulation and abandonment of the land, is easy to argue, the positive benefits are quite difficult to quantify, in that social change in the countryside and the modernisation of agricultural structures are the result of the interaction of several factors.

Which leads him to point out the conflict between two contradictory viewpoints. On the one hand, those who stick to the "negative" evaluation of the consequences of emigration on the home rural regions, and on the other hand

those who have a positive view of the impact of migration through the innovation it has brought, and where the actors are emigrants, as was noted by the author himself in his studies at the oases or in the Souss.

The two standpoints are in fact based on a contradictory interpretation of the phenomena of depopulation, the use made of the money sent back, and the role that emigrants are supposed to play upon returning for good to their home country.

The fact remains that these two standpoints arise from an holistic approach to rural society, and need to be reviewed, taking into account the specific natures of each home area, looking at the individual dimensions of behavioural change, and with reference to control households unaffected by emigration, and situating the change within a specific time frame.

It is certain that over a number of decades international emigration was supplied by the marginal rural regions, where demographic growth made it difficult to maintain a balance between food requirements and agricultural production, where the absence of technological innovation kept agricultural systems at a low level of productivity, but also where ethnic differences and inequalities in terms of land ownership and capital did not put all families on the same footing when dealing with the crisis.

In reality, these are regions which were kept on the margins of the modernisation of agricultural structures, at a time when State investment was considered to be a driving force for spatial disparity and for agricultural dualism between modern hydro-agricultural regions and traditional rain-fed agricultural regions.

In connection with this marginality, studies have looked at the change taking place, and linked it to external migration. And it is no coincidence that the majority of these studies were devoted to an analysis of the traditional emigration regions, namely the central and eastern Rif, the oasis in the Southeast (Todgha, Dades), the western High Atlas and the Anti-Atlas, and the Souss (see bibliographical collection accompanying this research summary).

Whilst adopting different stances on the positive or negative nature of the spin-offs, the studies focussed on the following aspects:

- Social aspects: external emigration is seen as a factor which has contributed, through material support for families who have remained behind, to the permanence of traditional social structures. Which helps to underline the firm attachment of emigrants to their home country, which has been maintained despite the changes in the migratory phenomenon in the wake of the family regrouping policy and which, according to the majority of authors, is one of the characteristics of the Moroccan migratory model.
- Economic aspects linked to the redistribution of migratory revenue. The studies have looked at the impact of the redistribution of monetary resources of external origin on local economic structures. Indeed, whether it is in the form of money being sent back to families or capital invested in the building, services, agricultural or livestock sectors, these migratory benefits have encouraged the economic profiles of a number of high-emigration regions to change.

The studies, in their regional diversity, have allowed the effects of emigration on the social, economic and spatial structures of the Moroccan countryside to be put into context. The changes, which manifest themselves through social desertification, reinvigoration or intensification of production systems, and the adoption of new cultural models, are observed considering their relevance to each case studied.

Beyond the classic outlines of the pioneering studies which made it possible to give a regional overview of the causes and effects of emigration, more recent studies have tended to take a new look at the issues tackled and the methodological tools used.

In a move away from physical and/or cultural determinism, migratory flows are seen as being the result of the combination of a series of economic factors (low incomes, underemployment, low salaries), social factors (lack of prospects, inequalities in land ownership, gender-based discrimination), cultural factors (lack of leisure, search for new models) and political factors, interacting within a context subject to certain forces and run through by inequalities of all kinds. The change in the social and economic context thus predates the triggering of

emigration which, however, was the cause for its enlargement and its acceleration.

Over recent decades, the multiplying effect of international emigration on rural society and economies has become part of a new approach looking at the countryside in its new relationships with towns and cities. Urban centres have become the focus for the impacts of emigration (Berriane and Hopfinger, 1992 Lazaar, 1990, Ait Hamza, 1992). What is more, emigration is also being reconsidered as a cause for the entrenchment and amplification of social, economic and cultural inequalities in the home regions (S. H. Steinmann, 1993).

Starting with the role played by emigrants' associations in the development of the home regions, studies have looked at the networks formed by the emigrants and the economic and political ways in which they impact once more on the territories (Delacroix, 2005, Lacomba, 2004, Mernissi, 1998).

### ***The effects on the home regions: urban areas***

Whilst scientific discussion of the impacts of international migration on the home regions seems, in Morocco, to be in good supply, most of the writings, theses, articles and notes produced on this subject refer most often to rural areas. With the Moroccan countryside initially being the source of the main waves of emigrants, it is quite understandable that the majority of the studies should look at this setting (Simon, 1983).

Today, not only have towns and cities been involved for a number of years, and in a more and more obvious way, as departure areas in the flow of international migration, but now they are often the preferred place for emigrants to return to, either temporarily or for good, even when they originally set out from rural areas. As time has passed and the migration has spread to affect the whole country, including towns both small and large, the towns have also become the venue for emigrants' projects to take shape, and where the most obvious effects are seen. Since they receive the returning emigrants, whether temporarily or for good, and the investment arising from this emigration, whether it originated in rural or urban areas, towns are no longer separate from the problems connected with international migration.

There is something of a contrast between current knowledge of how emigration interacts with towns and cities and research into how it interacts with rural areas because of the weakness of the studies devoted to urban areas. Given the importance of towns and cities as receivers of investment from emigrants, we have found an extreme weakness in the studies dealing explicitly with the impact of international migration on the urban community. Up to the late 1980<sup>s</sup>, there were just a few reference works, including a few higher degree and doctorate theses, one systematic survey and a few local surveys dealing directly with this subject in Morocco<sup>9</sup>. Certainly, the topic has come to be dealt with in other works, but indirectly, these works not being explicitly devoted to the phenomenon of emigration, but to a monographic study of one town or another. From 1990, and particularly following a major research project initiated by Moroccan-German teams on the conurbation of Grand Nador in the eastern Rif, work looked at an analysis of the relationship which may exist between international emigration and urban growth<sup>10</sup>. The vast majority of theses are devoted to this subject<sup>11</sup>

In most cases, the migratory phenomenon is seen from the host countries' point of view and rarely from the home countries and regions. The phenomenon has also been studied in a general manner, and the lack of detailed studies or monographs is the virtually the rule, at least where the first major surveys are concerned. These surveys have often been conducted in different regions and lead to general conclusions, whereas migratory behaviour is often different from one region to another. Morocco's uniqueness appears all the more clearly when compared with other countries such as Tunisia, Egypt, Turkey, Greece, Portugal etc.. A number of researchers (particularly Germans) have indeed spend a lot of time studying the impact of emigration in these countries and analysing the constant and intensive exchanges – be they emotional, familial, financial, cultural or political – between the immigrants and their home region.

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<sup>9</sup>) Hamdouch (1981), Charef (1983, 1984, 1986), Lepeltier (1983, 1984), Pinson (1983, 1984), Daid (1988). See bibliography at the end of the article

<sup>10</sup>) Berriane (1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1999), Berriane and Hopfinger (1992, 1996, 1997, 1999), Hopfinger (1999), Belcadi (1993), Charef (1990), Ait Hamza (1993), Kaioua (1999). See bibliography at the end of the article

<sup>11</sup>) Bouchiba (2000), Lanjri (2000). See bibliography at the end of the article

## **The main topics covered up to the end of the 1980<sup>s</sup>**

In most of the essays trying to show the impact of emigration on the urban setting, the most common themes revolve around:

- attempts to evaluate the numbers of emigrants who have left the region,
- evaluations of the amounts of money injected into local business networks,
- the effects of emigration on urban growth generally,
- transfers of techniques and models relating to the built environment,
- and descriptions of emigrants' investment strategies and behaviour.

Housing is the most common topic, and apparently most easily grasped. But studying it raises some fundamental questions: its place in the migratory plan; its location (related to home area, availability of housing programmes etc.?); the role played by emigrants as producers of the built environment on the land market and the development of real estate in general, as well as the behaviour of these emigrants in relation to official land development organisations. Other questions relate to the architectural context which is assumed to be influenced by the dominant model. This dwelling model is not restricted just to construction techniques, but extends to the organisation of the accommodation itself, to its decorative elements, furniture and other comfort elements (domestic appliances etc.). Finally, the relationships between the architectural model of the emigrant's house and the use of cars or the location of businesses are often highlighted.

Beyond housing itself, there is consideration of spatial organisation with comings and goings between the emigrants' districts and the small or medium sized towns whose growth can be largely due to emigration.

There is a second recurring theme concerning the impact of international migration for work on the urban economy. Some aspects of this secondary theme have undergone quite detailed study, but some conclusions tend to become received ideas which are easily generalised, when perhaps they deserve

complete or partial re-examination. Thus there is almost general unanimity on the fact that emigrants play no really productive role in investment, the most part of their savings being polarised between consumption or the production of real estate. However, still in the context of emigration / urban economy relationships, the job market poses the problem of reintegration, of the interface between qualifications gained abroad and the possibilities for reintegration into the town which has been chosen as the place for a temporary or permanent return. Finally, there is general speculation on the importance of the migratory economy in stimulating the urban economy in general and the regional economy in general.

There is also discussion of the topic of mobilising emigrants' savings to finance official housing programmes through various official organisations or private developers working on ERAC housing stock, the general tax code, as well as the regional impact of the purchase of these homes.

### **The subsequent appearance of new routes for investigation**

Work then moved on to concentrate on analysing the effects of emigration on the urban environment, and stressed the relationship between emigration and urban growth. This was a visible and incontestable effect – the towns located in the main source areas for emigration are indeed experiencing tremendous urban sprawl. However, emigrants and their savings cannot be presented as the only driver for urbanisation, nor the only actors generating illegal building development. Only a comparison between two regions which have experienced high urbanisation, the one marked by migration and the other having no (or little) experience of the phenomenon, would allow a precise evaluation of the individual impact of each factor. The most likely theory is that migration is not the root cause of a specific and exclusive form of urbanisation, but rather it forms a part of a complex urbanising pattern (Simon, 1983). Efforts would then tend to be directed at attempts to analyse the part played by the different factors involved in urban growth and to identify the real weight of migration. When looking at regions whose urban economies were largely based on external (but illegal or invisible) resources as in regions such as Nador (smuggling, drugs trafficking), the attempt to determine the contributions made would simply become impossible (Berriane et Hopfinger, 1999).

Questions were also raised about the use made of different housing models. Here too, authors often return when talking about the built environment to the penetration and interpenetration of cultural models through architectural and urbanistic definitions and provisions, with a stay in Europe being accompanied by borrowing and transfers. Yet the analyses have never compared an actor (or built environment producer) who has not migrated with a migrant or retired former emigrant, comparing their reactions. It is often commented that illegal or neo-traditional housing develops at the same basic speed, whether or not this is in an emigration region.

As for the economic role played by emigrants, studies put a lot of emphasis on investment strategies and behaviour: in most cases, 71% of investment goes into bricks and mortar, followed by car purchase and business capital. Investment decisions appear not to have been thought through according to current trends, and arise from individual strategies. Questions are then asked about why housing occupies such an important place in the migratory plan: is it sentimental, symbolic, for security or just a speculative move?

On a different level, certain quite unique phenomena have attracted attention and been subjected to precise analysis. Firstly, there was the existence of some individual experiences which were clearly far removed from the dominant emigrant route. So a few cases were found – particularly in Nador province – of real entrepreneurs-developers among the retired former emigrants who have thrown themselves into business in order to meet a specific demand, often from other emigrants (Berriane et Hopfinger, 1999). On the other hand, there have been cases observed of decisions taken by emigrants arising from collective strategies, with a real “pressure group” mentality, sometimes leading to the adoption of political positions (as in the real example of sanitation for a new district in Nador). Finally, there is analysis of the indicators of the operation of a family-based economy through relationships maintained between emigrants and their families as part of a support system, but also in the quest for profit. These unusual instances (a minority of entrepreneurs, collective behaviour, based on a feeling of shared interest or on traditional family support) are put forward like so many cases which need further explanation but which may prove useful in further activities.

## **The main secondary themes raised**

A review of the study of the impact of international migration in the urban setting can rely on a certain number of sites seen as being significant cases of the influence of migration in the urban setting.

The choice of these sites / themes harks back to the different aspects of the effects of migration which all revolve around the central phenomenon of urbanisation.

- The effects of emigrants' investment in the urban setting is often seen through breathtaking urban growth which affects the major urban bodies of the home regions. The cases of Grand Nador in the eastern Rif, Grand Agadir in the Souss and Taza in the sub-Rif corridor have been studied and illustrate this anarchic urban growth.
- The contribution made by emigration to urban growth is not limited just to the home regions. It can extend to towns located in other regions. The investments made by emigrants originally from the Rif, for example, can extend to affect towns in the northwest of the country or the Tingitane peninsular, such as Tangiers or Tetouan. Finally, with the spread of the migratory phenomenon to other regions, all towns will be marked by the effects of migration: Casablanca, Rabat, Beni Mellal, etc. are all examples which have been widely studied.
- The fact remains that the most spectacular phenomenon of these effects of urbanisation arising from investment by emigrants is the bottom-up micro-urbanisation which affects the more or less marginal regions. The cases of the Al Hoceima province in the central Rif and Kelaat Mgouna in the south-Atlas oases illustrate this micro-urbanisation which affects the most remote country areas. The originality of this phenomenon calls for a few examples to be included here.

The central Rif (Al Hoceima province) and eastern Rif (Nador province) are one of the oldest and largest supplies of labour heading for Europe. Al Hoceima province alone recorded some 15,800 departures between 1968 and 1981 out of

a total population of 311,000 in 1982, and the population native to this province and living in Europe was estimated to be 30,000 people in 1989 (Lazaar, 1989). This rural-origin emigration was initially directed towards Germany and France, then extending to Spain and the Netherlands, and has profoundly affected the Rif countryside. Whilst the majority of the spin-offs here concern the rural setting, an urbanising type of impact has also been seen. To grasp the size of these changes, it should be remembered that there was no urban tradition in the Moroccan mountains, with the birth of towns dating back to a relatively recent period under the Spanish Protectorate. In the Rif, this urbanisation during the colonial period only reached the coast (Nador, Al Hoceima). Today, under the effects of international emigration, the Rif countryside has come to experience the development of micro-urbanisation. There is the spectacular development experienced by the souks (i.e. the weekly temporary markets) under the effect of property investment by emigrants. Having benefited from community facilities introduced by the State, some of these souks have been able to fix investments from the money saved by Moroccan emigrants born in the Rif and have seen the population grow considerably. So according to Lazaar (1989), between 75% and 80% of housing built in Bni Hadifa and Targuist is due to emigrant families. In Targuist, the shape of the centre is hardly different from that of an urban centre. The construction materials, the architecture, facilities, interior design of the homes and the way they are fitted out all look to the urban model. The construction fever caused by the demand from emigrants is such that the local authorities have had to introduce a development plan. This pressure has had the inevitable consequence of a sharp rise in land prices even though a considerable part of the homes remain empty during the year and are only used by emigrants and their families (who have moved away with the emigrant head of the household, or who live in their home villages during the emigrant's absence) during annual holidays. The economy of the centre has diversified, and has the characteristics of an urban economy: the businesses, services and craft activities usually encountered in a small centre of this size have been supplemented by banking facilities, bakeries, baths, hotels and wholesalers getting their supplies directly from Casablanca (Lazaar, 1989).

Another example of this bottom-up urbanisation through the proceeds of migration is that of the oases, particularly the south-Atlas pre-Saharan oases such as Kelaat Mgouna. Representing another marginal setting which has generated sizeable migratory flows to Europe, the oasis setting has also seen urbanisation, which can be chaotic, and which has affected its balance. In addition to the penetration of this setting by the market economy and the spread of urban innovations into these country areas, here too the transfers arising from migration are to play a remarkable role in extending the string of urban centres along the road linking Ouarzazate and Errachidia: Skoura, El Kelaa des Mgouna, Boulmane du Dadès, Tinghir, Tinejdad and Goulmima. The centre of Kelaat Mgouna can illustrate this impact.

Created downstream of the Assif Mgoun basin in 1929 to satisfy the needs of the “pacification” policy, this centre has only experienced significant development in recent years. Its location on a main road link (Ouarzazate-Errachidia) and where three tribes come together (Aït Atta, Aït Seddrate and Mgouna) makes it a hub where the outside world and the south Atlas oases meet. Not only is it a destination for the peoples leaving the surrounding countryside, but also for the investment from emigrants or those among them who have returned to the country. In 1982 the number of emigrant workers was officially estimated to be 2500, whilst the official population in the centre was just 1003 inhabitants. The overall sum of transfers was evaluated at 1.2 thousand million centimes per year. Added to this, a steady flow of goods between Kalaat Mgouna and the emigrants’ host countries with each return, and also the visits paid by those living in the centre to their emigrant families and friends means that the town has become a centre for the redistribution of different articles in the hinterland, which has not failed to have an impact on the residents’ consumer behaviour.

All this projects out spatially and economically, explaining the urban growth of this centre. So the population has risen from 271 inhabitants in 1961 to 557 in 1971 and to 1,003 in 1982. A series of land allotment projects launched by the commune of Mgouna and the neighbouring commune of Aït Sedrat on the plain has attracted, amongst others, emigrant workers from the region, keen to invest their money in real estate. The result of this is a chaotic urbanisation and a

surplus of supply over demand in housing (between 30 and 40% of dwellings are vacant), and of business and service premises (10 Moorish baths, 15 to 20 bakeries, 41 cafés and restaurants, 20 repair garages etc.). With these spin-offs, also found elsewhere and resulting from current emigrants, there is also evidence of a diversification of activities in the centre, linked to the retired former emigrants who left during the first phase and have reached retirement age. Kelaat Mgouna has gradually become a centre for the sale of cars, electronic equipment and household appliances, spare parts, and even second hand items imported directly from the emigrants' host countries. The retired former emigrants who have settled in the country can, thanks to the cash yielded by their pension payments and other benefits, live a rich person's lifestyle. Taking advantage of their travels to Europe for a medical check-up or on holiday, they return laden with goods which are sold on in the south (Aït Hamza, 1992).

### ***Relationships between international emigration and internal migration***

Another effect tackled mostly by geographical research, but not enough, is the interface which may exist between international migration and internal migration. Indeed, it is acknowledged that the growth of Moroccan towns can be largely explained by internal migration. If one considers the example of northern Morocco, a region which is clearly affected by international migration, it can be seen that, according to the data, analyses and estimates of the CERED, the contribution of internal migration to the urban growth of the provinces of Nador, Al Hoceima, Chefchaouen, Tetouan and Tangiers was 26% over the 1960<sup>s</sup>, 40% in the 1970<sup>s</sup> and 45% in 2000. Within this context, international emigration has a partial role to play in intensifying these internal migratory flows. This is the tendency of emigrants from the Rif to invest their savings in urban property, accompanying this investment with the transfer of the family who has stayed in the country to the town. The displacement of the family and the investment can also occur following international migration when the migratory plan has ended with a final return (Berriane, 1998).

This investment in urban property by an emigrant of rural origin can also be due to the desire to transfer the family to the town when it is still living in the original rural setting. When the family travels with the emigrant, the choice of the town when building a house for the final return to the country is due to the same thinking. This means that, chronologically speaking, the settlement of the emigrant's family can occur after or during the course of the international migratory plan. The general pattern which emerges from literature is a triangular itinerary linking the original rural setting with the host urban setting after a journey which always includes international emigration (Le Peletier, 1983).

This makes the migratory systems of those regions with high emigration even more complex. Sustained by international emigration, this internal migration falls outside all the classic patterns of rural exodus. It is no longer a poverty-driven migration. It is a migration motivated essentially by the search for better living conditions and a certain comfort and quality of life for the family and children who have remained in the country. It is also migration with the aim of finding satisfactory conditions for investing the money saved during emigration. Leaving the countryside, these flows do not stop in the nearest towns or the embryonic centres, but they leave the emigration homelands to head for other more or less distant regions. Those from the eastern Rif have a preference for the towns of the Northwest, recreating an old relationship which used to exist between the Northeast and Northwest. So they are retracing the old routes which linked the eastern Rif to the Tingitane peninsular and the major regional conurbations such as Fes. Others who came from the countryside and settled in towns following migration abroad are the subject of doctoral research within the E3R at the Mohammed V University – Agdal (Lanjri, 2000 ; Bouchiba, 2000).

### ***Emigration and gender***

The woman's presence as an element of international migration goes back to the period of the first family regroupings in the 1970<sup>s</sup>. Marginalised from the world of work, she would spend her life in the shadow of her husband or parents.

Women became an essential element of Moroccan migration through at least three aspects: (i) Mothers who left Morocco in a situation of inferiority and who, over time, acquired some power within the family which was consolidated by relative financial autonomy; (ii) The emergence of a second and third generation of educated women born in migratory circumstances whose status is controlled by the laws of the host country and whose relations with their male counterparts are governed by rules which belong to a different cultural reference than that of their family; (iii) For women, the act of emigration over the last two decades has become an autonomous plan and not controlled by male migrants.

Alongside this transformation in the status of women in the context of migration imposed by determining factors which were economic rather than sociocultural, the feminist movement in Morocco started to gain ground. Even though this movement was carried forward by feminist associations considered to be a minority on Morocco's socio-political scene, its influence was great in that it mobilised a large part of the civil society and defenders of human rights and left-wing campaigners, resulting in a reform of the family laws in 2004.

This change in the status of the emigrant woman, or the woman who remained in the country, enabled her to move into economic and social fields previously reserved for men. With the help of the economic crisis, the woman who had previously been a passive element in society became, when she enjoyed financial autonomy, an active agent, with an influence both within and beyond the family.

Moroccan women's emigration has highlighted the trends of a far-reaching social change. For if women have achieved the possibility of conceiving and realising a plan to live outside the country without male supervision, this is because the Moroccan situation has been marked by a relaxation of cultural restrictions and the tendency for greater permissiveness in respect of the mobility of women far from social control (El Ghali, 2005).

The interest of researchers into women's affairs have long been influenced by the social reality by which their existence was defined. For beyond the sociological studies devoted to the theme of the family, tackling the sexual nature of the relationships to which women are subjected, social research has

long neglected those aspects which deal with women's contributions through work to the different economic sectors, and has shown little interest in them in terms of their "own individuality".

Research in Morocco looking at emigrant women is rare. It approaches this area in an indirect way, either by shining a light on Moroccan migrant women in their host country, or where emigrant women are covered by more general analyses of a sociological nature of the situation of Moroccan women with consideration for their status which is judged to be inferior to that of men, which is presented by means of social indicators on health, education, work etc. (Hajjarabi, 1988, 1995).

The main publications on the subject of women are often part of a gender-based approach<sup>12</sup> and are the work of collectives comprising university women and/or women campaigners fighting for sexual equality. Women are generally portrayed through a number of images, depending on whether they are rural women, working women, educated women, women working in white collar jobs etc. (Mernissi and Azziman, 1993 ; Bourquia 1997 and Rhissasi 1997).

In an academic study entitled "Casos de mujeres inmigrantes marroquies en Espana: Identificacion de causas, Proyectos y Realidades" (2005), El Ghali, starting with women from the Touanate region who have emigrated to Spain, talks about the economic, sociocultural and personal regions which have pushed more and more Moroccan women to choose the route of emigration out of the country as a way of realising their plan to break with a situation which they find difficult to bear. By following them on their migratory routes to Madrid and Malaga, the author highlights the failure of the migratory plan for the women, who find themselves doubly exploited because of their gender and their immigrant status, in many cases having no formal paperwork. But this situation in the host country does not prevent them, like immigrant men, from becoming a source of revenue for their family members still in the home country.

The effect of emigration on the status and condition of non-migrant women is also tackled, considering the new tasks given to them at the family and village

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<sup>12</sup>) Referred to as "Gender Studies"

level because of the absence of men, and the social relationships which result from them. (Steinmann, 1993)

As a component of international emigration, women have not been seen as a favourite subject for research, which has long been drawn by male-related subjects, and which are interested in the economic impact of money sent back by migrants or the development of flows and their spatial distribution.

Furthermore, it comes as no surprise when one knows that social research in Morocco has long been under the influence of French social scientific research, which itself has lagged behind on the subject of women compared with advances made in the Anglo-Saxon countries, or more recently in countries such as Spain and Italy<sup>13</sup>.

### ***Sub-Saharan migration to and through Morocco***

Morocco's situation regarding sub-Saharan immigrant flows is nothing new. This is a relationship which has been running for a long time through history. Morocco's firm Saharan roots make it a crossroads between Europe and sub-Saharan Africa, which (which does not rule out the existence of flows in the opposite direction). Initially, the flows had a cultural and commercial character, polarised by the city of Fes, a religious and economic centre of the pre-colonial era.

The colonial phase helped to break these exchanges during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and they resumed in a different pattern from the 1960<sup>s</sup>.

Independence and the search by African countries to establish links between themselves and to engage in a unification process with the creation of the Organisation of African Unity was to restore Morocco to new cooperative relationships with the sub-Saharan countries. These links made it possible to open the way to new mobility, particularly by students and tourists on pilgrimage, and to people staying for variable lengths of time, or even settling permanently, in Morocco.

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<sup>13</sup>) See Utz Maas et al. Moroccan women (or the offspring of immigrants) in Europe. "Identity and difference in European citizenships", Project n° 23 – IT-039: "Picture Europe" 2001. Internet resource).

But the presence of these nationals from countries south of the Sahara, which was initially quite discrete and inconspicuous, was to become a striking feature of migration in Morocco, growing to become significant illegal migration to Europe. In fact for a country considered to be a country of departure, rather than a destination for migratory flows, the arrival of the sub-Saharan migrants with migrant status was viewed with a certain amount of empathy, in that it presented the host country with a familiar image.

While the first flows of illegal sub-Saharan migrants dates back to the end of the 1980<sup>s</sup>, and their presence was most visible in Tangiers, which was the end point for their frequently legal travels within the continent (arrival by aeroplane with a visa in Morocco), the dramatic change in the phenomenon was to start with the first shipwrecks of migrant trafficking vessels.

The restrictive measures and the control of borders around the Schengen area gave rise in Morocco to a proliferation of networks of traffickers making a profit from the dramatic fate of illegal sub-Saharan and also Moroccan migrants.

Illegal migration to Europe put Morocco in a new position, making it both a transit and host country for migratory flows from sub-Saharan and Maghrebian countries. This position was thus to expose it to two-fold pressure. Human pressure from the immigrants plunged into the misery of the marginal districts of the major cities, which are not necessarily cities located on the northwestern, northeastern or southwestern coast (between Agadir and Lagouira), but also in the urban centres of the interior. And political pressure from the European countries which imposed new rules on it to manage the phenomenon.

For this purpose, Morocco implemented a certain number of security measures at the borders and in the areas where sub-Saharan migrants would circulate within the country, and legislative measures to regulate the presence of foreigners on Moroccan soil, with the enactment of the 02-03 law (El Madmad 2004). In addition, beyond these results in terms of repression, the presence of sub-Saharan migrants in Morocco gave rise to Morocco's involvement in the process of setting up a Euro-African partnership

around the question of migration, trying to make migration a positive factor for economic development and growth (Ammor 2008).

Between the end of the 1980<sup>s</sup> and today, the phenomenon of sub-Saharanans in Morocco has had time to adjust and to take previously unseen forms, which are part of the societal changes that Morocco is currently experiencing.

For the provisional nature which sub-Saharan migration previously had is now tending to become an increasingly evident permanent presence. In addition, the image of groups of sub-Saharanans wandering the streets and making a living from begging and receiving charity has now been matched by new images, whether they are of people looking to achieve integration through paid work and trade, many of whom have skills and know-how, or of organised gangs becoming enmeshed in criminality.

In the face of these transformations, Moroccan society is reacting slowly, and relationships woven by Moroccans with the sub-Saharanans' communities are characterised by conflicting behaviour. These relationships are overlaid with religious feelings of compassion and philanthropy, and are sometimes driven by the utilitarian aim of benefiting from cheap labour.

In Morocco, social scientific studies have been slow to move into this new field of research. Publications on the subject belong to three types of contribution: (i) the published work of symposia, where the phenomenon is often presented in its demographic aspects and where the issues are often likened to the more general "illegal immigrant" ones (Janati Idrissi 2006), (ii) novelistic accounts of the migratory experiences of one or more migrants, where a broad picture is painted of a tragic life moving from misery in the home country through the dangers of the transit areas to probable shipwreck, (iii) publications which sometimes come out of the reports of projects commissioned by international organisations (Barros et al. 2000), or which summarise the results of surveys conducted by NGO<sup>s</sup> and/or Moroccan associations (Moroccan Association for the Study and Research of Migration. AMERM) (Khachani 2008).

The contribution of scientific knowledge on this phenomenon is restricted to quantitative evaluations of the size of flows, and there is a certain tendency to dramatise and reproduce images forged by sensation-driven news coverage.

Discussion, without explicitly setting out the theoretical assumptions used as a basis for the judgements made, describes a complex mesh of economic and demographic determining factors which hark back to the classic “pull / push” model, contrasting misery in Africa, which repels, with opulence in Europe, which attracts.

The model for trans-Saharan migration is actually often based on tendentious interpretations of the statistics provided by governments and/or fragments of discussions held amongst migrants themselves. It promotes an apocalyptic picture painted by politicians, sustained by the media and often reproduced by researchers. Actually, the factors behind illegal migration tend most of all to be the result of a legal immigration route in a world characterised by worldwide segmentation of the labour market and crisscrossed by inequalities in the geographic distribution of the availability and need for labour (De Haas 2007).

Over recent years, more innovative approaches, which in particular have taken the time to set out a theoretical view which is capable of encompassing these new flows, have been set in train. These are arguments put forward by young Europeans who are keen to get alongside migrants of sub-Saharan origin to observe them over the course of their journey.

Thus field surveys have been set up which favour the circulatory territory approach, fitting this type of migration into a transnational scenario. Itineraries bristling with forced staging posts and waiting areas have been retraced (Barros. 2000). Similarly, the migrations of sub-Saharans have also been approached from a theoretical standpoint which considers the migrant to be a creator of territory, and which views their mobility in relation to an accelerating modernisation movement which has been turned upside down by the globalisation of communication networks and new technologies (Escoffier 2006).

We also have the first sketches of the socio-economic profiles of what are referred to by some as transmigrants, who have arrived in Morocco either legally by aeroplane or

in secret after a long journey. *“They were employed at night in security companies in Cameroon, as coolies in the market in Lagos, as builders’ assistants in Tamanrasset, as gardeners working in the plantations of Gardaia, digging wells or working as domestics in Algiers, hiring themselves out on a daily basis, enjoying no social security other than free assistance offered by public hospitals. (...) Some prefer to say that they have “lent a hand” rather than talking of “work”, which they see in a quite different way. The most direct intra-African journey is around 6,000 km, and completed by local transport takes around six weeks. It is considerably extended in terms of time and distance as they are turned back from borders, and this may double or treble the distances.”* (Escoffier, 2006).

Other ongoing surveys try to study the life experiences of these populations during their crossing of Morocco which may become a more or less permanent stay. There are also questions about the change from the status of a migrant passing through on the way to Europe to the status of a migrant settling in Morocco.

The most frequent secondary themes centre on estimates, explanatory factors and motivations (without being limited to the classic and now barely operational Push-Pull pairing), profiles, modes and conditions of migration, travel and residency conditions, the issue of refugees’ status, the place of women, religious and ritual aspects, relationships with the Moroccan population, relationships maintained with families remaining in the home country etc..

Finally, there have been other attempts to look again at different flows of sub-Saharan populations settling quite legally in Morocco, such as students from countries south of the Sahara, who increasingly choose Morocco to continue their higher education. The mobility of sub-Saharan students in Morocco is then studied on the basis of theoretical concepts relating to migration. This allows a grasp of the current migratory mechanisms and processes, which would seem to rely on transnational networks and communities. The aim is to see how far it is possible to analyse circulations which are rarely considered, such as student mobility. Thus by way of a quantitative survey and an analysis of accounts of life experiences, it has been demonstrated that sub-Saharan student mobility in Morocco has taken on characteristics similar to those of international migration. These students move around in settings which are favourable to emigration. Links with migrant communities could play a significant role in

decision-making and the pursuit of their life plan. The stay in Morocco is ideally seen as one stage of a migratory plan, which is supposed to be followed up by a second migration for study or work. The stay in Morocco is seen so much more as a confrontation both with the host society which is culturally “other” and with sub-Saharanans from different backgrounds. Through this double encounter, identities as “citizens of the world” are constructed, while still remaining firmly rooted in the African home community. The daily life experiences of these students in Morocco often coincide with those of other sub-Saharan migrants (Johara Berriane, 2006).

The fact remains that, on the whole, studies into the sub-Saharan migrants are at a very early stage.

## **Conclusion**

Having arrived at this stage of the analysis, one can only highlight the inadequate, if not sketchy, nature of this summary, given the complexity of the phenomenon, its ramifications, its development and the fact that studies and research are still ongoing and will probably result in rapid change to this picture.

The gaps found in the literature which has been sorted through and consulted are manifold, despite the considerable volume of reference works. Once again, one could highlight the imbalance between the very high number of studies conducted abroad and the much smaller number of studies conducted in Morocco. This is tantamount to saying that Moroccan migration is looked at mostly from abroad and very little from inside the country. This has a great effect on the understanding of the phenomenon.

One could also mention the relative weakness of the thorough empirical surveys conducted from Morocco. Apart from a few theses which have looked at specific cases (e.g. Beni Mellal, Rif, Ksar El Kebir, Souss, Haut Atlas Central, Tinghir, Casablanca, Asilah, Fquih Ben Salah), most of the works are based on an analysis of administrative statistics (High Commission for Planning, CERED, Department for Statistics, Interior Ministry). However, it should be noted that major investigatory campaigns have been mounted at regular

intervals on the initiative of Moroccan researchers in partnership with teams from European universities. This was the case for INSEA in partnership with Dutch teams<sup>14</sup> during the 1970<sup>s</sup>; this was also the case for teams of geographers belonging to the Faculty of Arts and Humanities in Rabat in partnership with German teams looking at the province of Nador in the 1970<sup>s</sup> (around thirty publications from large-scale works to shorter papers)<sup>15</sup>. This has been the case from time to time for more specific surveys, though at a national scale, commissioned by the Hassan II Foundation for Moroccan Nationals Abroad<sup>16</sup>. This is currently the case for the mostly qualitative surveys currently being conducted by the same Rabat geographers in partnership with geographers from the University of Grenada, about Moroccan migration in Andalusia<sup>17</sup> and major surveys relating to sub-Saharan migrants which are currently in progress<sup>18</sup>. Otherwise, the topic is tackled by a great number of authors who declare themselves to be specialists without basing their thinking on empirical investigations, which are regularly reviewed, given the rapid changes in the migratory situation which have frequently been stressed.

We also note that among the humanities and social sciences, geography and, more recently, economics broadly stand out for their treatment of the topic of migration. Indeed, the most consistent studies are the work of geographical (humanities faculties), political and economic (law and economics faculties, the INSEA) sciences, while disciplines such as sociology, educational science, anthropology, history, psychology, philosophy and literature have been more interested in the broader themes of migration.

At the same time, the number of studies looking at Moroccan emigrants in European states (immigration) has grown spectacularly in both quantity and quality. Here, we note a different scientific relevance and an imbalance between Anglo-Saxon and French-language publications. Whilst French-language

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<sup>14</sup>) Around Paolo De Mas

<sup>15</sup>) Around A. Bencherifa and H. Popp for the rural setting and within the E3R (M. Berriane and H. Hopfinger) for the urban setting.

<sup>16</sup>) Hamdouch et al, 2000

<sup>17</sup>) "Excellence Research Project" (call for tender in 2006, *Moroccans in Andalusia: social spaces for immigration in mobility territories*, Project SEJ-1390, around Aron Cohen, University of Grenada, responsible for the study in Spain and Mohamed Berriane (Mohammed V University in Rabat), responsible for the study in Morocco, in collaboration with Mohamed Aderghal (Mohammed V University in Rabat). Carmen Carvajal (University of Malaga) and Verónica de Miguel Luken (University of Granada), and Pablo Pumares and Dominique Jolivet (University of Almeira).

<sup>18</sup>) Different organisations around the Moroccan Association for Study and Research on Migration

research on Moroccan migration is rich in empirical study and analysis of cases, Anglo-Saxon studies demonstrate a greater wealth on the theoretical level.

Looking at the themes, it can be said the wide spread of themes dealt with by this research covers practically all aspects of this migration. The fact remains that research must continually renew itself and search out new areas for inquiry.

We would like to stress two aspects which seem to be fundamental to current trends.

- The consideration of new migratory forms, both so that they can be studied in themselves, but also to study their interactions. The new north-south flows seem very promising in terms of updating current models. Taking here the example of new European nationals in the historic centres of Moroccan cities, one could pick out a number of centres of interest. Apart from the background linked to the appearance of these new dynamics, the main actors present, the ways in which they acquire dwellings, their distribution across the “medina” areas, as well as the way in which they use them, the interesting thing for new studies would be to dwell on aspects relating to the practices of this new foreign community and their relations with its new living environment, stressing the effects of this migration on the space and social life of the historic medina districts, which have become a place for meetings and social activities transformed by the integration of a foreign population by its identity, its practices and its perceptions of the space and the society. It would also be worthwhile to look into the perceptions held by those living in the medina of this new phenomenon and their relations with the new neighbours. Finally, the very future of the social makeup of the old medinas would repay study, looking at the issue of a new society in its embryonic state.

- Generally speaking, there is an urgent need to study the phenomenon of migration in Morocco, considering the new workings of the Moroccan area in migration. Morocco is now being called to fulfil several migratory functions simultaneously. In addition to its historic role as a country of emigration, which began as temporary, then permanent and circular, Morocco now acts as a country where populations from the south settle either permanently or temporarily, whilst becoming a place for the more or less temporary settlement of Europeans. Here we are seeing a reconfiguration of those functions which are

found in other countries, such as Europe, but this reconfiguration has not yet been taken into consideration by research into migration. Now this added complexity in migratory functions explains why it is so difficult to redefine Morocco's status in the regional and global migratory system and has changed the whole shape of the analysis.

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## **Annex:**

### **Methodology used for research and establishing the bibliography**

**Lahoucine Amzil<sup>19</sup>**

The present assessment of research into Moroccan migration, particularly migration from/to/across Morocco does not claim to be an exhaustive analysis or full inventory. In completing this survey, we encountered the following difficulties:

- Literature written in many languages and scattered all over the world,
- Researchers from different disciplines and universities,
- The lack of bibliographical references in some of the documents,
- The lack of bibliographical recording or rigorous classification of academic works, particularly Theses from different university levels, along with reports of meetings and seminars.
- The non-publication of a large part of empirical studies conducted on Moroccan migration,
- The uncoordinated multiplication of traditional bibliographical classification methods, which need to be computerised.

A large part of these challenges arise from the fact that to date in Morocco there are no universal standards or computerised system for the organisation and storage of this literature.

We concentrated particularly on providing an assessment of the work carried out on Moroccan migration, with particular attention to a group of universities, institutes and institutions. This report centres most particularly on the university work of Moroccan or foreign researchers who have specialised in the study of Moroccan migration. For this purpose, a number of institutes, administrations and particularly universities gave us access to their documentary and bibliographical resources, and we would like to thank them:

- The National Centre for Documentation (Morocco)

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<sup>19</sup> E3R – Faculty of Arts and Humanities - Rabat

- The Hassan II Foundation for Moroccans Living Abroad (Morocco)
- The Team for Research into Regions and Regionalisation, E3R (Morocco)
- The Mohammed V University – Agdal (Morocco)
- The François Rabelais University in Tours (France)
- The University of Oxford (England) and the International Migration Institute, IMI, which belongs to the same university

A large part of this bibliographical research was conducted within the International Migration Institute (IMI) team at the University of Oxford. Access to this university's bibliographical database and the use of the SOLO (Search Oxford Libraries Online) system, using EndNote software, was a great help to us. This system enabled us to search the electronic databases of the University of Oxford, as well as those of the great European and American international universities. This search tool also enabled us to carry out searches using bibliographical search networks such as "Web of Science", "Cambridge Scientific Abstracts" and "Web of Knowledge". We also used Internet search engines and we consulted a number of electronic bibliographical databases.

We would also like to thank the research professors who passed on their research works, guidance and suggestions for research<sup>20</sup>.

A long list of keywords was used to broaden our search field (see keyword list). These keywords were sorted under seven main headings: Concepts relating to the word "migration", scientific disciplines, study areas, groups studied, factors and consequences and migratory policies.

As for the choice of reference materials, we turned to the bibliographies of the major works looking at Moroccan migration to identify which reference works have been most used and found most valuable by the authors. These works included the two atlases of Moroccan migration in Spain in 1996 and 2004 (Bernabé, 1996, Bernabé and Berriane 2004), the proceedings of symposia

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<sup>20</sup> This part of the work was completed by Lahoucine Amzil during a three-months stay at the IMI at the University of Oxford. He would like to thank professors Mohamed Berriane (Mohammed V University), Mohamed Aderghal (Mohammed V University), Stephen Castles (IMI-Oxford), Hein de Haas (IMI-Oxford), Oliver Bakewell (IMI-Oxford) and Mr Gilles Debus (Migrinter).

organised in Rabat and looking at the theme of migration, “International migration between the Maghreb and Europe – Effects on the destination and home countries” (M. Berriane & H. Popp, 1998), and the symposium on “Morocco and Holland: Studies on the history, migration, linguistics and semiology of the culture” (collective edition) in 1988. In addition to a number of other empirical works and doctoral theses in social science.

The EndNote software (versions 9 and 10), designed specially for bibliographical work, was of great value in terms of collecting and organising references. But also in terms of quantifying the types of references, works by authors and publication dates.

### *The main stages*

Creation of the bibliography is the result of a documentary search which was performed in several stages:

1. The gathering of university and academic research published in Morocco (Moroccan university libraries)
2. The gathering of unpublished research: State Doctorate, National Doctorate, 3<sup>rd</sup>-cycle Doctorate, Doctoral Thesis (Moroccan university libraries)
3. Consultation and contact with researchers who have already worked on Moroccan migration
4. Consultation of the documentary resources of the Hassan II Foundation for Moroccans Living Abroad
5. Consultation of the documentary resources of the National Centre for Documentation in Morocco.
6. Consultation of the bibliographical references of the University of Tours: theses and work conducted on Morocco in Tours.
7. Consultation of the University of Oxford’s bibliographical databases
8. Consultation of the electronic documentary resources of several electronic databases from the International Migration Institute (IMI)
9. Consultation of the documentary resources of the Refugee Studies Centre in Oxford (RSC)

10. Consultation of the various electronic databases available on migration

Five databases were updated: articles, works, theses, proceedings of conferences and the reports from various non-academic institutions and organisations.

The compiled and indexed bibliographical lists were organised with the use of the EndNote software.

### Electronic resources

The following electronic resources were consulted and used:

- The electronic libraries of the Universities of: Sussex, Manchester, Leeds, California, Maastricht, Aberdeen, Brussels, Paris, Madrid,
- The electronic libraries of the University of Oxford
- Forced migration online (FMO): [www.forcedmigration.org](http://www.forcedmigration.org)
- REMSIS: [www.univ-poitiers.fr/migrinter/remisisindex.html](http://www.univ-poitiers.fr/migrinter/remisisindex.html)
- CIEMI: [www.members.aol.com/ciemiparis](http://www.members.aol.com/ciemiparis)
- ADRI: [www.adri.asso.fr](http://www.adri.asso.fr)
- Library of Congress: [www.lcweb.loc.gov/](http://www.lcweb.loc.gov/)
- The Swiss Forum for Migration Studies (FSM): [www.unine.ch/fsm](http://www.unine.ch/fsm)
- PERSEE website (Journals, articles):  
<http://www.persee.fr/web/guest/home>
- JSTOR: [www.jstor.org](http://www.jstor.org)
- Institute of Research for Development (IRD):  
<http://www.documentation.ird.fr/>
- European International Migration Review (REMI):  
<http://remi.revues.org/>
- MIGRINTER: [www.mshs.univ-poitiers.fr/migrinter](http://www.mshs.univ-poitiers.fr/migrinter)
- CODESRIA: <http://www.codesria.org>
- National Centre for Documentation (CND): <http://www.cnd.hcp.ma/>
- Migration Policy Institute (MPI): <http://www.migrationpolicy.org>
- Migration Information Source: <http://www.migrationinformation.org>
- Sussex Centre for Migration Research:  
<http://www.sussex.ac.uk/migration/index.php>

Apart from the universities' electronic libraries which bring together all kinds of documents and topics, the other electronic sources consulted basically specialise in the study of international migration:

- The documents indexed in these catalogues are selections matching the keyword: [Morocco + Migration + Emigration + Immigration], whether in the title, keywords or summary. This is why these documents are not always restricted to the specific subject; sometimes they refer to studies of particular cases, or even cases where Morocco is only given as an example for comparison.

- The choice to consider, in addition to the documents dealing with the issue of migration, case studies and general studies arises from the fact that specific studies centred on "Moroccan emigration" only partially exist. Analysis of Moroccan migration is also dealt with by more general studies on the Maghreb.

- A selection of fundamental documents was taken from these.

- The majority of these documents is in **French**, but we have also included in our selection a large number of **English, Spanish, Arabic and German** language titles. Because of the linguistic limitations, we have made little use of documents in **Dutch**.

The list of keywords used

Nine categories of keywords were used for our bibliographical searches.

**a- Concepts linked with migration**

Migrants, Migration, migration clandestine, Migration Patterns, migration policy, migratory stream, Immigrants, Immigration, Immigration Policy, Emigration, Return Migration, emigration impact, circular migration, international migration, Undocumented Immigrants, causes of migration, migration intentions, family migration, migrant workers, Labor Migration, Rural to Urban Migration, migration culture, seasonal migration, temporary migration, Flux migratoire,

**b- Scientific disciplines:**

Demography, Education, Geography, Anthropology, History, Ethnography, Criminology, Political Science, comparative analysis

**c- Empirical study locations:**

- Africa, Europe, Middle East, East Africa, European Union, Mahgreb, Arab world, North Africa, Sub Saharan Africa, Mediterranean, Countries United Nations, West Africa, Western Europe, Netherlands, South-North migration, the Horn of Africa,  
- Algeria, Morocco, Argentina, Belgium, Congo, France, Egypt, Sudan, Tunisia, Somalia, Sudan, Mauritania, Libya, Ghana, Senegal, Italy , Mexico, Spain, Turkey, United States of America, South Central Africa,  
- Casablanca, Rif Mountains, Zerhoun, Tangiers, Sardinia,  
- Rural Areas,

**d- Human groups studied:**

Ethnolinguistic Groups, Berber, Arab Cultural Groups, Foreign, Jews, Rural Communities, Arabic, North African Cultural Groups, Mashreq countries, Muslims, Religions, Nomadic Societies, subgroup organization, mutual support, Movements, Cultural Groups, labour exporting countries, Oil-producing states, Second Generation, sending countries, labour exporting countries, Traditional Societies, Villages, Ethnic Studies,

**e- Forms:**

Circuit, Community/Communities/Communitarian, complex organization, Cyclical Processes, Educational Opportunities, emploi, employment, Money, Tradition,

**f- The impact of migration:**

Alien labor, business, commerçant, demographic trends, Demographic Change, wage-labour migration, Migrant Workers, networks, gender, reduction du chômage, Refugees, Regional Dialects, Relations/Relational, Modernization, investissement direct étranger, International Trade, jobs, work organization, workplaces, and unions, Income, Small Businesses, Smuggling, secteur informel, Transnationalism, unemployment reduction, Free Trade, Export, Industrial development, Integration

**g- The underlying factors and consequences of migration:**

Asylum, Assimilation, Borders, Crime, remittances, intentions, networks, altruism, self-interest, households, development, Dependence/Dependency, ecology, Music, modernity, Drugs, selection, self-selection, Prostitution , Marijuana, marriage, Kif, imported workforce, Oppression, Undocumented, Urban conditions, Colonialism, Conservation of resources, Urbanization, Fertility, Globalization, Group interactions, Housework, erosion, exploitation, Human Rights, Human Trafficking, Informal economy, Motivation, Acculturation

**h- Migratory policies and strategies:**

Regional planning, regularization, Regulation, Role/Roles, Legal Services, Markets, Nongovernmental Organizations, Territoriality, Terrorism, Tourism, Security, Taxation, Urban versus Rural Areas, Water resources, Ethnicity, Adjustment

**i- Other keywords:**

Center and Periphery, disease, Domestics, mountain ranges, crop, Relevance, Romance Languages, parcours, Malaria, Material, Kinship Networks, nomadism, pastoralism, Size/Sizes, Slavery, Sovereignty, traders, WHO, Work Skills, foreign direct investment, Foreign offenders, Hotels,

Comments: Eight categories of keywords were often used, particularly for studies of the last 15 years. These are:

Cultural Factors	Development	Economic	Policy Making
Cultural Groups	Development	Development	Political Defection
Cultural Identity	Policy	Economic Factors	Political Factors
Culture	Development	Economic Policy	
	Programs	Economics	
	Development	Economic	
	Strategies	conditions	
	Rural	Economic aspects	
	Development		
Environment	Labor Market	Language	social change
Environmental	Labor Migration	Acquisition	Social conditions
aspects	Labor sector	Language Change	Social Factors
Environmental	Labour Market	Language	Social Networks
policy	Employment	Maintenance	Social Functions of
Population		Language Usage	Language
Economics		Language	social group identity &
Family		Varieties	intergroup relations
Family Planning			(groups based on race
Family			& ethnicity, age, sexual
Relations			orientation)
family networks			Social Integration
			social mobility
			Social Science
			Research
			Socioeconomic Factors
			Socioeconomic
			Status

**Result: The collected bibliography**

The collected bibliography contains **1170** documents, from articles published in social science reviews, published works and sections of works, theses,

conference proceedings, unpublished works and reports. A breakdown of these documents is given in the following table:

Reference material type	Number of reference materials	%
Articles (1) (Articles published in scientific reviews)	311	26.58
Works (1) (Published works and sections of works)	643	54.96
Theses (2) (Theses published in different languages)	83	7.09
Conference proceedings (3) (International conferences, seminars and workshops)	20	1.71
Reports and other documents (4) (Reports from organisations, research establishments, study groups and NGO <sup>s</sup> )	113	9.66
Total	1170	100

(1) A number of articles and works deal with the case of Moroccan migration for the purposes of comparison, and others concentrate on the theoretical context for development of the migratory phenomenon.

(2) The vast majority of the theses deal with Moroccan migration as part of a specific issue.

(3) National and international meetings dealing with the central theme of “Moroccan migration”, where communications mention the case of Moroccan migration.

(4) Reports published in the name of the organisations concerned.

### Works

This type of reference material is divided into two categories:

1. works dealing with Moroccan migration, published in Morocco by universities, research institutes, public establishments or NGO<sup>s</sup>.

2. works published abroad by universities and research institutes, and which deal with migration in Morocco, in part or in comparison with other countries.

#### Articles

A large part of the articles are published by researchers based abroad, particularly in European countries. The remarkable thing is that the proportion made up by French-speaking Moroccan researchers is modest.

#### Theses

The selection of written theses on Moroccan migration encountered a number of difficulties due to the implicit character of the theme of migration in much research. The theme of migration is actually very rarely a specific subject for research in social science theses on Morocco, which approach it through other areas of socio-economic research. It must also be stressed that in the absence of a good body of written theses in other non-French or Arabic languages, the list remains incomplete in this respect.

#### Conference proceedings

The list of this type of documents covers only those conferences with Moroccan or Maghrebian migration as a specific subject

#### Other: Unpublished documents, articles and reports

This category includes, in addition to unpublished academic articles, reports and documents of an official nature which are rich in information, but whose scientific relevance remains hard to prove.

Three types of report can be identified, by establishment:

1. International organisations (e.g. International Organization for Migration, IOM)
2. Moroccan state bodies
3. National and international NGO<sup>s</sup>