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**Cooperation project on
the social integration of immigrants,
migration, and the movement of persons**

Fatima Sadiqi

***Intentions, Causes, and Consequences
of Moroccan Migration***

CARIM

In November 1995, the European and Mediterranean Ministries of Foreign Affairs met in Barcelona in order to establish the basis of a new partnership, which is described in the Barcelona Declaration. The main goal is to transform the Mediterranean region in a peaceful and prosperous area, and to progressively establish a Euro-Mediterranean free-market zone. The Barcelona process includes three main sub-processes: a dialogue on political and security issues aiming to create stability and to promote democracy and human rights in the region; a dialogue on financial and economic cooperation intended to increase partners' welfare and to create a free-market zone; dialogue on social, cultural and human issues improving mutual understanding and strengthening civil society links.

The Valencia Ministerial Meeting in April 2002, went a step further by outlining a 'Regional cooperation programme in the field of justice, in combating drugs, organised crime and terrorism as well as cooperation in the treatment of issues relating to social integration of migrants, migration and movement of people' (referred to in the document as the JHA-Regional MEDA programme). This programme has been adopted by the European Commission on the 16/12/2002 (PE/2002/2521).

The 'Cooperation project on the social integration of immigrants, migration and the movement of persons' (EuroMed Migration) is a MEDA regional initiative launched by the European Commission (EuropeAid Cooperation Office) in February 2004 as part of the above programme. It aims at creating an instrument for observing, analysing and forecasting the migratory movements, their causes and their impact, in Europe and in the Mediterranean partners.

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The CARIM carries out the following activities:

- Mediterranean migration database
- Studies and research
- Training

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CARIM
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for Applied Research on International Migration

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Intentions, Causes and Consequences of Moroccan Migration

Introduction

In this chapter, we are concerned with the intentions of migration among Moroccans, on the one hand, and with the causes and effects of migration, on the other hand. Because Moroccan migration has many facets, its causes and consequences are interwoven and closely related to development, society, family and gender role assignments. Migration in Morocco has evolved over the years to the extent that it has affected Moroccan culture and way of life. Given the large number of Moroccan migrants in Europe (over 2 million people) and the economic impact of migration on Morocco, it is interesting to understand the real intentions of Moroccan youth in this respect and the causes and consequences of migration.

The Migration Intentions of Moroccans

The desire to migrate is very strong, especially among young Moroccans, as is revealed by the survey undertaken by a Moroccan NGO “Association des Amis et Familles des Victimes de l’Immigration Clandestine”. The survey concerned the migration intentions of young students and employees:

Table 1: Migration Intentions of Different Categories of Moroccans

Categories	Yes	No	Total
Elementary School Pupils	15	85	100
High School Pupils	56	44	100
Senior High School Pupils	82	18	100
University Students	54	46	100
Active Population	19	81	100
Unemployed People	94	6	100
Other	53	47	100

Source: The Moroccan Weekly Magazine Le Journal of 24-30 November 2001

According to this survey, almost 1/5 of actively employed Moroccans would like to emigrate to Europe. The desire to emigrate can be manifested even before the maturity age, as many children express the desire to migrate. As a case in point, when asked what he would like to do as a job when he grows up, a Moroccan primary school pupil answered: “I would like to become a migrant”.

This readiness to migrate is high especially in the North of Morocco where people live in precarious conditions due to the lack of resources and investments and also because of the proximity to Spain. The above survey revealed that in this region 63.82% of Moroccans wish to emigrate to better their living conditions, and 16% of them thought of emigrating illegally despite the risks; however, only 29% of those wishing to migrate mentioned that they would like to migrate on a legal basis (cf. Hamdouch and Khachani 2005).

To elicit the intentions of Moroccan students, we used a questionnaire, interviews and observation of students at the University of Fez. The aim was to grasp their intentions and opinions about the causes of migration. The questionnaire was administered to a hundred and twenty one informants (77 males and 44 females); 12 students were interviewed during spontaneous discussions with them. The age of the informants varied between 18 and 29, and the students were all from the region of Fez, albeit from different socio-economic backgrounds. The questionnaire included thirteen questions, four of which were about

background information related to gender, age, education, and nine aimed at eliciting intentions and perceptions about migration.

To the question whether they were interested in migration to further their studies or to work, 57% answered that they would like to migrate, mainly to finish their graduate studies abroad, as the table below shows:

Table 2: Students' Migration Intentions

	Would like to migrate	Don't want to migrate	Don't know
Females	24%	23%	7%
Males	33%	10%	3%
Average	57%	33%	10%

Source: Survey on 121 students (77 males and 44 females) at the University of Fez

The majority (57%) stated that they wanted to migrate to pursue their higher education, for the simple reason that foreign universities have better infrastructure and modern training programmes. Others (32%) mentioned that they wanted to work in Europe, where wages are much higher than in Morocco: the minimum wage in Morocco is less than \$200 a month, whereas in Europe it is at least the triple of that. Only 2% of students said they wanted to migrate because of family reunion or marriage.

Table 3: Students' Motives for Migration

	Migrate to study	To work	Family reunion	Don't know
Females	31%	11%	1%	5%
Males	45%	21	1%	4%
Total	76%	32%	2%	9%

Source: Survey on 121 students (77 males and 44 females) at the University of Fez

From this table, it is clear that most students (76%) wish to continue their studies abroad. About 32% and 2% want to migrate to work or for family reunification, respectively. Nonetheless, it is well known that many students do not return to Morocco after finishing their studies, because of the high unemployment rate in their country of origin.

Thus, the majority of our respondents think that migration is a positive move, especially if the aim is to pursue one's studies or improve one's living conditions through work. This may be due to the fact that the situation and the infrastructure at the university are inadequate. Indeed, most students are not satisfied with the Moroccan educational system, which is disconnected from the job market. They particularly complain about the archaic methods of teaching and management, the poorly utilized human resources and the insufficient equipment, especially information technology and libraries.

To the question "which country would you like to migrate to", the vast majority of students mentioned Europe, followed by Canada and the USA. On the top of European countries, France is classified first with 17.7%, followed by Germany (13.1%), Belgium (12%), Holland (11.5%), Spain (10.6%) and England (8%), as shown in the following table:

Table 4: Students' Favourite Countries of Destination

Country of destination	Respondents %
France	17.7
Germany	13.1
Belgium	12
Holland	11.5
Spain	10.6
England	8
Canada	11.2
USA	9.3
Sweden	6.6

Source: Survey on 121 students (77 males and 44 females) at the University of Fez

The main reasons for the students' choices are to do with the fact that the top five countries do not charge any high fees to foreign students, in addition to the geographical proximity and the language factor, as most Moroccan students prefer to study in a Francophone country.

As for the question of eliciting students' perceptions of illegal migration, most of them (57.6%) agree that it is wrong, and 35.4% think it is an ultimate solution, especially for those illegal migrants who are unemployed or have no job prospects in Morocco.

Table 5: Students Perceptions of Illegal Migration

	Good	Bad	Don't know
Females	16.2%	30.2%	5%
Males	19.2%	27.4%	2%
Average	35.4%	57.6%	7%

Source: Survey on 121 students (77 males and 44 females) at the University of Fez

There is a marked disparity between girls and boys attitudes toward illegal migration; female students oppose the idea of illegal migration more than male students because of the danger it involves, which accounts for the fact that the majority of illegal migrants are male.

In relation to the causes of migration, students were unanimous in stating the economic and social factor as the main motive for migration (65.3%), followed by educational (16%), political (10.6%) and historical reasons (5.8%), as illustrated in the following table:

Table 6: Causes of Migration According to Students

	Socio-economic	Educational	Political	Historical	Other
Female	32%	9%	3.6%	2.3%	1%
Male	33.3%	7%	7%	3.5%	1%
Total	65.3%	16%	10.6%	5.8%	2%

Source: Survey on 121 students (77 males and 44 females) at the University of Fez

It is true that the causes of migration are multiple and so interwoven that one cannot determine all the real causes, for individuals have their own motives, and after all the decision to migrate is a personal choice. However, we can give the following summary and reading of the above table. First, that the social and economic motives are the most important reason for migration is understandable since more than any social category, university graduates are hit by unemployment and poverty. Those who are lucky to find jobs are often underpaid.

On the other hand, giving educational problems as a cause is expected in view of the fact that the Moroccan system of education suffers from many woes, especially lack of technology equipment, overcrowded classes, outdated programmes, and the fact that universities are divorced from their social context, as mentioned above. As for the political reasons that some respondents advanced, it is interesting to note that these emanate from personal ideological stances. For example, some students think that the political system is so centralized and restrictive that it does not offer opportunities to the new generation of Moroccans.

Likewise, many mentioned social injustice, unequal chances and corruption, as examples of problems which make students think of migration. A few informants mentioned that, for historical reasons, many Moroccans think of France as the model of development and civilization, and would rather migrate there than to any other country. Needless to recall that the first wave of Moroccan migrants went to France, and it was only in the 1970s that the countries of destination of migrants have started to be diversified, as we have already mentioned in the previous chapter (see also Hamdouch et al 2000).

Concerning the question of who is responsible for the phenomenon of illegal migration, the majority of respondents (61%) blamed it on the government, and then on the illegal migrants themselves (20.7%), followed by traffickers (10.3%) and countries of destination (8%), as shown on the table below:

Table 7: Responsibility for Illegal Migration

	The government	The illegal migrant	traffickers	Countries of destination
Females	25%	11.7%	3%	3%
Males	36%	9	7%	5%
Total	61%	20.7%	10.3%	8%

Source: Survey on 121 students (77 males and 44 females) at the University of Fez

We notice here that male students seem to blame illegal migration more on the Moroccan government than on the illegal migrants, traffickers, simply because they think that if the government had provided them with jobs and had given them equal chances in their home country, they would not have taken the risks of illegal migration. Girls also think that the government is most to blame, which may be due to the fact that unemployment is extremely high among female graduate students (33%).

To the question about the solutions students would recommend to reduce the problem of illegal migration, 60.6% said creating jobs would help, followed by 16.7% who suggested that a genuine improvement of the university infrastructure and system would contribute to curb illegal migration:

Table 8: Students Suggestions to Curb Illegal Migration

	Create jobs	Improve the university	Abolish visas	Punish illegal migrants and traffickers	Other
Female	28.4%	8 %	3 %	8.5%	1%
Male	32.2%	8.7%	3.5 %	6.5%	0%
Total	60.6%	16.7%	6.5%	15%	1%

Source: Survey on 121 students (77 males and 44 females) at the University of Fez

Table 8 shows that more than half of the respondents think that the most adequate solution for illegal migration would be to create jobs through investments, followed by the necessity of improving the structure and productivity of the university. Only 15% of them say that traffickers and those who attempt to migrate illegally should be punished, and only 6.5% think that illegal migration can be curbed if the system of visas is abolished.

Concerning the question whether Europe is a “paradise” worth migrating to, the vast majority (80.4%) think that it is so. Only 16.6% mention that Europe is not perfect, as the table below indicates:

Table 9: Students’ Perceptions about Europe as Paradise

	Yes	No	Don’t know
Females	24.2%	11.2%	2%
Males	56.2%	05.4%	1%
Average	80.4%	16.6%	3%

Source: Survey on 121 students (77 males and 44 females) at the University of Fez

Given these statistics, it is clear that most students look up to Europe as an interesting place to be. When asked why, they said because one could get a good job in the European Union, where the salaries are attractive. This attitude may be accounted for by the fact most informants long for an easy, comfortable and happy life. They also stated that in Europe there is respect of human dignity, and workers’ rights are guaranteed by law.

However, this favourable attitude is contradicted by the responses to the question whether illegal migrants had a better life in Europe than in their home country. A slight majority (46.2%) said that illegal migrants did not lead a good life, against 40.4% who thought that illegal migrants lived better outside Morocco:

Table 10: Students Perceptions about Illegal Migrants in Europe Having a Better Life

	Yes	No	Don’t know
Females	20.1%	26%	7%
Males	20.3%	20.2%	5.8%
Average	40.4%	46.2%	12.8%

Source: Survey on 121 students (77 males and 44 females) at the University of Fez

The data show that students are aware of the appalling as conditions in which illegal migrants live. The terrible housing conditions of Moroccan migrants in El Ejido, Spain, are a notorious case in point, which led to the violent xenophobia attacks on them in 2002. Most illegal migrants have appalling living conditions, do lowly jobs, illegal activities, and are always in hiding from the police. This table is significant for it reveals that students are aware of the hard daily lives of illegal migrants, which have been shown on national and foreign television channels.¹

Concerning the question whether Moroccan mass media encouraged illegal migration or not, most students (55.5%) answered that they did, especially television, which often shows and has interviews with Moroccan emigrants abroad who have succeeded in their migration projects. By contrast, 43.3% thought that the media reports on illegal migration did not have

¹ CNN recently devoted a whole programme to migration and Europe’s identity crisis (26 January 2006). Moroccan illegal migrants were video-filmed in their miserable tents in the South of Spain, where they suffered from unemployment, low wages, health and sanitation problems.

an incentive impact on young people and their families. In other terms, they presumed that the media discouraged illegal migration through their different reports and programmes.

Table 11: Illegal Migration as Encouraged by the Mass Media

	Yes	No	Don't know
Females	20.1%	26%	1%
Males	20.3%	20.2%	0%
Total	55.5%	43.3%	1%

Source: Survey on 121 students (77 males and 44 females) at the University of Fez

According to the above data, most respondents (55.5%) think that the mass media, especially the national television channels indirectly encourage migration, for they often give the public opinion an idealistic image of Europe. For example, “noujoum al hijra” (the stars of migration) is a television programme which shows how Moroccan migrants have succeeded in the host country; “Canal Atlas” is another television programme that advises migrants who have made important savings to invest in Morocco. Another television programme called “biladi” (my homeland) shows the important reforms and changes that have taken place in Morocco in order to persuade migrants to invest in the country. Moroccan television rarely shows the difficult daily lives of migrants in the European “paradise” or the living conditions of their families left behind.

In contrast with students' favourable attitudes to migration, the data collection in Rob Van der Erf and Liesbeth Heering (2002), reveals that the majority of Moroccans do not want to migrate. This contrast is due to the fact that young Moroccan students - particularly male - are interested in migration because most of them want to pursue their studies abroad in order to obtain good degrees from prestigious European universities.

The majority of those who do not wish to migrate state either that they are satisfied with their economic situation and therefore do not need to migrate, or that they wish to migrate but do not have the financial means to realize their dream.

According to Van der Erf and Heering (2002:48), the highest percentage of people in favour of migration can be found in Nador (23%), a city in the north of Morocco, which is well-known for a high rate of migration, and in Khenifra (15%), one of the provinces of the Middle Atlas, where the phenomenon of migration is recent.

With regard to gender, men are often more inclined to migrate than women. For men, the main reason for the intention to migrate is overwhelmingly economic. Being heads of households, men have the responsibility of securing an income for their families. Thus, the vast majority of males (90%) and return migrants (80%) state that the decision to migrate is motivated by unemployment, low wages or poverty (see Van der Erf and Heering (2002: 49).

Similarly, women indicate that economic reasons are the major factor of migration, followed by non-economic motives like family reunion and family creation. Thus, most men and women who have the intention to migrate state that they wish to do it mainly for economic reasons.

Nevertheless, intentions are often hard to realize on the ground. They partly reflect wishes and dreams and are not sufficient on their own to predict future behaviour. In order to narrow down the weight of the intentions, those who said they intended to migrate abroad were also asked when they intended to move abroad. If this was within two years, they were also asked whether they had actually taken any steps to realize their intentions.

While intentions to migrate vary from 4% for women to 29% for men, the percentage of those with intentions to migrate within the next two years is actually much lower: 1% for women

and 6% for men. These significant differences are due to the large percentage of people who say they do not know (see Van der Erf and Heering (2002: 53).

Causes of Migration

Throughout history, people have left their native lands for a variety of reasons: religious or racial persecution, lack of political freedom, economic deprivation, dreams of a better life, etc. Nevertheless, the leading motives behind migration have mostly been economic. The process of migration is mainly motivated by financial reasons, Dupeux (1980, p: 13), in this sense, states that *ils partent acheter de l'argent* “they migrate to buy money”. According to Hamdouch and Khachani (2005), there are various internal and external causes of migration in Morocco.

Internal Causes

First, there are huge economic discrepancies between Morocco and European countries. The income per capita in Morocco is much weaker than in Europe, as shown in the table below:

Table 10: Income per Capita in Millions of Dollars in Morocco, Tunisia and selected European countries

Holland	Germany	Belgium	France	Italy	Spain	Tunisia	Morocco
23.0	22.6	22.1	21.8	18.6	14.5	2	1.18

Source: World Bank, 2002

In comparison with Europe, Morocco has only 5.6% of the average per capita income. This gap is deepened by the discrepancy between different social categories of people and between the different regions of the country. It is, for example, a fact that the northern region is much poorer than the centre of the country, which accounts for the very high rate of international migration in the former region. Due to these difficult economic conditions, migratory flows are expected to increase in the future.

Another internal cause of migration is the instability of the economy, which is essentially based on agriculture. This instability is caused by the numerous droughts that the country has suffered from and the sky-rocketing oil prices, which have reduced the economic growth.

Table 11: Growth Rate of the Moroccan Gross National Product, 1998-2002

Year	Rate %
1998	6.8
1999	-0.7
2000	2.2
2001	8.2
2002	3.2

Source: Eurostat (2003)

The economic instability of the country is paralleled with instability at the level of the job market. The relatively low economic growth has caused high rates of unemployment over the last decade.

Despite measures taken by the government since the 1970s to reduce the demographic growth (for instance through family planning), the population of Morocco has kept increasing since independence. This factor impact directly on employment, as the job market is inundated each year by a greater labour force which neither the public nor the private sector can absorb. As a result, unemployment has increased especially among university graduates.

In parallel with the population growth, the number of jobless people has also increased. Thus, from 1994 to 2004, the rate of unemployment has increased from 12.1% to 13.7%. This is partly due to the fact that the state has cut public administration jobs and drastically reduced recruiting people for its public sector. Because of the liberalization of the economy, the state has decreased public investments and employment.

Table 4: Job Creation by the Public Administration (per year). 1976-2001

Year	Jobs
1976	51418
1977	33274
1978	29531
1979	40120
1980	41173
1981	33666
1982	45267
1983-1993	10000 to 15000
1994	17000
1995-2000	12500
2001	17000

Source: Ministry of Finance of Morocco

Table 4 shows that the state, which used to create an average of 400 000 jobs annually, decided since 1983 – and following the World Bank scheme of Structural Adjustment – to reduce job creation by public administrations to about 14 000 a year. The structural adjustment programmes have indeed had very negative effects on the job market although they helped redress the economic balance.

In addition, privatization and liberalization led to restructuring public and private enterprises which suffered from severe competition with European firms. As a consequence, many businesses were obliged to reduce their work force.

All these reasons are “push” factors for the migratory flows, which implies that unemployment has social ramifications for migration. The high rate of unemployment and the poverty that it engenders push many young Moroccans to emigrate legally and illegally.

Another internal cause of migration has to do with the growing insertion of women in the job market, as well as to rural exodus. The latter is a manifestation of what is called “double migration” from rural to urban areas and then to Europe. To reduce unemployment and poverty, the government is called forth to increase economic growth and investments so that Morocco can create at least 400 000 a year. This number of new jobs is thought to contribute to curb unemployment and under-employment and satisfy the needs of new job seekers (Hamdouch and Khachani 2005).

Poverty is another important reason for migration. According to the Moroccan Department of statistics (1999), more than 5.3 million Moroccans (i.e. 19% of the overall population) live under the poverty line. This figure has fallen to 4 million in 2004 (14.2% of the population) according to the recent official statistics (cf. the Moroccan Daily *Le Matin* of January 2006). This entails that poverty has considerably regressed in Morocco especially in urban areas,

according to the general report on 50 years of development and perspectives for 2025. However, it is clear that the number of economically vulnerable people is higher in reality. For instance, although the minimum salary is 1800 DH (ca. 180 euros) per month, many businesses in the private sector pay less to their employees. Trade Unions have several times criticized this precarious situation of the majority of workers. The bulk of potential migrants are from this vulnerable category of the population (see Achoual 1983).

External Causes

In addition to economic, causes there are other important factors that determine migration. For instance, psychological and sociological factors can incite people to migrate. The positive image of the migrants as successful persons when they return to the home country during Summer vacation is remarkable, especially for those young poor Moroccans, who under the pressure of unemployment and poverty, begin to envisage migration as a solution. Many of these “successful” migrants drive luxurious cars, own nice apartments and sometimes have important investments in Morocco. They become a model to follow by other potential migrants whom they generally help to realize their migration projects.

This positive image of the migrant is magnified by the power of television. With the satellite dish, millions of Moroccans in urban and rural areas can watch European channels which generally picture a free and wealthy Europe. This makes many of them think of a migration project as a solution to their misery and frustration. Migration is fostered also by the geographical proximity of Morocco to Europe. Tangiers is only 40 minutes by boat from Algeiras in Spain, which makes many young illegal migrants think of crossing the Mediterranean sea by means of “pateras” to reach the Spanish shores.

The European strict migration laws have also had an effect on migration; they push many people to migrate illegally because the conditions of obtaining a visa are becoming tougher every year, following the Shengen agreement, which imposed heavy constraints on migration procedures. These measures have brought about the increase of the phenomenon of illegal migration. For many illegal migrants, the cost is very high, as most of them pay their traffickers between 1000 and 5000 Euros to get to the other side of the Mediterranean; in many cases, families of potential illegal migrants take bank loans or sell their jewels and property to be able to pay the traffickers. In other cases, illegal migrants’ dreams collapse when they are arrested by the Spanish authorities and sent back home or if they die in the sea. When they are lucky enough to reach the Spanish territory, illegal migrants work in very hard conditions in order to make ends meet and send remittances back home to help improve the living standard of their families.

The European job market also indirectly encourages migration which it badly needs. Migrant workers are needed especially in the private sector, in small businesses and in informal activities. Thus, many Moroccan migrants work in services, building and agriculture, often without a work contract. This situation is profitable to the European employers who often pay migrant workers half the amount they pay their European counterparts. A recent survey by Glavez Péres (2000), reported in Hamdouch and Khachani (2005), has revealed that in Spain, more than 45% of migrant workers have no work contract, and work in appalling conditions for a less than 20 euros a day against 40 euros for Spanish natives.

Migration is equally encouraged by the networks of traffickers on both sides of the Mediterranean. These traffickers charge high fees, as mentioned above, and often make false promises to the potential illegal migrants. Spanish traffickers, who are very active in Ceuta and Melilla, have made fortunes out of this “business” which bestows on them between 5 and 7 billion dollars a year according to a recent Moroccan 2M television programme (see also Hamdouch and Khachani 2005).

All these factors push many young Moroccans to migrate. Nonetheless, the causes of migration have evolved over the decades. In addition to economic reasons, migration can also be motivated by family reunification, studies abroad and other social reasons.

Table 6: Causes of Migration, 1998

Causes	%
<i>Economic</i>	70
-get a better paid job	29.8
-look for a job	21.8.0
-improve living standard	13.0
-other	5.4.0
Family Reunification	12.0
Studies	9.0
Social causes	5.9
Other causes	3.1

Source: Hamdouch et al (2000)

Thus, the main causes of migration are economic; in Hamdouch et al (2000), 70% of the motives for migration are economic followed by family reunification (12%), higher education studies (9%) and social reasons (5.9%). Among the economic causes, we may cite the search for a stable job or for a better paid job in Europe. The wish to improve one's standard of living is also important for 13% of the respondents. Social causes involve the influence of the family or other migrants and the desire to "do like" friends or relatives who have migrated.

The importance of the causes of migration varies from rural to urban areas. The difference in degree is apparent concerning the broad causes of migration, as well as the categories of the economic reasons of migration.

Table 7: Causes of Migration According to Urban and Rural Areas, 1998

Causes	Urban	Rural	Total
Economic	71.6	85.2	75.3
Family reunion	10.2	6.3	9.1
Studies	11.8	2.4	9.2
Social causes	3.3	5.1	3.8
Other causes	3.2	0.9	2.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Hamdouch et al (2000)

Table 8: Structure of the Economic Causes of Migration According to Urban and Rural Areas, 1998

Causes	Urban	Rural	Total
Get a better paid job	42.0	43.6	42.5
Look for a job	32.5	27.7	31.1
Improve living standard	16.3	24.3	18.7
Better Work Conditions	6.1	1.0	4.5
Other causes	3.1	3.4	3.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Hamdouch et al (2000)

Accordingly, the major economic cause of migration is employment. The search for a job is ranked first among the economic motivations for migration in both rural and urban zones. The second main reason is the desire to find a better paid job to ensure a decent income which is necessary to satisfy the needs of the family and to face the high cost of living. The third cause is family reunification which has become a common reason in rural zones. The fourth cause of migration concerns the wish to pursue higher education in Europe. This tendency is relevant mainly for young urban migrants.

Overall, economic factors are the fundamental causes of migration in rural areas (85%) against urban areas (72%). The reasons of family reunification, studies and social motivations are by contrast more significant in urban than in rural regions, as Table 7 above shows.

Table 8 shows that in urban areas, the desire to find a job is more significant (32.5%) than in rural areas (27.7%). This is due to the fact that unemployment is higher in urban zones than in the countryside. However, the wish to improve one's living standard is more important in rural areas (24%) than in urban zones (16%) because of the abject poverty of most rural people.

This tendency may be explained by the fact that the Moroccan countryside has been marginalized since independence, and has suffered from years of droughts and lack of resources to the extent that its inhabitants wish to migrate to the cities or to Europe to better their living conditions.

Under these circumstances, it is important that Morocco and its European partners adopt an approach of co-development. They must collaborate and coordinate their efforts and migration policies in order to concretize the Euro-Mediterranean partnership with respect to migration.

Consequences of Migration

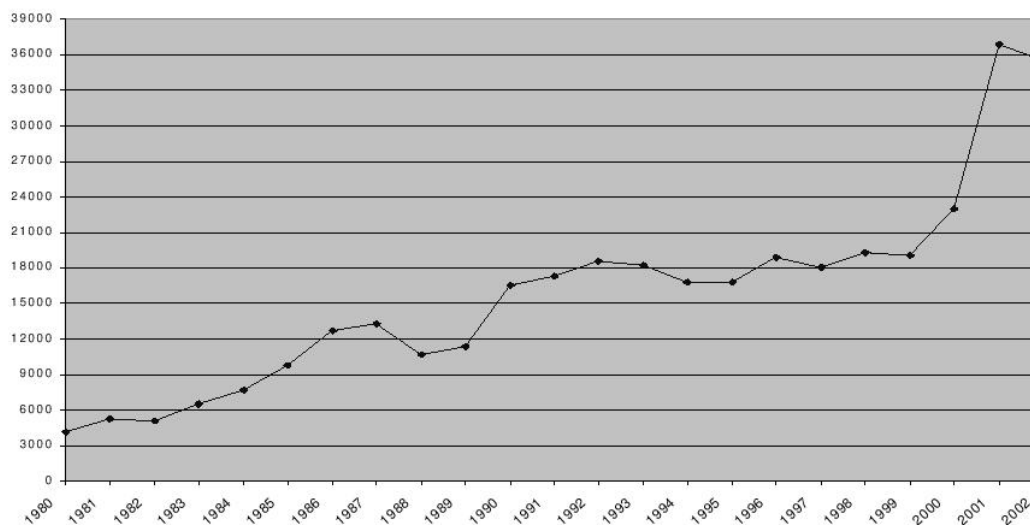
Economic Consequences

Generally speaking, migration has a positive impact on both the country of origin and the host country. At the heart of the process of international migration exists the concept of "give and take" (Arfaoui 2004). Migration may also be a means of improving the living conditions of the families left in the home country, as it helps to satisfy their subsistence needs and improve their standard of living. Additionally, migration contributes to the development of the country by the transfer of funds. Without the remittances of Moroccan workers abroad, poverty would have been much higher. According to a survey conducted by the Statistic Department (2000) about the impact of the remittances of migrants on the living standard of their families, more than 1.2 million people have escaped poverty because of the transfers made by Moroccan workers abroad.

In this respect, Khachani (2004)² examines the positive effects on the home country on three levels: the job-market, transfer of remittances and the investment of these transfers in income-generating projects. However, a large portion of these remittances is primordially oriented towards the satisfaction of the fundamental needs of the migrant and his/her family either living with him or left in the home country.

Remittances sent back to Morocco have been remarkably increasing since the 1970s. They have gone up from 303 million dollars in 1970 to 3.3 billion dollars in 2003 (Ministry of Finance, 2004).

2 A paper presented as part of the colloquial about migration in Fez 1-3 July 2004

Figure 1. Remittances flow from 1980 to 2002 in millions of Moroccan Dirhams

Source: Service des Changes, 2003

The main reasons for this increase in the amount of remittances is the big rise in European salaries and the facilities made to Moroccan workers abroad by the Moroccan government to transfer money and invest in Morocco. Indeed the government has always shown interest in the Moroccan community abroad and ways of increasing the flow of remittances. Morocco has also developed its banking system inside the country and has opened many banks in European countries with a strong Moroccan community. Another reason is that the number of Moroccan migrants abroad has increased over the last four decades. Despite the fact that Moroccan migrants are scattered all over Europe, it is in France that the vast majority of them have settled down. As a result, most of the remittances by Moroccan migrants (54%) originate from France.

As a result of these remittances, the standard of living of the migrants and their families have improved. First, many migrants pay back the debts they made in order to migrate abroad (Newland 2003). Second, a large proportion of the funds are allocated to housing. For a migrant, owning a house or an apartment in the home country is a symbol of social success. However, the remittances have negative effects on the economy and the families left behind. Because they become prosperous, these families influence other people (usually relatives, friends and neighbours) to follow the footsteps of the migrant; thus, new migrants leave the country for Europe. On the other hand, remittances may be a way of limiting rural exodus and international migration.

Thus, curiously enough, remittances end up having both a positive and a negative effect on local economy and the families left behind. On a macro-economic level, remittances do not guarantee economic growth. They are useful when they are turned into important investments and economic activities, but they are less advantageous when they are merely used to meet the subsistence needs of the families left behind. In fact, according to Ihadyan (2005), although the effects of remittances may be positive on a short-term basis, in the long term one, they have a negative impact. They may turn out to be a disadvantage to the national economy if they are not used in investments.

On the one hand, these funds may dissuade migrants' families from working or may incite them to become more demanding in terms of salaries. In this way, the job market will suffer from less demand for work. Likewise, people may become self-satisfied with the money

transfers and shun from transforming or improving their modes of production. The country itself may become dependent on these funds, which can slacken national productivity and economic growth. Overall, remittances can be problematic if they are merely used for consumption, and are not used in profitable investments. In other words, the migrants' remittances can be advantageous to the country only if they are invested in fruitful projects and if they contribute to sustainable development and economic growth in the country of origin. However, it is undeniable that remittances are crucial for they are a good source of foreign currency.

Although the money transfers represent a very important advantage to Morocco's balance of payment, their role at the microeconomic level is hampered by obstacles. New policies and strategies need to be devised to stimulate the productive use of remittance and their capacity to improve local development.

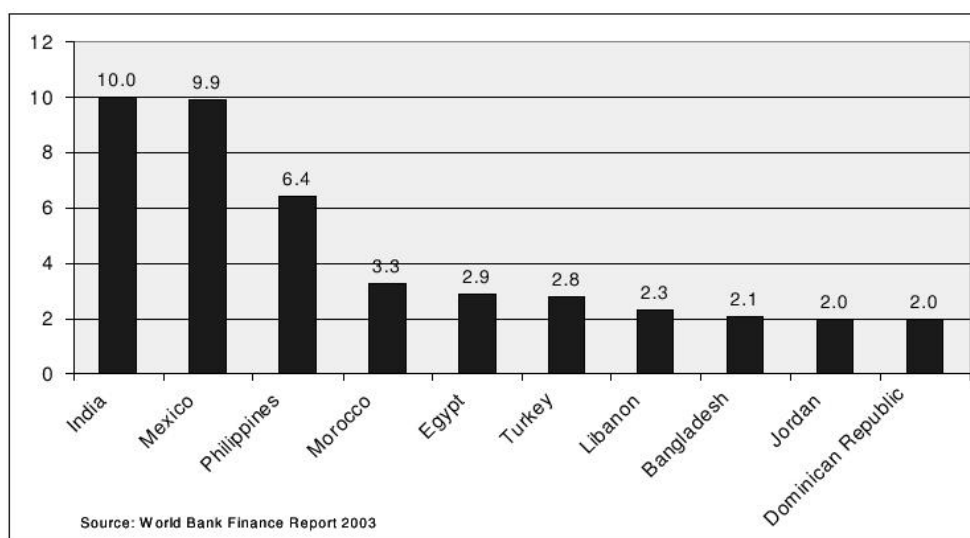
As a matter of fact, many migrants have business projects in Morocco, 80% of which are in the building industry³. The importance of investments varies from region to region and according to the size of the city. The rate of realization is two times higher in small cities than in big ones (cf. Hamdouch et al 2000). As a result, Morocco's economy increasingly relies on the migrant remittances, hence the efforts of the government to establish institutional links with migrants abroad (see Chapter 3). Today, the Moroccan migrant has a role to play in the process of economic growth. The migrant is indeed a development actor in both the sending and the receiving countries.

The issue of migration and remittances is closely related to the partnership and cooperation strategies between Morocco and the European Union which can utilize remittances for development projects and as an instrument for co-development. Moroccan migrants' remittances can also be channelled to serve the needs of local development (cf. Gallina 2005). They play a crucial role in the economic stability of the country and represent a very important source of foreign capital. The Moroccan government should help to identify some areas of intervention to make a fruitful and productive use of the remittances and substantially improve labour productivity and increase economic growth.

If we compare Morocco with other countries, remittances from abroad accounted for 9.7% of GDP in 2003 according to the World Bank Report.

This World Bank Report shows that Morocco receives 3.3 billion dollars annually from its immigrants abroad, followed by Egypt with 2.9 billion, Lebanon with 2.3 billion and Jordan with 2.0 billion dollars. Morocco is the fourth largest country that benefits from migrants' remittances after India (10.0 billion), Mexico (9.9 billion) and The Philippines (6.6 billion dollars).

3 This fact did not change as illustrated in Hamdouch (2000).

Figure 2. Remittances of top 10 developing countries

Source: World Bank Finance Report (2003)

The remittances of Moroccan workers abroad contribute to local development when they are invested in education, better housing, construction, investments, the purchase of land which all increase social and human capital (Gallina 2005). Since remittances tend to be spent on the needs of families of migrants, they are a good way of raising the income of vulnerable and marginalized sections of the population, as we have stated above.

However, the migrant or family members back home may lack the necessary skills and development knowledge to invest the remittances or use them in a profitable and productive manner. Similarly, the bureaucracy of the institutions and the administrative set up, and the poor infrastructures, do not often encourage the appropriate use of remittances.

Social Consequences

Female migration is an important aspect of the social consequences of migration. Female migration to Europe is usually made possible through family reunification, marriage and higher education. Migrant women can be divided into two types: women migrating in the context of family reunification and those migrating as individual migrants. As Al Ghali (2003) argues, the image of the Moroccan woman who migrates alone today differs from the traditional image of “the passive woman”, who used to migrate before in the context of family reunification (2003:8).

Nowadays, Moroccan women are taking a more prominent role within the migratory space that links North Africa and Europe. They often work in precarious jobs. In a research conducted by the Foundation Hassan II for the Moroccan Migrants Abroad it was revealed that the migration of Moroccan women is increasing in the case of Italy (10% in 1992, 20% in 1995 and 27% in 1999)⁴. As it was revealed in an interview⁵ with the Minister of the Moroccan Migrants Abroad, Nezha Chekrouni, there are 350.000 Moroccans in Spain, 48% of whom are women with precarious jobs. In fact, the Moroccan migration in Spain is a

4 Foundation Hassan II for the Moroccan migrants Abroad. *Les Marocains de l'Extérieur*, 2003

5 An interview on 1 February 2004. RTM. Program Biladi.

working class migration, as most Moroccan migrants there work either in agriculture, constructions, or domestic work for women.

Migration may drive a great number of women to prostitution and to work in precarious situations (maids, sales persons, clerks, or cleaners in industries...).⁶ The majority of Moroccan women migrants, even those with high diplomas, work in difficult jobs, which do not correlate with their level of education – some university graduates work in homes, cafes and nightclubs.

Migration also impacts men, but in a different way. Becoming an emigrant is not an easy matter: it means leaving home, family, friends, and a familiar social environment to take one's chances in a new country. Most migrants do not know the language, the customs, or the laws of the host country when they first land in.⁷ However, in general, men benefit more than women from the positive aspects – resources, enterprise, housing, investment, and education – of migration (see Sadiqi 2004).

When males migrate, they often leave behind them dependent mothers, wives, sisters, daughters, and children. Ennaji and Sadiqi (2004) in this sense, present two types of Moroccan women who are involved in migration: those who migrate and those who stay behind when their men – fathers, husbands, brothers, or sons – migrate. In the same respect, Charef (2004) argues that migration impacts on different categories of women: those who migrate for marriage or for family reunification, women left behind by male migrants, or women migrating alone. He states that in all the three categories, women are oppressed. Concerning the first category, women do many tasks in the host country, which they were not used to fulfil in the home country. In the second case, women are obliged to take care of the home, family (husband's family), in addition to their children in the home country, without the help and the presence of their spouse. In the third category, women in the receiving country do many precarious jobs (domestic work, agricultural work, sweet vending, clerks, etc). Ruspini (2004)⁸ reveals that female migrants tend to occupy domestic services, care positions and industrial cleaning jobs.

Concerning the effects of migration on the households' economy, the resources of migrants' households are more considerable than those of non-migrant ones, because the first resource of migrants' households is the funds sent by migrants, and 9/10 of migrant-households have benefited from this financial support; by contrast, the main resource of non-migrants' households is the salaried work or wage earning work of the head of the household.

Migration deprives the household of its active members; however, it retains or improves its resources because regularity at work is higher in countries of immigration than in Morocco. One possible given explanation is that migration has changed in nature from a complementary migration of wealth to become more and more a migration of necessity and need.

In the host country, families and young children may be affected by their confrontation with a new society. In fact, there is a tension between two cultures (one dominant⁹ and the other dominated and devalued¹⁰) which causes a change of attitudes and aspirations.¹¹ As a result,

6 According to statistics, there are over 35.000 Moroccan prostitutes in Europe (see the Moroccan daily « Annahar Al Maghribia » of 12 January 2006. Charef (2000) notes that Moroccan women in Arab countries have a bad image, as they are exploited in prostitution. This is not emancipation but rather oppression for these women face verbal and physical abuse because the majority of these Moroccan women are temporary and unskilled migrants.

7 The Dutch government has recently passed a law that makes compulsory for anyone wishing to immigrate into the Netherlands to produce a proficiency certificate in Dutch.

8 A paper presented as part of the colloquial about migration in fez 1-3 July 2004

9 The culture in the host country.

10 The culture of the migrant.

the migrants may lose their cultural identity and national values. They live in a real paradox because inside the house, they behave as a Moroccan Muslim family speaking mainly Moroccan Arabic or Berber, and outside, they encounter a different religion and another language and culture. Although children are usually bilingual and bicultural, most of the time the Western culture dominates. The second and third generations face this problem of identity, as is evidenced by the rise of Muslim fundamentalism in Europe.¹² Because of miscommunication, adolescents are often in conflict with their parents. The young may become too independent or delinquents.¹³

Thus, the lack of future prospects, economic instability, unemployment, and poverty are the major causes of migration. The situation of the country of origin is decisive for migration, and the latter is itself viewed as a strategic answer to such situations.

11 K. C. Breener 1987

12 Program lakum-u l-kalima 2M TV on 10 August 10 2004

13 “In Italy, a Moroccan man had killed his daughter because she was in love with her boyfriend and wanted to leave her parents’ home to go and live elsewhere” Assabah newspaper of Monday 27 September 2004