

Moroccan Migration Dynamics

Prospects for the Future

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Moroccan Migration Dynamics: Prospects for the Future

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

International migration flows have increased in magnitude and complexity over the past decades. From an original predominance of labour migration and post-colonial migration flows, migration flows have diversified: family reunion and marriage migration have become much more common and in the past decade refugees and asylum-seekers have arrived in increasing numbers, from many regions in the world stricken by war, civil conflict, ecological degradation and poverty. As a result of these, migration and potential migration to, for instance, the European Union (EU) are receiving ever more attention at policy level. In order to help prepare policies in the broad field of migration, development and integration, there is a need for statistics as well as in-depth research. It is within this context that the Commission of the European Communities entrusted Eurostat, its Statistical Bureau, and the Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute (NIDI) with a project to study the push and pull factors determining international migration flows in the mid-1990s. The objective of the “Push and pull study” was to improve our understanding of the direct and indirect causes and mechanisms of international migration to the European Union, from an internationally comparative perspective. The first results have been published by Eurostat in a comparative report (Schoorl et al., 2000), as well as in a series of eight individual country monographs (see Annex 1).

One of the measures to be taken according to the so-called Implementation Document for Morocco of the European Union High Level Working Group on Asylum and Migration (HLWG), is “Promotion of comprehensive studies and holding seminars on trends and causes of Moroccan migration dynamics” (HLWG, 2000: 6). Against this background the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs asked NIDI to do an in-depth study into migration dynamics and potential in Morocco, using the material collected in the push and pull study.

Hence, the focus in this report is on migration from Morocco, especially towards the European Union. Data for this report have been collected not only in Morocco but also among Moroccan immigrants in Spain. In both countries, local research teams were responsible for data collection and, to a large extent, for data processing and analysis. A list with details about the two participating research teams is included in Annex 2.

1.2 Content of report

Chapter 2 presents a general population and socio-economic profile of Morocco, while in Chapter 3 Moroccan migration is the focus. First, the past is described and then hypotheses within the context of future migration are formulated. After a general description of the sources of the data used (Chapter 4), the main body of the report is devoted to analyses relating to potential migration of Moroccans in two different contexts. Potential migration from Morocco is discussed in Chapter 5 and the status of Moroccan migrants living in Spain is elucidated in Chapter 6. In the final chapter of this manuscript the main conclusions are presented.

2. POPULATION AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE OF MOROCCO

2.1 Introduction

This introductory chapter will start with a short description of the history of Morocco (2.2). Then, the current demographical trends will be discussed (2.3). Attention will be paid to population growth, age and sex distribution and differences between rural and urban regions. Section 2.4 will address the issues of language and literacy and Section 2.5 will highlight the economic situation in Morocco, followed by a brief treatment of foreign relations issues (2.6).

2.2 Brief overview of the history of Morocco¹

Morocco's strategic location has shaped its history. Beginning with the Phoenicians, many foreigners have come to this area, some to trade or settle, others as invaders sweeping across the land and dominating it. Romans, Vandals, Visigoths, and Byzantine Greeks successively ruled the area. Arab presence began in Morocco in the seventh century A.D., bringing Arab civilization and Islam. The Alaouite dynasty has been ruling the country since 1649.

Morocco's location and resources led to early competition among European powers in Africa, beginning with successful Portuguese efforts to control the Atlantic coast in the fifteenth century. France showed a strong interest in Morocco as early as 1830. Following recognition by the United Kingdom in 1904 of France's "sphere of influence" in Morocco, the Algeciras Conference (1906) formalized France's "special position" and entrusted policing of Morocco to France and Spain jointly. The Treaty of Fez (1912) made Morocco a protectorate of France. By the same treaty, Spain assumed the role of protecting power over the northern and southern zones.

The first nationalist political parties based their arguments for Moroccan independence on such World War II declarations as the Atlantic Charter (a joint statement issued by President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Prime Minister Winston Churchill that sets forth, among other things, the right of all people to choose the form of government under which they will live). A manifesto of the *Istiqlal* (Independence) Party in 1944 was one of the earliest public demands for independence. That party subsequently provided most of the leadership for the nationalist movement. France's exile of the highly respected King Muhammad V in 1953 and his replacement by the

unpopular Muhammad Ben Aarafa, whose reign was perceived as illegitimate, sparked active opposition to the French protectorate. France allowed Muhammad V to return in 1955; negotiations leading to independence began in 1956.

The Kingdom of Morocco recovered its political independence from France on 2 March 1956. By agreements with Spain in 1956 and 1958, Moroccan control over certain Spanish-ruled areas was restored. On 29 October 1956, the signing of the Tangier Protocol politically reintegrated the former international zone. Spain, however, retained control over the small enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla in the north and the enclave of Ifni in the south. Ifni became part of Morocco in 1969.

After the death of his father, Muhammad V, King Hassan II succeeded to the throne on 3 March 1961. He recognized the Royal Charter proclaimed by his father on 8 May 1958, which outlined steps toward establishing a constitutional monarchy. A constitution providing for representative government under a strong monarchy was approved by referendum on 7 December 1962. Elections were held in 1963. In June 1965, following student riots and civil unrest, the king invoked Article 35 of the constitution and declared a “state of exception”.

He assumed all legislative and executive powers and named a new government not based upon political parties. In July 1970, King Hassan II submitted to referendum a new constitution providing for a stronger monarchy. Its approval and the subsequent elections formally ended the 1965 state of exception.

An unsuccessful coup on 10 July 1971, organized by senior military officers at Skhirat, was followed by Morocco’s third constitution, approved by popular referendum in early 1972. The new constitution kept King Hassan’s powers intact but enlarged from one-third to two-thirds the number of directly elected parliamentary representatives. In August 1972, after a second coup attempt by Moroccan Air Force dissidents and the King’s powerful Interior Minister General Oufkir, relations between the opposition and the Crown deteriorated, due to disagreement on opposition participation in elections. The king subsequently appointed a series of non-political cabinets responsible only to him.

Stemming from cooperation on the Sahara issue, rapprochement between the king and the opposition began in mid-1974 and led to elections for local councils, with opposition party participation, in November 1976. Parliamentary elections were held in 1977, resulting in a two-thirds majority for the government-backed independent candidates and their allies, the Istiqlal and the Popular Movement. The Constitutional Union finished first in local elections in June 1983 and in parliamentary elections in 1984.

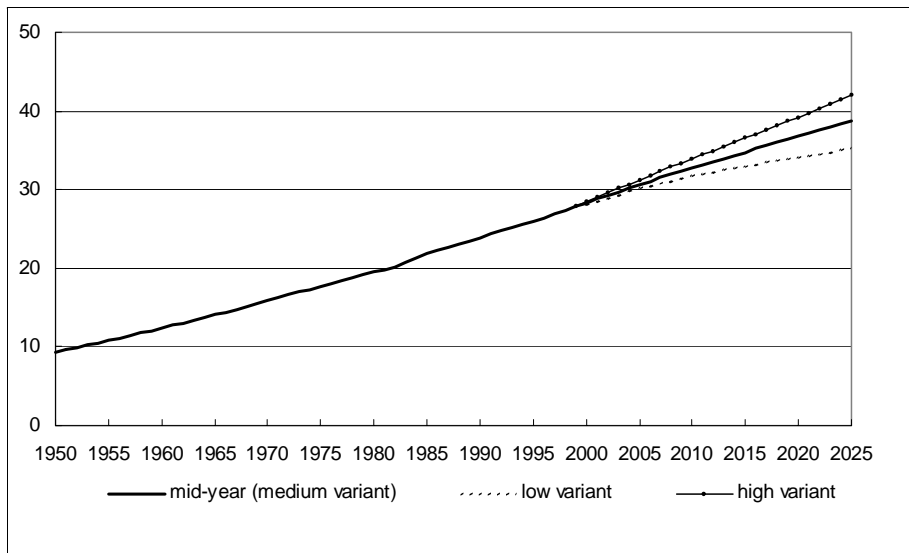
In September 1996, by referendum a new draft of the constitution was adopted which instituted a bicameral system, with a House of Representatives elected exclusively through direct universal suffrage, and a House of Counsellors, elected by indirect suffrage. This constitution also introduced the “Region entity” as a new institutional body, which created a new venue for debate and consultation, and a new means of representation in the House of Counsellors. In addition a new mechanism for economic and social development and a new domain for mobilization of resources were created (Moroccan homepage, 2001). After the death of his father, King Hassan II, King Mohamed VI succeeded to the throne on 30 July 1999. Mohammed VI is the twenty-third king of the Alaouite Dynasty.

2.3 Current demographic trends

2.3.1 Population growth and demographic transition

The mid-2000 population of Morocco has been estimated at 28.4 million. Compared to 1950, the population size almost tripled (Figure 2.1). However, annual popu-

FIGURE 2.1
POPULATION SIZE
(millions)



Source: 1950-1985 US Bureau of the Census, 2000; 1990-2025 UN, 1998.

lation growth is slowing down, from more than 3 per cent in the 1950s to less than 2 per cent in the 1990s. According to the latest projections of the United Nations (UN, 1998, medium variant) Morocco will be populated by almost 40 million people in 2025. At that time, the annual population increase will be slightly more than 1 per cent.

Net population growth in Morocco is a result of positive natural increase and negative external migration. A decline in fertility is the main reason why population growth is slowing down. Family planning policy, introduced by the Moroccan authorities in 1966, has contributed to a sharp fall in the total fertility rate, from almost six children per woman in the second half of the 1970s to a current value of around three. In its projections, the UN assumes a further fertility decline to the so-called replacement level (Figure 2.1).

Of course, another important demographic trend is the decrease in mortality: in less than ten years general life expectancy at birth for men went up from 61.8 in 1990 to 65.1 in 1998, and for women from 63.5 to 66.9. The UN expects this trend to continue: for men to 72.7 in 2025 and for women to 76.9.

2.3.2 Age and sex distribution

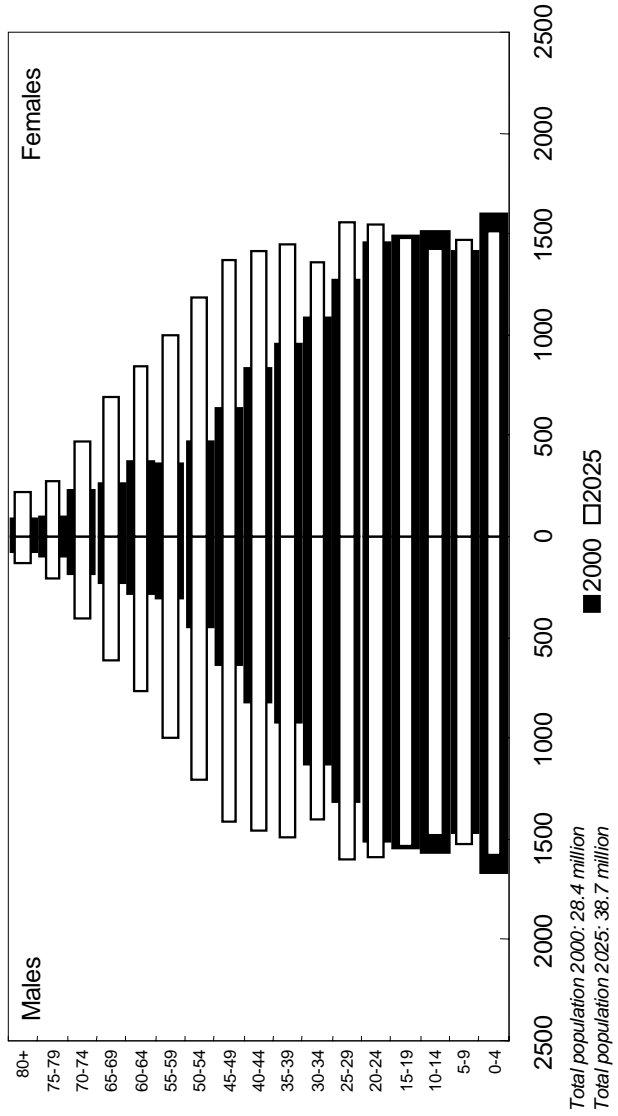
The consequences of lower fertility and mortality levels for the shape of the age pyramid are shown in Figure 2.2. The figure clearly visualizes the present relatively young age structure and the coming process of ageing in Morocco. While total population will increase by more than 10 million between 2000 and 2025, the number of young people will slightly decrease. The share of young people (below 20) will fall from 43 to 31 per cent. At the same time, the share of older people (50 or higher) will rise from 12 to 23 per cent.

2.3.3 Urban and rural population

Most Moroccans live west of the Atlas Mountains, a range that insulates the country from the Sahara Desert. Casablanca is the centre of commerce and industry and the leading port; Rabat is the seat of Government; Tangier is the gateway to Morocco from Spain and also a major port; “Arab” Fez is the cultural and religious centre; and “Berber” Marrakech is a major tourist centre.

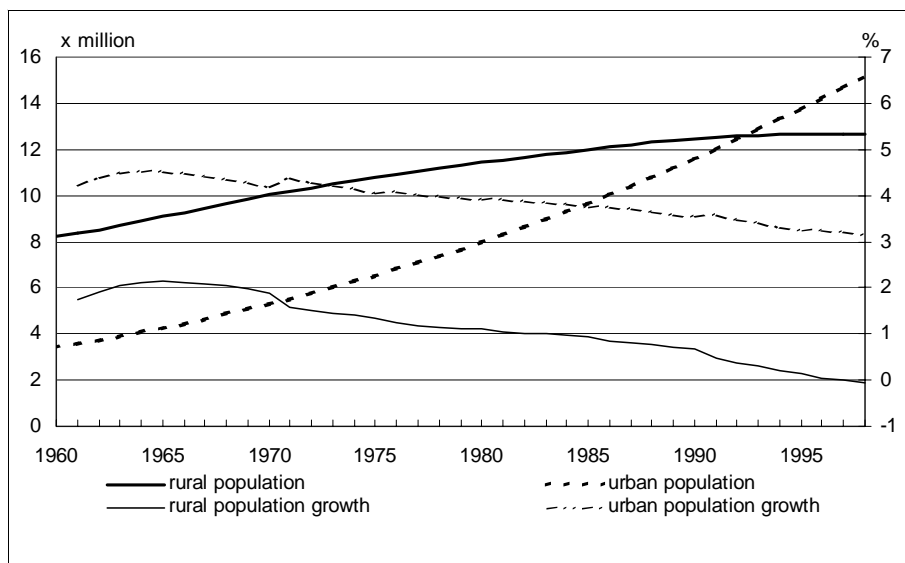
In 1960, more than 70 per cent of the Moroccan population lived in rural areas. Less than four decades later this figure has dropped to 46 per cent. Obviously, the

FIGURE 2.2
AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION IN 2000 AND, PROJECTED, IN 2025
(x 1,000)



continuing migration flows from rural to urban areas have been a contributing factor. Besides, it can be assumed that emigration to other, especially European, countries occurs more often from rural than from urban areas. According to Figure 2.3, the gap in annual population growth, which was already 2.5 per cent in 1960 (4.2 urban growth against 1.7 rural growth), has widened to more than 3 per cent in the 1990s. In 1997, rural growth is for the first time even negative. As yet, there are no signs that this trend will change in the near future. Hence, it can be expected that Morocco, in terms of place of residence of the population, will become a predominantly urbanized country.

FIGURE 2.3
 URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION GROWTH,
 ABSOLUTE (x MILLION) AND RELATIVE (per cent)



Source: World Bank, 2000.

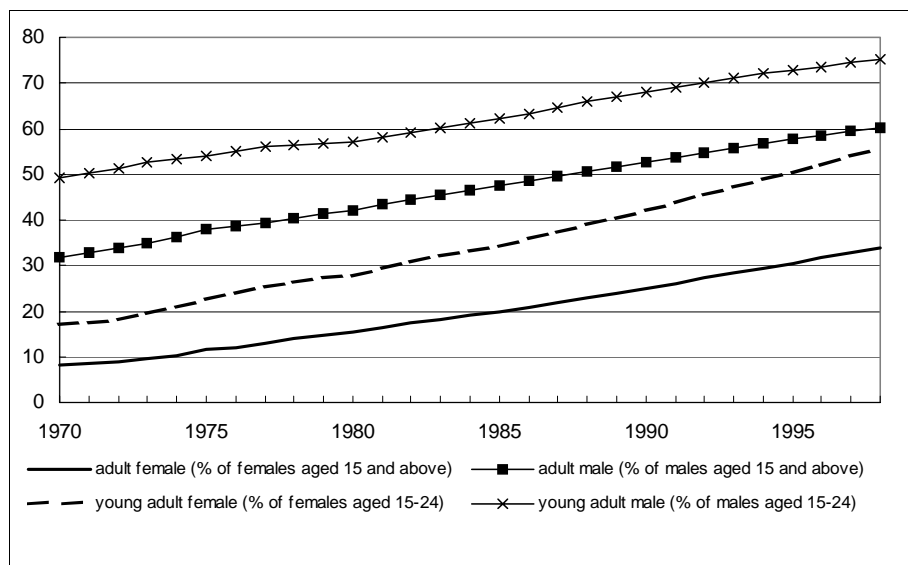
The differences between rural and urban areas are often striking. For example, mid-1990s figures for the population living below the poverty line have been estimated at 12 per cent for urban areas and 27 per cent for rural areas (World Bank, 2000). Another example: 98 per cent of the population in urban areas have access to safe water against only 14 in rural areas. Finally, in 1992, the infant mortality rate (number of deaths below the age of one per 1,000 live births) was 44 in urban regions and 65 in rural regions.

2.4 Language and literacy

Practically all Moroccans belong to either the Arab or the Berber ethnic group; and almost all are Muslims. Arabic is the official language. Several Berber languages are spoken. French is often the language of business, government and diplomacy (*CIA Factbook*, 1999).

Literacy rates² are low, especially among women (34% in 1998). However, compared to the beginning of the 1970s there has been considerable progress in this respect (Figure 2.4). In 1970, less than 10 per cent of all women aged 15 and above could read and write. In rural areas there were almost no women at all with these abilities.

FIGURE 2.4
LITERACY RATES BY SEX
(per cent)



Source: World Bank, 2000.

Despite improvements since the 1970s, the lag between literacy rates for men and women is still considerable. In 1998, for young adults (15-24) the literacy rate for men was 75 per cent, as compared to 56 per cent for women. For all adults, these rates are 60 per cent and 34 per cent respectively (World Bank, 2000).

One of the benefits of more basic education has been the declining prevalence of children in the labour force. In 1970, still more than one out of five children aged 10-14 was active in the labour force. Towards the end of the century, this number had dropped to one out of forty (World Bank, 2000).

2.5 Economic situation

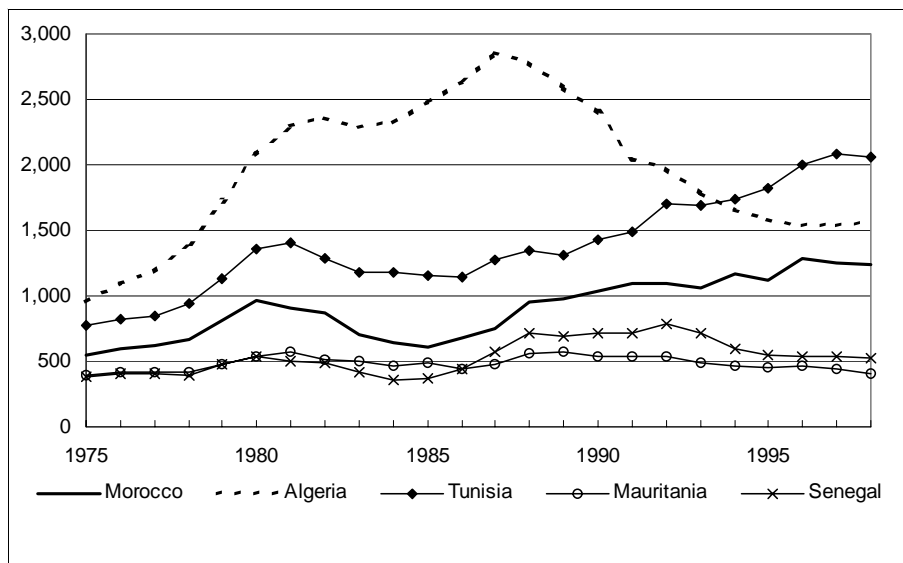
The export of phosphates and its derivatives accounts for more than a quarter of Moroccan exports. Morocco is increasing production of phosphoric acid and fertilizers. About one-third of the Moroccan manufacturing sector is related to phosphates and one-third to agriculture with virtually all of the remaining third divided between textiles, clothing, and metalworking. The clothing sector, in particular, has consistently shown strong growth over the last few years as foreign companies have established large-scale operations geared toward exporting garments to Europe. Furthermore, Morocco is a net exporter of fruits and vegetables, and a net importer of cereals.

Agriculture plays a leading role in the Moroccan economy, generating between 15 and 20 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP³) (depending on the harvest) and employing about 40 per cent of the workforce. The secondary sector represents about one-third of the GDP in 1998: 17 per cent for the manufacturing industry, 2 per cent for the mining industry, 8 per cent for the energy and water supply and the remaining 5 per cent for the construction of buildings and public works. Finally, the service sector accounts for more than half of the GDP: 19 per cent for the trade sector, 6 per cent for transport and communication, 14 per cent for government and 12 per cent for other services (Fadlollah and Berrada, 2000).

The Moroccan Government has pursued an economic reform programme supported by the IMF and the World Bank since the early 1980s. It has restrained spending, revised the tax system, reformed the banking system, followed appropriate monetary policies, lifted import restrictions, lowered tariffs, and liberalized the foreign exchange regime. Over the last decade, the reforms have contributed to rising per capita incomes, lower inflation, and narrower fiscal and current account deficits.

Nonetheless, population growth, rural-urban migration, and higher labour force participation rates (particularly among women) are contributing to rising urban unemployment, in spite of generally strong economic growth and job creation. The rapid increase in secondary and university (but not primary) enrolments since the 1980s exceeded the economy's capacity to create jobs, resulting in rising unemployment rates for middle and highly educated people (in 1998, 27 and 26 per cent respectively; Fadlollah and Berrada, 2000).

FIGURE 2.5
CURRENT GNP PER CAPITA
(US Dollars, Atlas Method)



Source: World Bank, 2000.

As part of its IMF programme, the Moroccan Government has reduced its budget deficit. The central bank operates as an independent entity, and, following economic reform measures has been remarkably successful in restoring domestic and international confidence in the value of the kingdom's currency. The Government has made the *dirham* convertible for an increasing number of transactions over the last few years. The central bank sets the exchange rate for the *dirham* against a basket of currencies of its principal trading partners. The rate against the basket has been steady since the 9 per cent devaluation in May 1990, with changes against the dollar being due to movement of the dollar against major European currencies. The Moroccan Government actively encourages foreign investment. It has opened virtually all sectors (other than those reserved for the state such as air transport and public utilities) to foreign investment. The Government has also made a number of regulatory changes designed to improve the investment climate in recent years, including tax breaks, streamlined approval procedures, and access to foreign exchange for the repatriation of dividends and invested capital.

In Figure 2.5 the development of the Gross National Product (GNP⁴) per capita (in current US dollars using the World Bank Atlas method⁵) is shown for the period 1975-1998. For comparison, time series for the same period for countries nearby are also presented.

It appears that Morocco holds a medium position: the GNP per capita was and is higher than in Mauritania and Senegal, and was and still is lower than in Algeria and Tunisia. In all countries the course of the GNP per capita since 1975 is fairly irregular. On balance, the situation in Mauritania and Senegal has hardly improved. In Algeria, on the other hand, the GNP per capita almost tripled in the period 1975-1988. However, after 1988 this strong rise is almost counterbalanced. As a consequence, the Tunisian GNP per capita has been higher than that of Algeria since 1994.

In Morocco, the GNP per capita increased from 550 current US dollars in 1975, via 970 in 1980 and 610 in 1985, to 1,290 in 1996. The decline one year later, was mainly caused by drought conditions that depressed activity in the key agricultural sector, holding down exports (*CIA Factbook*, 1999).

By way of illustration of the substantial differences in this respect between Europe and Africa, it is reported that the GNP per capita in Spain increased from 3,010 in 1975 to 14,100 in 1998.

Unemployment is high in Morocco: for 1997 the official unemployment rate was estimated at 16 per cent (*CIA Factbook*, 1999). However, in reality, the situation was worse because of large-scale underemployment. In view of the hazards connected with the climatic conditions, jobs in agriculture are vulnerable: drought has been a powerful factor leading to migration from rural to urban areas (Berrada, 1993).

2.6 Foreign relations⁶

Since Morocco attained independence, its foreign policy has been sympathetic to the West. Long-term goals are to strengthen its influence in the Arab world and Africa and to maintain its close relations with Europe and the United States. It is a member of the UN and some of its specialized and related agencies, including IMF and IOM. Morocco served a two-year term as a non-permanent member of the UN Security, Arab Maghreb Union (UMA), Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), INTELSAT (the International Telecommunications Satellite Organization) and the Non-Aligned Movement.

The major issue in Morocco's foreign relations is its claim to the Western Sahara relinquished by Spain in 1976. Since September 1991, Moroccan and Polisario forces have observed a cease-fire, established under the UN Secretary General's plan to hold a referendum in the Western Sahara in order to resolve the dispute. No date has been set for holding the referendum because of differences between the two parties over voter eligibility, although identification of potential voters by the UN has begun.

The US Government fully supports the efforts of the UN Secretary General to work with the parties to overcome these differences. The long-running diplomatic stalemate was broken through the efforts of UN Special Envoy and former US Secretary of State James Baker in September 1997 in a historic agreement between representatives of Morocco and the Polisario Front. The parties agreed on an identification process for voters and a code of conduct for the long-awaited plebiscite to determine whether the territory becomes independent or is integrated into Morocco.

Morocco continues to play a significant role in the search for peace in the Middle East, participating in the multilateral phase of the peace talks and urging Arab moderation in the bilateral phase. King Hassan was Acting Chairman of the Arab League until the next regular Arab League Summit and was Chairman of the Organization of the Islamic Conference's (OIC) Jerusalem committee. In 1986, he took the daring step of inviting then-Israeli Prime Minister Peres for talks, becoming the second Arab leader to do so. Following the September 1993 signing of the Israeli-Palestinian Declaration of Principles, Morocco's economic ties and political contacts with Israel accelerated. In September 1994, Morocco and Israel announced the opening of liaison offices in each other's countries. However, following the Arab Summit of Cairo, the Moroccan authorities severed diplomatic relations with Israel on 23 October 2000.

Morocco has expanded its regional role. In May 1989, the King hosted the Casablanca summit which reintegrated Egypt into the Arab fold and endorsed a moderate Palestinian approach to the peace process. In February 1989, Morocco played a leading role in the formation of the Arab Maghreb Union (UMA) made up of Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Mauritania, and Morocco. The UMA's formation owed much to the May 1988 restoration of diplomatic relations between Morocco and Algeria.

Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf states have provided Morocco with substantial amounts of financial assistance. Morocco remains active in African affairs, contributing troops to the UN peace-keeping force in Somalia in 1992. The Moroccans have worked to promote reconciliation between the Angolan Government and UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola).

Along with Mauritania, Israel, Jordan, Tunisia and Egypt, Morocco participates in the NATO Mediterranean Initiative started in 1995. It also participates in a similar dialogue with the Western European Union (WEU).

Morocco applied for European Community membership in 1987 but this request was rejected on the ground that Morocco is not a European country.

The negotiations for the Association Agreement with the EU were concluded in November 1995, and the agreement, signed in 1996, came into force in March 2000.

3. MOROCCO AND MIGRATION

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will focus on the migration dynamics of Morocco. The past and present situation are briefly sketched by looking at the result of the migration process in two ways, firstly, in terms of the size and distribution of the Moroccan community over the different countries of the European Union (3.2.1). Within this context, attention will also be paid to naturalization of Moroccans in the EU. Secondly, the economic importance of migration is highlighted by looking at the trend in, and role of remittances in the Moroccan economy (3.2.2). Section 3.3 is called the Future, and begins with a review of the theory and literature about the migration process, with the emphasis on theories that attempt to explain the continuation of migration (3.3.1). In Section 3.3.2, this discussion is narrowed down to approaches that investigate behaviour and intentions. Finally, a number of hypotheses and propositions will be formulated (3.3.3), guiding the analysis of current and future migration in Morocco in the subsequent chapters.

3.2 Past and present

Since the 1960s, there has been an emigration movement of Moroccan workers heading mainly for France which recruited several tens of thousands of unskilled workers over a period of about 15 years. Other European countries also sought to recruit Moroccans, such as Belgium, the Netherlands and, to a lesser extent Germany. For the Moroccan authorities this emigration pattern fitted with their strategy of coping with high unemployment and benefiting from migrants' remittances, which were needed to reduce the deficit of the balance of payments.

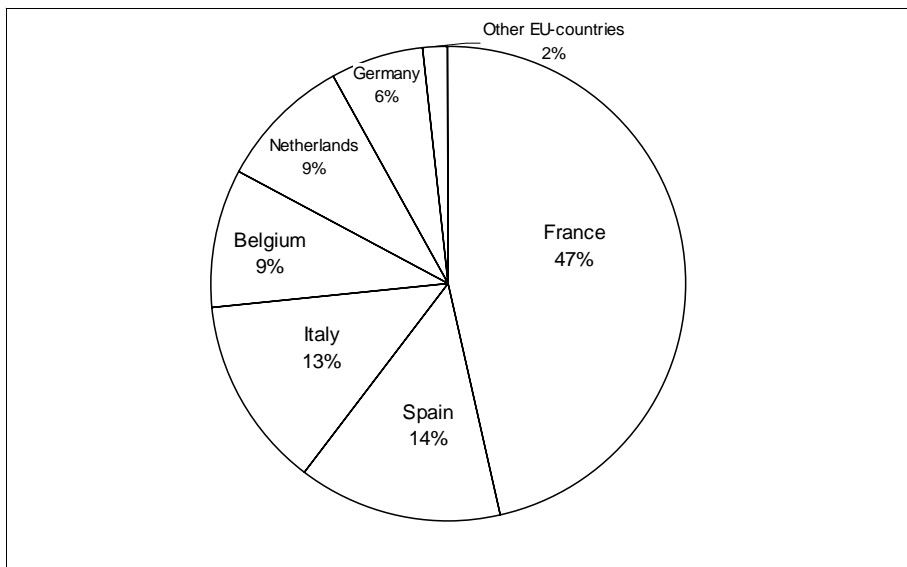
After the recruitment of labour migrants in the early and mid-1970s ceased, migration flows continued through family reunion and, later, through family formation (by marriage). However, given frequent visits to Morocco and the continuing increase in the transfer of funds to emigrants' families, the attachment of Moroccans to their country has generally not diminished. The strength of family solidarity also explains the emergence of migratory networks which have made it possible to maintain migration to European countries, in spite of the drastic measures taken by the host countries to control those flows. On the other hand, the very limited options of emigrating (legally) to Western European countries have forced potential candidates to switch to other destinations and to devise various subterfuges in order to emigrate,

sometimes at the cost of their lives (Berrada, 1993). Undocumented migration from Morocco is not limited to Moroccans: other nationalities, especially African, increasingly use Morocco as a transit country for illegal passage to Western Europe (for example people from Algeria, Nigeria, Senegal, Mali and the Democratic Republic of Congo). The fact that in Morocco no visa is required for transiting Africans contributes significantly to this phenomenon. In addition, the geographical position nearby Spain attracts undocumented migrants. In order to ease the return of undocumented migrants, European governments have urgently requested the Moroccan Government to cooperate. The latter Government, however, is rather reticent about concluding and carrying out (bilateral) readmission agreements.

3.2.1 Moroccans in the main receiving countries

On the basis of Eurostat data (2001), it has been estimated that at the beginning of 2000, about 1.2 million Moroccan citizens had residence in one of the 15 countries of the European Union. Most of them can be found in France, followed at a considerable distance by Spain, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Germany (Figure 3.1).

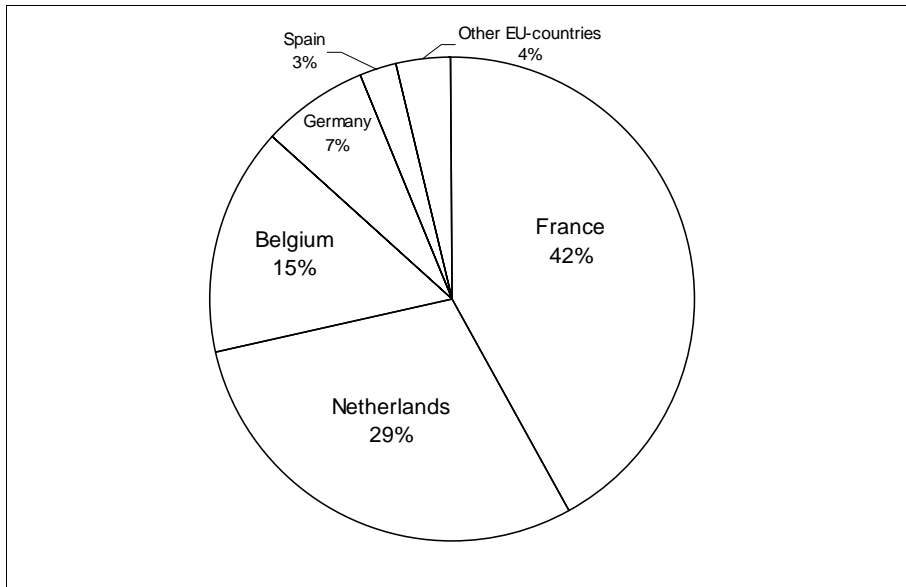
FIGURE 3.1
MOROCCAN CITIZENS IN THE EU-15,
1 JANUARY 2000 (per cent)



Source: Eurostat, 2001; supplemented by estimates of the authors.

It is emphasized that the numbers by citizenship, as presented in Figure 3.1, exclude the Moroccans who became citizens of one of the 15 EU countries because of naturalization, irrespective of whether the original citizenship could be retained or not. During the period 1990-1999, almost 300,000 Moroccans obtained an EU citizenship. Not surprisingly, most of them reside in France (Figure 3.2).

FIGURE 3.2
ACQUISITION OF EU CITIZENSHIPS BY MOROCCANS, 1990-1999
(per cent)



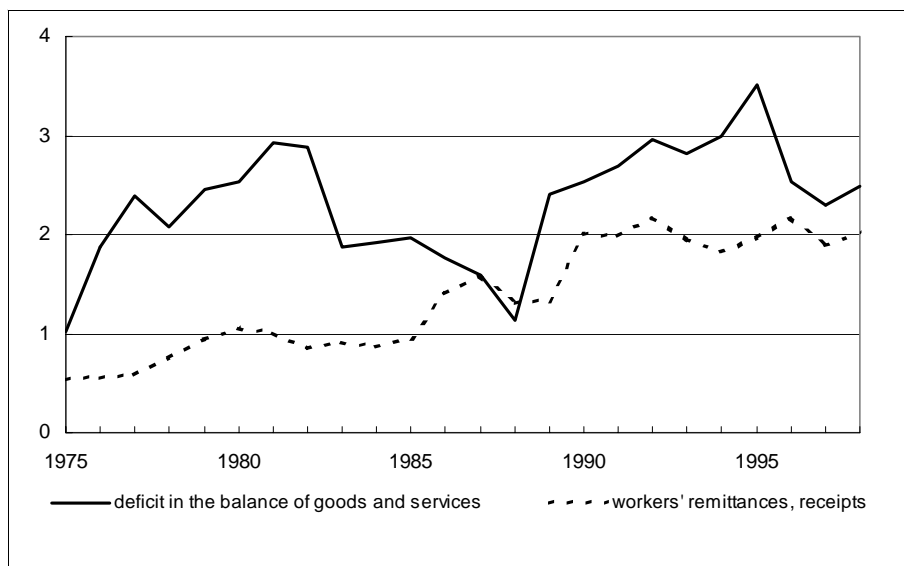
Source: Eurostat, 2001; supplemented by estimates of the authors.

However, it is striking that the Netherlands, rather than Italy or Spain as might be expected on the basis of Figure 3.1, follows France. A possible reason for the low figures for acquisition of citizenship in Spain and Italy could be the relatively short duration of residence of Moroccans in these countries. While most Moroccans came to France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Germany in the 1960s and 1970s, it is not until the 1990s that Moroccans migrated in large numbers to Spain and Italy. As a consequence, it is too early for the major part of the Moroccan population in Spain and Italy to acquire for citizenship, since the required minimum period of residence is generally seven years in Italy and five to ten years in Spain. Another obstacle in Spain is the difficulty in retaining the original nationality.

3.2.2 Workers' remittances

Workers' remittances are very important for the Moroccan economy. On average, in the period 1975-1998, Moroccan migrants' remittances amounted to 6.5 per cent of the GDP. A major part of the deficit in the balance of goods and services is compensated by these remittances, as can be seen in Figure 3.3.

FIGURE 3.3
WORKERS' REMITTANCES AND DEFICIT IN BALANCE OF GOODS AND SERVICES
(Billions of US Dollars)



Source: World Bank, 2000.

Furthermore, it is remarkable that the relation between length of stay abroad of migrants and size of remittances seems more positive than negative. Obviously, the ties with the country of origin, in terms of remittances, remain at least stable over time (see also Groenewold, 2001). As a consequence, it may also be expected that in the near future migrants' remittances will be an important pillar of the Moroccan economy. In this context, it may be unlikely that the Moroccan Government be willing to take measures to discourage migration to Europe.

3.3 Future

3.3.1 Theoretical review

In the past decades several theories have been formulated that identify and explain reasons for international migration.⁷ Over time, migration theories moved from macro-level structural explanations (e.g., spatial differences in the characteristics of capital and labour markets) to individual-level behavioural explanations (e.g., beliefs, norms and expectations about consequences of migration behaviour). More recently, the integration of structural and behavioural explanations has been brought up (De Jong, 1994, 2000; Massey et al., 1998).

The “new economics of labour migration theory” and the “social capital theory” both integrate macro-level structural and micro-level behavioural factors. Both stress the importance of migrant networks on the state of mind of relatives and friends in the country of origin as a result of information exchange and remittances. Migrant network effects may change the perceptions of the welfare situation of households in migrant-sending areas and subsequently may lead to intentions to emigrate (Rotte and Vogler, 1998). However, motives for follow up migration (e.g., family reunification) may be quite different from the ones that initiated previous migration flows from sending areas (e.g., income and/or education).

Theoretical approaches can also be distinguished along other lines. There are those that focus on explaining the initiation of migration, while others try to account for the perpetuation of migration across space and time. The new economics of labour migration theory is a typical example of a theory that addresses the initiation or start of international migration. On the other hand, the social capital theory focuses on the continuation or perpetuation of migration. In the latter context “the theory of cumulative causation” is also worth mentioning.

Two factors have guided the selection of approaches and elements from these theories to be addressed in this study. The first element is connected with both the new economics of labour theory and the social capital theory, and concerns the integration of macro-micro level explanations, since new insights can be gained from using this approach. The data collection in the “Push and pull project” (see Chapter 4 and Annex 3) was devised to accommodate the integration of macro and micro level data. The second factor is related to the context in which migration and its future are studied in this report. Given the established nature and the importance of migration in Morocco, the focus is on theories that aim at explaining the continuation of migration, i.e., the social capital theory and the theory of cumulative causation.

The new economics of labour migration theory (Stark and Bloom, 1985) argues that international migration is not the outcome of individual but rather of household decision making in order to overcome income, capital and insurance constraints. Households invest their scarce means to spread risks and to tap into new resources, even if new activities do not immediately lead to higher income. This can be accomplished by sending household members abroad. Eventually, the expectation of the migrant-sending household is that emigration leads to higher absolute income for the household, for instance through remittances. Thus, for households, it is not only the monetary value of an amount of income that matters, but also strategic aspects of that income, such as who generates the income and where the income was earned (e.g., abroad).

Remittances have a spin-off effect in the community because they lead to increased inequality in the local income distribution by changing the position of remittances-receiving households in the local income-distribution relative to their reference group. The intention to migrate seems to be particularly sensitive to the outcome of subjective evaluations that households make regarding their welfare in comparison with reference-group households in the community. There seems to be a greater desire for international migration if households perceived to be worse-off live between better-off households than if they live between households that are about equally worse-off. This state of mind is addressed by the concept of relative deprivation⁸ (Stark and Bloom, 1985). Thus, the new economics of labour migration theory recognizes that conditions in the wider community affect household migration decision making, implying that the study of migration decision making must integrate multi-level characteristics, that is, individual-, household-, community-, regional- and national level characteristics (Groenewold, 2001).

Apart from determinants of the decision to migrate at the individual level, the household level and the community level, determinants at even higher levels of spatial aggregation, such as the regional level, may be distinguished as well. A number of studies confirm the existence of a relationship between levels of socio-economic development of regions and prevalence of emigration. Although findings are not conclusive, it seems that a certain threshold-level of regional development is a necessary condition for emigration to start (Hammar, 1995; İçduygu, 1997; Hammar et al., 1997).

The social capital theory assigns importance to the functioning of interpersonal social networks between migrants in receiving countries and family and friends in sending countries (Hugo, 1981; Taylor, 1986; Sycip and Fawcett, 1988; Massey et al., 1998). The focus of the theory is on micro-level behavioural factors that generate and perpetuate international migration. The main argument of the theory is that an existing migration flow will continue because the costs and risks for potential new

migrants become lower if they maintain social relations with relatives/friends in a country of destination. The contact between potential migrants (i.e., non-migrants and return migrants) in sending countries and shadow household members abroad leads to increased intentions of the former to emigrate as well, or to emigrate again. In addition, return migrants affect migration intentions of non-migrants in migrant-sending households as well as others in the community.

In addition to these two theories, the theory of cumulative causation is important for understanding the perpetuation of international movement. It argues that over time international migration tends to sustain itself in ways that make additional movement progressively more likely. Causation is cumulative in that each act of migration alters the social context within which subsequent migration decisions are made (Massey et al., 1998). Important in the context of the present study is the development of a culture of migration. The main characteristic of such a culture is that migration is an accepted and desirable method for achieving social and economic mobility, a higher income, or an improved lifestyle, which cannot be sustained exclusively by dependence on local resources (Faist, 2000).

The expansion of networks and the sustained flows of remittances contribute to the development of a culture of migration in a community. First, migrants themselves, who experience changes in taste and motivations while in an advanced industrial economy, acquire new concepts of social and economic mobility (Piore, 1979). In addition, over time foreign labour becomes integrated into the structure of values and expectations of families and communities. As a result, young people contemplating entry into the labour force do not consider other options: they expect to migrate internationally as part of the normal course of events. In other words, at the community level, migration becomes deeply ingrained into the repertoire of people's behaviour and the values associated with migration become part of the community's values (Massey et al., 1998).

3.3.2 Migration intentions and behaviour

The conditions which influence migration decisions and the changes in these conditions through, for instance, the emergence of a culture of migration have a prominent place in the theories reviewed above. The behavioural element, however, is rather implicit in these approaches. The dynamics of migration decision-making can only be revealed with (additional) behavioural studies explicitly investigating migration move-stay decision alternatives (see also De Jong, 2000 and Hammar et al., 1997). In behavioural studies about migration decision-making, not only the decisions

about moving versus staying are considered, but also the desire or the intention to move are addressed.

Intentions are the primary determinant of behaviour in the social psychology “theory on planned behaviour”, as postulated by Azjen in 1988. Azjen’s theory states that intentions are a product of social norms (perceptions of what significant others think about the behaviour), and expectations that one will attain valued goals as a consequence of the behaviour. The theory also identifies constraints and facilitators that can directly affect the outcome behaviour. A major facilitator factor is having previously engaged in the behaviour. The basic proposition is that, unless the behaviour is subject to constraining or facilitating factors, in choosing between at least two alternative courses of action, a person will choose the one for which expectations of the desired result are highest.

De Jong has adapted and applied Ajzen’s theory to migration decision-making, proposing that intentions to move are the primary determinant of migration behaviour, and identifying prior migration behaviour as the primary direct facilitator factor (2000). In De Jong’s framework, expectations of attained valued goals in an alternative location, together with perceived family norms about migration behaviour (constituting motivation), are the major determinants of migration intentions.⁹

Social psychology literature also points to the frequently found discrepancies among attitudes, behavioural intentions and actual behaviour. In the current context, this means that emigration intentions do not necessarily lead to actual emigration. Determinants of migration intentions may be quite different from those of actual migration behaviour (De Jong et al., 1986). This is confirmed by a number of studies such as those of Caces et al. (1982), Yang and Bilsborrow (1993) and De Jong (2000). They conclude that expectations or perceptions of certain necessary conditions for emigration are strong predictors for emigration intentions, whereas more objective conditions (such as having work or not, being single or married, etc.) are strong predictors of actual emigration behaviour.

3.3.3 Assumptions and propositions

The above review leads to the following assumptions and propositions guiding subsequent analyses of the survey data in Chapters 5 and 6.

1. International migration is assumed to be primarily the result of decision-making of members of a household in an attempt to overcome income constraints (based upon the new economics of labour migration theory).

2. Conditions in the wider community also affect household migration decision making through “the culture of migration” (based upon the theory of cumulative causation).¹⁰
3. At the regional or sub-national levels there is a relationship between socio-economic conditions and the prevalence of emigration.
4. Through networks connecting sending and receiving communities (and countries) the costs and risks for potential new migrants become lower, leading to further intentions to emigrate (based upon the social capital theory).
5. Prior migration behaviour facilitates renewed migration behaviour and therefore increases intentions of return migrants to emigrate again (based upon the theory of planned behaviour).
6. The concept of “relative deprivation” is important for the development of intentions and potential to migrate (based upon the new economics of labour migration theory).
7. Social norms (perceptions and attitudes) and expectations are strong predictors for emigration intentions (based upon the theory of planned behaviour).
8. Migration intentions do not necessarily lead to actual migration (based upon social psychology literature).
9. Objective conditions (such as being young, having work or not, being single or married, level of education, etc.) are strong predictors of actual emigration behaviour (based upon empirical findings).
10. Existing networks between sending and receiving communities and regions determine the direction of current and future migration (based upon empirical findings).

Apart from these theoretically founded analytical considerations, the present migration context of Morocco is the most important determinant for its future. For this reason, Chapter 5 will start with a review of the characteristics of current migrants in the Moroccan survey. These characteristics, together with the ideas, motivations, and actions with regard to future moves, as expressed by individuals who have not yet migrated (or have returned), will then be explored and analysed. In the Moroccan context, ideas, opinions and plans of those who have already migrated will be set aside. However, Chapter 6 does pay attention to the ideas and intentions of Moroccans who have migrated (to Spain), shedding light on the impact of migration experiences on views for the future.

4. BACKGROUND OF THE SURVEY DATA

4.1 Introduction

The source of the data that will be analysed in Chapters 5 and 6 is the so-called “Push and Pull” project on factors of international migration. A general description of this project will be provided in Section 4.2. Within the context of this study, more specific information on sample designs in Morocco and Spain will be presented in Section 4.3 and Section 4.4 respectively. Because the “Push and Pull” project provided regional macro data as well, along with the micro data, Section 4.5 will present an overview of these data for the regions that were surveyed in Morocco.

4.2 The project “Push and pull factors of international migration”

The objective of the study on the push and pull factors determining international migration flows was to improve our understanding of the direct and indirect causes and mechanisms of international migration to the European Union, from an internationally comparative perspective. The results were intended to serve as a basis for the development of policy instruments and to provide tools for estimating future migration.

The project commenced in 1994 with the preparation of a study on the “state of the art” in migration theory and research, identification of national and international research institutes active in this field, and a workshop. Based upon the results of this preparatory stage, surveys were set up in a number of countries. Eurostat published first results in a comparative report and in a series of eight country monographs (see Annex 1).

The focus of the project was on migration from the Southern and Eastern Mediterranean region and from sub-Saharan Africa to the European Union. Within these regions, seven countries were selected for primary data collection on migration. The five predominantly migrant-sending countries participating in the project were – in the Mediterranean region – Turkey, Morocco and Egypt; and – in West Africa – Senegal and Ghana. Three migrant-receiving countries were included: Italy and Spain on the northern Mediterranean border, and the Netherlands, in Western Europe. Analysis for the latter country is based on secondary data.

In each of the countries involved in the project, local research teams were responsible for data collection and, to a large extent, for data processing and analysis. These country teams consisted of researchers from local research institutes, who were invited to participate because of their extensive knowledge of international migration research, experience with survey data collection, and the institutional capacity to carry out surveys. In close consultation with the respective country teams and external experts, NIDI developed the research instruments for the project and provided methodological and technical feedback.

For more detailed information on the project “Push and pull factors of international migration” (including definitions and concepts used) reference is made to Annex 3 and to Schoorl et al., 2000.

4.3 Sample design for Morocco and implementation

In Morocco, the traditional emigration areas are the Rif and the Sous, and more recently also central Morocco, the Mid-Atlas and Jebala regions. Suitable sampling frames were absent but with information from previous migration studies and expert knowledge, 5 out of the 49 provinces were identified for which it is thought that international migration is or has become significant. In addition to differences in levels of economic development, these five provinces differ with respect to the orientation of emigrants to countries of destination.

In the north, bordering the Mediterranean Sea, the province of Nador was selected because of the high and established level of emigration, in particular to the Netherlands and Germany. In the south, bordering the Atlantic Ocean and south of Agadir, Tiznit was selected, since it is the main point of emigration for Moroccans to France. More recently, international migration has also become important in the provinces of Settat (near the Atlantic coast and Casablanca), Khenifra (in the mountainous and dry Centre South region) and Larache (Atlantic coast in the north, south of Tanger). The sample design described below generates data representative at the level of provinces for these five provinces.

From 1994 census data it was estimated that about 3.5 per cent of urban households and 2.5 per cent of rural households have one or more members with an international migration experience. From this prior knowledge, the target number of households to be sampled in urban and rural areas was estimated at 1,130 households and 1,110 households, respectively, including a compensation of 5-10 per cent for non-response. A stratified, multi-stage sample design with disproportionate allocation in the last sampling stage was developed. All *villes* (towns) and *communes rurales*

(rural municipalities) in the five provinces were grouped into urban or rural strata. Within these strata, units were grouped according to province as well as a number of socio-economic, environmental and international migration history criteria. Using 1995 census data, within the urban stratum, 11 out of 47 *villes* were sampled with selection probabilities in proportion to the estimated number of households in the *villes*. In the same manner, in the rural stratum, 15 out of 117 *communes rurales* were sampled.

The sampling strategies in the two strata were such that in each province two *villes* and two to four *communes rurales* were sampled. A second sampling stage was introduced by the random sampling of *quartiers* within the selected *villes*, and by the random sampling of *douars* within the selected *communes rurales*. A total of 23 *quartiers* and 26 *douars* were eventually selected to carry out the fieldwork and 4,512 households were screened to determine their international migration status. After screening, all households were classified into five migration status strata in which all recent migrant, non-recent current migrant, non-recent return migrant, mixed¹¹ and non-migrant households were grouped. The urban and rural target sample was distributed over the strata by allocating a disproportionately large share of the target sample to the stratum of recent migrant households (Schoorl et al., 2000; Fadloulah and Berrada, 2000).

Eventually, a total of 1,953 households were successfully interviewed. Almost 50 per cent of these households are so-called recent current migrant households (784) or recent return migrant households (169). The fieldwork was carried out mainly from May to October 1997. The survey results are considered representative of the populations in the five provinces.

TABLE 4.1
DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY MIGRATION STATUS, PER REGION*
(per cent)

	Recent migration household	Non-recent migration household	Non-migration household	N (unweighted)
Nador	30	21	49	335
Larache	28	12	61	402
Settat	30	10	60	427
Tiznit	47	32	21	343
Khenifra	22	15	63	446

* Nador: developed region with more established migration flows; Larache: developed region with more recent migration flows; Settat: developed region with more recent migration flows; Tiznit: less developed region with more established migration flows; Khenifra: less developed region with more recent migration flows.

Regions with expected negligible levels of migration have not been included in the study because of the problems involved in locating households with international migrants. Therefore, the overall level of international migration in Morocco is likely to be considerably lower than the regional levels reported here. Nevertheless, as expected, even in these “high migration regions”, most households have no international migrants at all (Table 4.1). However, in Nador and Tiznit, the percentage of households without international migrants is below 50 per cent. Therefore, in these regions international migration affects a surprisingly high proportion of all households.

4.4 Sample design for Moroccans in Spain and implementation

In Spain, Moroccan (and Senegalese) immigrants were the observational units for the Push and Pull project. The 1991 Census, the sampling frame for the Spanish sample design, counted 35,000 Moroccan immigrants among the 40 million residents in Spain. Of all Moroccan immigrants counted, 32 per cent were living in the provinces of Mellila and Ceuta. These provinces are located in North Africa, bordering Morocco and the Strait of Gibraltar. The share of Moroccan immigrants in the total population in these two provinces is 4 per cent and 25 per cent, respectively, whereas these provinces account for less than 0.5 per cent of the Spanish population. A further 42 per cent of the Moroccan immigrants lived in the provinces of Gerona, Málaga and Barcelona.

The fieldwork in Spain was carried out from July to November 1997. To facilitate management of the actual fieldwork, the census blocks that were selected were grouped into five fieldwork regions: Madrid, Cataluna, Levant, Andalucia and Canarias. A total of 596 Moroccan households were successfully interviewed providing detailed migration information. However, the consequence of the chosen sample implementation is that survey results are not representative at the national level. At the same time it is difficult to make a firm statement about the population for which these results are representative because part of the data were collected from non-sampled households. More specifically, three out of four interviews taken from the Moroccan respondents come from Moroccans who live in just three of the 52 provinces in Spain (i.e., Málaga 42%, Gerona 19%, Barcelona 13%; Figure 4.1).¹²

FIGURE 4.1
SURVEYED REGIONS, SPAIN



Source: 1950-1985 US Bureau of the Census, 2000; 1990-2025 UN, 1998.

4.5 Regional macro data for Morocco

The macro-level questionnaire provided information on the national and regional (provincial) level of Morocco. No data were obtained for the local or community levels. Because the data on the national level has already been included in Chapter 2, this paragraph will highlight the regional data only.

Table 4.2 summarizes the macro data for the five provinces that were selected for the survey. As mentioned before, the two selection criteria were migration history (established versus recent) and level of economic development (low versus high). Nador in the north-east of Morocco and Tiznit in the south have a relatively long history of emigration: for Nador, especially to the Netherlands and Germany, for Tiznit, to France and Belgium. In the other surveyed provinces emigration to Europe

is more recent. From Larache, in the north-west of Morocco, an increasing number of, often undocumented, migrants try to reach Europe. The most important countries of destination for those migrants are Spain and the United Kingdom. Recent migration flows from Settât in central west Morocco are mainly directed towards Italy and, surprisingly, to the Gulf States and Libya. For this province too, the phenomenon of illegal migration is becoming important, especially to Spain and France. Finally, documented and undocumented migrants from Khénifra mainly leave for France, Italy and Spain.

In the survey, Larache, Nador and Settât are considered more economically developed than Khénifra and Tiznit. However, these differences are not clearly reflected in the data shown in Table 4.2. Contradicting observations include, for example:

- 1) Unemployment rates in “developed” Nador are much higher than in “less developed” Khénifra;
- 2) The literacy rate for men in “less developed” Tiznit is higher than in the “developed” provinces of Larache and Nador;
- 3) The school attendance rate for boys is much higher in the “less developed” provinces;
- 4) “Less developed” Khénifra has the highest percentages of households with piped water and electricity.

More striking than the differences between the selected provinces in Table 4.2 are the differences between urban and rural regions:

- 1) Birth rates are much higher in rural than urban regions;
- 2) Unemployment rates are generally lower in rural regions;
- 3) Literacy rates and school attendance rates are dramatically lower in rural regions;
- 4) Access to piped water and electricity is rather common in urban regions but exceptional in rural regions.

The implications of the aforementioned findings for the analysis in the next chapter are two-fold:

- 1) Being an inhabitant of an urban or rural region is probably a better indicator of the level of economic development of (potential) migrants, than being an inhabitant of a province;
- 2) The significance of the distinction between provinces should therefore mainly focus on the role of migration history in current trends and prospects for the future (i.e networks directing future migrants to particular destinations). The

first comparative analyses demonstrate that in provinces with a longer migration history, relatively more households are found with migrants who left more than ten years ago. Also recent migration is more prominent in those provinces, but here the relationship is less pronounced (Schoorl et al., 2000: 59).

TABLE 4.2
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SURVEYED MOROCCAN PROVINCES

	Khénifra	Larache	Nador	Settat
Population size, 1999 (x 1,000)	511	480	723	918
Area (km ²)	12,320	2,500	6,130	9,750
Population density (per km ²)	41	192	118	94
Population growth, 1994/1998 (%)	2.0	2.3	1.1	1.7
Age distribution, 1994 (%)				
0-19	49	53	48	50
20-49	37	35	39	37
50+	14	12	13	13
Level of urbanization, 1999 (%)	50	48	42	30
Birth rate per 1,000 population, 1994	31	43	31	34
Urban	25	32	29	29
Rural	38	55	32	36
Unemployment, 1994 (%)				
Men	13	12	24	14
Urban	20	17	21	18
Rural	8	8	26	13
Women	28	18	46	37
Urban	36	30	41	32
Rural	11	6	54	41

TABLE 4.2 (cont.)
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SURVEYED MOROCCAN PROVINCES

	Khénifra	Larache	Nador	Settat
Employment by sector, 1994 (%)				
Agriculture	55	54	31	53
Manufacturing and industry	10	10	9	10
Services and other sectors	35	36	60	37
Literacy rate, 1994 (%)				
Men	48	55	55	60
Urban	70	74	70	72
Rural	28	36	45	47
Women	26	27	26	27
Urban	43	48	43	40
Rural	9	7	16	14
School attendance rate (8-13), 1994 (%)				
Boys	86	63	73	65
Girls	34	43	51	45
Urban	65	80	80	83
Rural	49	34	53	46
Households with				
Piped water, 1994 (%)	39	39	24	28
Urban	68	74	54	81
Rural	4	2	4	1

TABLE 4.2 (cont.)
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SURVEYED MOROCCAN PROVINCES

	Khénifra	Larache	Nador	Settat
Households with (cont.) Electricity, 1994 (%)				
Urban	47	46	41	30
Rural	75	76	77	81
Main emigration countries	15	13	18	4
	France	Spain	Netherlands	Italy
	Italy	UK	Germany	Spain
	Spain	Italy	Belgium	France
	Belgium	France	France	Gulf States
	Netherlands	Netherlands	Spain	Libya
		Belgium		
Ethnic orientation	Berber	Arab	Berber	Arab
Main language/dialect*	Tamazight	Arabic	Rif	Arabic

* The official language of Morocco is classical Arabic. The spoken language is a dialect known as Maghrebi Arabic. Sixty per cent of Berber heritage. They speak different dialects. Many Moroccans speak French as a second language as well as English and someir old Spanish Zone).

5. MIGRATION POTENTIAL IN MOROCCO

5.1 Introduction

The theoretical review in Chapter 3 yielded ten assumptions and propositions guiding the analysis in this chapter and the following one. In summary, it is assumed that economic motives and conditions, and the perceptions about these conditions, are the primary cause of migration. At all levels of analysis (regional, community, household and individual level) economic conditions and prospects play a role in both initiating and perpetuating migration. Networks are crucial at all levels as well. At the sub-national or regional levels, the direction of present and future flows is influenced by experiences of network members already living abroad, and the development of a “culture of migration” is closely related to the existence of networks. Finally, networks are assumed to lower costs and risks with regard to intentions of future migration at the household and individual level. At the individual level, perceptions and attitudes (or social norms) form the basis of intentions for future moves. Conditions at the household and individual levels are decisive for intentions to move.

In addition to these theoretically based propositions, the present migration context of Morocco, and the first comparative findings of the push and pull project (Schoorl et al., 2000) are the background against which the exploration and analysis for prospects of Morocco’s future are set.

The first comparative analyses of the survey data in the push and pull project show that migrants have a large number of characteristics in common. Most migrants are single men who migrated when they were in their twenties or thirties. In contrast, female migrants are more often married (or engaged) and following their (future) husband. Unemployment and poverty proved to be incentives for migration in all countries studied. As mentioned above, the prevalence and importance of networks are also key factors. At the time of their own migratory move abroad, more than half of the male and three-quarters of the female migrants mentioned having relatives or friends in the country of destination. The directions of current and future or desired migration are strongly related to each other, indicating that the current situation bears important lessons for the future.

With respect to potential migrants (i.e., individuals expressing the intention to migrate in the future) the following results are obtained. As in the case with current migrants, being young, single and male are the main characteristics of people with intentions to migrate. Those with migration experience (return migrants) more often

express intentions to migrate again in the future than those without experience (non-migrants). Economic reasons overwhelmingly motivate the desire to (ever) migrate. The roles of higher education and being employed vary per country (Schoorl et al., 2000).

This general and summarized sketch of present and future migrants will first be refined by reviewing characteristics of Moroccan migrants abroad, obtained from interviews held with their family members in Morocco (5.2). Section 5.3 deals with characteristics (5.3.1) and perceptions (5.3.2) of people who have never migrated to date, distinguishing between those with and those without intentions to (ever) migrate. In 5.3.3 selected characteristics and perceptions are put to the test in a statistical analysis, and in 5.3.4 the desired countries of destination are listed and confronted with the actual pattern today. Because intentions are often hard to realize in practice, Section 5.4 will narrow down intentions by incorporating a time limit and exploring whether actions were taken to realize the intentions. These two elements are considered first steps from intentions to behaviour.

The results of the analyses will undoubtedly be relevant for policymakers. The Council of the European Union, for example, expressed interest in the causes of the continuous migration flows from Morocco to the EU in the “Plan of Action for Morocco” (1999). In this document the following possible causes for continuous emigration are mentioned:

- 1) The increasing population pressure in Morocco resulting in more unemployment;
- 2) The crucial role of migrant’s remittances for the Moroccan economy (balance of payments);
- 3) The lack of social security for the majority of the Moroccan population;
- 4) “Pull factors” created by extended networks of family members and friends in Europe.

In the final chapter, attention will be paid to these causes.

The Council of the EU, due to the geographical situation and the absence of visa requirements, emphasizes the role of Morocco as a transit country. However, within the context of this study, focusing on Moroccan migrants only, this role will not be elaborated.

5.2 Review of characteristics of current migrants

5.2.1 Introduction

In the review below, demographic and socio-economic characteristics of migrants just before migration and, for some key variables, also at the time of the interview are presented. Along these lines, patterns and changes that have taken place since the migration of the respondent can be explored. Questions such as “Have migrants succeeded in securing employment through their move abroad?” and “What percentage of single migrating men have married?” are intended to offer insight into the benefits of migration, which may induce new (or renewed) migration of household or community members living in Morocco.

5.2.2 Sex and age

The data in this study from Morocco confirm the widespread general findings with regard to the selectivity of young men (Table 5.1). Almost 85 per cent of the international migrants from Morocco (recent and non-recent, see Annex 3) are men. Furthermore, at the time of their last emigration, many of these men, 54 per cent, were in their twenties. Men aged 30-44 comprise another important group, accounting for one quarter. Teenage men are also relatively numerous among Moroccan male migrants (20%), which may be related to the regulations in many European Union countries concerning family reunification.

TABLE 5.1

SEX AND AGE DISTRIBUTION OF CURRENT MOROCCAN MIGRANTS, JUST BEFORE MIGRATION (PRE-MIGRATION) AND AT TIME OF SURVEY (per cent)

	Pre-migration			Time of survey		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	total
<20	20	29	21	1	2	1
20-<25	32	25	31	11	16	12
25-<30	22	18	22	22	19	22
30-44	24	23	24	42	45	42
45+	2	6	3	24	18	23
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1,180	231	1,411	1,188	233	1,421
Missing	8	2	10	–	–	–

There are far fewer female migrants. At the time of their last emigration, they were generally younger than the men. Almost 30 per cent were still teenagers. Thus, despite the important phenomena of family reunification and marriage migration, men dominate Moroccan migration. This finding is probably influenced by the fact that only those still forming part of a household in the country of origin are included in the survey. Women, who more often than men migrate for the purpose of family reunification and marriage, are therefore less likely to surface in country-of-origin surveys.

5.2.3 Duration of stay abroad

The comparison between age at last emigration and actual age at the time of the survey indicates that most current Moroccan migrants have stayed abroad for a con-

TABLE 5.2
DURATION OF STAY ABROAD OF CURRENT MOROCCAN MIGRANTS
BY SEX AND AGE AT LAST EMIGRATION (per cent)

Age at last emigration	Duration of stay abroad				Total
	<5 years	5-<10 years	10-<15 years	15+ years	
Men					
<20	17	39	28	17	100
20-<25	27	39	13	21	100
25-<30	21	42	17	20	100
30-44	13	32	25	30	100
45+	12	56	16	16	100
Total	20	38	20	22	100
N	235	453	233	259	1,180
Missing	—	—	—	—	8
Women					
<20	21	33	18	27	100
20-<25	28	32	14	26	100
25-<30	33	36	14	17	100
30-44	25	37	23	15	100
45+	14	36	50	—	100
Total	26	34	19	21	100
N	59	79	45	48	231
Missing	—	—	—	—	2

siderable period of time. In Table 5.2 this conclusion is confirmed. For example, it appears that 42 per cent of current male migrants have stayed abroad for 10 years or longer. For current female migrants this percentage is slightly lower, at 40 per cent.

5.2.4 Migration networks

The majority of current Moroccan main migration actors (MMAs; see Glossary and Annex 3) had a network (defined as the presence of family, relatives or friends in the country of destination before migration). For male MMAs this percentage is about 60, for female MMAs it is almost 90. The high percentage of women with a network in the country of destination reflects the importance of family factors in migration decisions; the presence of the network (parent or partner) is often the actual reason for their migration (Schoorl et al., 2000).¹³

5.2.5 Marital status

Just before migration almost 65 per cent of male Moroccan MMAs were still single (Table 5.3). At the time of the survey, however, this percentage had dropped to around 40. This means that one-third of the MMAs who arrived single, married in the time between migration and interview. For female MMAs the picture is quite differ-

TABLE 5.3
MARITAL STATUS OF CURRENT MOROCCAN MIGRANTS BY SEX,
PRE-MIGRATION AND AT TIME OF SURVEY (per cent)*

Time at survey	Pre-migration					
	Men			Women		
	Single	(Ever) married	Total	Single	(Ever) married	Total
Single	41	–	41	14	–	14
(Ever) Married	24	36	59	7	79	86
Total	64	36	100	21	79	100

* MMAs (main migration actors) only.

N – Pre-migration: 454 single men, 254 (ever) married men, 6 missing; 21 single women, 78 (ever) married women, 1 missing.

N – At time of survey: 292 single men, 422 (ever) married men; 15 single women, 85 (ever) married women.

ent: nearly 80 per cent were married (or ever married) at the time of migration, and between migration and interview this percentage barely increased.

These results confirm that Moroccan women mainly migrate within the context of family reunification. They essentially follow their husbands. From other research it is known that if the groom is already living abroad, in most cases the marriage takes place in the country of origin, before the departure of the bride (Heering et al., in press). Migration of single women is rare and is generally not viewed positively in this Muslim society.¹⁴

5.2.6 Household composition

In line with current migrants' age and marital status structure, it is understandable that almost 60 per cent of male MMAs were still living with their parents immediately prior to their last migration (Table 5.4).¹⁵ The majority of female MMAs (73%) lived with their spouse and/or children just before migration, and very few respondents lived alone.

TABLE 5.4
HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION OF CURRENT MOROCCAN MIGRANTS
PRE-MIGRATION BY SEX (per cent)*

	Men	Women
Living alone	4	–
With spouse/children (and others)	33	54
With children (and others excluding spouse)	4	19
With parents (and others excluding spouse and children)	58	26
With other relatives and non-relatives	2	1
Total	100	100
N	712	99
Missing	2	1

* MMAs only.

5.2.7 Education

At the time of migration, the vast majority of current Moroccan migrants had not completed primary education. Very few had completed secondary or higher education (Table 5.5). Compared to the non-migrants, there is hardly any difference in educational levels (Schoorl et al., 2000).

TABLE 5.5
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF CURRENT MOROCCAN MIGRANTS
PRE-MIGRATION BY SEX (per cent)*

	Men	Women
No education	67	79
Primary education	24	15
Secondary education	8	5
Higher education	2	1
Total	100	100
N	1,036	208

* Excluding unknown: 175.

5.2.8 Economic activity

Table 5.6 shows that most female MMAs worked in the household before migration (almost 80%). At the time of the survey it appears that only a small number of these women had moved from working in the household to a (paid) job. Again, for male MMAs the picture is quite different. Just before migration almost half of them were employed, 14 per cent were unemployed, another 14 per cent were students and the remainder (24%) were not working or were looking for work for other reasons.¹⁶ However, at the time of the survey, almost everyone had a job (more than 90%). The percentage of students has been reduced to five. Apart from the perceived quality of the work in the country of destination, it may be concluded that migration for men has been satisfactory with regard to employment.

TABLE 5.6

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY OR EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF CURRENT MOROCCAN MIGRANTS
BY SEX, PRE-MIGRATION AND AT TIME OF SURVEY (per cent)*

Time at Survey	Pre-migration					Total
	Work	Unemployed	Student	Work in household	Other non-work	
Men						
Work	47	13	9	0	23	93
Unemployed	–	0	–	–	–	0
Student	0	0	5	–	0	5
Work in household	–	–	–	–	–	–
Other non-work	0	0	0	–	0	2
Total	48	14	14	0	24	100
Women						
Work	2	2	3	12	9	28
Unemployed	–	1	–	1	–	2
Student	–	–	2	–	–	2
Work in household	–	1	1	65	1	68
Other non-work	–	–	–	–	–	–
Total	2	4	6	77	10	100

* MMAs (main migration actors) only.

N – Pre-migration: 706 men, 8 missing; 99 women, 1 missing.

N – At time of survey: 646 men, 68 missing; 94 women, 6 missing.

5.2.9 Countries of destination

In Table 5.7 the main countries of final destination for all current Moroccan migrants are presented. It is worth repeating here that households that migrated as a whole are not included in the surveys in the sending countries. To that extent, there may be a bias in the study of the determinants of migration. This should be kept in mind when judging the results.

Emigration from Morocco (as measured in the survey) is strongly EU-oriented. Only 4 per cent left for a non-EU country. France is the number one destination for Moroccans (35%), followed by Italy (22%) and Spain (17%).

The distribution pattern of destinations chosen by Moroccans in the survey underlines the relevance of migration history. Previous colonial bonds continue to be re-

TABLE 5.7
COUNTRIES OF LAST DESTINATION OF CURRENT MOROCCAN MIGRANTS
BY SEX (per cent)

	Men	Women	Total
France	35	39	35
Italy	26	6	22
Spain	17	15	17
Netherlands	7	16	9
Belgium	5	6	5
Germany	4	6	4
United Kingdom	2	6	3
Other EU-countries	1	1	1
Non-EU countries	3	4	4
Total	100	100	100
N	1,173	231	1,404
Missing	15	2	17

flected in the migration patterns. Of course, a common language and well-established networks do contribute, also where there are no previous colonial ties. The mass recruitment of Moroccan labourers at the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s is also still reflected in the choice of countries in the recent past. Differential admission policies, however, especially with respect to family reunification, bias the results to some extent. Destinations where disproportionately large shares of whole households have moved show up less here (e.g., the Netherlands). Finally, the geographical situation and distance to other countries should be mentioned as relevant factors in choosing a country of destination, whether or not combined with other factors.

Some remarkable differences occur when looking at Moroccan emigration distribution patterns by sex. Only 6 per cent of current female migrants left for Italy while this percentage for men is 26. For Spain too, however to a much lesser extent, the percentage of women is lower than that of men. The opposite is true for most other countries, especially for the Netherlands.

The reason for these divergences between men and women might be related to the length of the migration history. Italy and Spain are relatively new emigration countries with men arriving first and women joining them some time later. The process of family reunification and family creation (by marriage) in these two countries has started rather recently and has a long way to go yet. In other more established

emigration countries, such as the Netherlands, this process is much further advanced and therefore relatively more women have already left for these countries.

This conclusion is confirmed by Table 5.8, in which duration of stay abroad is crossed with country of destination. No more than 18 and 30 per cent of the current migrants in Spain and Italy respectively, have stayed abroad for ten years or more. For the other countries mentioned in this table, the percentage varies between 43 (Belgium) and 79 (United Kingdom).

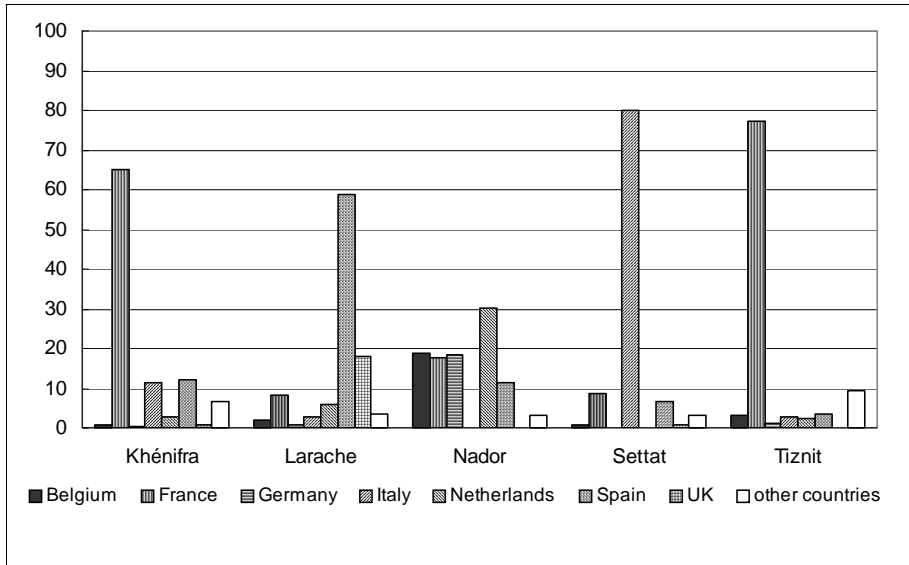
TABLE 5.8
DURATION OF STAY ABROAD OF CURRENT MOROCCAN MIGRANTS
BY COUNTRY OF LAST DESTINATION (per cent)

	Duration of stay abroad				Total	N	Missing
	<5 years	5-<10 years	10-<15 years	15+ years			
France	15	32	20	33	100	497	1
Italy	21	49	21	9	100	315	–
Spain	41	42	12	6	100	232	–
Netherlands	14	32	25	28	100	118	2
Belgium	17	40	24	19	100	72	2
Germany	19	32	15	34	100	62	–
UK	5	16	21	58	100	43	–

Figure 5.1 clearly shows that there is a regionally determined pattern in the chosen countries of destination. The vast majority of migrants from Tiznit and Khénifra left for France, while Italy is by far the preferred country of destination for migrants from Settât. Migrants from Larache can primarily be found in Spain. Finally, Nador is the only province with a variety of destinations (Belgium, France, Germany, Netherlands and Spain).

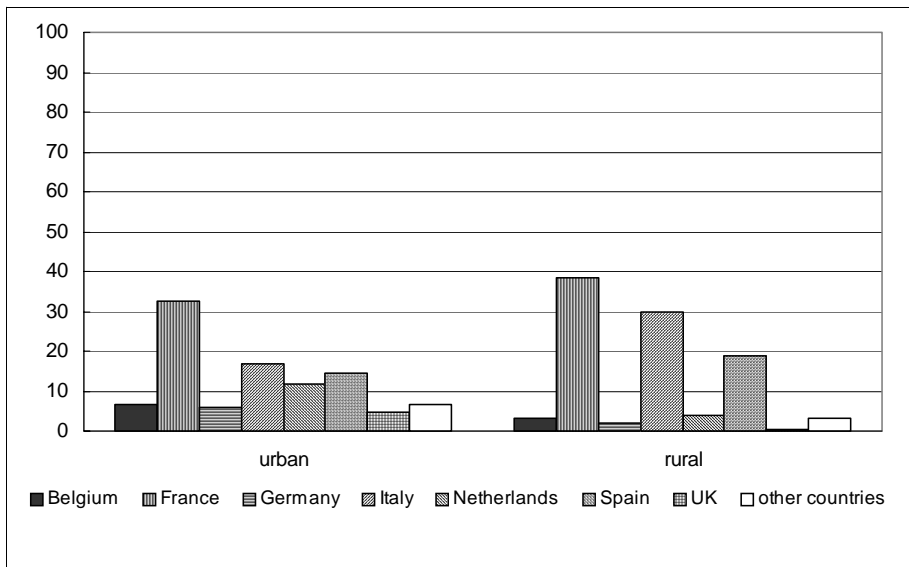
Figure 5.2 contrasts with Figure 5.1: contrary to the province of origin, the distinction between urban and rural region of origin does not importantly affect the choice the country of destination.

FIGURE 5.1
COUNTRY OF DESTINATION OF CURRENT MOROCCAN MIGRANTS
BY PROVINCE OF ORIGIN (per cent)



N – Khénifra: 311, 1 missing; Larache: 218, 1; Nador: 304; Settat: 333; Tiznit: 252, 1.

FIGURE 5.2
COUNTRY OF DESTINATION OF CURRENT MOROCCAN MIGRANTS
BY DEGREE OF URBANIZATION OF THE REGION OF ORIGIN (per cent)



N – urban: 1,418 and 2 missing; rural: 826 and 2 missing.

5.3 Migration intentions

5.3.1 Characteristics of potential migrants

Is there a high or low level of potential migration in Morocco? And, what are the main characteristics of people who intend to migrate?

From Table 5.9 it is clear that the majority of people interviewed do not intend to migrate. In Ghana, Senegal and Turkey, respectively, non- and return migrants more often indicate intentions to migrate (again) than is the case in Morocco. Only in Egypt, migration intentions are less pronounced (see Schoorl et al., 2000: 107). Not surprisingly, men consistently express an intention to migrate more frequently than women. However, rather unexpectedly, there are hardly any differences between non-migrants and return migrants in the Moroccan context. It will become clear in the next subsection that this is due to age factors. When controlling for age, return migrants are more inclined to migrate (again) than non-migrants.

TABLE 5.9
MIGRATION INTENTIONS IN MOROCCO
BY SEX, SURVEYED PROVINCE AND URBAN RURAL (per cent)

	Province					Urban/Rural		Total
	Khénifra	Larache	Nador	Settat	Tiznit	Urban	Rural	
Men	21	32	34	29	22	23	35	27
Women	7	4	7	4	6	6	6	6
Total	15	21	23	18	16	15	25	18
N	477	561	305	433	391	1,469	698	2,167

Looking at the province of origin, the highest percentage can be found in Nador (23), one of the provinces with an established history of migration, while the lowest percentage is found in Khénifra (15) which is characterized by more recent migration. Established versus recent migration at the regional level consistently leads to higher current and future migration, confirming expected regional differences (see also Section 4.5). Results with respect to the level of urbanization are also in line with expectations: men in rural areas more often intend to migrate than those in urban areas, the effect of relatively bad socio-economic conditions in rural areas, leading to higher intentions.

The comparative analysis has shown that whereas in Ghana, Senegal and Egypt, higher education is associated with higher intentions to migrate, in Morocco and Turkey, this is not the case (Schoorl et al., 2000: 109). In Morocco, some correlation is found when comparing those who have been to school with those without any formal education: non-migrants and return migrants who have attended school at some point are slightly more inclined to consider migration than those who have never attended school. For men the difference is small (63 versus 59%), but for women the difference is substantial. Almost 60 per cent of women with some education expressed the intention to migrate, compared to 32 per cent of those without any education.

Why do people intend to migrate, or why do they prefer to stay in their home country?

As expected, and in line with the results for the other countries reviewed for this project, for men the main reason for the intention to migrate is overwhelmingly economic. About 90 per cent of the male non-migrants and 80 per cent of the return migrants give an economic reason, such as unemployment or insufficient income, or more generally the wish to improve one's standard of living (Table 5.10). Among women, economic reasons are mentioned by slightly more than a third of the respondents, but non-economic motives to migrate are important too, especially family-related motives (the wish to join the partner abroad, in particular).

TABLE 5.10
MOTIVES TO MIGRATE FOR NON-MIGRANTS AND RETURN MIGRANTS IN MOROCCO
BY SEX (per cent)*

	Non-migrants			Return migrants		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Economic reasons	90	36	80	82	–	82
Family reasons	3	33	8	5	–	5
Study	3	6	4	2	–	2
Other reasons	5	24	8	11	–	11
Total	100	100	100	100	–	100
N	153	33	186	62	–	62
Missing	–	3	3	–	–	–

* Non-migrants and return migrants intending to migrate.

Economic reasons for non-migration fall into two opposing categories: respondents either indicate that there is no financial need for them to migrate (the largest group), or say that they would like to migrate, but lack the resources to do so (see Table 5.11). More than a third of male non-migrants in Morocco indicate that there is no financial need for them to move abroad, as compared to 6 to 15 per cent of the non-migrants in the other countries studied. Other important reasons for male non-migrants to stay are age and health (29%) as well as family reasons (20%).

TABLE 5.11
MOTIVES TO STAY FOR NON-MIGRANTS AND RETURN MIGRANTS
IN MOROCCO BY SEX (per cent)*

	Non-migrants			Return migrants		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
No financial needs	34	5	25	18	–	17
Lack of means	4	2	3	–	–	–
Family reasons	20	60	32	14	40	15
Too old/bad health	29	25	28	45	20	44
Other reasons	12	9	11	24	40	24
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	364	154	518	136	5	141
Missing	7	11	18	2	1	3

* Non-migrants and return migrants not intending to migrate.

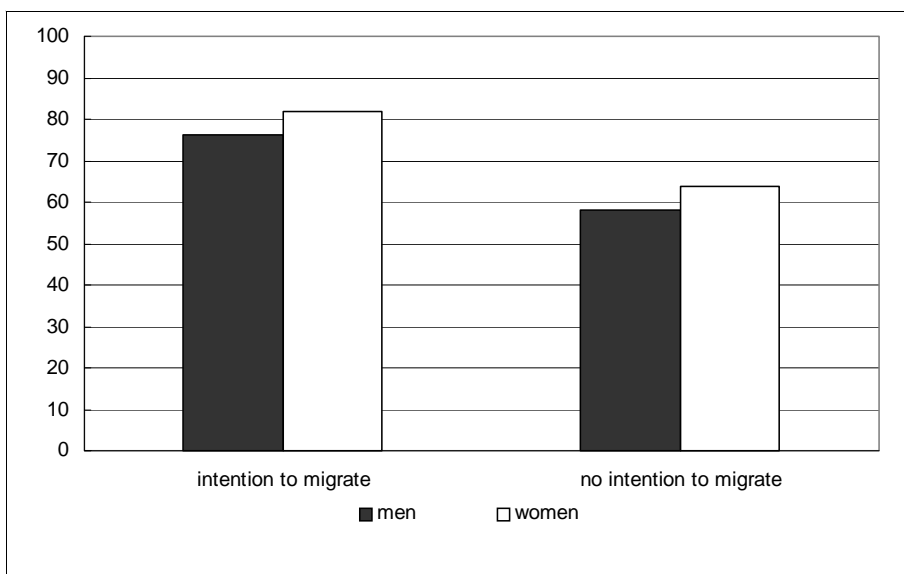
For male return migrants, age and health reasons figure most prominently. Evidently, this is (partly) due to the higher average age of male return migrants (50) compared to male non-migrants (37). Not surprisingly, family-related issues restrain female non-migrants from leaving the country.

5.3.2 Perceptions of potential migrants

Given the postulated importance of attitudes and perceptions for the creation of intentions, attention will be given to information about norms and values obtained from the respondents.¹⁷ Starting with Figure 5.3, people who intend to migrate respect migrants more than those without intentions. Furthermore, they are more positive about a future for children abroad than people who do not intend to migrate (Figure 5.4). It is remarkable though, that women, irrespective of whether they intend to migrate or not, surpass men in this respect. Finally, Figure 5.5 shows that migration

is believed to improve the financial situation for almost all people who intend to migrate. On the other hand, less than half of the people without intentions think that migration is the best way to improve their financial situation.

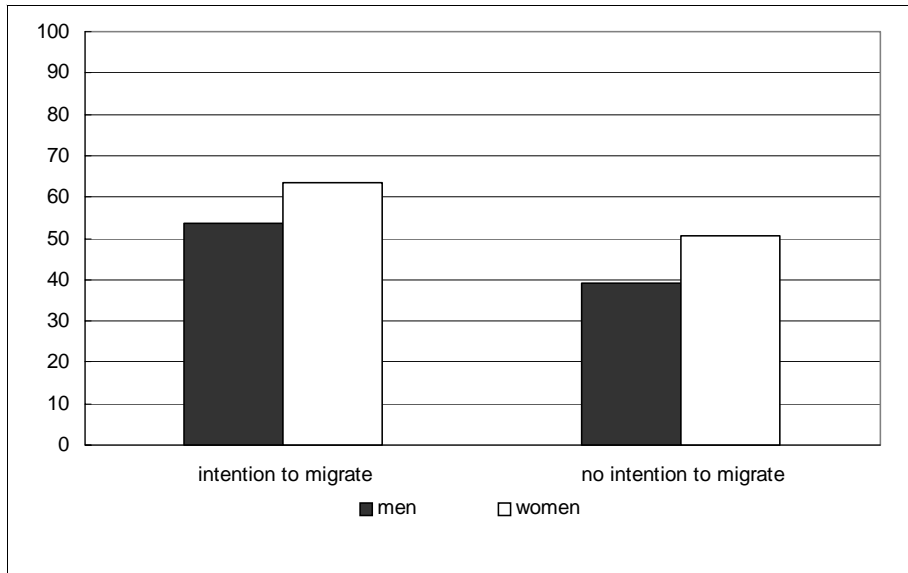
FIGURE 5.3
"MIGRANTS ARE MORE RESPECTED THAN OTHERS IN THE COMMUNITY"
BY SEX AND INTENTION TO MIGRATE (per cent)



N – intending to migrate: men: 218, women: 33; not intending to migrate: men: 582, women: 210.

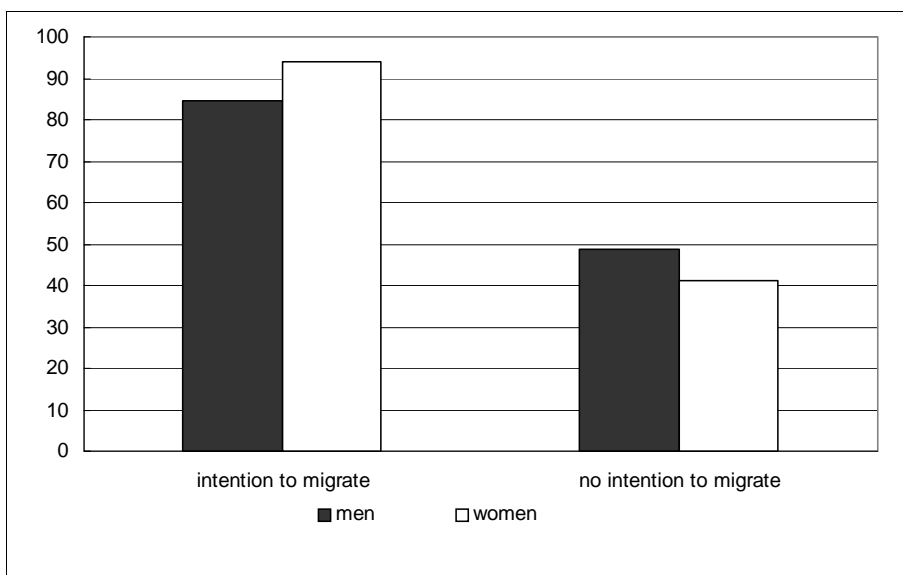
FIGURE 5.4

“CHILDREN WHO GO TO LIVE ABROAD WITH THEIR PARENTS HAVE A BETTER FUTURE THAN CHILDREN WHO STAY IN MOROCCO”
BY SEX AND INTENTION TO MIGRATE (per cent)



N – intending to migrate: men: 218, women: 33; not intending to migrate: men: 582, women: 210.

FIGURE 5.5
"MIGRATION IS THE BEST WAY TO IMPROVE FINANCIAL SITUATION"
BY SEX AND INTENTION TO MIGRATE (per cent)



N – intending to migrate: men: 218, women: 33; not intending to migrate: men: 582, women: 210.

5.3.3 Characteristics and perceptions explaining potential migration

The aim of this subsection is to determine how many, and which individual and household characteristics and perceptions contribute in an independent way to explaining why some respondents express the intention to migrate and others do not. Multivariate statistical analyses have been executed, and because the dependent variable is dichotomous (whether or not one intends to migrate), use is made of logistic regressions.¹⁸

Within the framework of the assumptions and propositions, and based upon the foregoing analyses, 11 variables have been selected that are thought to help explain migration intentions of respondents who have not migrated yet (non-migrants) or have returned to Morocco (return migrants):

- 1) *Gender or sex*
Given the dominance of men in Moroccan migration, men are expected to have more pronounced migration intentions than women.
- 2) *Age*
It is expected that young people will more often express the intention to migrate than older people.
- 3) *Degree of urbanization*
Being an inhabitant of an urban or rural region is considered to be the most reliable indicator of the (regional) level of economic development of the potential migrant. People in rural areas appear to have higher migration intentions than people in urban areas.
- 4) *Relative deprivation of the household*
A household's poor financial status, relative to others in the neighbourhood, is assumed to stimulate migration intentions of the members of that household.
- 5) *Type of migrant*
People with international migration experience (return migrants) will more frequently intend to migrate than those without migration experience (non-migrants).
- 6) *Having work or not*
Persons without work will more often have intentions to migrate than those with work.
- 7) *Educational level*
People with some education are generally thought to be more likely than those without any education to have intentions to migrate in the future, based in part on the perception that education is needed to judge the possibilities of emigrating and to be able to survive abroad.

- 8) *Financial situation of the household*
Different from the relative deprivation variable, this variable indicates the financial situation in absolute terms. However, a strong correlation with the relative deprivation is foreseen. Here too, the lack of financial means is supposed to stimulate migration intentions.
- 9) *Marital status*
Given the fact that migrants are predominantly single when they migrate, marital status is expected to influence migration intentions.
- 10) *Having children or not*
More or less analogous to the previous variable, having children will lessen the intention to migrate.
- 11) *Migration history of the province*
In provinces with a more established migration history, there are more networks with migrants abroad than in provinces with only a recent migration history. The existence of networks will encourage intentions to migrate.

TABLE 5.12

RESULTS OF LOGISTIC REGRESSION ANALYSIS: ODDS THAT NON-MIGRANTS AND RETURN MIGRANTS IN MOROCCO INTEND TO EMIGRATE (EXP(B)) ACCORDING TO INDIVIDUAL AND HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS

Variable	Description	Exp(B)	Sig.
Gender	female=0; male=1	6.96	**
Age	18, 19, ..., 85	0.91	**
Urban/rural	urban=0; rural=1	1.87	**
Relative deprivation of hh	same	1.00	
	better	0.65	ns
	worse	2.43	**
Type of migrant	non-migrant=0; return migrant=1	2.66	**
Not working/working	no work=0; work=1	1.52	ns
Level of education	no education	1.00	
	primary education	0.71	ns
	secondary education	0.87	ns
	higher education	1.07	ns
Financial situation of hh	insufficient or barely sufficient=0; sufficient or more than sufficient=1	1.17	ns
Marital status	(ever) married=0; single=1	0.76	ns
Having children	yes=0; no=1	1.00	ns
Migration history province	recent migration=0; established migration=1	1.54	*

** p<0.01; * p<0.05; ns=not significant.

N=1,913; Nagelkerke R Square=0.30.

The results of the logistic regression analysis are presented in Table 5.12. It appears that 6 of the 11 selected variables show statistically relevant results, predicting whether or not respondents in Morocco intend to migrate: gender, age, degree of urbanization, relative deprivation, type of migrant and migration history of the province. Column Exp(B) gives an indication of the direction and strength of the association. The values in this column give the expected change in the odds (or likelihood) of having intentions versus not having intentions, per unit change in the selected variable, other things being equal.¹⁹ An odds ratio greater than 1 indicates an increased chance of an event occurring versus not (e.g., having intentions), and an odds ratio between 0 and 1 indicates a decreased chance. The results are as follows:

- 1) The odds of men having intentions to migrate are almost 7 times higher than the odds of women, making gender or sex the most powerful explanatory variable in the regression model;
- 2) With an increase in age of one year the odds ratio of having intentions changes by factor 0.91, which means that the likelihood of having intentions decreases with age, other things being equal;
- 3) The odds of having intentions to migrate in rural areas are 1.87 times higher than in urban areas;
- 4) A perceived worse relative deprivation of the household more than doubles the odds of having intentions to migrate for a member of the household. A perceived better relative deprivation does slightly reduce the odds when compared to households that are neutral about this topic, but this result is not statistically significant;
- 5) The odds for return migrants to have migration intentions are 2.66 times higher than the odds for non-migrants;
- 6) In regions with an established migration history the likelihood of having migration intentions is 1.54 times higher than in regions characterized by recent migration.

Five variables appear to be not statistically significant for potential migrants in Morocco: having work or not, educational level, the financial position of the household, marital status and having children or not. Marital status and having children are both highly correlated with age (i.e., young age, being single, without children on the one hand, and higher age, being married and having children on the other hand, go together) and age is a strong explanatory variable. In other words, age and marital status and having children depend so much on each other that, in the analysis, they do not sufficiently add another dimension and explanatory role next to age. For instance, taking age out of the explanatory model, the variable marital status becomes important and statistically significant in the expected direction (single men being 3.5 times as likely to have intentions to migrate than married men).

The statistical insignificance of the variable financial position of the household may be partly due to the substantial correlation with relative deprivation. As regards the other variables, the conclusion can be drawn that both education and having work or not do not affect the intention to migrate for men in Morocco.

Given that return migrants are more likely to consider emigration than non-migrants, the foregoing analyses have also been carried out for the separate groups. The variable “type of migrant” has been replaced by “household type” in the case of non-migrants (indicating if the non-migrant lives in a household with or without current or return migrants). It is expected that migration experience within the household will positively affect the intention to migrate. This variable has been removed in the case of return migrants. The results are presented in Tables 5.13 and 5.14.

TABLE 5.13
RESULTS OF LOGISTIC REGRESSION ANALYSIS: ODDS THAT NON-MIGRANTS
IN MOROCCO INTEND TO EMIGRATE (EXP(B))
ACCORDING TO INDIVIDUAL AND HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS

Variable	Description	Exp(B)	Sig.
Gender	female=0; male=1	6.76	**
Age	18, 19, ..., 85	0.92	**
Urban/rural	urban=0; rural=1	1.81	**
Relative deprivation of hh	same	1.00	
	better	0.74	ns
	worse	2.29	**
Not working/working	no work=0; work=1	1.47	ns
Level of education	no education	1.00	
	primary education	0.69	ns
	secondary education	0.77	ns
	higher education	1.13	ns
Financial situation of hh	insufficient or barely sufficient=0; sufficient or more than sufficient=1	1.14	ns
	(ever) married=0; single=1	0.77	ns
Having children	yes=0; no=1	1.10	ns
Migration history province	recent migration=0; established migration=1	1.73	**
Household type	non-migrants household=0; current/return migrant household=1	0.91	ns

** p<0.01; * p<0.05; ns=not significant.

N=1,913; Nagelkerke R Square=0.30.

TABLE 5.14

RESULTS OF LOGISTIC REGRESSION ANALYSIS: ODDS THAT RETURN MIGRANTS
IN MOROCCO INTEND TO EMIGRATE (EXP(B))
ACCORDING TO INDIVIDUAL AND HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS

Variable	Description	Exp(B)	Sig.
Gender	female=0; male=1	7.98	ns
Age	18, 19, ..., 85	0.88	**
Urban/rural	urban=0; rural=1	2.67	ns
Relative deprivation of hh	same	1.00	
	better	0.37	ns
	worse	3.97	ns
Not working/working	no work=0; work=1	0.75	ns
Level of education	no education	1.00	
	primary education	0.62	ns
	secondary education	3.03	ns
	higher education	0.28	ns
Financial situation of hh	insufficient or barely sufficient=0; sufficient or more than sufficient=1	1.54	ns
Marital status	(ever) married=0; single=1	1.33	ns
Having children	yes=0; no=1	0.65	ns
Migration history province	recent migration=0; established migration=1	0.69	ns

** p<0.01; * p<0.05; ns=not significant.

N=254; Nagelkerke R Square=0.58.

It appears that the foregoing conclusions relate mainly to non-migrants. Contrary to what was expected, the addition of the variable household type in the analyses for the male non-migrants does not lead to a statistically relevant relation. In other words, the intention of male non-migrants in Morocco to migrate abroad is not influenced by the presence or absence of current and return migrants in a household. For return migrants only the age variable is statistically significant.

To sum up, the analyses of migration intentions for non-migrants yield five significant variables:

- 1) Gender – men are much more likely to have migration intentions than women;
- 2) Age – decreasing intention as one gets older;
- 3) Urban/rural – people who have never migrated and are living in rural areas are more inclined to have migration intentions;
- 4) Relative deprivation – men and women who feel relatively poor more often intend to migrate than those who do not;

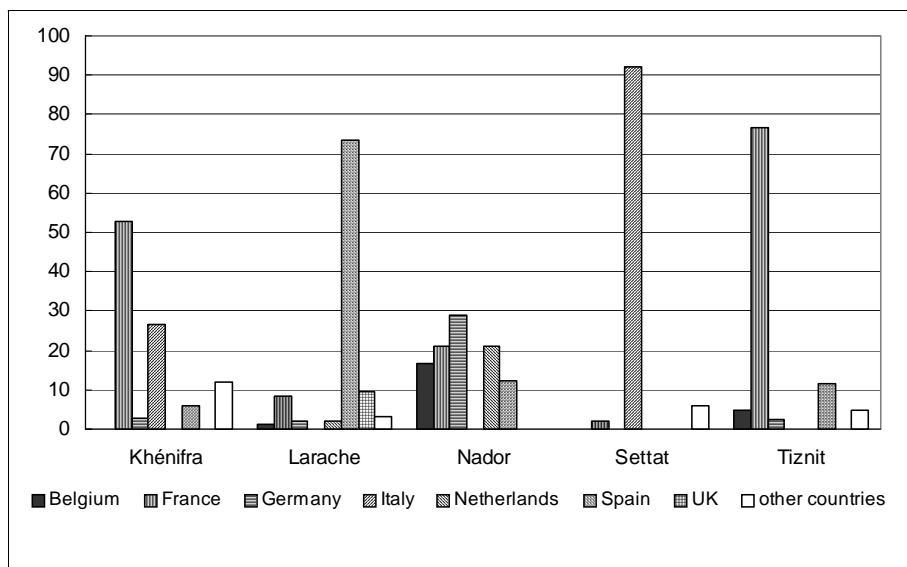
- 5) Migration history of the region – regions with an established migration history generate relatively more intentions than regions that are characterized by recent migration.

The analyses for return migrants yield not more than one significant variable, i.e., age.

5.3.4 Preferred country of destination of potential migrants

As appears in Figure 5.6, the preferred country of destination is strongly related to the region of origin. The vast majority of potential migrants from Larache prefers to emigrate to Spain, while Italy is preferred by potential migrants from Settât, and France for potential migrants from Tiznit. In Khénifra, both France and Italy are the most preferred countries of destination. Finally, Nador is the only province with a variety of preferred destinations (Belgium, France, Germany, Netherlands and Spain).

FIGURE 5.6
PREFERRED COUNTRY OF DESTINATION OF MOROCCAN POTENTIAL MIGRANTS
BY PROVINCE OF ORIGIN (per cent)



N – Khénifra: 23, 1 missing; Larache: 94, 1; Nador: 48; Settât: 50; Tiznit: 43, 1.

A comparison with the actual country of destination of current migrants (see Figure 5.1) demonstrates a striking resemblance, especially for Nador, Settat and Tiznit. Potential migrants from Khénifra prefer Italy more and France less than the current migrants indicate. Potential migrants from Larache shift to Spain rather than the UK. On the basis of the foregoing it can be concluded that, contrary to generating the intention to migrate (i.e., the wish to leave in general, irrespective of destination) the preferred direction of the possible emigration is significantly determined by the region of origin. This finding supports the postulated inference that existent networks abroad apparently direct potential migrants to certain destinations.

5.4 Steps towards realization of migration intentions

Intentions are often hard to realize in practice. They partly reflect wishes and dreams, and are not sufficient on their own to predict actual (future) behaviour. Those who say they intend to migrate abroad were also asked when they intend 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 in Morocco vary from 4 per cent for women to 29 per cent for men, the percentage with intentions to migrate within the next two years is quite a bit lower: just 1 per cent for women and 6 per cent for men. The large differences between general intentions and intentions within two years are due to the large percentage of people who say they do not really know when they would migrate (rather than to people who say it will happen in the more distant future).

It was earlier concluded that having work or not does not influence the migration intention of men and women (Table 5.12). Looking at men only because so few women have intentions to migrate in the next two years, it appears that within the group of male non-migrants and return migrants with intentions, men without work are more inclined to want to migrate within two years than men with work (Table 5.15). Apparently, the condition of having work does not affect the intention to migrate as such, but does affect the first step from intention to realization (the anticipated timing in the near future). In other words, there is some support for the hypothesis that objective conditions are more important for (migration) behaviour than for intentions.

Another remarkable observation from Table 5.15 is the influence of the level of education on the intention to migrate within two years. Highly educated men with intentions to migrate are more likely to do so within two years than men without any

education. Furthermore, Table 5.15 points out that, in line with the findings of Table 5.12, return migrants are more optimistic about leaving soon than non-migrants. This confirms the assumed contribution of prior experience to intentions and behaviour.

TABLE 5.15
RESULTS OF LOGISTIC REGRESSION ANALYSIS: ODDS THAT MALE NON-MIGRANTS
AND RETURN MIGRANTS IN MOROCCO INTENDING TO EMIGRATE,
INTEND TO EMIGRATE WITHIN TWO YEARS (EXP(B))
ACCORDING TO INDIVIDUAL AND HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS

Variable	Description	Exp(B)	Sig.
Age	18, 19, ..., 85	1.00	ns
Urban/rural	urban=0; rural=1	0.91	ns
Relative deprivation of hh	same	1.00	
	better	0.67	ns
	worse	0.99	ns
Type of migrant	non-migrant=0; return migrant=1	2.09	*
Not working/working	no work=0; work=1	0.54	*
Level of education	no education	1.00	
	primary education	0.56	ns
	secondary education	0.86	ns
Financial situation of hh	higher education	4.25	*
	insufficient or barely sufficient=0; sufficient or more than sufficient=1	1.30	ns
Marital status	(ever) married=0; single=1	1.81	ns
Having children	yes=0; no=1	2.52	ns
Migration history province	recent migration=0; established migration=1	0.59	ns

** p<0.01; * p<0.05; ns=not significant.

N=345; Nagelkerke R Square=0.12.

Even though the intentions were narrowed down to a period of two years in the immediate future, they are still only wishes. Have people who intend to migrate within two years taken actual steps to migrate? Taking steps relates to the applications, possession of relevant documents (a passport, other exit documents if required, an entry visa and/or residence permit for the country of destination) and travel tickets. The results show again that the figures go down even further: they are now 4 per cent for men and below 1 per cent for women. The results of the logistic regression analysis for men intending to migrate within two years and having taken steps to realize the intention are poor: not one statistically relevant variable (see Table 5.16).

TABLE 5.16

RESULTS OF LOGISTIC REGRESSION ANALYSIS: ODDS THAT MALE NON-MIGRANTS AND RETURN MIGRANTS IN MOROCCO INTENDING TO EMIGRATE WITHIN TWO YEARS, HAVE TAKEN STEPS TO REALIZE INTENTIONS (EXP(B)) ACCORDING TO INDIVIDUAL AND HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS

Variable	Description	Exp(B)	Sig.
Age	18, 19, ..., 85	0.99	ns
Urban/rural	Urban=0; rural=1	0.80	ns
Relative deprivation of hh	same	1.00	
	better	0.33	ns
	worse	0.47	ns
Type of migrant	non-migrant=0; return migrant=1	3.26	ns
Not working/working	no work=0; work=1	0.54	ns
Level of education	no education	1.00	
	primary education	2.98	ns
	secondary education	3.01	ns
	higher education	4403.47	ns
Financial situation of hh	insufficient or barely sufficient=0; sufficient or more than sufficient=1	2.24	ns
Marital status	(ever) married=0; single=1	0.28	ns
Having children	yes=0; no=1	1504.55	ns
Migration history province	recent migration=0; established migration=1	0.86	ns

** p<0.01; * p<0.05; ns=not significant.

N=82; Nagelkerke R Square=0.32.

In sum, although the intention to migrate is quite strong for some of the identified groups, intentions are not easy to realize. While general intentions to migrate vary between almost 30 per cent for men and 4 per cent for women, far fewer people believe they will realize their intentions within the next two years. The percentage of those who intend to do so is 6 per cent for men and 1 per cent for women. When asked whether they have actually taken any steps to prepare for migration, the percentages drop even further.

6. MOROCCAN MIGRATION IN SPAIN

6.1 Introduction

This chapter will focus on the current Moroccan migrants that were interviewed in Spain. There will be two short introductory sections about Spain's transformation from a country of emigration to a country of immigration (6.2) and a review of migration issues in the relations between Spain and Morocco (6.3). Then the characteristics of the surveyed Moroccans in Spain both at the time of their migration and at the time of the interview will be discussed (6.4). Migration intentions and family reunification issues will be the topics highlighted in Section 6.5, aimed at illuminating the impact of the experience of having migrated on intentions for future moves. An update on the regularization of undocumented migrants concludes this Chapter (6.6).

6.2 A new phenomenon²⁰

After nearly 100 years of continuous, if somewhat intermittent, out-migration, first to the Americas, then to north-western Europe, in the course of the last quarter of the twentieth century, Spain has been gradually transformed into a country of immigration. This transition is very recent: it started in the mid-1980s, and at the end of the twentieth century it was only in the first phase of the migration cycle.

No doubt, significant communities of foreigners were also found in Spain before the mid-1980s. Since the 1960s some tens of thousands of Europeans have come to Spain, most of them retirees or otherwise inactive, who have chosen Spain as their place of residence because of its warm climate, amenities and low cost of living. At that time, there were a few thousand African workers as well, mostly from Morocco. Since the mid-1970s Spain has also become home to Latin American citizens who sought refuge from the military dictatorships of the southern cone. However, until the mid-1980s Spain could hardly be seen as an immigration country. In the early years of that decade, the number of foreign residents did not surpass 200,000, two-thirds of whom were from Europe, and annual flows were in the order of 10,000 persons. Certainly, out-migration flows were drying up, but the most important flows in the mid-1970s were those of the returning migrants. At that time, immigration was still in its infancy.

In the mid-1980s this migration situation changed drastically. From that time forward, the number of immigrants has trebled or quadrupled, growing from around

250,000 to around 800,000 legal foreign residents in 2000. In addition annual flows have become regular and substantial in number. The proportion of Africans, Latin Americans and Asians has increased markedly, replacing Europeans as the most significant component of the foreign population. Apart from its proximity to North Africa, the economic situation has contributed a great deal to this development. Certain sectors in Spain, mainly agriculture and the construction industry, are constantly in need of unskilled, cheap labour. Most immigrants fill jobs that few Spanish citizens are willing to take up, and do so for low wages. The logic of the market dictates that empty jobs will be filled, legally if possible, and definitely illegally if necessary, a situation which opens the door to further illegal migration (Overbergh, 2000). The immigrants have filled a gap which will get bigger because Spain, with a low fertility rate and ageing population, will need millions of foreign hands to maintain the production apparatus in the coming decades (Higginbottom, 2000).

6.3 Review of migration issues in relations between Morocco and Spain

The first and foremost country of origin for immigrants in Spain is Morocco. The number of legal Moroccan residents amounted to 160,000 at the start of this millennium (Eurostat, 2001). Witness the experience with regularization programmes (see also Section 6.6), the actual number of Moroccans in Spain (including illegal migrants) is undoubtedly significantly higher.

Physically, Spain and Morocco are just 14 kilometres apart, and yet the countries are separated by a virtual abyss. The ever-widening gulf between average incomes is the principal underlying factor driving migration. While Spain is certainly not the richest European country and Moroccans have a higher standard of living than most other Africans, the average income per capita in Spain is still nearly five times greater than in Morocco. As a consequence, thousands of Africans are congregated in North Morocco seeking a chance to “jump to Spain”. Similarly, thousands of Africans are waiting to risk the 1,000-mile journey from Africa to the Canary Islands. Many boat trips, however, end in tragedy. The Moroccan newspaper *Libération* estimates that in the last decade 3,500 people have perished (Higginbottom, 2000).

So far, Morocco generally refuses to take back its own undocumented nationals, or other Africans who are reported to have passed through the country before entering Europe. Using Morocco as a transit country is easy because of the lack of visa requirements. Evidently, there is increasing pressure from the European Union in general, and from Spain in particular, to change the Moroccan migration patterns.

The debate on migration between the Spanish and Moroccan governments is affected as well by other points of contention. They concern outstanding demands by Morocco for the return of the Spanish colonial enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla. Secondly, the export of tomatoes and strawberries to the European Union is under debate. The third point of contention is about dwindling fish stocks, and the final point involves unresolved issues with regard to the Western Sahara.

As already mentioned, Morocco is one of the target countries of the European Union Action Plan. This plan consists of existing and planned projects/programmes in the fields of foreign policy, migration and economic cooperation. Within this context, it is anticipated that various bilateral and multilateral agreements will be initiated in order to improve relations between Morocco and the EU countries.

6.4 Review of characteristics of Moroccans in Spain: survey results

6.4.1 Introduction

The review below attempts to characterize those who have migrated in a similar fashion as non- and return migrants interviewed in Morocco. As in the previous chapter, the conditions before and after migration are compared for key variables. The principal difference from the previous chapter is that instead of looking at household composition at the time of migration, the focus here will be on whether respondents migrated alone or with their families. This information is also necessary in order to examine and judge the potential for family-reunification (further analysed in 6.5.3).

6.4.2 Sex and age

From Table 6.1 it can be seen that 62 per cent of the current Moroccan migrants in the Spanish survey are men and 38 per cent are women. This distribution is less disparate than the one for the current migrants in the Moroccan survey (see Table 5.1).

On the one hand, this difference may be due to the choice of the survey regions in Morocco and in Spain; on the other hand it might indicate that migration to Spain is different in this respect than migration to other countries. Some support for the latter statement was provided in the previous chapter in the sense that Spain is a relatively

TABLE 6.1
SEX AND AGE DISTRIBUTION OF CURRENT MOROCCAN MIGRANTS IN SPAIN,
PRE-MIGRATION AND AT TIME OF SURVEY (per cent)

	Pre-migration			Time of survey		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
<20	9	6	15	2	1	3
20-<25	17	11	28	8	6	14
25-<30	14	8	22	14	9	23
30-44	20	11	31	29	17	46
45+	3	2	4	9	4	14
Total	62	38	100	62	38	100
N	518	316	824	536	323	859
Missing	18	7	25	–	–	–

new emigration country for Moroccans when compared to some other European countries, such as France.

At the time of the last emigration half of all migrants were in their twenties. The age group 30-44 accounts for 31 per cent, and teenagers account for 15 per cent. Older people (45+) are hardly represented among the migrants who headed for Spain.

6.4.3 Duration of stay abroad

The comparison between age at last emigration and actual age at the time of the survey also seems to underline the conclusion that Spain is a relatively new emigration country for Moroccans. More details on duration of stay are presented in Table 6.2. It appears, for example, that only 5 per cent of the male current migrants in Spain have stayed there ten years or longer. For female current migrants, this percentage is far lower. Compared to similar figures for the current migrants in the Moroccan survey (see Table 5.2) the differences are indeed obvious. More than 40 per cent of this latter group have stayed abroad for ten years or longer.

However, this result is also due to the selection process in the push and pull project. The objective of the push and pull project was to study recent migration, that is, migration in the ten years preceding the survey. As a result, the survey population in Spain was selected in a manner that covers people who have moved to Spain within the past ten years.

TABLE 6.2
DURATION OF STAY OF CURRENT MOROCCAN MIGRANTS IN SPAIN
BY SEX AND AGE AT EMIGRATION (per cent)

Age at last emigration	Duration of stay abroad			Total
	<5 years	5-<10 years	10+ years	
Men				
<20	21	76	3	100
20-<25	55	40	5	100
25-<30	39	51	9	100
30-44	20	76	4	100
45+	14	81	5	100
Total	34	61	5	100
N	172	309	27	508
Missing	–	–	–	28
Women				
<20	40	58	2	100
20-<25	48	50	2	100
25-<30	40	60	0	100
30-44	37	63	0	100
45+	62	38	0	100
Total	42	57	1	100
N	132	176	3	311
Missing	–	–	–	12

6.4.4 Migration networks

The majority of current Moroccan MMAs in Spain had a network (defined as the presence of family, relatives or friends in the country of destination before migration) in Spain before migration. For both men and women this percentage is about 75. Compared to the percentages mentioned for all current Moroccan MMAs (see Section 5.2.4), it is striking that the difference between men and women, in this regard, has practically disappeared. This conclusion seems to support the “special” position of Spain as country of emigration, especially for Moroccan female MMAs.

Here too, however, a technical point relating to the push and pull project must be mentioned. The way the MMA has been defined is also due to the difference between all current Moroccan female MMAs and the Moroccan female MMAs living

in Spain. This definition depends on the length of stay abroad, i.e., the MMA is the first person in the household who moved in order to live abroad in the past ten years. Many women in the Moroccan survey who joined their partners are MMAs because these partners left more than ten years ago. However, in the Spanish survey this phenomenon is rare because of the recent character of migration from Morocco to Spain. Hence, female MMAs in the Spanish survey are generally women who left for other reasons than family reunification. Several other conclusions in this chapter will confirm this.

6.4.5 Marital status

Just before migration to Spain more than half of the male Moroccan MMAs were single. At the time of the survey, the percentage had dropped from 55 to 40 (Table 6.3). This means that about a quarter of the MMAs married in the time between migration and interview. For female MMAs the picture is quite similar: 57 per cent arrived single and 39 per cent were still single at the time of the interview. Compared to the Moroccan survey this latter result is remarkable. With reference to Table 5.3, it was concluded that migration of single women from Morocco was rare and generally not viewed positively. The reason for such divergent results is that Table 6.3 is limited to MMAs. Obviously, this group is far from representative for all female Moroccan migrants in Spain.

TABLE 6.3
MARITAL STATUS OF CURRENT MOROCCAN MIGRANTS IN SPAIN
BY SEX, PRE-MIGRATION AND AT TIME OF SURVEY (per cent)*

Time at survey	Pre-migration					
	Men			Women		
	Single	(Ever) Married	Total	Single	(Ever) Married	Total
Single	40	–	40	39	–	39
(Ever) Married	15	45	60	18	43	61
Total	55	45	100	57	43	100

* MMAs (main migration actors) only.

N – Pre-migration: 206 single men, 169 (ever) married men, 2 missing; 80 single women, 60 (ever) married women, 1 missing.

N – At time of survey: 151 single men, 224 (ever) married men, 2 missing; 55 single women, 85 (ever) married women.

From Table 6.4 it can be seen that the majority of female Moroccan migrants in Spain are non-MMA. Indeed, more than 80 per cent of this group were (ever) married at the time of the survey. This percentage is in line with earlier findings. Hence, it may be concluded that the Moroccan female MMAs in Spain comprise a special group that clearly diverges with respect to marital status, and probably to several other aspects as well, from the female non-MMAs in Spain.

TABLE 6.4
MARITAL STATUS OF CURRENT MOROCCAN MIGRANTS IN SPAIN
BY SEX, AT TIME OF SURVEY, MMAS AND NON-MMAS (per cent)*

	Men			Women		
	Single	(Ever) Married	Total	Single	(Ever) Married	Total
MMAs	40	60	100	40	60	100
N	177	261	438	61	93	154
non-MMAs	62	38	100	18	82	100
N	58	36	94	30	137	167
Total	44	56	100	28	72	100
N	235	297	532	91	230	321

* Missings: 3 men; 1 woman.

6.4.6 Individual or family migration

The special character of Moroccan female MMAs in Spain is reflected in Table 6.5. The vast majority of them came to Spain individually and were single at that time. One in ten came individually, but was married at the time of migration and left the spouse at home. Another 10 per cent came together with other members of the family. For Moroccan male MMAs in Spain the picture is slightly different. About 60 per cent came individually and were single, and 25 per cent came individually as well but were married, leaving the spouse at home. The remainder came together with family members.

TABLE 6.5
INDIVIDUAL OR FAMILY MIGRATION OF CURRENT MOROCCAN MIGRANTS TO SPAIN
BY SEX (per cent)*

	Men	Women
Individual migration/not married	59	79
Individual migration/married/left spouse at home	24	10
Family migration/married/brought family along immediately	11	2
Family migration/married/brought family along later	6	1
Family migration/married/spouse already lived there	0	7
Total	100	100
N	413	140
Missing	28	14

* MMAs only.

6.4.7 Education

At the time of the survey, somewhat less than half of the current Moroccan migrants in Spain (40% of the male migrants and 47% of the female migrants) had not completed primary education (Table 6.6). The level of education for men is higher than for women; witness the fact that about 30 per cent of the men had attained secondary or higher education, as compared to about 15 per cent of the women. Compared to the level of education measured in the Moroccan survey (Table 5.5) the situation for migrants in Spain is more favourable. Probably, the more recent character of Moroccan migration to Spain is due to this.

TABLE 6.6
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF CURRENT MIGRANTS IN SPAIN
BY SEX (per cent)

	Men	Women
No education	40	47
Primary education	29	37
Secondary education	26	14
Higher education	5	2
Total	100	100
N	535	323
Missing	1	–

6.4.8 Economic activity

Table 6.7 clearly shows that migration has a strong impact on economic status, particularly for female MMAs. Before migration, only 30 per cent had some kind of work. At the time of the survey this percentage was almost 80. Furthermore, unemployment decreased from nearly 30 per cent before migration to no more than 7 per cent after migration. Generally, for male MMAs the changes are less radical, although the increase in men with work is still worth mentioning (from 54% to 83%). In line with the earlier findings in Chapter 5 (Table 5.6), it may be concluded that, apart from the quality and the perception of the work in the country of destination, migration for both men and women has been satisfactory with regard to employment.

TABLE 6.7

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY OR EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF CURRENT MOROCCAN MIGRANTS IN SPAIN BY SEX, PRE-MIGRATION AND AT TIME OF SURVEY (per cent)*

Time at survey	Pre-migration					Total
	Work	Unemployed	Student	Work in household	Other non-work	
Men						
Work	46	11	4	0	21	83
Unemployed	7	3	0	–	1	11
Student	–	–	4	–	0	4
Work in household	–	–	–	–	–	–
Other non-work	1	–	0	–	0	2
Total	54	14	9	0	23	100
Women						
Work	25	23	3	13	13	78
Unemployed	1	2	1	1	2	7
Student	–	1	5	–	–	5
Work in household	1	1	–	5	–	6
Other non-work	2	1	–	–	1	4
Total	29	28	9	18	16	100

* MMAs (main migration actors) only.

N: 433 men, 8 missing; 150 women, 4 missing.

To underline the special character of the Moroccan female MMAs, as previously mentioned, the current economic activity status for both MMAs and non-MMAs is

TABLE 6.8
ECONOMIC ACTIVITY OR EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF CURRENT MOROCCAN MIGRANTS
IN SPAIN BY SEX AT TIME OF SURVEY, MMAS AND NON-MMAS (per cent)

	MMAs			Non-MMAs		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Work	83	79	82	71	30	45
Unemployed	11	6	10	17	8	11
Student	4	5	4	9	4	6
Work in household	–	6	2	–	54	35
Other non-work	2	4	3	3	3	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	437	154	591	95	168	263
Missing	4	–	4	–	1	1

presented in Table 6.8. It appears that no more than 30 per cent of the female non-MMAs have a (paid) job, as opposed to 80 per cent for the female MMAs. As could be expected, more than half of the female MMAs work in the household. For men the differences between MMAs and non-MMAs are less spectacular. Among the male non-MMAs there are more students and unemployed than among the male MMAs.

6.5 Perceptions and attitudes of Moroccans in Spain

6.5.1 Characteristics of those who intend to return, move on, and integrate in the host society

Moroccan migrants living in the receiving countries can of course intend to stay in the host country, but in opting for migration, they also have a choice between returning home and migrating to a third country. As noted by Schoorl et al., with regard to both Spain and Italy there is very little evidence that they function as transit countries for people intending to move further north (2000: 111). Of course, to the extent that they travel on immediately, it cannot be judged, but Table 6.9. shows that the majority of the migrants interviewed say they intend to return or intend to stay. The percentage intending to move elsewhere is small among Moroccan migrants in Spain. Staying in the host country is the choice of half the Moroccans, both men and women.

TABLE 6.9
MIGRATION INTENTIONS OF CURRENT MOROCCAN MIGRANTS IN SPAIN
BY SEX (per cent)

	Men	Women	Total
Intend to stay	49	52	50
Intend to return	16	12	15
Intend to move on	3	2	3
Don't know	32	35	33
Total	100	100	100
N	536	321	857
Missing	–	2	2

Intentions to return are much lower, and only very few intend to migrate to a third country. The remaining one-third belongs to the category “don’t know”.

Why do migrants intend to return or, alternatively, intend to stay in the destination country? The main reasons are presented in Tables 6.10 and 6.11.

TABLE 6.10
MOTIVES TO STAY FOR CURRENT MOROCCAN MIGRANTS IN SPAIN
BY SEX (per cent)*

	Men	Women	Total
No financial needs	54	37	48
Lack of means	4	1	3
Family reasons	15	44	25
Other reasons	28	18	24
Total	100	100	100
N	247	142	389
Missing	13	24	37

* Current migrants not intending to return or migrate onwards.

More than half of the intended male stayers and about one-third of the female stayers indicate that they want to stay because of the relatively secure positions they have attained: a satisfactory job or, to a lesser extent, sufficient income. For women,

family ties are another important reason to stay. Economic pull factors, family-related reasons or dissatisfaction with life in the country of residence are all important factors motivating return. Economic pull factors, the main one being the intention to start a business in the home country, are mentioned by one-third of the Moroccan migrants in Spain who want to return. On the other hand, economic push factors, such as unemployment, a low income, or an unsatisfactory job, do not motivate many migrants to go back.

TABLE 6.11
MOTIVES TO RETURN FOR CURRENT MOROCCAN MIGRANTS IN SPAIN
BY SEX (per cent)*

	Men	Women	Total
Economic push factors	6	3	5
Economic pull factors	38	24	34
Family reasons	26	32	28
Completed study	6	24	11
Other reasons	25	18	23
Total	100	100	100
N	85	34	119
Missing	2	5	7

* Current migrants not intending to return or migrate onwards.

Obviously, family-related reasons figure prominently, especially in those migrant groups that have left their families back home. Completed studies, a general dislike of life in the host country, and a strong sense of belonging in the home country are the most frequent other reasons mentioned (Schoorl et al., 2000).

6.5.2 Characteristics and perceptions explaining intentions to stay or return

In which ways are Moroccan migrants in Spain who want to return or move on distinguished from those who want to stay in Spain? Migrants who intend to stay in Spain are the reference group in the analysis. Apart from the explanatory variables used in chapter five, two variables are added: duration of stay in Spain and being the first migrant in the interviewed household (the MMA) or not. The length of stay is assumed to be positively related to integration and prolonged stay. The MMAs, as

initiators of the previous migration, are thought to be more likely to be initiators of future migration as well, than non-MMAs, who are more often “followers” of others. The results of the logistic regression analyses in Tables 6.12-6.14 provide answers.

From Table 6.12 it appears that stayers are primarily to be found among those who are (ever) married, have a job, are relatively uneducated, and are non-MMA. In contrast, Moroccan migrants in Spain who want to return to Morocco are mainly single, relatively well educated and MMA. Furthermore, the likelihood of returning increases when they are jobless and have children. The likelihood of returning decreases somewhat the longer the stay in Spain (Table 6.13). Finally, the results of the logistic regression analyses indicate that those who want to move on tend to be relatively poor, have no job and are highly educated (Table 6.14).

TABLE 6.12
RESULTS OF LOGISTIC REGRESSION ANALYSIS: ODDS THAT CURRENT MOROCCAN
MIGRANTS IN SPAIN INTEND TO MIGRATE (EXP(B))
ACCORDING TO INDIVIDUAL AND HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS

Variable	Description	Exp(B)	Sig.
Gender	female=0, male=1	1.18	ns
Age	18, 19, ..., 65	1.01	ns
Marital status	(ever) married=0; single=1	3.75	**
Financial situation of hh	insufficient or barely sufficient=0; sufficient or more than sufficient=1	1.03	ns
Relative deprivation of hh	same	1.00	
	better	0.82	ns
	worse	2.04	*
Not working/working	no work=0; work=1	0.39	**
Level of education	no education	1.00	
	primary education	1.25	ns
	secondary education	3.29	**
	higher education	7.12	**
Having children?	yes=0; no=1	0.47	ns
Duration of stay in Spain	0, 1, 2, ...	0.95	ns
No MMA/MMA	non-MMA=0; MMA=1	3.01	**

** p<0.01; * p<0.05; ns=not significant.

N=557 (current migrants who want to stay, return or move on); Nagelkerke R Square=0.23.

TABLE 6.13
RESULTS OF LOGISTIC REGRESSION ANALYSIS: ODDS THAT CURRENT MOROCCAN
MIGRANTS IN SPAIN INTEND TO RETURN (EXP(B))
ACCORDING TO INDIVIDUAL AND HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS

Variable	Description	Exp(B)	Sig.
Gender	female=0, male=1	1.06	Ns
Age	18, 19, ..., 65	1.02	ns
Marital status	(ever) married=0; single=1	4.26	**
Financial situation of hh	insufficient or barely sufficient=0; sufficient or more than sufficient=1	1.03	ns
Relative deprivation of hh	same	1.00	
	better	0.94	ns
	worse	1.79	ns
Not working/working	no work=0; work=1	0.45	**
Level of education	no education	1.00	
	primary education	1.20	ns
	secondary education	3.56	**
	higher education	6.93	**
Having children?	yes=0; no=1	0.40	*
Duration of stay in Spain	0, 1, 2, ...	0.91	*
No MMA/MMA	non-MMA=0; MMA=1	3.09	**

** p<0.01; * p<0.05; ns=not significant.

N=535 (current migrants who want to stay or return); Nagelkerke R Square=0.23.

TABLE 6.14

RESULTS OF LOGISTIC REGRESSION ANALYSIS: ODDS THAT CURRENT MOROCCAN
MIGRANTS IN SPAIN INTEND TO MOVE ON (EXP(B))
ACCORDING TO INDIVIDUAL AND HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS

Variable	Description	Exp(B)	Sig.
Gender	female=0, male=1	1.87	ns
Age	18, 19, ..., 65	0.99	ns
Marital status	(ever) married=0; single=1	2.00	ns
Financial situation of hh	insufficient or barely sufficient=0; sufficient or more than sufficient=1	0.82	ns
Relative deprivation of hh	same	1.00	
	better	0.00	ns
	Worse	3.34	*
Not working/working	no work=0; work=1	0.17	**
Level of education	no education	1.00	
	primary education	1.38	ns
	secondary education	2.58	ns
	higher education	9.36	*
Having children?	yes=0; no=1	1.02	ns
Duration of stay in Spain	0, 1, 2, ...	1.00	ns
No MMA/MMA	non-MMA=0; MMA=1	3.22	ns

** p<0.01; * p<0.05; ns=not significant.

N=434 (current migrants who want to stay or move on); Nagelkerke R Square=0.25.

6.5.3 Potential for family-reunification to Spain²¹

Intentions regarding family reunification in the destination country are of great relevance for future flows as well as from a policy point of view. No doubt, such intentions are in large part influenced by the type of migration, whether individual or family migration, by marital status at the time of migration and by whether the spouse or family is left behind in the country of origin/brought along or followed. The potential of family reunification is likely to vary in each of these different situations. Consequently, it is worth mentioning that the majority of all Moroccan migrants in Spain (men and women together) are individual migrants (84%, see also Table 6.5).

Breaking down these two categories by marital status and by whether they brought the family along or the spouse followed later, four significant categories are obtained: firstly, individual migrants who were not married at the time of migration (63%); secondly, individual migrants who were married but left the spouse at home (21%); thirdly, migrants who brought the family along (14%), and fourthly, migrants whose spouses followed later (2%).

The potential volume of family reunification experiences in the last two segments is bound to be small; the other two segments seem to be more relevant. Yet, in the case of the first segment, that of migrants who were not married at the time of their migration (the largest group among Moroccans), the expected potential is rarely translated into intentions for family reunification. Not more than one out of ten Moroccans in that segment indicates having such intentions. These reunification intentions of the relatively few men refer mainly to bringing the spouse, while the fewer women in that situation intend to bring their children.

The group with the highest family reunification potential is the one made up of those migrants who were married at the time of their migration and who left their spouses in Morocco (a relevant group in size). About one in every two migrants of this group intends to bring family members to Spain, mostly spouse and children. Yet, these data also have to be seen the other way around, as they imply that almost half of the migrants who left their families behind do not intend to bring their families to live with them. This fact may indicate prospects of returning at some point to the country of origin, and point again to the temporary conception of the migratory project, or may have other implications.

The foregoing conclusions are confirmed by the results of the logistic regression analyses in Table 6.15. The highest family reunification potential is related to those Moroccan migrants who are married and migrated to Spain individually. However,

the longer the duration of stay of these migrants in Spain, the lower the likelihood of family migration. Some positive influence comes from a better relative deprivation, some negative from a higher (secondary) level of education. Contrary to former analyses, sex and age do not contribute significantly in statistical terms.

TABLE 6.15
RESULTS OF LOGISTIC REGRESSION ANALYSIS: ODDS THAT CURRENT MOROCCAN
MIGRANTS IN SPAIN (MMAS ONLY) INTEND FAMILY REUNIFICATION (EXP(B))
ACCORDING TO INDIVIDUAL AND HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS

Variable	Description	Exp(B)	Sig.
Gender	female=0, male=1	1.59	ns
Age	18, 19, ..., 65	1.01	ns
Marital status	(ever) married=0; single=1	0.17	**
Financial situation of hh	insufficient or barely sufficient=0; sufficient or more than sufficient=1	1.70	ns
Relative deprivation of hh	same	1.00	
	better	3.50	*
	worse	1.64	ns
Not working/working	no work=0; work=1	0.80	ns
Level of education	no education	1.00	
	primary education	0.82	ns
	secondary education	0.35	*
	higher education	0.00	ns
Having children?	yes=0; no=1	0.53	ns
Duration of stay in Spain	0, 1, 2, ...	0.86	**
Individual or family migration	individual=0; family=1	0.14	**

** p<0.01; * p<0.05; ns=not significant.

N=521; Nagelkerke R Square=0.30.

6.6 Regularization of undocumented migrants

Since the mid-1980s, five rounds of regularization have taken place in Spain. Information on the first three rounds is presented in Table 6.16. Moroccans appear the most sizeable group of regularized undocumented migrants during these three rounds: together more than 60,000 received residence permits.

Following a new Aliens Law that took effect on 11 January 2000, it was announced that during that year the last opportunity for regularization would be granted.

TABLE 6.16
REGULARIZED UNDOCUMENTED MIGRANTS IN SPAIN
BY COUNTRY OF CITIZENSHIP (x 1,000)

1985-1986		1991		1996	
Morocco	7.9	Morocco	49.2	Morocco	6.1
Portugal	3.8	Argentina	7.5	Peru	1.7
Senegal	3.6	Peru	5.7	Argentina	1.1
Argentina	2.9	Dominican Rep.	5.5	Poland	0.9
United Kingdom	2.6	China	4.2	Dominican Rep.	0.7
Philippines	1.9	Poland	3.3	Algeria	0.6
Other	21.1	Other	34.7	Other	7.6
Total	43.8	Total	110.1	Total	18.8

Source: OECD, 1998.

As a result, around 250,000 applications for residence permits were submitted by irregular migrants. The majority of the applications (about 200,000) were granted. However, the process of legalizing undocumented migrants has not stopped and may continue for quite a while. A new round was initiated on the occasion of the revised Aliens Law that came into force on 23 January 2001. To date, more than 300,000 applications have been submitted. Figures on approvals are not yet available (*Migration News Sheet*, 2000 and 2001).

Since the mid-1990s the Spanish Government has tried, with varying success, to control the number of irregular migrants by means of an annual labour quota system. However, neither the volume of legal migrants nor that of illegals should be regarded as basically stable in Spain. The line that separates legality from illegality, as far as the status of immigrants is concerned, is one that in present-day Spain can be crossed both ways. While opportunities are repeatedly provided for illegal migrants to regularize their status, losing the right of residence previously acquired is not difficult, especially after joblessness or the expiration of job permits. The high proportion of short-term contracts in the Spanish labour market, and the close links that tie residence and work permits, contribute to frequent skidding into illegality when the redundant migrant decides to stay (Gortázar, 2000; Arango et al., 2000).

The Spanish survey confirms the high level of undocumented migration and the high rate of success in becoming legalized. A proportion of almost one in two Moroccan migrants seems to have entered without the proper papers or overstayed a tourist visa. The majority of them end up obtaining official papers.

7. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

International migration flows have increased in magnitude and complexity over the past decades. From an original predominance of labour migration and post-colonial migration flows, migration flows have diversified: family reunion and marriage migration have become much more common and in the past decade refugees and asylum-seekers have arrived in increasing numbers, from many regions in the world stricken by war, civil conflict and poverty. As a result of these developments, migration and potential migration to, for instance, the European Union are receiving ever more attention at policy level. In order to help prepare policies in the broad field of migration, development and integration, there is a need for statistics as well as in-depth research. It is within this context that the Commission of the European Communities entrusted Eurostat, its Statistical Bureau, and the Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute (NIDI) with a project to study the push and pull factors determining international migration flows.

Against the background of the so-called Implementation Document for Morocco of the European Union High Level Working Group on Asylum and Migration (HLWG), the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs asked NIDI to do an in-depth study into migration dynamics and potential in Morocco, using the material collected in the push and pull study. Hence, the focus of this report is on migration from Morocco, especially towards the European Union. Not only have data been collected in Morocco but also among Moroccan immigrants in Spain.

Morocco and migration

Since the 1960s, there has been an emigration movement of Moroccan workers heading mainly for Western Europe. For the Moroccan authorities this emigration pattern worked well with their strategy of coping with high unemployment and benefiting from migrants' remittances, which were greatly needed to reduce the deficit of the balance of payments. After the recruitment of labour migrants in the early and mid-1970s ceased, migration flows continued through family reunion and, later, through family formation (by marriage). However, the attachment of Moroccans to their country has generally not diminished. The strength of family solidarity also explains the emergence of migratory networks which have made it possible to maintain migration to European countries, in spite of the drastic measures taken by the host countries to

control those flows. On the other hand, the very limited options of emigrating (legally) to Western European countries have compelled potential candidates to switch to other destinations and to devise various subterfuges in order to emigrate, sometimes at the cost of their lives.

At the beginning of 2000, about 1.2 million Moroccan citizens had (legal) residence in one of the 15 countries of the European Union. Not included in this figure are the Moroccans who became citizens of one of the 15 EU countries because of naturalization, irrespective of whether the original citizenship could be retained or not. During the period 1990-1999, almost 300,000 Moroccans obtained an EU citizenship.

Theoretical framework

The analyses carried out in this study on the present and possible future of migration in Morocco have been guided by theories that integrate macro-level structural and micro-level behavioural factors. The “new economics of labour migration theory” and the “social capital theory” both emphasize the influence of migrant networks on the state of mind of relatives and friends in the country of origin as a result of information exchange and remittances. Such migrant network effects may change the perceptions of the welfare situation of households in migrant-sending areas and subsequently may lead to intentions to emigrate. However, motives for follow-up migration (e.g., family reunification) may be quite different from the ones that initiated previous migration flows from sending areas (e.g., income and/or education).

In addition to the theories mentioned, the theory of “cumulative causation” is important for understanding the perpetuation of international movement. It argues that over time international migration tends to sustain itself in ways that make additional movement progressively more likely. Causation is cumulative in that each act of migration alters the social context within which subsequent migration decisions are made. Important in the context of the present study is the development of a culture of migration. The main characteristic of a migration culture is that migration is an accepted and desirable means of achieving social and economic mobility, a higher income, or an improved lifestyle, which cannot be sustained by exclusive dependence on local resources.

The concept of migration intention deserves special attention. Social psychology literature points to the frequently found discrepancies among attitudes, behavioural intentions and actual behaviour. This means that emigration intentions do not necessarily lead to actual emigration. Determinants of migration intentions may be quite different from those of actual migration behaviour. This is confirmed by a number of studies.

The theoretical review yielded ten assumptions and propositions that guided the analyses. In short, it is assumed that economic motives and conditions, and perceptions about these conditions, are the primary cause of migration. At the regional, community, household and individual level economic conditions and prospects play a role in both initiating and perpetuating migration. Networks are crucial at all levels as well. At the sub-national or regional level, the direction of present and future flows is directed by experiences of network members already living abroad, and the development of a culture of migration is closely related to the existence of networks. Finally, networks are assumed to lower costs and risks for intentions of future migration at the household and individual levels. At the individual level, perceptions and attitudes (or social norms) form the basis of intentions for future moves, but conditions at the household and individual levels are through changes in intentions, and on their own, decisive for intentions to move into the direction of action.

The project “Push and pull factors of international migration”

The focus of the “Push and Pull” project is on migration from the Southern and Eastern Mediterranean region and from sub-Saharan Africa to the European Union. Within these regions, seven countries were selected for primary data collection on migration. The five predominantly migrant-sending countries participating in the project were Turkey, Morocco, Egypt, Senegal and Ghana. Two migrant-receiving countries are included: Italy and Spain.

The surveys carried out in the sending countries included a comparison group of *non-migrant households*. Only one migrant in any household was selected for a long interview. This migrant was named the *main migration actor*, or *MMA*.

In Morocco, five provinces were identified for which it is thought that international migration is or has become important: Nador, Tiznit, Settat, Khenifra and Larache. In addition to differences in levels of economic development, these five provinces differ with respect to the orientation of emigrants to countries of destination. The sample design generated data representative at the level of provinces for these five provinces. Eventually, a total of 1,953 households were successfully interviewed. The fieldwork was carried out mainly from May to October 1997.

The survey on Moroccan migrants in Spain was carried out from July to November 1997 in the regions of Madrid, Cataluna, Levant, Andalucia and Canarias. A total of 596 Moroccan households were successfully interviewed providing detailed migration information. As a consequence of the chosen sample implementation, the survey results cannot be considered to be representative at the national level.

Characteristics of current Moroccan migrants

The survey data from Morocco confirm widespread general findings regarding the selectivity of young and single men. Almost 85 per cent of the international migrants from Morocco are men. Furthermore, at the time of their last emigration, most of these men were in their twenties. Just before migration two out of three male Moroccan main migration actors (MMAs) were still single, mostly still living with their parents. At the time of the survey, however, this number had dropped to four out of ten. For female MMAs the picture is quite different: nearly 80 per cent were married (or ever married) at the time of migration and lived with their spouse and/or children just before migration. Between migration and interview this percentage barely increased. These results emphasize that Moroccan women mainly migrate within the context of family reunification.

Most women (MMAs) worked in the household before migration. At the time of the survey, it appears that only a small portion of these women had moved from working in the household to a (paid) job. In contrast, just before migration almost half of the male current main migration actors were employed and at the time of the survey practically everyone had a job. This conclusion supports the assumption that unemployment in the country of origin is a relevant push factor for men to migrate, or the other way around, that assumed employment in the country of destination is a relevant pull factor.

Emigration from Morocco is strongly EU-oriented. France is the number one destination for Moroccans, followed by Italy and Spain. The emigration distribution pattern of Morocco underlines, amongst other things, the relevance of the (migration) history and therefore the existence of networks. That is why the current country of destination is strongly related to the province of origin.

Migration intentions of Moroccans in Morocco

Most people interviewed in Morocco do not intend to migrate. The overall intention to migrate is about 20 per cent. Men consistently express an intention to migrate more frequently than women. For men, the main reason for the intention to migrate is overwhelmingly an economic one; among women family-related motives are also significant. Economic reasons for non-migration fall into two opposing categories: respondents either indicate that there is no financial need for them to migrate (the largest group), or say that they would like to migrate, but lack the resources to do so.

Who are the people who intend to migrate? In which ways do they differ from the people who have no intentions? The analyses of migration intentions for non-migrants and return migrants together yielded the following significant variables:

- 1) Gender – men are much more likely to have migration intentions than women;
- 2) Age – decreasing intention as one gets older;
- 3) Previous migration experience – return migrants more often have migration intentions than non-migrants;
- 4) Urban/rural – people who have never migrated and are living in rural areas are more inclined to have migration intentions;
- 5) Relative deprivation – men and women who feel relatively poor more often intend to migrate than those who do not;
- 6) Migration history of the region – regions with an established migration history generate relatively more intentions than regions that are characterized by recent migration.

Steps towards realization of migration intentions of Moroccans in Morocco

Intentions are often hard to realize in practice. They partly reflect wishes and dreams, and are not sufficient on their own to predict future behaviour. In order to narrow down the value 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. Thus, while intentions to migrate in Morocco vary from 4 per cent for women to 29 per cent for men, the percentage with intentions to migrate within the next two years is actually much lower: just 1 per cent for women and 6 per cent for men. These large differences are due to the large percentage of people who say they do not really know when they would migrate (rather than to people who say it will happen in the more distant future). It is again indicative of the vagueness of intentions.

Having work or not does not appear to influence the male migration intention. However, it appears that within the group of male non-migrants and return migrants with intentions, men without work are more inclined to want to migrate within two years. Apparently, the status of having work does not affect the intention to migrate as such, but does affect anticipated timing. Another remarkable observation is the influence of the level of education on the intention to migrate within two years. Highly

educated men with intentions to migrate are more likely to do so within two years than men without any education. Furthermore, male return migrants are more optimistic about leaving soon than male non-migrants.

Even though the wishes were narrowed down to a period of two years in the immediate future, they are still only wishes. As to whether people who intend to migrate within two years actually take steps to migrate, again, the figures go down even further: they are now 4 per cent for men and below 1 per cent for women. No further explanation could be obtained from the logistic regression analysis.

Moroccans in Spain

The first and foremost country of origin for immigrants in Spain is Morocco. The number of legal Moroccan residents amounted to 160,000 at the start of this millennium. Witness the experience with regularization programmes, the actual number of Moroccans in Spain (including illegal migrants) is undoubtedly significantly higher.

While Spain is certainly not the richest European country and Moroccans have a higher standard of living than most other Africans, the average income per capita in Spain is still nearly five times greater than in Morocco. As a consequence, thousands of Africans are congregated in North Morocco seeking a chance to “jump to Spain”. Similarly, thousands of Africans are waiting to risk the 1,000-mile journey from Africa to the Canary Islands. Many boat trips, however, end in tragedy. Morocco is reluctant to take back its own undocumented nationals, as well as other Africans who are said to have passed through the country before entering Europe. Using Morocco as a transit country is easy because of the lack of visa requirements. Evidently, the pressure of the European Union in general and Spain in particular is increasing to change the Moroccan migration policy. Furthermore, the Moroccan leaders are urged to fight criminal networks (“traffickers”) that house and transport illegal migrants.

About 60 per cent of the current Moroccan migrants in Spain are men and 40 per cent are women. The majority of the main migration actors (75%) had a network (family, relatives or friends) in Spain before migration. Just before migration to Spain, more than half of them were single. In line with earlier findings, it may be concluded that, apart from the perceived quality of the work in the country of destination, migration for both men and women has been satisfactory with regard to employment.

Migration intentions of Moroccans in Spain

Moroccan migrants living in receiving countries may intend to stay in the host country, but in opting for migration, they also have the choice between returning home and migrating to a third country. It is often said that migrants use the southern European countries as transit countries to move further north. To the extent that they travel on immediately, it cannot be judged whether this is the case. But among those who have stayed in Spain for a while, it can be examined whether they intend to move onward. The data show very little evidence that this is the case. Staying in the host country is the choice of half the Moroccans in Spain, both men and women. Intentions to return are much lower, and only very few intend to migrate to a third country. The remaining one-third belongs to the category “does not know yet”.

Why do migrants intend to return or, alternatively, intend to stay in the destination country? More than half of the intended male stayers and about one-third of the female stayers say they want to stay because of the relatively secure positions they have reached there: a satisfactory job or, to a lesser extent, sufficient income. For women, family ties are another important reason to stay. Economic pull factors, family-related reasons or dissatisfaction with life in the country of residence are all important factors motivating return. On the other hand, economic push factors do not motivate many migrants to go back.

In which ways are Moroccan migrants in Spain who want to return or move on distinguished from those who want to stay in Spain? It appears that stayers especially are to be found among those who are (ever) married, who have a job, who are relatively uneducated and who are non-MMA. In contrast, Moroccan migrants in Spain who want to return to Morocco are mainly single, relatively well educated and MMA. Furthermore, the likelihood of returning increases when they are jobless and have children. The likelihood of returning decreases somewhat the longer the stay in Spain. Finally, those who want to move on feel relatively poor, have no job and are highly educated.

Family reunification in Spain of Moroccan migrants

The group with the highest family reunification potential is the one made up of those migrants who were married at the time of their migration and who left their spouses in Morocco (a relevant group in size). About one in every two migrants of this group intended to bring family members to Spain, mostly spouse and children. Yet, these data have also to be seen the other way around, as they imply that almost

half of the migrants who left their family behind do not intend to bring their families to live with them. This fact may indicate prospects to ever return to the country of origin, and point again to the temporary conception of the migratory project, or may have other implications.

Regularization of irregular migrants in Spain

Since the mid-1980s, five rounds of regularization have taken place in Spain. Moroccans appear the most sizeable group of regularized undocumented migrants. The Spanish survey confirms the high level of undocumented migration and the high rate of success in becoming legalized. A proportion of almost one in two Moroccan migrants seems to have entered without the proper papers or overstayed a tourist visa. The majority of them end up obtaining official papers.

NOTES

1. This paragraph has been derived from background notes published by the US Bureau of Public Affairs (1994).
2. Literacy rate is defined as the proportion of persons aged 15 and above who can, with understanding, read and write a short, simple statement on their everyday life.
3. The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) measures the total output of goods and services for final use occurring within the domestic territory of a given country, regardless of the allocation to domestic and foreign claims.
4. The Gross National Product (GNP) is the sum of gross value added by all resident producers plus any taxes (less subsidies) that are not included in the valuation of output plus net receipts of primary income (employee compensation and property income) from non-resident sources.
5. In calculating GNP and GNP per capita in US dollars for certain operational purposes, the World Bank uses a synthetic exchange rate commonly called the Atlas conversion factor. The purpose of the Atlas conversion factor is to reduce the impact of exchange rate fluctuations in the cross-country comparison of national incomes. The Atlas conversion factor for any year is the average of a country's exchange rate (or alternative conversion factor) for that year and its exchange rates for the two preceding years, adjusted for the differences between the rate of inflation in the country and the G-5 countries (France, Germany, Japan, the United Kingdom, and the United States) (World Bank, 2000).
6. This paragraph has partly been derived from background notes published by the US Bureau of Public Affairs (1994) and from the website of the European Institute for Research on Mediterranean and Euro-Arab Cooperation.
7. For a review, see for example Massey et al., 1998; Bauer and Zimmermann, 1995; and Hammar et al., 1997.
8. Relative deprivation refers to a difference or gap between what people believe they have a right to receive (their expectations) and what they actually receive (their achievements).
9. De Jong's empirical analysis in the quoted article is on internal migration in Thailand. The authors of this report feel that there is no inherent difference in internal versus international migration with respect to the decision-making process.
10. See also Berrada, 1993 and Fadloulah et al., 2000 for a description of this phenomenon in the Moroccan context.
11. A mixed household (*ménage mixte*) is a household in which more than one type of migrant is present, such as recent and non-recent current and/or return migrants.
12. For more detailed information see Arango et al., 2000.
13. It may be confusing that female MMAs join their partners. This is due to the definition of the MMA. This definition depends on the length of stay abroad, i.e., the MMA is the first person in the household who moved to live abroad in the past ten years. Many women in the Moroccan survey who joined their partners are MMAs because these partners left longer than ten years ago.
14. However, in advance of the results in Chapter 6, it is striking that proportionally many Moroccan women came to Spain being single. Because Spain can be considered to be a relatively new emigration country, this might indicate that nowadays more single Moroccan women migrate than in earlier days.

15. Compared to other sending countries surveyed in the “Push and pull project” this percentage is surprisingly high.
16. Discussions with the Moroccan research team confirmed the strong “culture of migration” in Morocco, where almost everyone has relatives or friends who have migrated. Combined with the often very rare opportunities of securing any job, leads people to stop looking for work, so as not to hinder any opportunity for migration, should it present itself.
17. At the survey design stage, it was already acknowledged that obtaining information from proxy persons would impose restrictions regarding the validity of collected data. For this reason, questions pertaining to opinions and perceptions of the absent household member were excluded when proxy-persons were consulted to answer questions.
18. In this section logistic regression is used to analyse the survey data. To illustrate, one is interested to know why some migrants intend to migrate whereas others do not and which particular migrant and migrant household characteristics contribute hereto. In such situations logistic regression analysis is an appropriate analytical tool to use. In fact, logistic regression estimates the probability of an event occurring based on transformed values of a set of independent or explanatory variables. The analyses use unweighted data. Reason is that the objective is to examine causal relations, as suggested by migration theories, between characteristics of members and households of one particular group of households only (i.e., non-migrants). For this task weighted data are not needed or even advisable as weighted analyses may generate difficult-to-interpret results and lead to wrong conclusions.
19. The odds of an event occurring are defined as the ratio of the probability that it will occur to the probability that it will not.
20. This section has been partly derived from Arango et al., 2000.
21. This section has been partly derived from Arango et al., 2000.

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THE PROJECT “PUSH AND PULL FACTORS OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION”

Study design and target groups

For an explanation of the process of migration (rather than for the measurement of migration flows), specialized migration surveys are the most appropriate method of data collection. As from a theoretical point of view, the aim was to capture both individual, household, and contextual factors that influence people’s decisions to move or stay, the project includes both a single-round micro-level survey (household and individual data for migrants and non-migrants) and a macro-level survey (contextual data at the national, regional, and local or community levels) in each of the selected sending and receiving countries.

The incorporation of non-migrants is an essential and self-evident necessity in order to explain the determinants of migration, and to enhance our understanding of why the majority of people do not migrate. The surveys carried out in the sending countries therefore included a comparison group of non-migrant households. As the project’s main interest lies with determinants rather than consequences of migration, non-migrant households were not included in the surveys carried out in the countries of destination.

A number of crucial concepts and definitions were adopted for the purpose of this study. The usual concept of household was extended to include not only those persons who live together and have communal arrangements concerning subsistence and other necessities of life, but also those who currently reside elsewhere but whose principal commitments and obligations are to that household and who are expected to return to that household in the future or whose family will join them in the future. Therefore, both the household and the shadow household are captured within the definition, a necessary extension for migration studies.

Migration is defined as a move from one place in order to go and live in another place for a continuous period of at least one year. The line has been drawn at one year to allow for comparison with international recommendations, as well as to exclude seasonal migration across international borders. There is a further distinction

between recent and non-recent (international) migrants. Recent migrants are those who have migrated from the country of origin at least once within a period of ten years preceding the survey. Consequently, a non-recent migrant is someone who has migrated from his/her country of origin at least once, but not within the past ten years. Another distinction is that between current and return (international) migrants. Current migrants are those who migrated from their country of origin and actually live abroad at the time of the interview. Return migrants have lived abroad for a continuous period of at least one year, but have returned to their country of origin, where they live at the time of the interview. A non-migrant within the context of this study is a non-international migrant.

Households, too, are divided into recent migrant households, non-recent migrant households, and non-migrant households. A recent migrant household is defined as a household in which at least one member – who is still considered a member of that household – has moved from the country of origin during the past ten years, and has since returned after having lived abroad for a continuous period of at least one year, or who is currently living abroad and left the country of origin at least three months ago. A non-recent migrant household then is a household in which *all* moves (to live abroad) from the survey country of those persons who are still members of the household took place more than ten years ago. Finally, a non-migrant household is a household from which no member has ever left the survey country to live abroad for a period of at least one year or of which no member has currently been living abroad for at least three months.

In principle, any recent migrant, whether return or current, qualified for interviewing about his or her migration experience. However, in order to restrict the number of potential respondents who would be presented with a long individual questionnaire (and therefore reducing the interview burden on households) and in order to avoid getting duplicate answers, and/or answers that may refer to different households in the past, only one recent migrant in any household was selected for a long interview. This migrant was named the “main migration actor”, or “MMA”.

In the sending countries, in principle four regions were purposively selected, based on a combination of criteria related to development and migration history. The focus was on the sampling of migrants to any international destination as well as non-migrants, and in each of the four types of regions that were deduced from these criteria, independent multi-stage stratified disproportionate probability sampling took place to sample this target population for the survey. The statistical aim was to generate survey data that are representative at the level of these regions. In the receiving countries the aforementioned regionalization was not explicitly taken into account into the sample designs. In fact, the *a priori* objective was to generate survey results

that were representative at the level of the country as a whole. Moreover, the focus in receiving countries was on the sampling of immigrants from two particular immigrant groups. Immigrants that originate from other countries as well as natives were excluded.

In the sending countries, the number of households interviewed was between 1,550 and 1,950, while in the receiving countries 500-670 households were interviewed per immigrant group. Overall, sample designs and sample allocation procedures in the countries aimed to ensure that sufficient numbers of the migrant population were sampled in an efficient and cost-effective manner.

Limitations and constraints

The surveys in sending countries attempted to obtain information from shadow household members (i.e., current migrants) in migrant-sending households. Such household members currently live abroad and the only opportunity to interview these persons is when they visit the migrant-sending household in the country of origin during vacation periods. In case such shadow household members were not present at the time of the interview, interviewers were instructed to identify another household member, currently present, that could provide answers to the questions. This information collection strategy equally applied to other members of the household, who could not be contacted for an interview, with the exception of return migrants who are main migration actors (MMA). The problem of not being able to interview eligible household members was most prominent among household members who are current migrants, in all three countries. In Morocco, about two-thirds of the eligible household members for a personal interview were interviewed by proxy.

At the survey design stage, it was already acknowledged that obtaining information from proxy persons would impose restrictions regarding the validity of collected data. For this reason, questions pertaining to opinions and perceptions of the absent household member were excluded when proxy-persons were consulted to answer questions. However, obtaining factual data on absent household members by proxy was considered less problematic.

Macro-level data

The objective of the macro-level questionnaire was to provide information about the contextual or structural aspects of people's environments – both in the countries

of origin and in the countries of destination – that influence their choices and possibilities to migrate.

Three levels of observation were distinguished, with a view to incorporating the various determinants contained in the environment: the local (or community) level, the regional level and the national level. The survey incorporated a time dimension by collecting contextual information for three points within the past ten years, to assess the particular situation at the time when decisions with regard to migration (or non-migration) were made. For each of the levels, broad guidelines were developed, consisting of core (high-priority) and supplementary (low-priority) questionnaires. It was expected that not all information would be available in all countries and at all levels, and that part of the information collected would be of a qualitative nature, or would take the form of estimates.

The macro-level survey predominantly relied on existing and written data (of either a quantitative or a qualitative nature), although at the community level primary data collection by means of interviews with key informants was usually required. Administrative records, censuses and surveys, central data banks, international, national and regional organizations as well as research publications constituted the major data sources. Therefore, no fixed format had been prescribed for data collection, although preferred formats and definitions were incorporated in the guidelines.

In the sending countries, information was collected at the national and/or regional level on demographic and health indicators (population composition and growth, mortality and fertility levels, child health, migration, etc.), economic indicators (GDP, debt, inflation and interest rates, remittances, market prices for cash crops, wage levels, income distribution, etc.), development indicators (such as health and utility services, government expenditure in certain sectors, transportation and communication infrastructure, existence of a system of social security), and on employment structure and unemployment, education, presence of development and economic restructuring programmes, gender-specific aspects of access to and control over resources, etc. Furthermore, the ethnic, linguistic and/or religious composition of the population was assessed. Geographical aspects, such as arable land, topography and seasonal fluctuations in, for example, rainfall were described. An important place was reserved for legislation in several fields (including inheritance and migration), and for potentially relevant political aspects, such as the type of government, the human rights situation, international relations, etc.

Several of the national and/or regional indicators are relevant at the local level too (e.g., migration situation, health aspects, employment structure and wage levels, presence of development projects, educational attainment, ethnic composition, local in-

heritance customs, local interest rates, etc.). In addition, the presence in the community of various facilities was recorded, as well as information on communication and transportation structures and travel costs, on the local agricultural situation including changes in production and technology, any natural disasters, and pollution problems.

Macro-level data collection in the receiving countries stressed the importance of rules and regulations concerning admission and integration, the presence of migrant populations from specific countries of origin, feelings of the native population towards immigration and immigrants; as well as economic indicators, including employment structure, wage levels, the need for seasonal labour, unemployment levels, presence of migrant organizations, trade and investments abroad, etc. At the local level, housing conditions were recorded as well.

GLOSSARY

EU

European Union.

Eurostat

Statistical Bureau of the EU.

Family

Defined in the narrow sense, as a nuclear family (father and/or mother, and/or children). Thus, a family can be part of a larger household (containing more than one family) or form the whole household. By definition, the family can never be larger than the household. Relatives other than spouses and their children are not included in a family, but form part of another family. If a husband has more than one wife, the husband and his first wife and their children will be one family and each of the other spouses with their children form a separate family (for the purpose of this study).

GDP

The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) measures the total output of goods and services for final use occurring within the domestic territory of a given country, regardless of the allocation to domestic and foreign claims.

GNP

The Gross National Product (GNP) is the sum of gross value added by all resident producers plus any taxes (less subsidies) that are not included in the valuation of output plus net receipts of primary income (employee compensation and property income) from non-resident sources.

HLWG

European Union High Level Working Group on Asylum and Migration.

Household

Usually a household is considered to be a unit of one or more persons living together whose members have made communal arrangements concerning subsistence and other necessities of life. Such a household may either be: a one-person household, that is, a person who provides for his/her own food or other basic needs without joining any other person to form part of a multi-person household; a multi-person household, that is, a group of two or more persons – related or unrelated – who make common provisions for food or other basic needs. The persons in the group may, to a greater or lesser extent, pool their incomes and have a common budget. Households may occupy the whole, part of, or more than one housing unit. Households consisting of extended families that make common provisions for food, or households of potentially separate households with a common head may occupy more than one housing unit (but still form one household). An example of such a household is a household where the head has different wives (resulting from polygamous unions).

IMF

International Monetary Fund.

Infant mortality rate

Number of deaths below the age of one per 1,000 live births.

INTELSAT

The International Telecommunications Satellite Organization.

IOM

The International Organization for Migration.

Main migration actor (MMA)

Potential main migration actors (PMMAs) are all the members of a household aged 18-65 who were born in the country of origin, and:

- a) Left the country of origin (after at least a one-year stay there) to live abroad for at least one year (in one and the same country) at least once in the past ten years, and are currently living in the country of origin again, or;
- b) Left the country of origin (after at least a one-year stay there) to live abroad ten years ago or less, and have currently been living abroad for three months or longer, and;
- c) Were 18 years or older at the time of their last move from the country of origin (after at least a one-year stay there).

The main migration actor is the PMMA who was the first person in the household who moved to live abroad in the past ten years. If there are more PMMAs who left on that same day, other criteria such as economic reasons for migration and age were used to decide who would be the MMA among these PMMAs.

Migrant household

In principle, defined as a household in which at least one member – who is still considered a member of that household – has moved from the country of origin (after at least a one-year stay there), and:

- a) Has since returned after living in one and the same foreign country for a continuous period of at least one year, or;
- b) Is currently living abroad and left the country of origin at least three months ago.

Migration

Defined as a move from one place in order to go and live in another place for a continuous period of at least one year (in one and the same country). The line has been drawn at one year in order to distinguish migration from short moves. Short-term visits like family visits, holidays, etc. are not considered to be migration. There is one exception to this rule: if a migrant left the country of origin at least three months ago and is currently living abroad, he or she is also considered a migrant as it is still unknown whether he/she will stay there for at least a year.

Migration network

The presence of family, relatives or friends in the country of destination before migration of the MMA.

Literacy rate

The proportion of persons aged 15 and above who can, with understanding, read and write a short, simple statement on their everyday life.

NIDI

Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute.

Non-migrant

For the purpose of this project, two types of non-migrants are distinguished:

- a) Persons who were born in the country of origin and never moved from this country to live abroad;
- b) Persons born abroad (i.e., not in the country of origin).

According to this definition more members may be considered to be non-migrants; not only, for instance, a man who was born in Ghana and never left Ghana to live abroad, but also children born in e.g., Germany to parents who themselves were born in Ghana, or a German woman (born in Germany) married to a Ghanaian man. Also children who were born in Nigeria (to Ghanaian parents), but who are now living in Ghana are considered to be “non-migrants”. If these same children would then have moved from Ghana to e.g., Senegal, they would still be considered “non-migrants” as they were not born in Ghana.

Non-migrant household

A household from which no member has ever moved from the country of origin to live abroad and of which no member is currently living abroad.

OIC

Organization of the Islamic Conference.

Polisario

Polisario was formed in 1973, as a reaction towards several broken promises on Saharan independence from the Spanish colonialist regime. The name “Polisario” was a short form of *Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia El-Hamra y Rio de Oro*.

Potential main migration actor (PMMA)

See Main migration actor (MMA).

Proxy person

If someone who had to be interviewed was not available for the interview him/herself, and if it was not possible to make an appointment with this person, another member of the household had to be selected to answer the questions. This person is called a proxy person. As a general rule, the spouse would be the best choice; otherwise,

an adult child or a sibling (brother or sister, preferably of the same sex as the respondent whom he/she replaces).

R-square

The proportion of variation in the dependent variable that is explained by the predictor or independent variables.

Reference person

The member of the household who answered the questions in the household questionnaire. In principle, the reference person will be the economic head of the household, that is the person who brings in the largest amount of household income. Note that the economic head is not necessarily also the legal or titular head of the household.

Regularization

Amnesty to foreign nationals clandestinely residing or working, allowing them to regularize their status.

Relative deprivation

Refers to a difference or gap between what people believe they have a right to receive (their expectations) and what they actually receive (their achievements). Expectations and achievements may diverge for a number of reasons:

- a) Both achievements and expectations may rise, but expectations may rise faster than achievements;
- b) Expectations may remain constant while achievements decline;
- c) A period of rising expectations and rising achievements is followed by a decline in achievements, while expectations continue to rise.

Return migrant

Migrants who have moved from the country of origin to live abroad (after at least a one-year stay) during the past ten years for a continuous period of at least one year (in one and the same country), but who have returned to the country of origin, where they live at the time of the interview.

Total fertility rate

Sum of the annual age-specific fertility rates, i.e., the number of children a woman should give birth to in case the age-specific fertility rates of a certain calendar year would apply to her.

UMA

Arab Maghreb Union.

UN

United Nations.

UNITA

The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola.

WEU

Western European Union.

World Bank Atlas Method

In calculating GNP and GNP per capita in US dollars for certain operational purposes, the World Bank uses a synthetic exchange rate commonly called the Atlas conversion factor. The purpose of the Atlas conversion factor is to reduce the impact of exchange rate fluctuations in the cross-country comparison of national incomes. The Atlas conversion factor for any year is the average of a country's exchange rate (or alternative conversion factor) for that year and its exchange rates for the two preceding years, adjusted for the differences between the rate of inflation in the country and the G-5 countries (France, Germany, Japan, the United Kingdom, and the United States).

Also available online at:
<http://www.iom.int>

Well over one million Moroccan nationals are officially resident in the 15 Member States of the European Union, and many more live and work there without valid documents. While the countries north of the Mediterranean Basin need labour immigrants, those striving to cross from the southern shores vastly outnumber any of the available legal opportunities to migrate. This plays into the hands of smugglers and traffickers, and the resulting clandestine sea passages in overcrowded and dilapidated vessels have proved fatal for thousands of irregular migrants.

This report, compiled by the Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute (NIDI) focuses on migration dynamics between Morocco and the European Union. Based on an extensive survey of 2,500 Moroccan households in five provinces in Morocco as well as in five Spanish regions, the study analyses the reasons for migration and identifies social, economic and regional policy issues that need to be addressed in order to moderate the existing migration pressure. The report also offers some explanations as to why the actual amount of migrants is significantly lower than the number of those who express such an intention.

The study is part of the larger "Push and Pull" research project on migration from the southern and eastern Mediterranean region and from sub-Saharan Africa to the European Union, conducted by NIDI and Eurostat, the statistical office of the European Commission.

