

# The State of the Art on Moroccan Emigration to Europe

## LITERATURE REVIEW

By

**Lalla Amina Drhimeur**

ERC AdG PRIME Youth Researcher, European Institute

Istanbul Bilgi University

PhD candidate in political science, Hassan II School of Law,  
Mohammedia, Casablanca, Morocco

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Bilgi University

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## Preface

This literature review, prepared by Lalla Amina Drhimeur, is a state of the art on Moroccan emigration to Europe. It explores the history of Moroccan emigration to Europe with a focus on Belgium, France, Germany, and the Netherlands, which are the countries studied in the scope of the “PRIME Youth” project. This review also seeks to understand the recruitment processes deployed by receiving countries, as well as the regulations, and integration experiences that took place between the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and the 1960s. In doing so, it illustrates that Moroccan emigration is diverse and flexible in the way it adjusts to changing immigration policies, changes in the job market in the host countries but also to political, economic and social changes in Morocco.

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AYHAN KAYA  
Principal Investigator, ERC AdG PRIME Youth Research  
Jean Monnet Chair of European Politics of Interculturalism  
Director, European Institute  
İstanbul Bilgi University

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# The State of the Art on Moroccan Emigration to Europe

Lalla Amina Drhimeur

## Introduction

This state of the art on Moroccan emigration to Europe seeks to explore the history of Moroccan emigration to Europe with a focus on Belgium, France, Germany, and the Netherlands. It also seeks to understand how Moroccan emigration took place over time since the 1960s and up to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The objective is to answer questions relating to the recruitment processes deployed by receiving countries, regulations, and integration experiences. Some of the questions this state of the art is trying to answer are, for instance, was there a chain migration? Did receiving countries use incentives to attract labor? And also, if colonialism and postcolonialism influence the way Moroccan emigrants perceive Europe, especially in France since Morocco was under the French protectorate between 1912-1956.

Moroccan emigration is not a recent phenomenon. For a long time and until the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Morocco witnessed migratory flows mainly directed towards the Middle East and Sub-Saharan African countries (Alaoui, 2013). On the other hand, Moroccan emigration to Europe started a little over a century ago. In fact, the first documentation of Moroccan emigrants dates back to 1910 when a sugar factory in France hired some hundred Moroccan workers (Elkbir, 2009). During the First and the Second World War when Morocco was under the French Protectorate (1912, 1956), emigration started to become more selective. Moroccan emigrants were mainly employed in mining and construction (Belbah and Vegila, 2003) or recruited by the French Army (de Haas, 2013). They mostly came from the poorest and mountainous regions of Southern Morocco in an attempt to pacify the area (Elkbir, 2004). These regions posed a threat to the French authorities who feared that their population might revolt against them (Ibid).

Soon after the end of the First World War most of these Moroccans were taken back to Morocco, and only a few of them decided to settle down in France. The flow of Moroccan workers to Europe was relatively slow, and France only counted 21.000 Moroccans in 1929 (Ray, 1938). During the interbellum period, Moroccan workers were either taken to France or Algeria to work (Elkbir, 2004). There had always been an attempt by the French government to regulate the flow of Moroccan emigrants either by deciding on the minimum and the maximum age, regions from which they were selected, and finally forbidding clandestine emigration and imposing strict controls on ports and frontiers (Ibid). It became necessary for Moroccans wishing to work in France to carry a passport, a health certificate, and a work contract among others (Ibid). These restrictions however encouraged clandestine emigration, which was thought to be easier (Ibid). Hence, between 1924 and 1930, 65 percent of Moroccan emigrants arrived in France clandestinely (Ibid).

The First World War was not the only war that saw the recruitment of Moroccans to serve within the French Army. In fact, during the Second World War, France had one more time relied on the mass recruitment of Moroccan soldiers. There were 126.000 people to be hired in the French Army during the Second World War (de Haas, 2013). During the Algerian War of Independence (1954-1962), France substituted Algerian workers with Moroccan

ones in factories and mines (de Haas, 2013). The number of Moroccan emigrants in France rose from 20.000 to 53.000 between 1949 and 1962 (Heinemeijer et al., 1977). This movement of people to France happened mainly through Algeria, where workers were taken before being moved to Europe (de Haas, 2013). However, due to political and military tensions between Morocco and Algeria, and the closing of borders, Moroccan labor emigration slowed down (Ibid).

Morocco's colonization resulted in the destruction of traditional economic structures and the impoverishment of hundreds of thousands of small farmers who were obliged to move to the cities before they were recruited to work in the big colonial cities (Bokbot and Faleh, 2010). But once the war ended, most of them were repatriated since the French labor policy prioritized workers from its allied European countries (Ibid). Soon after the independence of Morocco in 1956, Moroccan emigration to Europe started to become more important, varying in forms and processes.

Thus, the first Moroccan emigrants were either recruited as workers or soldiers. Some were taken back home, but those who decided to settle down in their guest countries usually preferred to marry women from their home cities or villages and as a consequence starting a movement of family reunification. Later, emigration started to become more selective to include students and a qualified workforce. Moroccan emigration is characterized by a continuous and gradual flow (see Table 1) despite the changing immigration policies in Europe which tend to be either flexible or less flexible depending on the demand for a labor force.

**Table 1: Moroccans living abroad, 1993-2007-2012-2017**

Host country	1993	2007	2012	2017
Germany	85 156	130 000	125 954	146 998
Belgium	143 363	285 000	297 919	358 716
France	678 917	1131 000	1146 652	1 349 306
Netherlands	164 346	278 000	264 909	295 438

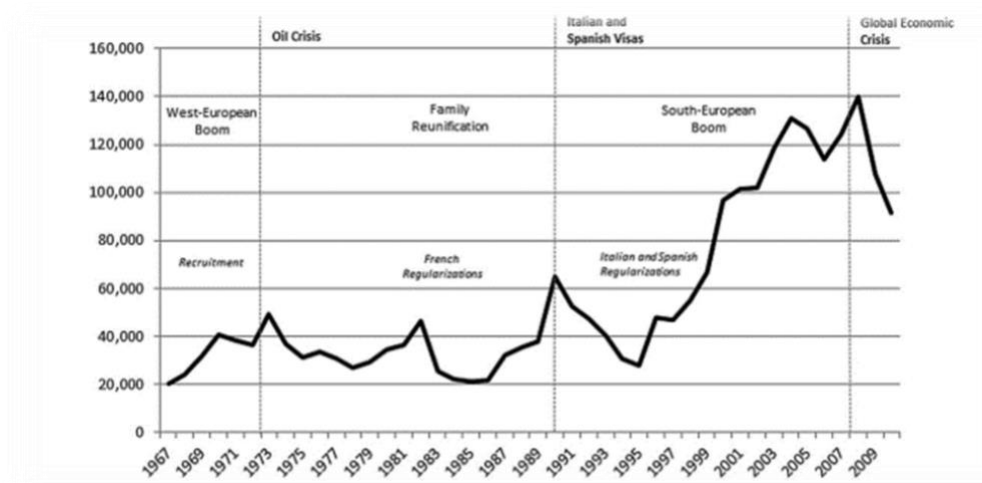
Sources: Moroccan Directorate of Consular and Social Affairs within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation (1993, 2007), The Council of the Moroccan Community living abroad (2012), OECD (2017)

While at first, this emigration was mainly masculine, temporary and concerned workers leaving for France due to historical and colonial links, during the last three decades emigration evolved into a more complex phenomenon. It has become more feminine and younger. It is becoming socio-economically more heterogenic and saw the emergence of a new middle class of engineers, doctors, and entrepreneurs. Furthermore, a recent public survey conducted by the Arab Barometer (2019) estimated that 40 percent of Moroccans dream of emigrating, indicating an increase compared to the previous years. In France for example, family reunification, marriage immigration and network connections have helped both when immigration was flexible and when restrictive measures were taken (Reniers, 1999). It would be limiting to consider that Moroccan immigration had only economic motives. It also had socio-cultural motives, especially among the new generations as they have been seeking a way to break with Morocco, to be somewhere different, to be free

from limitations dictated by their society (Refass, 1995). It is an immigration of choice for a different lifestyle (Reniers, 1999).

Different processes characterized Moroccan emigration over the decades. It was labor emigration during the 1960s and the 1970s; student emigration since the 1970s and family reunification during the 1980s and the 1990s, which explain how the movement of Moroccans to Europe perseveres despite different immigration policies put into place by the host countries. However, the main dimension of this emigration is that it has been persistent and diverse since the 1960s (Berriane et al., 2015) (see Graph 1).

**Graph 1: Yearly Moroccan emigration to Europe and European migration restrictions**



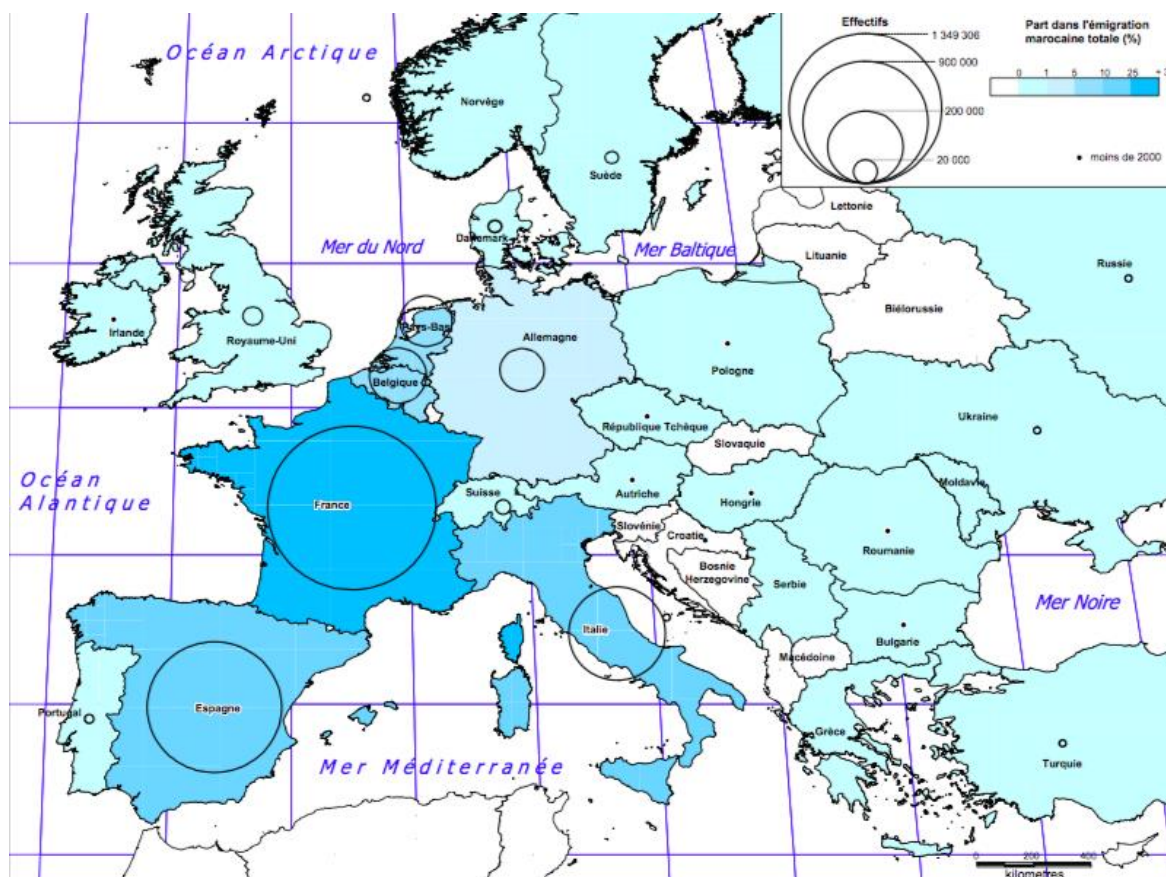
Source:

International Migration Institute, University of Oxford, DEMIG C2C database, [2015 ww.imi.ox.ac.uk](http://2015.ww.imi.ox.ac.uk).

It seems that European policy restrictions resulted in a more permanent nature of settlement as increasing restrictive measures did not allow migrants to circulate between their home country and their guest country (Berriane et al., 2015). Their settlement was followed by a larger-scale family reunification that supplemented individual emigration to Belgium, France, Germany and the Netherlands between the 1970s and the 1980s (Ibid). Their regularization, naturalization, and the low return migration despite high unemployment and decisions of their guest countries to tighten measures, further increased the numbers of Moroccans in Europe (Ibid). This movement was consolidated by the increasing interest of Moroccan students in European universities (Ibid). The global economic crisis of 2008 did not lead to a significant decrease in the number of Moroccan emigrants though some of them preferred to return to Morocco, especially holders of the European citizenships and holders of a permanent residence card (Ibid).

Moroccan emigration happens from all the different regions of the country and there are more than one hundred receiving countries. However, France seems to remain Moroccan's favorite emigration destination in Europe (see Map 1).

**Map 1: Distribution of Moroccan migrants in Europe in 2017**



**Source: Moroccan Directorate of Consular and Social Affairs within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, 2017.**

The profile of the Moroccan emigrant shifted from a low-skilled worker, a guest worker, mainly male, to a highly-skilled worker, a businessman, a student and more women (Berriane et al., 2015). Thus, Moroccan emigration is persistent and diversified, characterized by a multiplicity of profiles, changing identities and changing economic, social and political interests.

Collecting data on the number of Moroccan emigrants does not seem to be an easy task as statistics differ according to the methodology, the dates and the different sources. There seem to be discrepancies between data and figures used and published by host countries, international organizations and figures that Moroccan authorities publish. These discrepancies are explained by the fact that in Morocco to collect data, the Directorate of Consular and Social Affairs within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation relies on the register of Moroccan consulates in Europe. This register provides information on Moroccans who have used the services of the consulates. In France, the National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies provides data. In fact, France had long refused to use the concept of “ethnic and racial minority” thus posing a problem about collecting data describing the situation of minorities and the diversity of the population (Simon, 2008). For long France had relied on recording the nationality and the country of birth of individuals to differentiate between natives and immigrants (Ibid). These statistics served a model of integration according to which immigrants would soon lose their cultural

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and linguistic specificities in their attempt to acquire French citizenship (Ibid). As a consequence, quantitative research ignored the descendants of immigrants (Ibid). In its fight against discrimination, France started debating the necessity of introducing “ethnic categories” into official statistics (Ibid). The category of “immigrant” now is that of a *foreign-born* individual and data should specify the country of birth of parents enabling for once to consider the descendants of immigrants as a statistical category (Ibid). Furthermore, data collected by Eurostat, which is the statistical office of the European Union, does not include children who are born from naturalized parents and who have acquired the citizenship of the host country. However, statistics run in Morocco still include them despite their naturalization. The most recent data of this literature review comes from the Higher Planning Commission in Morocco, which conducted a national survey between August 2018 and January 2019. It aimed to understand the characteristics and the behavior of current emigrants and those who decided to return. A sample of 15.076 households was divided between 8.144 households of current migrants and 4.072 households of return migrants. Owing to the complexity of statistical data on Moroccan emigrants, this literature review will try to provide both national and international data.

Collecting data on the number of Moroccan students in Europe also seems to be a complicated task since different administrations of host countries are the ones in charge of collecting and selecting applications. In France, for example, three different ministries are responsible for collecting data. Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Consulates are the ones receiving demands for student visas, the Ministry of the Interior for receiving and granting a residence permit, and Ministry of National Education through universities and schools (Balac, 2010). This is the first difficulty. The second is that data collected by UNESCO is about the nationality of foreign students and not their immigration status.<sup>1</sup>

The analysis of the data on Moroccan students in Europe is important since it enables us to understand the flexibility of Moroccan students in the way they adjust to changing immigration policies and changes in the job market both in their home and host countries. They are also confronted with changing policies of host countries since sometimes they are wanted, and other times they are feared. Host countries’ policies can be flexible or restrictive, which sometimes explains the non-linear history of Moroccan student emigration. Growth or decrease in the number of Moroccan students is also pragmatic as it obeys the logic of the job market. The emergence of a stronger middle class with better educational profiles and more financial means in Morocco has also made it possible for more students to move to Europe. Thus, this non-linear flow of Moroccan student emigrants reflects a willingness to adapt to changing immigration policies but also to a changing Moroccan society.

### **Flexible measures to attract workers and students**

It is true that Moroccan emigration has deep colonial roots, but soon after the 1960s, this emigration experienced unprecedented growth and diversification following the high demand in labor in industries and mining in France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany (de Haas, 2013). Between 1963 and 1974 a massive movement of emigrants to Europe started, increasing their number from 137.000 in 1968; to 394.000 in 1979 with a growth of 16 percent for every seven years that followed (Alaoui, 2013). This was mainly explained by the fact that Morocco had ratified bilateral agreements, specifically with France in 1963,

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Germany in 1963, Belgium in 1964 and the Netherlands in 1969, that allowed for the recruitment of qualified and semi-qualified Moroccan workers (de Haas, 2013). Furthermore, Moroccan immigrants who migrated via informal networks of family and friends were more numerous than those recruited or who migrated through formal networks since visa requirement for Moroccans was not imposed before 1990 (Ennaji, 2014, 20).

Signing recruitment agreements with European states brought about a spatial diversity, and France was not the only destination any longer (de Haas, 2013). Since European states were concerned with rebuilding their economy and were involved in a reconstruction process, there came the need to hire young and not necessarily qualified Moroccans to work in agriculture, construction and mining (Alaoui, 2013). They came from the less developed regions in Morocco (Ibid). This refers to emigrants from Souss-Massa-Drâa, who went to France and Belgium, and the North and the Oriental who went to Germany and the Netherlands (Alaoui, 2013). Between 1965 and 1972, the number of Moroccans living in Europe rose from 30.000 to 300.000 (de Haas, 2013). Most of these workers came from Morocco's Berber<sup>ii</sup> regions, which were considered rebellious for the Moroccan government (de Mas, 1978). Promoting emigration from these regions meant less economic and political conflicts for the Moroccan government (Ibid). Based primarily on clientelism, the Moroccan 'rentier' economy caused the impoverishment of the working classes and consequently an unprecedented wave of rural exodus (Bokbot and Faleh, 2010). First, they fled their miserable conditions to the cities and then to Europe (Ibid). The government thus helped the European states select workers from these regions and even made it easier for them to get passports (Ibid). It also meant economic gains for Morocco as these workers sent remittances back home (Bommes et al., 2014), and a respite from social contestation (Bokbot and Faleh, 2010).

#### **Flexible measures in France:**

To manage and regulate the flow of emigrants, France and Morocco signed a bilateral convention in 1963. 249.449 workers were recruited between 1960 and 1973 (Charef, 2013). This period, also known as "the Golden Age" of emigration, enabled to supervise and support the flow of emigrants to France. Moroccan workers were encouraged to emigrate to Europe as the country experienced economic difficulties. Europe<sup>iii</sup> seemed very attractive when unemployment, poverty and lack of financial resources, especially among the youth in rural areas, contrasted with a significant need for labor force in Europe. This convention came to manage the movement of Moroccans to France within the framework of state-to-state relations since both the Moroccan and the French governments had previously signed an agreement in 1956 that guaranteed the right of their citizens to free movement between the two countries (Belhah and Veglia, 2003). Moroccan passport holders had the right to travel to France provided that they had enough financial means (Ibid). The 1963 Convention then came to regulate the flow of people to France (Ibid). In addition, in the 1960s intermediary companies from France, but also from Belgium and the Netherlands set up immigration offices in different rural areas in Morocco (Ennaji, 2014, 20). Most of these workers who were selected did not know how to read or write, were underpaid, worked and lived under appalling conditions and were underrepresented within trade unions (Ibid, 20).



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Afterwards, young Moroccans who decided to pursue their studies in France, followed in the tracks of these emigrants. France opted for a policy of development, enabling to welcome students (Balac, 2010). In the 1970s, Morocco also signed cooperation agreements with the French government allowing thousands of young Moroccans to benefit from scholarships to study in France (Alaoui, 2013).

What pushed a big number of Moroccan students to leave for Europe? To answer this question, one should analyze the demographic, educational, economic, social and political context in Morocco. Morocco has experienced considerable population growth since the 1960s, which resulted in a much younger population. This younger population required schools and a stronger education system. In 1962, only 13 percent of people under the age of 10 went to school, while in 2004 this rose to 57 percent (Balac, 2010). The Moroccan government faced and continues to face difficulties in providing quality teaching both in primary and secondary schools as well as in Universities (Balac, 2010). Schools have continued to be very selective not to mention that Universities have been failing to be inclusive since in 2004, only one out of 10 young Moroccans was enrolled in a University program (Ibid). This inability of Moroccan Universities to be inclusive or to provide an equal opportunity to everyone explains to some degree why some choose Europe for their studies (Ibid). It is important to mention that within the Moroccan job market, a higher value is granted to foreign degrees (Ibid).

#### **Flexible measures in Germany:**

In 1963, Germany and Morocco signed a bilateral agreement that made it necessary to contain the flow of illegal immigrants who used their tourist status to find a way to settle down in Germany (Ostmann, 2013). This agreement allowed for temporary labor emigration as it enabled Germany to hire workers for its coal mines (Ibid). These workers were granted a temporary residence permit and signed work contracts that guaranteed their pay, holidays, working time and rights similar to those enjoyed by German workers (Ibid). Accommodations were also provided (Ibid). To satisfy Germany's growing need for labor in construction and mining, it had resolved to a policy of mass recruitment between 1950 and 1973 (Ostmann, 2013). Both the German government and the Moroccan emigrants considered this experience of migration to be temporary (Ibid). Most of the emigrants viewed their movement to Europe as temporary, and it was motivated by a need to improve their financial situation (Berriane, 2013). This first generation of emigrants came from the Rif regions and Oujda (Ostmann, 2013). They were mainly men (Ibid) and worked in coal mines (Ennaji, 2014, 26). They were able to move freely between Germany and Morocco as they needed since there was not a visa requirement (Gutekunst, 2015).

#### **Flexible measures in Belgium:**

In 1964, Belgium signed a bilateral agreement with Morocco that enabled the recruitment of workers (Rilke, 2013). This agreement came to formalize the situation of Moroccans in Belgium who had arrived in the country through France (Frennet-De Keyser, 2003). Similar to Germany, labor immigration in Belgium was supposed to be temporary and rotational since workers were expected to return home and be replaced by others once their contracts expired (Reniers, 1999). However, this soon evolved into circular immigration as employers themselves renewed workers' contracts (Ibid). Emigrants were mainly men and mostly single (Ibid). They worked in mines and hawking and in jobs that the Europeans found tough

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(Bousetta and Martiniello, 2003). Thus, Moroccan labor emigration to Belgium carried an individualistic character (Reniers, 1999). In Belgium, workers were hired for construction and manual jobs (Ennaji, 2014, 22). Some stayed after their contracts expired and brought their families, thus increasing and sustaining the flow of Moroccan immigrants through family reunification or marriages (Ibid). Within this agreement, immigration took official (legal) and unofficial (also legal) forms as governments specified the conditions under which immigration can happen (Reniers, 1999). Official immigration happened through recruitment offices in Morocco while the unofficial one happened via parallel recruitment channels when Moroccans used their personal networks to get in touch with potential employers (Ibid). Workers were selected upon the information provided by the Moroccan government (Ibid), and sometimes Belgium enterprises helped in the selection process in Morocco (Ibid). Labor emigration also relied on anonymous recruitment, but with the increase in the demand for the workforce and the slow bureaucratic procedures, recruitment became nominative as workers used their tourist passports to move to Belgium with the help of their family members and friends already settled in Belgium, or on their own (Ibid). Given the huge demand for labor, the government of Belgium did not object to regularizing the status of these “tourists” (Ibid). Many of these workers remained clandestinely in the country after the institution of restrictive measures (Ibid). It seems that only a minority of these emigrants moved to Belgium through official procedures but soon benefited from a “laissez-faire” immigration policy that actually viewed Moroccan immigration as positive to curb the demographic decline (Bousetta and Martiniello, 2003). This is also because Belgium had to compete with other European countries, including Germany, to attract foreign labour (Kaya and Kentel, 2008, p17). To do so, they offered flexible measures and better conditions, including permanent residence and the right to bring one’s family (Ibid). As a consequence of this massive industrial immigration, and the flexibility of policies, the number of Moroccans in Belgium increased from 461 in 1969 to 40 000 in 1974 (Bousetta and Martiniello, 2003).

#### **Flexible measures in the Netherlands:**

The first flow of Moroccan emigrants to the Netherlands happened through France and Belgium in the 1960s (Refass, 2013). To regulate this flow, the Dutch government signed a bilateral agreement with the Moroccan government in 1969 (Ibid). Since then, the Dutch immigration policies have been evolving mainly due to economic and financial considerations but also the rise of the far-right movement. During the 1960s, the Netherlands experienced a strong economic growth for which workers were needed. Thus, the Dutch government signed a bilateral agreement with Morocco in 1969 and launched a huge campaign to recruit Moroccan workers both in Morocco and the Netherlands (Ibid). These workers, often named the *gastarbeider* (or the guestworker) were not necessarily highly qualified, were man and sometimes not able to read and to write (Ibid). Their intention was to earn money in order to support their families in Morocco, save up some money and invest once back home (Ibid). These workers came from the north of Morocco, the Rif; they were not highly skilled and did not speak Dutch of course (Ennaji, 2014, 25).

Both the Dutch and the Moroccan governments considered this labor migration as temporary. While for the Moroccan government it was a means to guarantee fund transfers and alleviate social, political and economic pressure, for the Dutch government it was a source of a cheap workforce that did not necessarily plan to settle down in the country

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(Ibid). In 1972 the number of Moroccan migrants reached 21.760 people, who were mostly men and coming from the north and the northeast of Morocco (Ibid).

Thus, the ratification of agreements between Morocco and different European countries came to regulate and tighten the movement of people. Immigration meant for Europe a cheap workforce and an opportunity to rebuild itself. For Morocco, it was also a financial opportunity since emigrants were a source of fund transfers. Not to mention that the country's political and economic context of that time encouraged immigration. Different military coups, social mobilization and state repression pushed many Moroccans to consider emigration. The newly independent Moroccan government failed to create a sustainable development that resulted in rural exodus, and the rise in unemployment. Moving to Europe meant better economic perspectives and the guarantee of a stable job. However, for the first generation of Moroccan emigrants, this was all temporary until the 1973 oil crisis changed their perception.

Labor migration is usually explained as a necessity to satisfy labor shortages and boost economic development. Some researchers argue, however, that these countries opted for bilateral agreements with Morocco only after they failed to secure workers from other European countries (Hansen, 2003). Germany, as an example, looked for workers in Southern Europe. For instance, Germany signed migration agreements with Italy in 1955, Greece and Spain in 1960, believing that they would be easily assimilated into the job market (Ibid). Thus, this inability to secure southern European workers pushed these governments to accept or tolerate colonial migrants (Ibid). Similarly, France set up offices of the National Office of Immigration (ONI) in Southern European countries in an attempt to avoid colonial immigrants either from Morocco or Algeria (Ibid).

### **The 1973 oil crisis: the end of labor immigration**

Following the oil crisis in 1973, host countries put an end to labor immigration and encouraged emigrants to return home (Alaoui, 2013). Europe experienced economic stagnation and a need to restructure its economy, which led to an increase in unemployment and decreased the demand for workers (de Haas, 2013). European countries introduced new regulations and imposed a visa requirement for Moroccan workers (Ibid). Within this context, however, many emigrants decided to stay in Europe. First, the economic and political crisis in Morocco following two coups in 1971 and 1972 led to a certain political instability and repression (Berriane et al., 2015). Second, the migration restriction policies in Europe and the political instability in Morocco made emigrants fear they would not be able to return to Europe in case they visited Morocco (Fargues, 2004). At that time, irregular migration following informal recruitment by enterprises and through social networks became more important than before (Shadid, 1979). Administrative obstacles pushed many Moroccans to use a "tourist" status to leave for Europe (Reniers, 1999). They used their family networks to find shelters and jobs (Ibid). Many of them, however, managed to get a residence permit as a consequence of the regularization campaigns in Belgium in 1975, in the Netherlands in 1975 and in France between 1981 and 1982 (Muus, 1995).

What followed was a change in the process of emigration and the social structure of emigrants. In fact, European states started witnessing a new type of emigration, commonly

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referred to as family emigration or family reunification (Haas, 2013; Kaya, 2012). Since this family emigration was mainly about marriage emigration, more women migrated to Europe and consequently changed the gender and age structure of emigration (Alaoui, 2013). France alone counted 147.938 Moroccan women emigrants between 1975 and 1985 (Ibid). This massive family reunification during the 1970s and the 1980s resulted in more permanent migration; thus, the number of Moroccans living in France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Germany rose from 400.000 in 1975 to more than one million in 1992 (Muus, 1995). At the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s, some decided to return to Morocco. In fact, 314.000 returned from France, Belgium, Netherlands, Germany, UK and Denmark but this flow back remained very modest compared to other nationalities (de Haas, 2005). With the oil crisis, labor migration, which tended to take a permanent character as some workers decided to settle down in France or move to other European countries, including Belgium, collapsed. What emerged then was the seasonal-migrant model. The latter became almost the only form of legal immigration until the surge in family and student emigration (Charef, 2013).

#### **The end of labor migration in France:**

Economic difficulties and the rise in unemployment due to the 1973 oil crisis pushed the French government to put an end to labor migration (Schain, 2008, 48). A policy of immigration control replaced the old policy of almost unlimited immigration. France thus put into place mechanisms to promote the return of workers back home. To prevent all new forms of immigration, France encouraged voluntary departures (Ibid, 52). It is striking, however, that this policy of voluntary departures resulted in “the conversion of an immigrant worker population into a settler population” (Ibid, 49).

In 1980, France passed the *Loi Bonnet*, which came to restrict and tighten immigrants' entrance into France (Charef, 2013) but also to make expulsion easier (Schain, 2008, 52). Employing an illegal immigrant could cost a penalty, and family reunification became subject to tightened conditions (Ibid). However, the number of Moroccans in France rose from 260.025 in 1975, to 441.307 in 1982, and 572.742 in 1990 (Charef, 2013). This is explained by the fact that in 1981 France declared amnesty for immigrants who could give a reasonable justification to their presence on the French territories and had a stable job (Schain, 2008, 52).

When it comes to student emigration, at the end of the 1970s the French Ministry of Education was accused of undermining the quality of teaching in France when Universities welcomed an increasing number of foreign students (Simon, 2000). Public discourse started accusing them of being ‘fake students’ coming to France to find a job and settle down in a moment when France decided to put an end to labor immigration (Ibid). Hence, between 1984 and 1997, France put into place mechanisms to regulate and restrict the flow of foreign students (Ibid). These mechanisms include a language test, and more administrative control when it comes to the visa procedures, residence permit, housing and so on (Balac, 2010). It became necessary for Moroccan students to prove that they have enough financial means to pursue their studies in France (Ibid). As a consequence, the number of Moroccan students in France stagnated between 1984 and 1990 (Ibid). France remained the most attractive destination for Moroccan students for various reasons. Cooperation agreements and the possibility to get a scholarship were some of them. However, since the 1980s, it has

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become difficult for Moroccan students to move to France due to strict enrolment conditions, the suspension of scholarships and the difficulties in finding a job (Charef, 2013). French conception of collaboration thus shifted from help to competitiveness and excellence (Simon, 2000). Scholarships are now granted to PhD students, engineers and for professional training (Ibid). Priority is given to developing and industrialized countries that would help France to be more competitive at the international level (Ibid). Similar to labor immigration, student immigration was also considered temporary (Ibid).

#### **The end of labor immigration in Germany:**

In Germany, the aftermath of the 1973 oil crisis was felt a few months after and led to a rise in unemployment (Löschel and Oberndorfer, 2009). Moroccan immigrants asked their families to join them (Ostmann, 2013), which explains the steady growth of Moroccan emigrants in the country (Berriane, 2013). The emergence of a younger generation of emigrants (between 20 and 35 years of age) highlighted the increasing importance of family and student emigration (Ostmann, 2013). Starting from the 1980s, Moroccan immigrants worked in the car industry, textiles, services and construction (Ennaji, 2014, 26). Some found jobs through connections and family members already settled in Germany (Ibid). While this immigration was mainly circular, only 5 percent of male workers took their families with them. The end of recruitment in 1973 and the need to evade restrictions pushed them to stay and to arrange for their families to join them (Ibid). This marked the rise of family reunification and family formation immigration (Kaya, 2012). Given the tax laws and that only children living in the country could benefit from social provisions, they also arranged for their children to join them (Ibid). Students also showed more interest in Germany. The introduction of restrictive measures did not curb emigration as much as they contributed to changing migration dynamics (Gutekunst, 2015). Since the end of labor migration in Germany and the requirement of a visa in the 1970s, marriage migration and family reunification became the most important means for Moroccans to move to Germany (Ibid). However, in order to curb this flow of Moroccan migrants, in 1965 Germany put conditions on family reunification (Ibid). The spouse should have lived in Germany for more than a year, have a work contract and a decent house (Ibid). This did not prevent family reunification from increasing, and the requirements became tougher (Ibid). Since the 1980s, the spouse must have lived in the host country for at least eight years and have been married for over three years to be eligible to bring their spouse to the country (Ibid).

#### **The end of labor immigration in Belgium:**

Similar to France and Germany, Moroccan emigration to Belgium after the oil crisis of 1973 was characterized by family reunification (CECR, 2011). As a consequence, the profile of these emigrants became feminine, younger, and their numbers increased (Ibid). In 1989, there were 140.000 people (Ibid). The settlement of migrant workers in Belgium came as a reaction to restrictive migration policies and the fear of losing one's entitlement to work (Reniers, 1999). Their reaction was to bring families they have left behind (Ibid). This started a movement of family reunification followed by marriage migration when policies became even more restrictive (Ibid). After the crisis of 1973, mines were closed, and many migrants found themselves unemployed (Ennaji, 2014, 20). The government decided then to end migrant worker recruitment (Ibid). While Belgium tightened labor immigration, its policy towards family reunion was still flexible, allowing for the replenishment of the Moroccan

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community in the country through family reunification and formation (Ibid). Immigration shifted from a temporary tendency to a more permanent one.

### **The end of labor immigration in the Netherlands:**

The 1973 oil crisis had completely changed Moroccans' emigration to the Netherlands. The Dutch government put an end to labor immigration, and many Moroccans, as well as Turks, were made redundant (Refass, 2013). To encourage them to return home, and in 1974 the Netherlands launched a program called REMPLD (Reintegration of Emigrant Manpower and Promotion of Local Opportunities for Development) (Entzinger, 1989). REMPLD was part of an assisted voluntary return program to entice temporary guest-workers to return home and thus cope with the excess of labour population in the Netherlands (Ibid). The program offered a cash payment to encourage workers to return back to Morocco and start their own entrepreneurial venture (IBID). However, the number of those who preferred to return reached only 2.480 in 1983, a number that decreased to 1.373 in 1987 (Refass, 2013). On the other hand, the number of immigrants continued to increase to 10.000 in 1980 (Ibid). REMPLD happened after the Dutch government had previously eased family reunification, and it became easier for Moroccan workers to bring their spouses and children (Entzinger, 1989). Between 1975 and 1976, the Dutch government had also launched a regularization campaign that enabled many Moroccans and Turks to get legal status (Refass, 2013). Thus between 1975 and 1976, 4.204 Moroccans obtained their residence permit (Ibid). At the end of the 1970s, public discourse then shifted towards a necessity to limit the number of foreigners, and in 1979 a Memorandum on Aliens Policy (*Notitie Vreemdelin- genbeleid*) came to restrict immigration even further (Ibid). Illegal immigration increased sharply, which pushed the government to declare amnesty to all undocumented immigrants, provided they prove they had been in the country for over a year (Ibid). This measure did not help to curb illegal migration, which continued to increase (Ibid). As a consequence, the Dutch government introduced the Law on Employment of Foreign Workers in 1979 instituting sanctions on the employer of illegal workers (Ibid). However, Dutch authorities were not strict about applying the law as many sectors depended on migrant workers (Ibid). In 1980 the Netherlands introduced new measures to regulate immigration. The introduction of visa requirements, stricter family reunification rules and the refusal of "pseudo-marriages" in order to enter the country are among these measures (Ibid). However, with the intensification of family reunification, newborn children of Moroccan parents, the population of Moroccan migrants continued to increase (Refass, 2013). This family reunification resulted in feminization of the Moroccan community in the Netherlands, a community which also became characterized by the predominance of the young (Ibid). Thus, immigration continued as chain migration with the increase of family reunification and family formation.

### **More selective immigration policies since 1990s**

The 1990s saw a continual increase in the number of emigrants, mainly explained by the fact that family reunification continued to supply a significant number of emigrants as Moroccan immigrants chose a spouse from their country of origin (Lievens 1999). Another explanatory factor is the fact that access to passports became liberalized (de Haas, 2013). It became easier for Moroccans to get a passport, but it is also important to mention that the Moroccan government has always encouraged emigration since it remains an important

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source of fund transfers (de Haas and Plug, 20016). Somehow the encouragement of emigration by the Moroccan government came to counterbalance the restrictive measures put in place by the European states (de Haas, 2013).

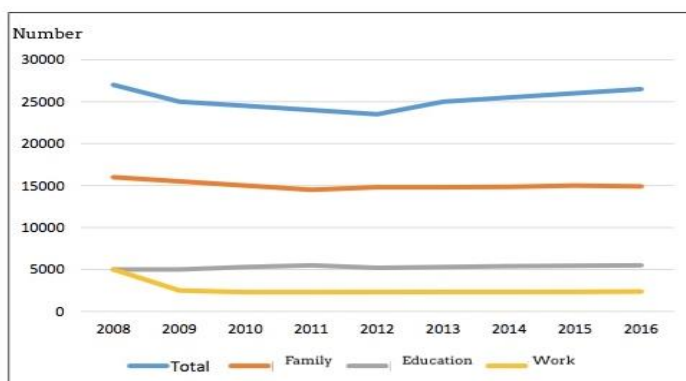
After 2001, the EU put in place mechanisms that made immigration more selective. Immigration of students coming from emerging countries like China and Brazil was favored to immigration from southern countries (Balac, 2010). This explains how the number of Moroccan students in France decreased after 2002, in Belgium after 2003, and in Germany after 2004 (Balac, 2010). These mechanisms have made it even harder for students from lower social classes to pursue their studies in Europe. With the 2008 economic crisis and the rise in unemployment among Moroccan immigrants in Europe, more Moroccans decided to return home. Their return was also encouraged by the host countries' governments (Cherti, 2013). However, the increase in the number of Moroccans living abroad rose from 3.3 million in 2003 to more than 4 million in 2012. This is mainly explained by the flow of students and the increase in family reunification demands. However, the data provided by host countries reflect a steady and continuous decline in the number of Moroccan emigrants. In France, their number went from 504.111 in 1999 to 436.846 in 2008 (Charef, 2013). The same can be applied to Germany, Netherlands, and Belgium. This is mainly explained first by the fact that in most of the European countries a foreign-born in the host country is not considered an immigrant and second by the increased rate of naturalization of Moroccans (Rilke, 2013). In Germany, for example, the naturalization rate reached 8.6 percent for 2011 (Ostmann, 2013). Recently, marriage within the Moroccan community in Germany is characterized by the fact that more Moroccans choose to marry someone who is a holder of EU citizenship to facilitate their naturalization (Ostmann, 2013).

### **Selective immigration in France:**

Moroccan emigration has evolved in a progressive, dynamic and continual way. While first, their movement to Europe happened through secured channels of temporary contracts and administrative controls, since the 1970s, this movement became more spontaneous. French immigration policies were either restrictive or flexible depending on the national and international context but also on the political party that was in power. Flexible measures were taken under the left-wing governments, while restrictive measures were taken under right-wing governments (Schain, 2008). In 1993 France passed the *Loi Pasqua* that made it difficult for children born in France of non-French parents to obtain French citizenship (Schain, 2008, 54). It also allowed for the expulsion of illegal immigrants and to block family reunification (Ibid). In 1999 the *Loi Chevènement* eased the conditions for family visits and softened requirements for family reunification by removing strict controls on marriages with a foreign spouse (Schain, 2008, 55). Though family reunification was encouraged, it has always been subject to conditions in France. The immigrants, who could ask for his spouse or family to join him, should have lived in the country for more than two years, prove his financial means, and prove that his family does not represent a threat to the public order, to public security or public health (Charef, 2013). A new category of temporary visa for scholars and scientists was created and made it possible for computer experts and highly-skilled temporary workers to come to France and to apply for family unification after a year (Ibid). Moroccan migration to France is therefore first of all prompted by the transnational social ties that migrants have created over time between the two countries and is prompted by family reasons (see Graph 2) followed by a significant number of

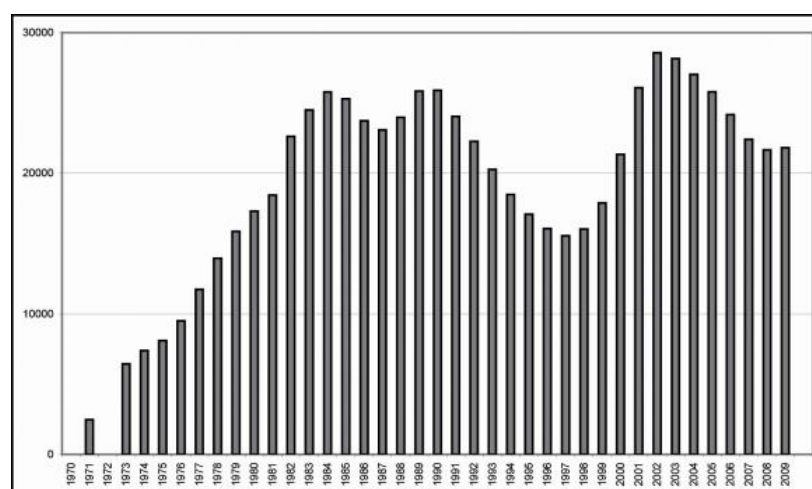
Moroccans who move to France for studies (Lacroix, 2017). However, labor immigration, which characterized migratory flows until the 1973 oil crisis has become marginal (Ibid).

**Graph 2: Permits issued for the first time according to reason (Source: Eurostat 2017)**



When it comes to student emigration in France, a report by the French Parliament at the end of the 1990s came to change things. It criticized how the French educational system seems to be less competitive compared to other developed countries; hence there was a necessity to attract more international students (Balac, 2010). As a consequence, it became easier for Moroccan students to get a French student visa or to renew their residence permit (Ibid). This explains the increase in the number of Moroccan students in France between 1998 and 2001, an increase that reached 28 000 students in 2002 (see Graph 3). When it comes to the profile of these students we note principally that they come from the middle classes, are mainly men, and older since they choose France to finish the studies they had started back in their home countries (Balac, 2010). To attract students, researchers and University professors and young talents in general who are deemed necessary to improve France’s economic and international competitiveness, the French government changed its immigration policy (Simon, 2010). For this purpose, EduFrance<sup>iv</sup> was created to select students whose profiles are compatible with the demands of the French job market (Ibid).

**Graph 3: Number of Moroccan students in France between 1970 and 2009.**



Source: French Ministry of Education.



France is not the only country that interests Moroccans for their studies. As a matter of fact, more students started to shift their interest to Germany (see Table 2), which saw the number of Moroccan students increase significantly between 1990 and 2000 due to the flexibility of its immigration policies (Balac, 2010).

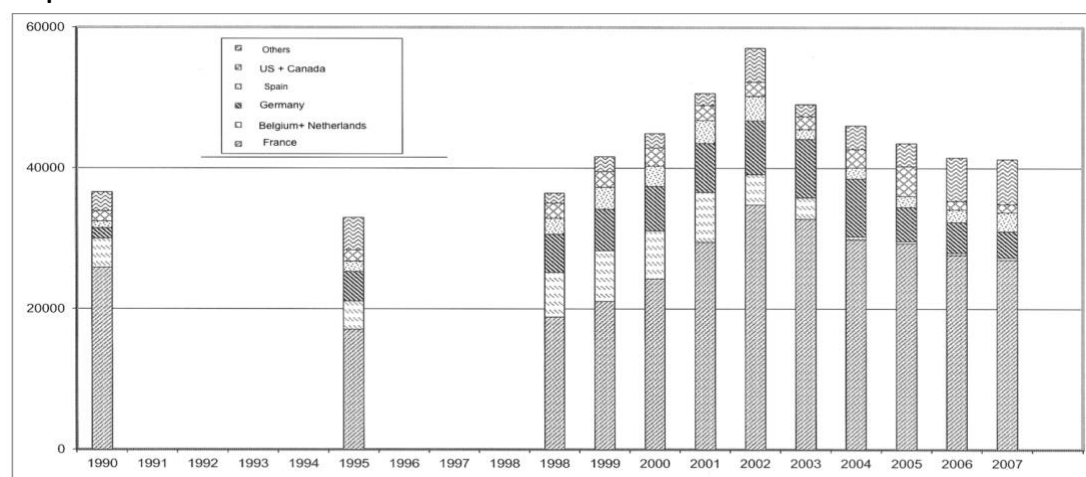
**Table 2: Moroccan Students aboard**

Year	France	Belgium	Netherlands	Germany
<b>1990</b>	25 894	3 409	737	1 456
<b>1995</b>	17 084	4 029	-	4 179
<b>1998</b>	18 849	4 527	1 829	5 416
<b>1999</b>	21 048	5 355	1 874	5 882
<b>2000</b>	24 284	4 894	1 956	6 285
<b>2001</b>	29 504	5 146	1 953	6 960
<b>2002</b>	34 826	2 658	1 664	7 616
<b>2003</b>	32 802	2 579	429	8 305
<b>2004</b>	29 859	68	376	8 227
<b>2005</b>	29 299	55	297	4 784
<b>2006</b>	27 684	59	234	4 369
<b>2007</b>	26 998	62	246	3 699

Source: UNESCO 2006 and 2010, in Italics are non-confirmed figures

In the 1990s, Morocco experienced an economic crisis, which resulted in the rise in unemployment and lack of future perspectives for graduate students (Alaoui, 2013). More and more qualified students in Information Technology, research, education, and medicine decided to leave for Europe (Ibid) and even beyond Europe when Moroccan students started to develop an interest for North America and the UK (see Graph 4).

**Graph 4: Number of Moroccan students abroad between 1990 and 2007**



Source: UNESCO 2006 and 2010<sup>v</sup>

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In 2002 when the Right came to power in France. They further tightened legislations, increased detention time for illegal immigrants and controls on marriages with a foreign spouse (Schain, 2008, 55). The *Loi Sarkozy* in 2003 came to further tighten measures to control immigration, regulate residence permits and the demands for the French citizenship (Charef, 2013). The law meant to promote selective immigration for highly qualified workers, which was followed by the law on “selected circulation” that made it more difficult to obtain a travel visa (Ibid). 2006 saw the repeal of the law that granted undocumented immigrants amnesty and was replaced by provisions that allowed the government to study each case (Schain, 2008, 57). In 2008 the number of Moroccan immigrants fell to 436.846 compared to 504.111 in 1999. This decline could be explained by the fact that French statistics do not define as immigrant children born in France from Moroccan parents since in 2007 the Parliament passed the *Loi Hortefeux* that intended to make immigration more attractive for highly qualified workers. Recently measures have been more symbolic than creating any radical change. Students are now given a limited right to the French labor market once they finish their studies (Charef, 2013).

#### **Selective immigration in Germany:**

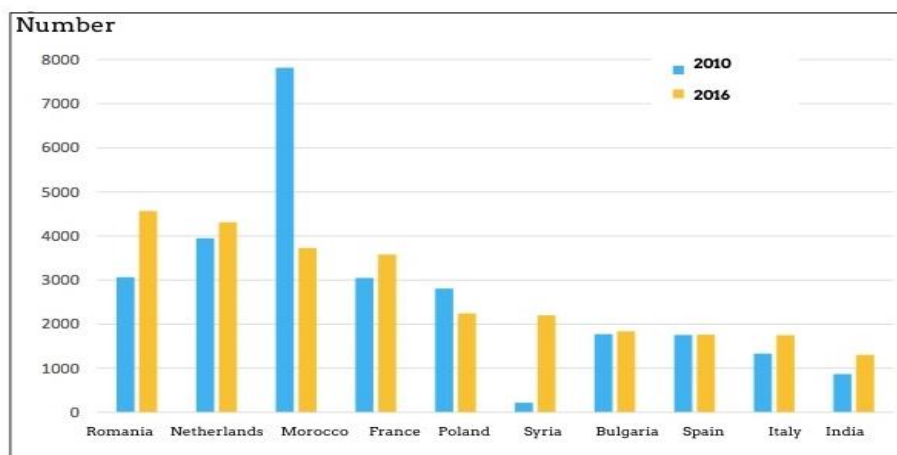
During the 1990s, Germany continued to follow restrictive policies on family reunification and formation immigration (Gutekunst, 2015). As a reaction to these measures, clandestine immigration rose as Moroccan migrants used their tourist visa to stay illegally in the country after their visas expired (Ibid). The introduction of restrictive legal measures when it comes to family reunification and family formation in Germany made immigration more selective (Gutekunst, 2015). The introduction of language certificate in 2007 for marriage migrants hierarchized immigration in a way that made it possible for the German state to select migrants based on their educational and financial background (Ibid). The poor and uneducated are henceforth excluded from this immigration’s calculations (Ibid). This language certificate benefits more the better-off, those who can afford to take language classes, and results in an outsourcing of immigration to private actors, mainly cultural institutions and language schools (Ibid). The use of this language certificate was explained as a way to facilitate their integration while it serves mainly as a border control tool given the fact that Canadians, Americans and Australians, for example, are not required to take language classes (Ibid).

#### **Selective immigration in Belgium:**

In Belgium, between 1995 and 2005, the number of Moroccan emigrants doubled and rose from 4.000 to 8.500 (Rilke, 2013). The main explanation lies in family reunification and marriages (Ibid). In fact, 64 percent of demands for a residence permit is based on family reunification or marriage with a Belgian citizen or a European citizen living in Belgium (Ibid). It is also explained by the fact that even if they were born in Belgium, the descendants of the first waves of Moroccan emigrants prefer to choose a partner from Morocco (Rilke, 2013). During this period, the number of students increased. They were around 1.250 students in 1995 (Rilke, 2013). Most of these students are men since Moroccan women students only account for 25 percent (Caestecker & Rea 2012). Furthermore, since the 1990s, more Moroccans were granted citizenship in a way that contributes to decreasing the total number of foreigners in Belgium (Bousetta and Martiniello, 2003). During this period, the Belgian government increased the rate of naturalization (CECR, 2011). Its policy

has changed to facilitate access to Belgian citizenship (Ibid). Furthermore, the growth of the Moroccan emigrants during this period is also explained by a demographic evolution. Indeed since 1991, it became possible for Moroccan immigrants to get the Belgian citizenship with the “right of soil” (*jus soli*) amendment (Crul, Schneider and Lily 2012, 69). However, since 2013 Belgium set up a new law about family reunification. It became extremely strict as both the spouses are required to be over 21 and to earn a wage 120 percent higher than the subsistence level (Rilke, 2013). This law also makes it impossible to bring a parent to the country (Ibid). Though the country had previously put an end to labor migration, it is still possible for Moroccans to obtain a Belgium residence permit if they manage to find a job in the country (Ibid). However, the employer in Belgium has to prove that this job cannot be fulfilled by a workforce in Belgium (Ibid). It explains how the number of residence permits granted to Moroccans dropped by half between 2010 and 2016 (see Graph 5). This requirement, of course, does not apply to highly qualified jobs (Ibid).

**Graph 5: Top 10 nationalities benefiting from a first residence permit issued for family reasons**



Source: Myria, Federal Center for Migration (2018: 73)

### Selective immigration in the Netherlands:

The Dutch case slightly differs from the other European countries in the sense that it has introduced stricter policies to deter migration of foreign labour. To deter illegal immigration, in 1991, the government made it impossible for illegal immigrants to benefit from social provisions (Refass, 2013). It became compulsory for foreigners to consult with immigration services in order to get a social security number, which remains necessary to apply for a job (Ibid). In 1996 the *Koppelingswet* (Linkage Act) came to connect different education, health and welfare databases and made it easier to identify illegal immigrants who benefited from Dutch welfare arrangements, including housing, schools, and medical care (Ibid). The law stipulates that if a person is not registered within the Dutch authorities, he should not have access to welfare arrangements (Ibid). However, many undocumented immigrants benefited from regularization campaigns between 1998 and 1999 (Ibid).

Restricting immigration went hand in hand with fighting illegal employment. In 1993, it became illegal to hire undocumented workers, and any disrespect for the law could lead to a prison sentence and heavy fines (Refass, 2013). Moreover, since 1994, any marriage demand is subjected to heavy administrative procedures (Ibid). Citizens are required to

carry a form of identification with them since the government established identity verifications controls in 1997 (Ibid). Chain immigration, however, continued to contribute to the Moroccan community throughout the 1990s and 2000s (Ennaji, 2014, 25). With more than 390,000 people in 2017, the Moroccan community is currently the second largest group of immigrants in the Netherlands (see Table: 3). The growth of the Dutch-Moroccan community is the direct result of the newborns (Bouras, 2017). Growth does not affect the first generation as it affects the second one (Ibid). Over the past decade, the second generation has overtaken the first one, increasing from 53% in 2012 to almost 57% in 2017, thus making a small majority of all Moroccans in the Netherlands (Ibid).

**Table 3: Total Moroccan population in the Netherlands (1972-2017)**

	1972	1980	1990	2000	2010	2017
<b>Total Moroccan population</b>	21 760	69464	163 458	262 221	449 005	391 088
<b>First Generation</b>	20 673	57 502	112 526	152 540	167 305	168 536
<b>Second generation</b>	1 087	11 962	50 896	109 681	181 700	222 552

**Source: Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, Den Haag/Heerlen 17-02-2018**

In 2004, the Dutch government adopted more restrictive measures. The applicant's age should be over 21 years old; he or she should have a residence permit, a decent house and sufficient financial means (Refass, 2013). The income should be 120 percent higher than the minimum basic salary, and the applicant should not have any legal issues (Ibid). Still, the Moroccan community continued to increase as a result of family reunification and family formation (Ennaji, 2014, 25). There were 330.000 Moroccan-origin migrants in 2007 and formed the fifth-largest migrant community and 20 percent of the non-European immigration population in the Netherlands (Ibid, 26). On the other hand, the government started encouraging the immigration of highly qualified people. Most of them come from North America, Japan, and India (Ibid).

Restrictions on migration since the 1990s led to the rise of a new type of immigration, called circular, temporary, or seasonal immigration (Ennaji, 2014, 30). The need for cheap workforce pushed European countries to sign bilateral agreements with Morocco on temporary workers who would work in agriculture, construction and services (Ibid). In 2000, Morocco sent 229.712 seasonal workers to France, thus becoming the third provider of temporary workers in the country (Ibid). Thus, the global financial crisis of 2008 did not lead to a major decrease in Moroccan emigration to Europe (Berriane et al., 2015). However, it led to an increase in the return rate among Moroccans with European citizenship and permanent residency, but not among those holding a temporary resident card or in a clandestine situation as they feared that they might not be allowed to return to Europe once they visited Morocco (Ibid).

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## The generational gap and integration experiences

The analysis of the different generations of Moroccan emigrants makes it important to differentiate between them in terms of identity, religious, cultural and political behavior. First of all, unlike the first generations, the new generations of Moroccans living abroad do not simply refer to themselves as “Moroccans” or “Moroccan nationals”. They use terms such as “Belgian-Moroccan” (Rilke, 2013) and “French citizens originating from Morocco” (Charef, 2013). Thus, the identities of Moroccan-origin emigrants are changing, especially among the second and third generations, and so are their social, political and cultural interests (Berriane et al., 2015). While the first generation remained focused on the possibility of returning home, the Moroccan culture and society, the second and third generations mostly identify themselves as Europeans while at the same time insisting on preserving strong ties with Morocco (Ibid). The new generations are also young students who managed to find a job and settle down in Europe. Europe is no longer a host country; it has become their home. While the first generations remained attached to their culture of origin, the new generations feel that they belong to two different cultures. In Belgium, young people feel they are strongly linked to where they live, to their city while at the same time, they identify with their Moroccan origin (Mahieu, 2013). These young people try to create their own cultural spaces where they feel accepted. They create newspapers and TV channels (Cherti, 2013). They create debates, and debate issues that affect their daily lives, issues beyond the classical debate of immigration that the first generations nourished. They feel Europe is home, whereas the older generations perceived their stay was only temporary and were often criticized for failing to make efforts to culturally adapt themselves to the host countries (Charef, 2013). They do not perceive their double cultural identification as an obstacle to their integration (Berriane et al., 2015). The first generation’s lack of interest in the public and political life since they considered their emigration as temporary left a void that was later exploited by the extreme right-wing parties since the 1980s (Ibid). These parties have since instrumentalized this void and exploited the issue of migration for political gains (Ibid). To have their voices heard and to participate in changing the discourse about immigrants, the second generations are more assertive in claiming and exercising their political rights. They have become political actors and candidates on electoral lists (Ibid).

To react to flows of immigrants and fight clandestine immigration, European countries tightened their measures in regards to family reunification and marriage immigration (Ennaji, 2014, 1). The rise of the right-wing political currents and the discourse on how immigration threatens identity paved the way to “measures of acculturation” that require language tests, assessment of values and depth of ties to the home country (Ibid, 7). The debate shifted from the necessity to regulate the flow of immigrants to the issues of integration and rights (Ibid, 18). Integration is about acquiring citizenship, which ensures one’s economic integration and facilitates access to the workforce (see Table 4). But integration is not only economic, it is not only about having access to employment, it is also socio-cultural, about having access to education, respect for one’s cultural rights, and finally, integration is also political about having the right to vote but also to participate in politics and public life. A report by the Council of Europe in 2010 entitled *Islam, Islamism and Islamophobia in Europe* recognized that Muslims in Europe are victims of

stigmatization, discrimination and marginalization because of common stereotypes about their culture, religion and identity (Ihsanoglu, 2011).

**Table 4: Main recipients of citizenships granted by EU Member States, 2018**

	Total number	2017/2018	Main recipients		Second recipients		Third recipients	
			Citizens of	%	Citizens of	%	Citizens of	%
France	110 014	-4%	Morocco	14,0	Algeria	13,5	Tunisia	6,1
Germany **	116 750	1%	Turkey	14.3	UK	5.4	Poland	5.3
Belgium	36 200	-3%	Morocco	13.4	Romania	6.1	Poland	4.2
Netherlands	27 852	1%	Morocco	10.8	Turkey	9.7	Stateless ***	8.5

\*\* Provisional data

\*\*\*A stateless person is someone who is not recognized as a citizen of any country.

Source: Eurostat 2018

### Integration experiences in France:

Immigration issues became politicized only when receiving countries understood that this temporary immigration is actually a permanent one. In France, the issue was firstly an issue of immigrants' living conditions, but with the rise of the far-right, it became a national one (Ennaji, 2014, 28). The debate about the integration of Moroccan emigrants in France was first mainly a debate about what it means to be French, French values and the values of the Republic. It was not a question of ethnic rights, multicultural education or cultural, ethnic specificities as Dominique Schnapper has argued:

The French political tradition has always refused to recognize the American concept of "ethnicity." In the school, the factory, in the union (either in leadership or the pattern of demands), the "ethnic" dimension has never been taken into account, even if social practices don't always scrupulously follow this principle. It is not an accident that there have never been in France real ghettos of immigrant populations from the same country, on the model of Black, Italian or "Hispanic" neighborhoods in the United States, that in poor areas immigrant populations from different countries mix with French people, apparently in the same social milieus. The promotion of Frenchmen of foreign origin comes about individually and not collectively through groups organized collectively (cited in Schain, 2008, 78).

Integration *à la Française*, which influences public policymaking, means that national origins are meaningless. Ethnic and religious groups were not granted any importance when drafting public policies (Schain, 2010, 139). Integration first happened within the trade union movement as immigrant workers gained trade union rights during the 1970s. As a matter of fact, in 1972, they gained the right to vote in "social" elections, for example, to elect union representatives (Schain, 2008, 51). In 1975, they gained the right to stand for

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election in trade unions on the condition they had spent more than five years in France and could speak the language (Ibid). These immigrants, however, were treated as temporary workers who should be encouraged to return home (Ibid, 80). Housing for immigrant families was limited, and quotas for immigrants' children were established in primary schools (Ibid). As of 1980, the collective representation of immigrants shifted towards an endorsement of ethnic consciousness that tolerated ethnic differences and institutionalized them (Schain, 2010, 141).

In 1981, ethnic associations became legal (Schain, 2010) and made it possible to negotiate with trade unions and political parties (Ibid). It happened at a time when France paid more attention to its problems of national security after the rise in urban riots (Ibid). France needed intermediaries to negotiate with the "second generation" of immigrants to maintain social order (Ibid). Within this context, religious associations emerged in the country's suburbs (Charef, 2013). They intended to preserve immigrants' identity and culture, facilitate their integration, and work as intermediaries between their communities and the state (Lamchichi, 1999).

In 2006 it became mandatory for immigrants who are applying for a residence permit to abide by the CAI ("Welcome and Integration") contract. It came as an attempt to move away from the idea of legal immigration and to focus more on selective immigration ("*immigration choisie*") (Schain, 2008, 57). The CAI intended to authorize the French government to examine every family unification request on a case-by-case basis (Ibid). And so, made taking courses on the rights and duties of parents according to French values obligatory for every immigrant parent who would like to bring his/her child to the country or for family reunification reasons (Ibid). A year later, this contract became abiding and sanctions were imposed for any violations. Family reunification restrictions since then required applicants to take two-months courses in their home countries about civic education and in language training if necessary (Ibid). These courses end with an assessment of their French language abilities and their understanding of the Values of the Republic (Ibid). By civic training, France means knowing and understanding fundamental values about democracy, equality, secularism and rights and duties<sup>vi</sup>.

Thus, Moroccan immigrants evolve in a constantly changing environment and changing migration policies. With the evolution of Moroccan immigration to France, evolved the status and the representation of Moroccan migrants. In France, the image of the Moroccan migrants changes depending on the political context and the political party in power (Belhah and Veglia, 2003). The language used to describe Moroccan immigrants can be inclusive or exclusive depending on the demand for the labor force and the general political and media discourse. Sometimes it carries colonial connotations. Other times it is subject to stereotypes and clichés. But this discourse is also changing according to the evolution of the Moroccan immigrant status from factory workers, to students, to spouses and children and finally to highly-skilled workers (Ibid).

From the Moroccan immigrant perspective, integration meant something different. While Moroccan immigration shifted from labor immigration to family reunification and student movement, the first and the second generations were mainly workers most of whom didn't have the intention of settling down; the new generations are from the middle classes who are looking for better social and economic perspectives and intend to occupy their space

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(Lamchichi, 1999). Identities of these immigrants and the way they view their space also shifted.

When they first arrived in France, immigrants, including Moroccans, gathered in small communities (Lamchichi, 1999). From their perspective, integration meant the accomplishment of their personal and professional project. It was more question of a social dimension than a national one (Ibid). Integration had principally a local dimension because being part of a small community of small networks of solidarity was what mattered. Being part of a larger community, speaking the language fluently and assimilating the culture was less important (Ibid).

Moroccan immigrants' relations with their culture of origin have also evolved. At first, they insisted on maintaining a lifestyle similar to the one they had back in Morocco (Lamchichi, 1999). Their relationships with their neighbors, the way they decorate their houses, and the way they organized their lives within their immediate space, mainly the establishment of small shops, came to reinforce the idea that they wanted to preserve cultural links with Morocco while at the same portraying an image of moderation and religious tolerance (Ibid). Their culture of origin also presented a way to protect oneself from the difficulties they encountered (Ibid). Now the new generations want to have access to European societies and ask for a socio-cultural recognition (Ibid). Most of them do not consider going back to Morocco, maybe only for the holidays, and they invest in Europe (Ibid). Moroccan immigrants have first fought for their economic and civic rights, the right to French citizenship, to later fight for cultural rights, including the recognition of Islam (Ibid). The need to build mosques, to have the possibility to pray at the workplace, religious holidays are among their demands (Ibid). Therefore, now integration means the recognition of their cultural rights, of plurality of cultures within the French society away from any type of tutelage as well as recognizing and accepting the values of the Republic (Ibid).

#### **Integration experiences in Germany:**

While in Germany, the first generation of Moroccan emigrants were hired to work in mines, they soon shifted to working in factories and housing construction (Ostmann, 2013). In 2010 and 2011, 75 percent of them worked in services while 20 percent worked in factories and 4 percent in construction in the early-2010s (Ibid). By services, we mean small businesses, hotels, restaurants and health services. Due to globalization, relocation of services and international competition, the percentage of unemployment within the Moroccan community rose to 17.7 percent between 2010 and 2011 (Ibid). In 2016 most of the Moroccan immigrants in Germany worked in services (80%) and only 23% in manufacturing and construction (Ostmann, 2017). The sector of services refers to catering, trade, logistics and health services (Ibid). The first wave of Moroccan emigrants to Germany were not highly educated. Most of the time, they didn't know how to read or write (Chattau, 1998). However, this changed considerably as 14 percent had a higher degree and 38 percent an average one in 2010 and 2011 (Ostmann, 2013). In 2016, 36% of Moroccan immigrants had the high school degree (Hochschulreife), 14% were in high school (Mittlere Reife) only 27% did not have a degree (Ostmann, 2017). Parents insist on teaching their native language (Berber or Moroccan Arabic) to their children (Ostmann, 2013). While at first, it was considered a measure to facilitate their return to their home countries and their

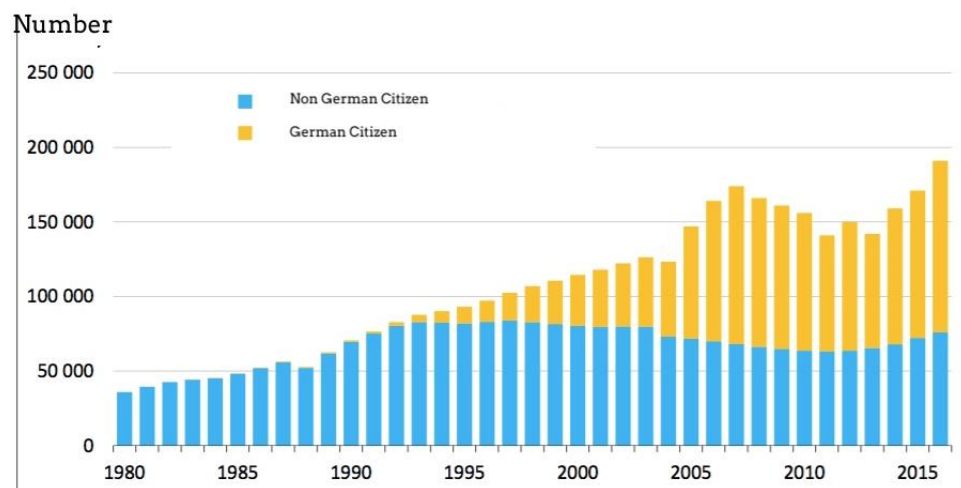


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reintegration, now it is considered an instrument to promote and transmit the Moroccan culture (Ibid).

The number of Moroccan emigrants in Germany displays a continual growth, and the high rate of their naturalization (8.6 percent in 2011) might be considered as an indicator of their integration (Ostmann, 2013).

**Graph 6: Moroccan migration history In Germany**



Source: Destatis, 2017b; Destatis, 2017d; Destatis, 2017f

Germany has also introduced different measures in order to facilitate the integration of Moroccan emigrants, for example, the teaching of native languages and religious classes in secondary and high schools (Ostmann, 2013). However, these classes are not provided on a regular basis as reaching a certain number of students is required to open a course, and these classes are also not offered in every school (Ibid). However, the high rate of unemployment (26.9 percent) among Moroccan emigrants who do not hold German citizenship reflect their difficulties of integration (Ostmann, 2013). Also, only 9 percent of non-naturalized Moroccan migrants have a higher education degree, which explains that highly educated migrants find it easier to get German citizenship. An analysis of the educational system in Germany shows that usually, students of Moroccan origin are directed towards technical schools that provide professional training (Müller, 1996).

### **Integration experiences in Belgium:**

While in Belgium, the first waves of Moroccan emigrants were mainly characterized by the predominance of male workers, the rise of family reunification resulted in the feminization of this community (Rilke, 2013). Family reunification has also resulted in a younger generation of Moroccan immigrants since children born in Morocco joined their parents (Ibid). The new generation, however, is younger and experiences a certain equilibrium between the genders (Ibid). Marriage immigration remains an important characteristic of immigration in Belgium. Indeed, 65 percent of Moroccan women born in Belgium choose a partner in Morocco (Ibid). Most of the first generations of immigrants in Belgium came from Nador in the north of Morocco (Reniers, 1999). This is mainly explained by the existence of networks between immigrants settled in Belgium and their family members, friends or neighbors in their home country (Ibid). They reconstructed themselves in the receiving

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country similar to the way they constructed themselves in their home country (Ibid). The idea of immigration was romanticized bearing the image of an individualistic and realistic project as Europe didn't seem to be a so far away destination (Ibid). Most of the first-generation migrants did not have formal educational training in contrast to those arriving after 1996 (Ibid).

In Belgium, there has been an increase in the number of people of Moroccan origin who were granted Belgian citizenship (Saaf, Hida and Aghbal, 2009, 32). There is a strong diversity within the Moroccan community, which does not make it possible to speak of one single community but a multiplicity of small Moroccan communities. However, these small communities are unified by their culture, their origins, their identity as Muslim and especially by their common experiences of stigmatization both at the level of education and employment though they are more and more involved in public life (Rilke, 2013).

Children of Moroccan origin face learning difficulties in schools, which suggests that the Belgian educational system fails to reduce social inequalities (Rilke, 2013). The gap between Belgian students and students of Moroccan origin is significant (Ibid). Similar to Germany, these students are more susceptible to ending up doing technical studies, which are usually less valued in terms of hierarchy (Ibid). Furthermore, dropping out of school is more common among children who are descendants of immigrants (Ibid). The proportion of these children who pursue higher education is low compared to native students. Indeed, the data provided by the University of Anvers suggests that the percentage of students of Moroccan origin who manage to graduate is lower than that of the native students (Ibid). To explain the difficulties that these students encounter, Duquet et al. (2006) speak of cultural factors which make it difficult for them to adjust to their host country (Ibid). These difficulties include language learning, assimilation of values, and ethnic identifications (Ibid). These cultural factors, such as the native language, also affect Moroccan students', North African in general and Turks, opportunities of getting a degree while they do not affect students of other foreign origins (Ibid). Groenez, Van den Brande and Nicaise (2003) speak of socio-economic problems given the fact that the families of these students usually have low income and thus cannot afford to help their children financially in order to pursue their studies (Ibid). Another hypothesis would be the stigmatization that these students encounter in schools by their teachers (Clycq, Nouwen and Vandebroecke, 2013). Since Islam was officially recognized in Belgium in 1974, schools can offer religious classes, but they struggle to find teachers while universities and colleges fail to provide teaching of religions outside the classical disciplines (Rilke, 2013). When it comes to the teaching of Arabic, Berber or Moroccan Arabic, the government has put into place an agreement with Morocco to offer language classes (Rilke, 2013). Moreover, Belgium witnesses a higher level of unemployment among Moroccan descendants (OECD, 2008). This is explained in fact, by the ethnic hierarchy that characterizes the job market in Belgium. While Europeans are favored for the mainstream labor market, immigrants are usually doing secondary jobs that are usually unstable and underpaid (Rilke, 2013). It is harder for Moroccan immigrants to find decent jobs. First of all, their professional studies direct them towards technical jobs (Ibid). Second, these jobs are usually secondary and less valorizing (Glorieux and Laurijssen, 2009). They often work under temporary contracts and in less comfortable conditions (Ibid). Also, new regulations introduced in 2007 made recruitment of a workforce outside Europe only possible provided that there is a shortage of European candidates (Ennaji, 2014, 39).

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Moroccan immigrants and their descendants very often encounter discrimination within the labor market, especially women who wear the veil (CECR, 2011). Wearing the veil in the work environment is prohibited as it is considered a religious symbol. Thus, these women are less likely to have a job (Rilke, 2013). As a consequence, in 2010, 67.4 percent of Moroccan immigrants and their descendants work in factories and only 9.8 percent work in the public sector (Ibid). In comparison, only 27 percent of the nativists work in factories and 22.8 percent of them in the public sector (Ibid).

This ethnic hierarchy within the labor market also leads to inequalities in wages. Immigrants of Moroccan origin receive lower salaries and are more inclined to fall into poverty (Vertommen and Martens, 2006). During the 1990s, there was a rise in unemployment and xenophobic feelings towards Moroccan migrants (Ennaji, 2014, 23). The country started a national debate on the necessity of reforming immigration and integration policies (Ibid). These policies recognized the importance of protecting immigrants against discrimination, the importance of their social integration through their adaptation to the local culture while at the same time preserving their rights to practice their customs (Ibid). There was an increase in their regularization and naturalization, enabling them to practice their political rights (Ibid, 24). When the far-right political party with an anti-immigration ideology, *Vlaams Block*, saw a slight victory in elections in 1988, the Belgian government decided to set up the *Commissariat Royal à la Politique des Immigrés* in charge of suggesting measures and solutions to unemployment, housing and lack of educational opportunities. The purpose was to facilitate migrant integration (Dassetto, 1990). Islam became the topic of debate (Ibid). The rise in Islamophobia led to the assassination of an imam in Brussels, and within this context, more Moroccans started showing interests in politics (Bousetta and Martiniello, 2003). More and more Moroccan descendants in Belgium became candidates on the electoral lists and even got elected (Ibid). They mostly belonged to socialist and green parties (Ibid). However, their influence within their parties and on policy formulation and making when it comes to issues important to them, seems limited given the difficulties they encounter (Ibid). Thus, their participation in political life has positively evolved over the recent years. Since the Belgian government has made it easier to acquire citizenship hence political rights, more immigrants from Moroccan origin showed interest in politics. Indeed, in 2012, 130 candidates of Moroccan origin were elected in local elections (CCME, 2012). While the older generations refrained from political participation, the new generations invest in the political sphere. Their number on the electorate lists as candidates is a strong indicator of their willingness to participate in politics. The arrival of new emigrants and the emergence of these new generations lead to the rise of a new culture specific to them, a bi-culture that is not always easy to live (Charef, 2013). This new generation feel that they belong to two different cultures, to both the Belgian and the Moroccan cultures but refrain from excluding either one of them. As a matter of fact, this new generation of Moroccan immigrants in Belgium feels a strong connection both to their Moroccan origin and to Belgium (Schneider et al., 2012). What they usually mean by a strong connection is their Muslim religious identity (Saaf, Sidi Hida and Aghbal 2009). They either identify themselves as Muslim, Moroccans of Belgium, or Muslim-Moroccans (Ibid). They also develop strong transnational links with their home country (Rilke, 2013). Offering language classes is not the only tool to facilitate and measure the integration of migrants in their host countries. Their participation in public life, in education, in political life or employment are important indicators.

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## Integration experiences in the Netherlands:

Today the Moroccan community is the second-largest migrant community in the Netherlands after the Turks. One characteristic of this community is the fact that Moroccan households usually have more children than other communities, which explains why it is mainly young (Refass, 2013). Mixed marriages among this community have evolved though 80 percent of them happen with a Moroccan spouse (Ibid). The Dutch policies on integration of immigrants have evolved since the government recognized the Netherlands as a land of immigration in 1980. The first set of migration policies took the form of a policy of minorities between 1983 and 1994 when it became a policy of integration. At first, when referring to immigrants, the Dutch government preferred to use the term ethnic minorities (Entzinger, 1989). It is important to mention that the Dutch society is characterized by a multiplicity of social, religious and cultural communities (Refass, 2013). These communities have equal access to political and social institutions, and their emancipation is ensured through equal access to resources (Ibid). Between 1983 and 1994, the government put into place a 'policy of minorities' based on equality between natives and new social groups were considered underprivileged (Ibid). A more developed Memorandum was elaborated during the 1980s with the intention of fighting discrimination, improving foreigners' legal status and increasing their participation in public life (Entzinger, 1989). The purpose was to fight direct and indirect discrimination at the workplace, in the provision of education and services, discrimination based on religion, beliefs, political ideology, sexual orientations, gender or citizenship (Refass, 2013). However, these measures were inefficient as unemployment among immigrants was three times higher than among non-immigrants in 1983 (Entzinger, 1989). This is mainly explained by the fact immigrants lack adequate training and are victims of stigmatization and discrimination (Ibid). Immigrants are perceived as lazy people relying on the Dutch welfare system, a perception that has intensified resentment feelings towards these immigrants (Ibid). In 1994 this policy of ethnic minorities was replaced by a policy of integration. "Positive discrimination" was considered important to facilitate immigrants' access to the job market under harsh economic and social conditions (Refass, 2013). The failure of this policy to sensitize employers pushed for the adoption of a new one in 1998 that sought to promote immigrants' participation within the job market (Ibid). This law was finally abolished in 2004. The concept of integration bears now the notion of integrating into Dutch culture and society (Ibid). As a consequence, classes about the Dutch language and civilization became obligatory for the unemployed and who wish to benefit from any social help (Ibid). Classes have also become compulsory for the newcomers since 1998 (Ibid). However, these classes are not compulsory for European or American citizens (Ibid).

Upon their arrival, immigrants need to make an appointment with the office of integration that evaluates their language, knowledge of the Dutch civilization, training and skills to determine if these people need an integration training and determine its content (Refass, 2013). This condition was further expanded to include immigrants applying for a residence permit, and who are now obliged to pass an integration exam (Ibid). Failure to pass means paying a penalty or reduction in social allowances (Ibid). Now people applying for a family reunification visa, immigrants desiring to work in cultural or religious activities have to take this exam at the Dutch Embassy in Morocco (Ibid). The Dutch social policy made it possible for the most vulnerable to apply for financial help. In 2008, 25 percent of Moroccan immigrants between the age of 15 and 65 applied for allowances (Refass, 2013). With the

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economic crisis, these allowances started to become difficult to get, and a new legal framework was passed in 2013. It regulated allowances for non-Dutch citizens according to coefficients used in their home countries, thus reducing their amount by 40 percent (Ibid). Many Moroccans decided to return to Morocco (Ibid). In 2014 the Dutch government wanted to cancel allocations to Moroccans returning home (Ibid). The Moroccan government, after some negotiations managed to preserve allowances granted to widows and to postpone the suppression of family allocations (Yabiladi, 2015).

On the educational level, schools soon became crowded and unable to cope with the increasing number of immigrants. In 2010, a third of the active Moroccan population had a primary school degree, 49 percent have a high school degree, and only 19 percent have a university degree (Refass, 2013). This failure is linked to difficulties in learning the Dutch language (Ibid). An increasing number of Moroccan-origin migrants become entrepreneurs (Ibid). The Constitution of the Netherlands recognizes freedom of religions, and Islam was perceived as a factor to facilitate immigrants' integration. Thus, Moroccan immigrants can build mosques, receive religious training and create Islamic schools (Ibid). However, in 1983 the state stopped financial help to different worships on the basis of secularism (Ibid). The discourse on Islam has become appropriated by political parties, especially by the Right that perceives Islam as being incompatible with the values of the country, including freedom and tolerance (Ibid). Even the social democrats criticized the Dutch policy of integration as being protective and not encouraging immigrants to assimilate into Dutch values since it protects their culture of origin. Xenophobia and Islamophobia rose as Islam is perceived as a threat to national identity and democracy (Ibid). The debate about Islam shifted to a debate about immigration and the "Moroccan problem" (Refass, 2013). Moroccan immigrants and their descendants are stigmatized and accused of increasing the crime rate in the country (Ibid). A third of Moroccan immigrants participate in the Friday prayer; thus, less than the first generation but are more interested in politics than the first one (Refass, 2013). The new generation who speaks better the native language (Dutch), is, of course, more interested in public life and integration (Ibid). In 2011, 76,75 percent had Dutch citizenship compared to 20 percent among the first generation (Ibid). Thus, Moroccan immigrants and their descendants face important difficulties in their integration at the level of schools, employment; not to mention that their socio-economic condition and their ethnic belonging are sources of stigmatization. In 2009 the Council for the Moroccan Community Abroad (CCME) carried out a survey in the Netherlands among the Dutch-Moroccans to find out that 64 percent felt rejected, were unhappy and expressed their difficulties to have access to employment and social security (Ennaji, 2014, 37). Social relations with the second generation were "significantly more tense" (De Haas, 2009). They are more exposed to unemployment, and the crime rate is higher in districts where they live (Ennaji, 2014, 38). Their difficulties to integrate are attributed to both inefficiencies of the Dutch integration policies and the culture of laziness, intolerance and lack of dialogue among these immigrants (Bilgili and Weyel, 2009).

We witness a rise in the multiplicity of profiles. The first or older generations are not the only ones now. New profiles are emerging, mainly businessman and young executives who after the economic crisis of 2008, shifted their interests to the Gulf countries and the UK (Cherti, 2013). We also witness the rise of women emigrants, including single women but it

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is important to mention that these new profiles do not mix with the older generations since they evolve separately, and do not socialize in the same places (Cherti, 2013).

The image of the Moroccan immigrants evolved. It was first an image of a worker, isolated, single, spending his time between the factory, home and the coffee shop and not making any integration attempt. This immigrant was indispensable for the economic prosperity of the country, but his or her integration was not thought of because labor migration was temporary, because of ethnic, religious clichés but also how he or she competes with natives over jobs (Aderghal, 2013). With the rise of family reunification, this immigration started to occupy social space. The debate started to become political. It is about integration now. The debate depends on which political party started it. While the socialists expressed they were in favor of integration, the right-wing opposed it. Recently, however, it seems that it is the discourse of the right-wing that influences public opinion more hence the more restrictive immigration measures (Ibid). The discourse of the far-right is based on the notion that immigrants threaten national identity, security, increase violence and unemployment and abuse social provisions and states' generosity (Rydgren, 2003). This discourse has been instrumentalized for political purposes and gains (Colombo et Bicocca, 2010). Integration means the participation of immigrants in politics, society and at the economic level. Integration means having access to employment and acquiring a certain culture-how at the same time lack of integration can affect their participation, resources they have access to and how much vulnerable they can be (Ingrid, 2010). Because they are different, immigrants are the victims of symbolic exclusion, which then reinforces social exclusion (Ibid). The latter is also influenced by their social heritage since their parents used to be workers (Ibid). Inequalities continue to persist within the different generations of Moroccan immigrants and are even intensified at the workplace because of discrimination (Ibid).

Media has also played an important role in influencing public opinion. The focus has been placed on immigrant women, and the question of the veil (Ouali, 2003). The veil has been considered as a symbol of the inferiorization of immigrant women and an expression of a Muslim identity incompatible with the values of the guest country (Ibid). While wearing it gives women an opportunity to express their religious and cultural identity, their autonomy (Gaspard, Khosrokhavar, 1995), Islam is often associated with violence, intolerance, regression and women submission (Ouali, 2003). In France, women wearing the veil are not allowed in school, which sometimes explain their difficult socio-economic conditions, difficulties in accessing the job market, difficulties of integration but also difficulties in accepting the religious dimension of Muslim immigrants (Ibid). However, more women want to engage in political life and intend to influence the debate about women, integration and the fight against discrimination (Ibid).

Thus, Moroccan emigration to Europe evolved according to the logic of push and pull factors and according to facilitators and constraints used by receiving countries (Ennaji, 2014, 16). Their experiences vary according to their level of education, their socio-economic background, their gender, age and most importantly, the duration of their stay (Ibid). On the question of whether or not Moroccan immigrants consider returning to their home country, many interviewees in 2008 declared that they would only return after retirement. Others rejected the idea insisting that Morocco will remain a holiday destination. The development of transportation means has enabled them to frequently travel between their

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receiving countries and Morocco while communication means have enabled them to keep strong social ties with their family and friends back 'home' (Ibid, 45).

There are different 'success stories' within the Moroccan diaspora in Europe, varying from writers and artists to politicians and civil society activist. Tahar ben Jelloun is a popular Moroccan writer in France who won the highly prestigious Prix Goncourt (Ennaji, 2014, 158). Issa Aït Belize in Belgium has been recognized as "the most ambitious Francophone Moroccan novelists in Europe" (Ibid, 163), Ahmed Aboutaleb is the first Muslim mayor of Rotterdam in the Netherlands (Ibid, 174), Fatiha Saidi is a member of the senate in Belgium (Ibid, 176), and others who contribute to various fields and contribute to the development of their host countries.

### **Morocco's colonial past and perceptions of Europe:**

Moroccan emigration to France is closely linked to the country's colonial past. As a matter of fact, the French influence grew immensely during the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century ending up with the French forces progressively occupying Morocco and turning it into a French protectorate with the 1912 Treaty of Fez while Spain was granted control of the far north and south of the country. It was called protectorate because the Treaty recognized Morocco's status as a sovereign state. The Sultan remained in power, but he "reigned" and did not rule. Tens of thousands of *colons* entered Morocco, bought lands, and exploited mineral wealth, ensuring France and Spain's control over Morocco (Library of Congress, 2006). The colonization of Morocco resulted in the destruction of the traditional structures of the economy and the impoverishment of different social structures (Bokbot and Faleh, 2010). Within this context rose Moroccan nationalism in the 1920s and gained more ground during World War II after gaining national support (Ibid). The movement, which was reconstituted as a nationalist political party, *Istiqlal* (Independence), released a manifesto demanding full independence and called for a democratic constitution (Ibid). The fact that France refused to consider any of the demands led to riots, social uprisings and the organization of resistance movements in different parts of the country. As a reaction, France exiled the Sultan Mohammed V to Madagascar. What followed was the unification of Moroccan resistance and rising violence especially that the sultan was also recognized as the religious leader of the country (Ibid). The French government decided then to bring Mohammed V back to Morocco, who negotiated the gradual independence of Morocco from both the French and the Spanish governments. Thus, Morocco acquired full independence from France on March 2, 1956, and from Spain in April 1956 (Ibid).

It is true that few Moroccans were recorded in France before the establishment of the French protectorate in Morocco (Ray, 1937), and it is only after the signing of the Treaty of Fez on March 30, 1912, which organized for the French Protectorate in the Sherifien Empire, that the need for soldiers and workers contributed to the first real waves of Moroccan emigration (Bokbot and Faleh, 2010). The day after the declaration of the First World War in 1914, the Sultan of Morocco, Moulay Youssef, addressed letters to the mosques encouraging Moroccans to take part in the war alongside France (Ibid). Thus, thousands of Moroccans listed and were taken to Europe (Atouf, 2009). Recruiting Moroccan soldiers for the war had political reasons as it enabled to weaken tribal structures that would form resistance to the colonial order especially in the southern and mountainous regions of Morocco and to pacify the country as a whole (Bokbot and Faleh, 2010).

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During the Second World War (1939-1945), Sultan Mohamed Ben Youssef (known as Mohammed V) urged Moroccans to fight once again alongside France (Ibid). Moroccan soldiers and workers were once again recruited and taken to France (Ibid). Thus, the historical approach and understanding the history of Morocco and France's relationships remains necessary to grasp the origins of this contemporary emigration and most importantly if this history influences the way Moroccans perceive Europe in general and France in particular.

Emigration from Morocco is often presented as a means of success and a possibility to ensure a secure future. The EUMAGINE<sup>vii</sup> project conducted a survey in Morocco between 2010 and 2011 in four different regions of the country. The survey was based on in-depth interviews with diverse profiles when it comes to their gender, age, occupational status and aspirations to emigrate. The results of the survey contrasted an overall negative perception of life in Morocco with widespread positive views of life in Europe, especially in Germany, the Netherlands and France, which were considered as strong countries in terms of economic opportunities, democracy and social justice. In fact, 58.2 percent of those interviewed thought of France as the ideal destination for emigration followed by Spain (15.3 percent), then by Belgium, the Netherlands and Germany (Berriane, 2013). As a matter of fact, Europe was perceived as the 'promised land'.

(...) Most families are impressed by the migrants who work in Europe when they return to visit their families during the summer holidays, bringing back nice cars and nice clothes. These appearances are considered by the local population as a sign of fortune and wealth. So, this leaves people to think that immigrants have achieved great success. (...) So we can say that the vast majority of the local population consider Europe as an ideal suitable destination to improve the standard of living and have access to a good income.<sup>viii</sup>

Interviewees spoke of better employment opportunities, of the possibilities to lead better lives and have better salaries proportional to the living costs. Not to mention working in decent conditions and being protected by unemployment benefits if they lose their jobs. Most of them seemed to agree that Moroccans become rich when they go to work or live in Europe and acquire valuable skills.

Informal work in Morocco was also contrasted to the prevailing formal work in Europe and which guarantee social security and pension schemes. In general, interlocutors presented Europe as the continent of wellbeing, of material prosperity, full of chances to fulfill one's aspirations. Furthermore, these European societies (Germany, France and the Netherlands) were perceived as highly democratic. The widespread of good-quality education and health services help to guarantee basic rights for all. Interlocutors also mentioned gender equality and equality before the law. Some even mentioned the importance of freedom of consciousness and speech, transparent elections and the right to political participation.

Abroad, laws are applied in all areas. Here, there are laws but they are not applied. There, there is work and social security. Also, people get retirement benefits as soon as they reach retirement age. People get their vacation rights. Here you get paid based on actual work, if you don't work you get nothing. There, they reimburse you. Abroad, they know human rights and they apply



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them. Here they do not give people rights; even if you are poor you get nothing. Abroad people have rights and according to what they deserve. With us it is quite the opposite.<sup>ix</sup>

For these interlocutors, the gap between Europe and their country lies in access to social services, public help to the poor, how Europeans elected officials are committed to improving the living conditions contrasted to the widespread of corruption in Morocco.

When it comes to education, while most opinions qualified Moroccan schools as inefficient, most of them qualified European schools as being of good quality, ensuring access to the job market:

Schools are good there. You reach a certain level, if you can continue all the better, otherwise if you want to do professional training, it is possible. As soon as you finish you can easily find a job within a company. However here, I have my mechanical degree, I hung it on the wall, I've been asking companies for ten years, what is this diploma for? It's useless.<sup>x</sup>

On the other hand, views of Europe as a racist and xenophobic environment that discriminates against Moroccans came to counterbalance these overly positive perceptions of Europe. The accent was made on the lack of empathy and solidarity, lack of opportunities due to discrimination and difficulties in getting a residence and work permit. However, these negative views of Europe were mainly widespread among those who had previous negative international migration experiences.

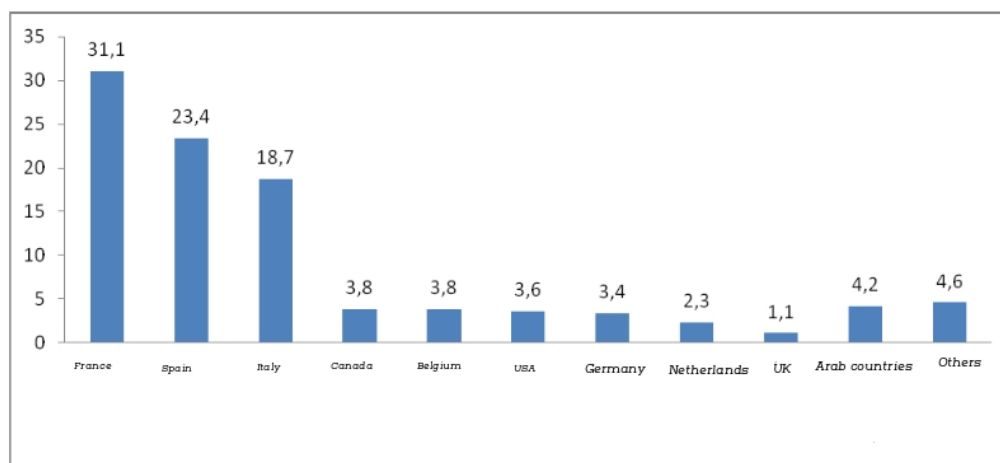
Yes, Europe has changed a lot after the global economic crisis, (...). That is to say, Europe today is not Europe in the past (...) young people know that the situation in Europe today is difficult. (...). For example, my brother when he returns from Italy, he always tells me that life in Europe is very difficult: you must always get up early and come home late (...) bills (...)... it's difficult to live in good conditions in Europe. (...) Yes, I want to emigrate and discover Europe.<sup>xi</sup>

In general, the survey concluded that Europe remains attractive for many because of living standards. This is particularly the case for students, the unemployed and those working under difficult conditions. France is perceived as a strong country and remains one of the most favorite destinations despite Morocco's colonial past. On a more recent note, the Arab Barometer concluded a survey in Morocco between October 11<sup>th</sup> and December 4<sup>th</sup> 2018 to provide insight about social, political, and economic attitudes and values. Respondents were questioned about their perception of gender issues, of democracy, of civic engagement and environmental issues, among others. They were also questioned about whether or not they are considering emigrating from their homeland. The report noted a 17-point increase in the percentage of Moroccans who considered migrating compared to 2016. This is significantly more relevant within the youth who expressed their willingness to leave their homeland. To explain their choice, they mainly spoke of economic reasons, corruption, security issues, politics, and to have access to better educational opportunities. Europe is still the most commonly preferred destination, followed by the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) and the US and Canada.

Despite the establishment of more restrictive immigration policies by European countries,

Moroccan emigration persisted even after the oil crisis of 1973 and the financial crisis of 2008. Economic factors cannot solely explain this emigration since moving to Europe requires financial means. Morocco has undergone a rapid development program that resulted in urbanization, a decrease in poverty and illiteracy rate and a rise in international tourism, among others (de Haas, 2013). This development, along with transnational networks between Moroccans in their guest countries and Moroccans in their home countries made it possible for more people to choose Europe to settle down or to study (ibid). Access to passports and the need for a cheaper workforce have also contributed to the fluctuation and the perseverance of Moroccan emigration. Thus, recent data collected by the Higher Planning Commission (HPC) in Morocco<sup>xii</sup>, and which conducted a national survey between August 2018 and January 2019, reveals that most of the Moroccan emigrants are young, men and married. In fact, 68.3 percent of these emigrants are men while women consist 34.4 percent of them. 1 out of 4, that is to say, 27 percent, is young (between 15 and 29 years old). A third is aged between 30 and 39, while the elderly (over 60 years old) are 3.9 percent. The average age for Moroccans who decide to emigrate is 25 years old, and 72.7 percent were single. When it comes to their educational level, 33.6 percent of these emigrants are college students. 24.5 percent have graduated, while 9.1 percent have not. However, 10.2 percent have no formal education. 7 out of 10 have Moroccan citizenship, while only 27.4 percent have double citizenship. France still comes first as a destination, followed by Spain and Italy. Indeed, among the 86.4 percent who chose Europe, 31.1 percent chose France (see Graph 7).

**Graph 7: The Distribution of Moroccan Emigrants in Europe**



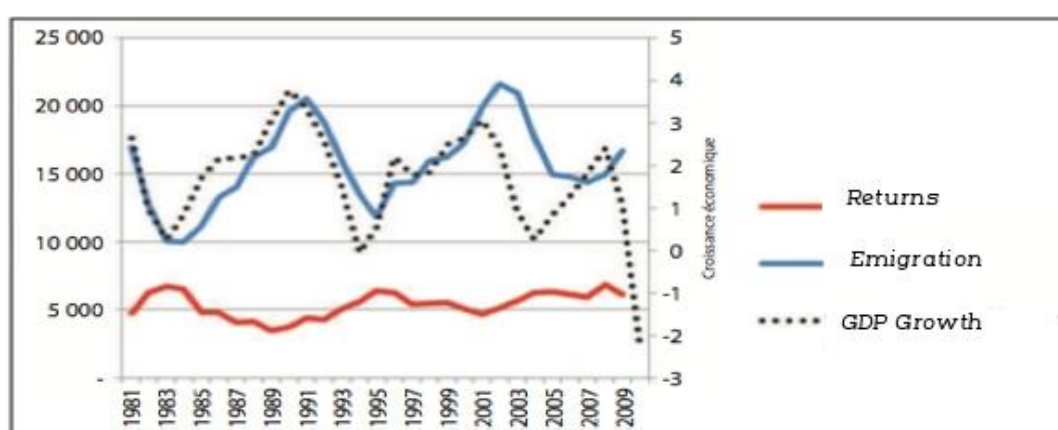
**Source: HCP, Enquête Nationale sur la Migration Internationale 2018-2019**

Once in their host countries, 64 percent have a job. 44.2 percent of these emigrants are over 60 years old and still continue to work. 82.2 percent are wage-earners, while 69.4 percent have labor contract and 12.8 percent work without one. Self-employed consist of 10.4 percent, and 3.3 percent are employers. Concerning what pushed them to emigrate, over half of them were looking for a job while a third emigrated for studies. In fact, 53.7 percent emigrated to look for a job and to improve their conditions. 24.8 percent emigrated to pursue studies. 20.9 percent left for marriage and family reunification reasons. The survey has also questioned some 5.765 about their reasons for considering emigration, and

it seems that 70 percent have economic considerations and would like to emigrate in order to improve their lives while 24.4 percent have social considerations. Europe remains a favorite destination with 80 percent, followed by North America 8.8 percent and Arab countries 2.8 percent. When it comes to why some of them decide to return to Morocco, the main reason remains marriage. As a matter of fact, 27.3 percent return for this reason while 15.2 percent return because their contract ended and because of unemployment.

Thus, Moroccan emigration to Europe continues to be important despite the changing, restrictive policies adopted by the host countries. The demand for qualified and semi-qualified workers, students' interest in European universities, family reunifications are all factors that explain the increasing number of Moroccans living abroad. However, there seems to be an important correlation between Europe's economic growth and Moroccan emigration (see Graph 8).

**Graph 8: The correlation between economic cycles, Moroccan emigration and return to Morocco**



Source: DEMIG C2C database - [www.imi.ox.ac.uk](http://www.imi.ox.ac.uk)

To explain this further, the fluctuations in the number of Moroccan emigrants in Europe, its continual flow, are affected by the economic growth in Europe. The demand for a cheap workforce to work in agriculture, industry, construction and informal sectors like house cleaning, jobs usually undervalued by the locals, explain this need for foreign workers during periods of high unemployment and slow economic growth (de Haas, 2013). It is not probable that this emigration will stop in the future. Morocco is mainly a young population with a strong potential to emigrate. The Arab Barometer is an example of this new generation who is educated, aware of opportunities abroad but most importantly aspires to a better world away from corruption and social inequalities (de Haas, 2013). Moroccan migrants still show positive attitudes towards immigration that would enable them to realize their personal and professional projects. At the professional level, they wish to find jobs or better jobs to improve their socio-economic situation. Immigration also means a different lifestyle, a desire to be somewhere else, to break with Moroccan society and to escape from the limitations dictated by the group (Reniers, 2002). Immigration also carries sociocultural motives; it has become a choice, especially among the urban most educated (Ibid).

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## Conclusion

Moroccan emigration to Europe is not a recent phenomenon. While the first documentation of the Moroccan migratory flows to Europe dates back to 1910 when a factory in France hired workers, emigration flows started to become much more important during the First and the Second World War. Moroccans were hired either to work in factories or mines or as soldiers within the French Army. In the end, most of them were taken back home. Some however stayed and thus forming the first Moroccan settlers in France or in other European countries since some of them decided to change host countries. While settling down, they asked their families and children to join them while others preferred to marry someone from their home villages or cities. It was the beginning of family reunification immigration and marriage immigration. As a consequence, this emigration, which first tended to be masculine, temporary and concerned mainly low-skilled workers, has become feminine and younger.

This emigration went through different processes and took different forms. At first it was labor emigration, then student emigration, followed by family reunification. It is now mainly selective and concerns a highly skilled workforce. This movement of Moroccans to Europe preserves regardless of the immigration policies put into place by the host countries. Flexible measures in the 1960s to satisfy a huge demand in the European labor force encouraged workers and students to move to Europe while restrictive measures since the oil crisis of 1973 resulted into a more permanent nature of settlement as larger-scale family reunification and marriage immigration came to supplement individual emigration. There has also been an increasing interest of Moroccan students in European universities, either in France, Germany, Belgium or the Netherlands. After 2001, the EU put in place mechanisms that made immigration more selective, whether this immigration is concerning workers, students or family reunification. Paradoxically Moroccan emigration to Europe continued to increase and which is mainly explained by the increasing flow of students and family reunification and marriage demands. Access to passports in Morocco became legalized, making it easier for Moroccans to get a passport. Somehow the continual encouragement of emigration by the Moroccan government helped to counterbalance the restrictive immigration policies put in place by European states.

It seems that Moroccan emigration is diverse and flexible in the way it adjusts to changing immigration policies, changes in the job market in the host countries but also to political, economic and social changes in Morocco. In fact, Morocco has always encouraged emigration. The impoverishment of thousands of farmers after the destruction of traditional economic structures due to colonization resulted in a massive rural exodus towards the cities. Later after the independence of Morocco in 1956, the rentier economy and clientelism caused another unprecedented wave of rural exodus. Promoting emigration meant decreasing economic and social conflicts, a respite from social and political contestation but also economic gains as workers sent remittances back home.

The idea of migrating for many Moroccans is not only about economic motives, about finding a job or a better job, about achieving some kind of financial stability, it also has socio-cultural motives as students are seeking better educational opportunities but also young people seeking to break away from limitations dictated by their society, limitations not only in terms of economy but also society and politics. There is nowadays a multiplicity

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of profiles, workers, students, spouses, politicians, writers, young executives and businessmen. Their image as a consequence shifted from the image of a low-skilled factory worker to the image of a young educated person.

Moroccan emigrants have spread to all continents, making 10 percent of the population. They continue to nourish economic, social, cultural and political links and exchanges with populations in their home country. They come to spend their summer holidays in Morocco and contribute to the flow of formal and informal financial transfers. They are also involved in different cultural, economic and social programs in their home villages and cities. They display a strong attachment to their home countries while at the same time, highlight the importance of their European identity in their host countries. They retain an ethnic culture and identity and are confronted with integration difficulties. As a matter of fact, while the first generations of Moroccan emigrants considered their movement to Europe as temporary and focused mainly on their culture of origins, the new generations feel they are part of these European countries and their identities, their social, political and cultural interests are also changing. Europe is no more a host country; it has become home. They are more involved in creating and shifting the discourse about immigrants and their descendants. They have been claiming and exercising their cultural and political rights. With the increase in family reunification, marriage and student immigration, these immigrants started to occupy public and social space. So, the debate in Europe has shifted from the necessity of regulating the flow of immigrants to the importance of debating the issues of integration and respect for rights. The debate started to become political. Sometimes it can be in favor of immigration and integration, and other times immigration is presented as a threat to national culture, identity, and safety.

But regardless of these restrictive measures or the European perception of the Moroccan emigrant, emigration to Europe continues to be attractive for different economic, political and social reasons. It is still perceived as a means of success and the possibility of ensuring a better future, a continent that offers better social services and better educational opportunities. France is still the number one choice for Moroccan emigrants because it offers a larger social network of help.

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## Endnotes

<sup>i</sup> See <http://stats.uis.unesco.org>

<sup>ii</sup> Berbers are Morocco's indigenous peoples who call themselves "Imazighen", meaning the free. Amazigh are the descendants of the pre-Arab inhabitants of North Africa and are scattered across Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Mali, Niger, and Mauritania. Prior to the Arab conquest of the late 7th century CE their interactions with other African and Mediterranean communities influenced their set of beliefs. Lack of Berber written languages made it difficult to account for their religions and cultures. However, some accounts speak of Judaism, Punic religion and Iberian mythology. The Amazigh believed in evil spirits and in good spirits as well. When it comes to the form of society they adopted, they gathered into numerous autonomous and semi-autonomous segments or different societies that formed no universal political unit. Following the Arab conquest, the broader area of North Africa came to be known as the Maghrib (Arabic for "the West") and the Amazigh for the majority converted to Islam. They were entitled to carry on their own tribal law system. During the colonization of Morocco by France, King Mohamed V signed an agreement with the French authorities called the Berber decree (dahir berbère). It came to formalize these practices by law as the new legal system in Berber communities would be based on local Berber laws and customs. Pan-Arab nationalists perceived the decree as an attempt by France to separate Berbers from Arabs. And so whenever Berbers claimed their distinct ethnic identity, they received criticism for wanting to weaken unity between the Berbers and Arabs. After the independence of Morocco in 1956, Arabic became the main language and an Arabization period began to counter French colonial values. Not a single mention was made to their identity, language or culture in the constitution. The call for the recognition of a distinct Berber identity has been gaining popularity leading to the emergence of a Berber movement that has been fighting for identity recognition and linguistic rights. It was only in 2011 constitutional reforms that Amazigh was recognized as an official language and was implemented in the educational system. The Berber speak various Amazigh languages belonging to the Afro-Asiatic family related to ancient Egyptian. They can be divided into three main groups using different dialects, which are: the Riffians, the Chleuh and the Central Moroccan Amazigh. Two-thirds of Berbers live in rural and mountainous areas. Traditionally they are farmers, traders and some lead a nomadic lifestyle. They have their own cultural practices and unique features that set them apart. They celebrate the same national and religious holidays as the rest of the country, but they have their own unique holidays and celebrations. Yennayer is the Amazigh New Year and is based on the Amazigh agrarian calendar. They have also managed to preserve their distinctive cuisine, art, music, dances, handicrafts and architectural features. They continue to celebrate their festivals and follow their traditional wedding customs. In 2001 a royal decree of King Mohammed VI called for the creation of the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture in an attempt to preserve and promote the Berber languages and culture.

<sup>iii</sup> In the Moroccan imaginary, Europe was and is still often associated with France. For one thing, France was often the major destination for the Moroccan elite in quest of studies or workers looking for opportunities either in trade or agriculture and this even before the colonization of Morocco in 1912. The stories told by these first migrants on the degree of modernity of the country, the infrastructures and the quality of life shaped the Moroccan perception of Europe. The intensification of Moroccan migratory flows during the colonization of the country further shaped this perception. France is perceived as the country of freedom, liberty, music, books and social justice. It is a very romanticized idea of the country as being modern free, educated, open-minded and caring. Furthermore, the degree of knowledge Moroccans have of European countries depends mainly on the total number of Moroccan immigrants in these countries. The greater this number is the more knowledge they have. France was and remains the number one destination for Moroccan emigration because among others it is the country they know more about.

<sup>iv</sup> EduFrance was created in November 1998 in order to promote higher education in France and attract foreign students. It was responsible for providing information about higher educational opportunities and helping foreign students prepare for their stay in France. It was replaced by Campus France in 2010.

<sup>v</sup> Data collected by UNESCO mixes between Moroccan students who left for Europe to study and Moroccan students who are born in Europe.

<sup>vi</sup> See <https://www.service-public.fr/particuliers/vosdroits/F17048>

<sup>vii</sup> EUMAGINE is a collaborative European research Project that seeks to understand how people in Morocco, Senegal, Turkey and Ukraine aspire to emigration and if their perception of human rights and democracy in host countries affects these migration aspirations. For more information please visit: <http://www.eumagine.org>

<sup>viii</sup> Interview 11, cited in Aderghal (2013).

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<sup>ix</sup> Interview 11101 cited in Aderghal (2013).

<sup>x</sup> Interview, 11110 cited in Berriane (2013).

<sup>xi</sup> Interview 12114 cited in Berriane (2013).

<sup>xii</sup> l'Enquête du Haut Commissariat au Plan sur la Migration Internationale au cours de 2018-2019.

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