



Project Paper 4

Morocco Country and Research Areas Report

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Introduction

To characterize the position of Morocco, it was customary to use an image compared to a tree whose roots lie deep in Africa and its stems and leaves grow in Europe and the Middle East. This is to say that the geographical location of Morocco has always been open to different countries and civilizations with which it has maintained ongoing relationships. Whether they were in the shape of bilateral, peaceful or confrontational exchanges, these reports were always accompanied by mutual borrowing, mixing and cross-perceptions. Amongst these geographical areas with which Morocco was always interacting we find Europe separated with only 15 kilometres from the strait of Gibraltar. This explains the interest of integrating Morocco in the research project EUMAGINE.

The country has indeed made it very early about its willingness to tie its economy to the old continent and regularly seeks the acceleration of the process of integration. Meanwhile, the presence in European countries of almost three million of its nationals, without counting their descendants who sometimes do not appear in the statistics, intensifying the relations and increases the circulation of wealth, information and pictures. Migrants involved in two connecting entities on the two shores of the Mediterranean have contributed to the shaping of images constructed by the Moroccans to Europe and Europeans.

With an acceleration of human mobility in recent decades, we can distinguish two migration systems: the African migration system and the Euro-Mediterranean migration system. These two systems are not spatially closely contiguous and do communicate between each other, or even overlap and interlock. But what makes the richness of the Moroccan case is that it lies at the junction of these two systems belonging to both the Euro-Mediterranean system, through South-North flows that deliver to Europe and secondarily the North-South flows received from this same Europe and the African system through South-North flows it receives from sub-Saharan countries. This perpetuates the interfacing role that Morocco had all the times thanks to its geographical position as a crossroads point.

It is through this interface that Morocco has and is developing its relations with Europe. This is a relationship that allows Europe to disseminate within the Moroccan society values and principles relating to human rights and democracy. The latter are two themes that often recur in Morocco-EU negotiations that cover the press, and often reflect the image made of Europe. However, these Moroccan-European relations do not always plead the cause of human rights, and are driven by economic imperatives and security. The fact is that Europe is led to continuously insist on the creation of free trade, and that this area is open to all traffic except that of men from the south probably disturbs the image of a Europe which stands for freedom and democracy. A picture even more confused by outsourcing the control of migration flows to countries outside Europe, which materializes in Morocco by pressure from Europe with the aim of obtaining its signature of an agreement on the readmission of the SSA and the creation of detention centres. This is one aspect of North-South relations, driven by geopolitical and economic conditions in a context of crisis and insecurity model linked to international terrorism, which makes more complex the case of Morocco.

In the following report we lay out the elements that we believe will help to contextualize the research as defined in the draft EUMAGINE. Yet, given the constraints of the length of the text, we were forced to make selections and restrict ourselves to the most significant features.

After a brief presentation of Morocco and the situation, we followed the guideline headings identified by the report but select only elements that seem relevant to the approach advocated by the research project. Hence the emphasis on (i) the country's political system and its spatial organization, (ii) the demographic transition that saw the country, (iii) the major changes in the Moroccan economy; and amongst the socio-economic indicators (iv) the treatment of the issue of poverty, the evolution of the issue of human rights before finishing with the relations between Morocco and the European Union.

The second part was reserved to the migration issue, emphasis was placed on (i) the historical evolution of the phenomenon and its main features, functions and new migration that the country is expected to play today (ii) migration policies through legislation, bodies dealing with migration, treaties and discourses, (iv) migration and development, (v) migration and gender and (vi) the linkages between international migration and domestic migration.

In the third and final part, besides the presentation of each of the four selected regions in briefly justifying their choices and their characteristic, we wanted to conduct a brief comparison through some particular socio-economic indicators to show that these areas may be representing the regions of Morocco, while having different degrees of development are also challenged by a different Europe.

Country Background

Geography

Morocco is located in the extreme northwest of Africa (Latitude: between 21° and 36° N. Longitude: Between 1° and 17° W), in which it is deeply rooted along the Atlantic coast. It is separated from Spain only by a distance of about 14km. The Atlantic Ocean is in its western border, while the Strait of Gibraltar and the Mediterranean Sea are located in the northern part.

This geographical situation between the Atlantic, the Mediterranean and the Strait of Gibraltar and the Great Sahara ensures the country a privileged position in the Maghreb as well as in the Western Mediterranean area. At the same time it is a Maghreb, Arab, Muslim, Saharain, African, Mediterranean and oceanic country. It also makes up a link between the European and African continents.

The Moroccan territory stretches over an area of 710.850 km². The country's eastern borders are not permanently fixed and some of its cities and Mediterranean islands (Seuta, Melilla, rocks of Badis and Al Hoceima, the jaâfarines islands) are still under the Spanish reign. By way of comparison, Belgium possesses an area of 30.521 km², France 547.026km² and Tunisia 16.3610km². Therefore, as far as the territorial level is concerned, Morocco is a large country. But, compared to other poorly populated States of the region (Libya: 1,759,540 km²), Morocco remains a medium-sized country.

Its natural relief and landscape are marked by an increased diversity, since the country has the largest mountain areas and the highest peaks of the Maghreb, some with over 4000 (map 1).

Morocco has a Mediterranean climate, both moderate and warm, marked by two seasons: a dry hot summer and a winter with continuous very heavy rainfall. Different influences introduce numerous variations to the climate's general characteristics, allowing the distinction of at least four significant areas which mark the country and its inhabitants: An Atlantic area, very open to the west and much softened by dampness produced by the Atlantic Ocean; A mountain area including in most of the Rif, High Atlas and Middle Atlas; An eastern area which is already so continental and a pre-Saharan and Saharan area characterized by a total annual rainfall always below 200 mm and thermal differences.

Political and Administrative Environment

A Constitutional Monarchy

Being the institutional pillar of the country, the monarchy in Morocco is the culmination of twelve centuries of history. The King, the political leader who is endowed with supreme power that the Constitution grants him and which his status, as an arbitrator, confers to him on the parties (he appoints the Prime Minister and on the latter's proposal, he appoints members of the Government, chairs the Ministers' Council, promulgates the law, signs and ratifies treaties, declares the state of emergency, accredits ambassadors to foreign countries), is also the supreme commander of the

Royal Armed Forces and exerts the right to pardon. Finally, the King is also *Amir al mouminin*; Commander of the Faithful.

Coupled with a Constitution which is also the culmination of many amendments (1962, 1970, 1972, 1980, 1992 and 1996), this monarchy is constitutional and is geared towards a democratic system, a slow and laborious improvement process.

Since the review of the 1972 Constitution in 1996 and the setting up of a bicameral system whereby, Parliament is composed of two Houses. Members of the House of Representatives are elected for five years under a Universal approval, while the House of councillors includes elected members at the regional level by an electoral college consisting of representatives of local authority (3/5) and others (2/5) elected at the national level by an electoral college made up of representatives of salaried employees.

The government is responsible to the King and the Parliament. It ensures the execution of laws and is responsible for management. The Prime Minister may be the responsible of the Government in the House of Representatives, on a declaration of a general policy or adoption of a bill .The House of Representatives may call into question the Government's responsibility through a vote of censure. The Prime Minister initiates laws, exerts regulatory powers and takes responsibility of the coordination of ministerial activities.

Local Authorities and Regionalization

The constitutional review of 1996 has also made the Region as the Local authority alongside the Prefectures, Provinces and Municipalities and subdivisions that proved to be effective. Taking its origins from pre-colonial and colonial periods, the Moroccan administrative division has been especially refined from Independence till now going in a direction of tightening the network. Because of that, we started with 15 provinces and one prefecture in 1960 to the current 62 provinces and 21 prefectures, hence into smaller and more homogeneous administrative units, bringing several jointly owned prefectures, as a rule, some Wilayas are intended to serve as a framework for a long-term development of big towns. This territory division system is marked by organizing into hierarchy administrative grades since below the Wilaya; there is the province or prefecture then the zone, then the smallest administrative unit, which is either the urban or the rural community. This frame is currently composed of 258 zones and 1503 communities (221 urban and 1282 rural).The refinement of this network which is explained by the decrease in spatial units' size, aims at both a better supervision and a reinforcement of the administrations' interference, more particularly in rural areas (map 2).

Apart from the zone concept, a simple intermediate administrative unit for local authority, the superior levels (province and prefecture) and the inferior ones (community) are also local authorities with their own elected bodies (Provincial Assembly or Communal Council), budgets and prerogatives. There are elected municipalities in the urban sector. Big cities are being divided and administered by many municipalities. However, these elected local structures must include the supervision of the Ministry of Interior represented by the Governor. This bipolar or bidirectional authority is sometimes a source of pressure and abuse that the new concept of 'The Agent of Authority' (More

a state of mind than an actual Law) put in force since the accession of King Mohammed VI to the throne (July 1999) tries to regulate.

The newcomer in this system is the institutional Region established as the first division of the national territory by the last review of the Constitution that was involved openly in every research on the geographic region. Headed by a president, the regional Assembly is elected and responsible for democratically managing the region's affairs. Governors carry out these assemblies' deliberations by representing the State; ensure the implementation of laws as well as of the decisions of the government. The country was divided to 16 institutional regions and has just started a research activity on the regionalization process which was partially dictated through the Sahara issue.

The Question of Borders

Apart from its natural borders represented in the Ocean and the Mediterranean, Morocco has land borders stretched over more than 3000km. The border's genesis in Morocco has started since the XVIII century when the Ottoman Turks substituted the notion of a precise limit to borders between Algeria and Morocco, the idea of nation and territorial sovereignty is an imported Turkish concept for the Maghreb countries.

The fixation of the boundaries between the two countries took place in 1844. But only up to the area of Aïn Bni Mathar ,since all the remaining parts are not fixed so far and, the other buffer areas still separating the two countries. Added to this is two Spanish enclaves that remain on the Moroccan ground: they are Sebta (Ceuta) and Melilla, while the southern border despite being recognized by Mauritania, it is not the case for Algeria and it is a scene of a territorial conflict existing till today.

This conflict results from the process of the decolonization of southern zones (occupied by Spain since the beginning of the last century), which became more and more complicated after 1975.

For instance, supported by the favourable judgement of the International Court of Justice, Morocco organized the Green March during which 350,000 people originating from all the Northern provinces were mobilized and moved towards the boundary line in the south of Tarfaya and negotiations with Spain end in Madrid by the withdrawal of the Spanish administration and army from Sahara.

This withdrawal was accompanied by the appearance of the Polisario, a movement bringing together those amongst the Sahara inhabitants who refuse integration in Morocco and who support Algeria for obvious geopolitical reasons. In 1991, the UN which has taken up the case made a call for a cease-fire, and recommended the organization of a referendum on self-determination.

However, the UNMRWS (United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara) has for the ten years came up against the problem of identifying persons authorized to participate in the referendum process. Face to the deadlock, the UN organization recommended and proposed a political solution in June 2001 consisting in making the region an autonomous entity under the Moroccan sovereignty for a five years transitional period, during which a consultation should decide on future relationships of the region with Morocco.

This option detailing the framework agreement and represented to the Security Council was taken over by Morocco which suggests a real autonomous status in the region, but rejected by the Polisario and Algeria up to date. It offers a political end to this problem and sets in a practical way the future of the country's regionalization process.

Demographic Background

Evolution in the Population Rate

The official population of Morocco, counted according to the place of residence, increased to 26.073.717 inhabitants in September 2004, date of the last official census. This number is valued today at about 31.513.555 inhabitants (15 538 881 men and 15 974 674 women) among which 10 percent would be emigrants (High Commission of Planning). This figure puts Morocco in the second rank amongst the Maghreb countries after Algeria and in the fourth position in the Arab countries after Egypt, Sudan and Algeria.

At the beginning of the French Protectorate (1912), after experiencing intense swaying in the XVIII and XIX centuries (famines and epidemics alternating with periods of growth), the number of inhabitants was about 5 millions. In 1936, the population passes 7 millions to reach 11,6 millions in 1982 and 26 millions in 1994. After an increase (this population has been practically doubled in the space of a generation between 1960 and 1985), Morocco reaches a phase of deceleration of its demographic growth. The annual average increase was 2.0 percent between 1982 and 1994 against 2.6 percent between 1971 and 1982 (Diagram 1).

Although this increase remains very high, the demographic transition in Morocco has been well initiated. The number of new Moroccan population is no more than 460 to 500,000 every year compared to 700,000 a few years ago. The Moroccan population is expected to reach 39.1 millions in 2025, 45 millions in 2050 and 45.4 millions in 2060, i.e., a 1.5 increase only in 57 years (Diagram 2).

Demographic Transition

To grasp the meaning of this demographic transition, we must recall the migratory example that prevailed over fifty years. In fact, during that time, Morocco was characterized by high levels of mortality and fertility since the gross rate of the former were 25.7 per thousand between 1950 and 1955, then 18,7 per thousand in 1962. Life expectancy at birth did not exceed the 43 years. The infant mortality rate reached its highest level. Adding to this, the Moroccan socio-cultural context was favourable for high fertility. In society, the shared norms and customs perceived the child, especially the male, as a fortune and investment for their parents' future. The majority of women are illiterate; they got married at an early age (17 years old on average). According to the elaborated estimates, over 50 percent of the population lived in poverty, the human development index was about 0.198, and the proportion of women using contraceptives does not exceed 8 percent. The cultural representations restricted the role of women in reproductive activities and in the education of children.

In order to change this model to what it is today, different factors will intervene. Among these factors, we find in the first position the population policies that the Moroccan State carried out during the last forty years through the adoption of a family planning program as well as the abrogation of the law prohibiting contraceptive propaganda. Different Economic and Social Development Plans pleaded the population policy that can reduce the country's population growth. The 1968-72 Plan, which includes a family planning program with the objective of decreasing the 50 per thousand gross birth rate to 45 per thousand. The other Plan is that of 1973-77 which made provision for the reduction of the total birth rate from 45 per thousand to 43 per thousand. There are other indirect, but particularly effective measures represented in the Plans that followed: education, especially of girls, and the encouragement of women's work. Finally, the 80s saw the constraints of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) and its necessarily negative impacts.

Also, the 90s and 2000s marked by various reforms aiming at preparing the Moroccan economy for globalization in a better way, giving more interest to social issues (improving the medical staff, campaigns for the vaccination of low age children, etc..). Yet, the progress accomplished in this domain is still insufficient since the demand largely overtakes financial achievements and potentialities.

The results are unexpected and the decrease in mortality rate occurs in the early 1960s, with a growth of more than twenty years in life expectancy (47 years in 1962 against 71 years in 2004). Infant mortality has significantly decreased, from about 150 per thousand in early 1960s to 47.9 per thousand in 2004. The fertility rate, whose level reached in the early 60s 7 children per woman, has quickly dropped to reach 5.52 children per woman in 1982. This decrease is accelerating to the extent that today, Moroccan women do not give birth to more than 2.5 children during their entire fertile life. The reduction of the fertility synthetic index is the direct result of rising marriage age for women (from 17,5 years old in 1960 to 27,1 in 1998), and men (from 24,4 years old in 1960 to 31,6 in 1998) as well as the intensification of contraceptive practices and their increased effectiveness.

This is done in parallel with profound transformation experienced by the family institution whose ways of life, roles and structures are considerably different from what they used to be more than forty years ago. They are the result of the changes introduced by colonialism and which continued from independence under the combined effects of urbanization, communication, education- especially of girls- the gradual insertion of women into the job market etc. In Morocco, the family is getting more and more nuclear and the relations between parents and their children are on their way to be modified. The traditional economic system of the family, based on unity and self-sufficiency is disintegrating and the production function goes beyond the family context, especially in towns and cities. Culturally speaking, the hierarchical and patriarchal family model- expanded and authoritarian- is no longer the unique reference.

Today other factors can be added and mark these bearish trends. Accordingly, the urbanization increase, the widespread education, especially that of girls, the gradual women's access to the economic process, the housing problems, youth unemployment, infant mortality decrease and the image of the small family enhancement, suggest the pursuit of fertility decrease and population growth in the future. According to the calculations of The center For Demographic Studies and Research, these changes have enabled Morocco to reduce the overall size of the population, a reduction of the population of about 3 million people between 1970 and 2000.

A More Urban Population

Alongside these demographic and socio-cultural transformations, the population has known and will also witness an evolution in its structures. The urban population which did not exceed 3.4 millions in 1960 has quintupled in 44 years, reaching nearly 16.5 millions according to the 2004 Census (Diagrams 1 and 2). The rate of urbanization which has increased from 29 percent to 55.1 percent during the same period will, according to the forecasts, reach 71.6 percent in 2060. The urban population increase can be caused by the natural and migratory movements, as well as the reclassification of many rural localities in cities. For the rural population, it will witness different cycles of increase and decrease in its numbers: a growth from 1994 to 2001, a fall between 2002 and 2024, before starting a positive demographic growth till 2060. Between 1960 and 2060, its number is going to change from 8.2 millions to nearly 13 millions.

The Young Population on Its Way to Ageing?

Nowadays, the age structure of the population is still marked by its young character since people with less than 15 years old constitute 33 percent of this population and more than 64 years represent 5 percent (Diagram 3). There are considerable efforts to be taken to invest in education, efforts reflecting a slow improvement of the situation because of the very high demand in youth education. However, the forecasts reveal a constant decrease of youngsters of less than 15 years old and a significant increase in the age category over 60 years. It is estimated that in 2020 the proportion of 60 years olds will exceed 11 percent of the total population to reach 13.3 percent in 2025, 20 percent in 2040 and 27 percent in 2060. This population ageing will also affect the working people, because of the increase of welfare costs, and will lead to a change of diseases profile, which requires an effective system of social and medical care generalized to all categories of society, especially to old people.

An Improvement for Women's Status

The decrease of age at first marriage and the increased use of contraception are closely related to women's literacy and access to job market. One of the key factors behind this development is the improvement of women's status. The Family Code, recently promulgated, includes innovations to promote women's status by making them, from now on, equal to men in terms of rights and obligations. Similarly, instituting a minimum quota of 30 women in the House of Representatives during the elections of September 2002, allowed the increasing involvement of women in the political sphere.

Economic Development and Social Situation

Economy

While synthesizing the reports written at the 50th anniversary of Independence¹, one realizes that the economy of modern Morocco was built in three major phases: the first starting from the days of independence until the beginning of the 1980's, the second corresponds to the Program of Structural Adjustment implemented between 1983 and 1993, whereas the third relates to the period from the 1990's till now.

From independence until 1982, we witnessed the building of a Moroccan economic model of liberal orientation; but, at the same time, strongly marked by the mixed economy, protectionism and State economic and social interventionism. *In 1983, with the Structural Adjustment Program*, starts a decade dominated by the research of macroeconomic stabilization, the cleansing of public finances and the progressive disengagement of the State to the profit of the market forces. *From 1993 until now*, there has been acceleration in the liberalization process and the opening of the economy, with programs of ambitious privatization and the concluding of multiple agreements of free trade. Thus, the conditions of the emergence of a modern market were created. The nation's economy was fastened with the liberal model and was opened with the circuits of world exchanges.

As a whole, this course allowed notable progress and gains; such as the rise in the total standards of living in the population in terms of incomes, purchasing power, consumption and saving. However, this economy is far from being fully fledged during the last half-century. Its growth was overall weak since 1955 just as the increase in the income per capita. Its constant dependence on the agricultural sector, itself largely dependent on the climatic risks, explains the extreme volatility of growth rates. The non-agricultural sectors did not carry out a satisfactory growth rate. Lastly, the way in which growth's outcomes were distributed did not allow the emergence of a middle-class enterprise, able to insufflate the reforms and facilitate the penetration of technologies and the values of progress. The accumulation of the social deficits was thus the corollary of this evolution. Let us add that during these last years, a series of actions and reforms of a legislative, lawful, financial, administrative, social and educational nature were initiated to overcome these handicaps.

Unemployment and Employment Crisis

The unemployment rate for the whole of the population is estimated at 12.3 percent, that is to say 1.4 million people, including 19.3 percent for urban unemployment. Unemployment is higher within the poorest social classes, since its rate accounts for 30 percent in urban environment and 7 percent in rural environment for the poorest against 20.6 percent and 5.6 percent respectively for the whole of the population. The rate of demand for the female worker progressed in terms of work offer (26.6 percent in 2003 compared with 8.5 percent in 1960) but remains insufficient and often confines women in precarious employment. Due to illiteracy, major sections from both genres were excluded from the qualified job market involving the constitution of a reservoir of labour in an unstable situation.

¹ 50 years of human development and prospects 2025, on line

The moderate growth rates that the Moroccan economy recorded during the adjustment period and thereafter, never were sufficient to absorb the unemployed and new flows of labour that arrive each year on the job market. In the absence of serious upgrading strategies, unemployment rate could - with the liberalization of the exchanges and consecutive disappearance of several non-competitive national activities- reach 25 percent in the years to come.

One of the consequences of the employment crisis, poverty and migration, is that the informal sector occupies 39 percent of non-agricultural employment. It is especially dominating in urban areas (71.6 percent of the units) (ENSINA, Department of the Statistics, 2000) and gathers activities of survival as well as evolutionary activities having potentials for employment, incomes and accumulation of capital.

Education

Considerable efforts were provided in the field of education and schooling, an investment accounting for 20 percent of the total budget and 6 percent of the GDP. The rate of schooling in the primary education passed from 16 percent in 1955 to 92.2 percent in 2003-2004 with a progress in girls' schooling, whose rate passed from 44,6 percent to 82,2 percent for the same period. But, the output of the school system remains weak, resulting in a rate of important abandonment, a very insufficient quality teaching standards, which gear and prepares pupils to neither exert their citizenship nor fit in the job market. The system is also characterized by an inequality of access between the poor and the non-poor. Further, whereas the elimination of illiteracy is a fundamental tool for integration, about half of the population remains, fifty years after independence; illiterate. This rate is more noticeable in the poorest rural regions (nearly 80 percent). A total of 36 percent from the younger generation aged between 15 and 24 years are suffering from illiteracy, which results in a weak qualification of the working population and a low productivity.

The elimination of illiteracy amongst the adults is a tool for integration, allowing the full exercise of the citizenship and improving the work output. If in 1960, 87 percent of Moroccans aged 10 years plus were illiterate (including 78 percent men and 96 percent women), this rate remains officially at 43 percent (including 28 percent men and 57 percent women). After the campaigns against illiteracy carried out shortly after independence and which was respectively related to 1 and 2 million adults in 1956 and 1957, the programmes of elimination of adults illiteracy began again only by the end of the Nineties. The creation of a Department in charge of eliminating illiteracy, the resource allocation of (10 million DH in 1999.100 million in 2003), the adoption of an adapted pedagogy and the partnership with operators of the civil society made it possible for this program to take off starting from 1998 (Diagram 4).

Health

Thanks to vaccination and to the success of certain prevention programs, infant mortality passed in 50 years from 200/1000 to 37/1000. The country was equipped with 2000 dispensaries and mobile teams having potentially access to the remote areas. In spite of the means implemented and while at the same time the medical status of Moroccans had generally been improved, the health system, which accommodated in the days of independence all Moroccans, currently operates within two levels of velocity and contributes to create poverty and exclusion. That is due to the epidemiologic

transition and emergence of diseases whose costs are very expensive, with a medicine that is becoming more sophisticated, in addition to the insufficient health budget (5.3 percent of the budget of the state, 1.2 percent of the GDP), with the absence of medical cover and the existence of heavy bureaucracy in hospitals. Added to it, is the plethora in these establishments, made out of non impregnated meddlesome administrative staff lacking a culture of service provision, which had indeed contributed to divert the public hospitals from their primary mission and detach them from field work even when this administration is decentralized (Table 1).

Poverty Become Visible

In Morocco, like everywhere in the world, poverty in its various shapes has always existed, but for various reasons and for an extended period of time; still, it was never indicated as such. At the beginning of the 1990's, and following the presentation by the international institutions of several worrying results on the social plan, the persons in charge recognize at the same time the existence and the expansion of the phenomenon and become aware of the urgent need to be interested in the living conditions of the poor layers. Terms such as poverty, vulnerability, and exclusion form part of the official vocabulary.

In fact what made poverty visible are the changes of the Moroccan society during the last fifty years which have led to the transformation of the family structure with a generalization of the nuclear family and the atomization of society. This involves the loss of the identity landmarks and the insulation of the individual. The fast urbanization of society, the increase in life expectancy (47 years in 1957.71 years today) and the setback in birth rates in the semi-urban areas. Among the non-poor Moroccans, 25 percent live right at the top of the poverty line and remain vulnerable vis-à-vis life risks. For an urban household, the poverty line threshold was in 2001 at 1700 DH and the one of vulnerability was at 2552 DH. These vulnerable households can under certain conditions (unemployment, disease) be without resources temporarily or permanently, swinging over to follow undesirable direction in the absence of the networks of solidarity which saw a retreat following the aforementioned social changes.

Nowadays, what make poverty more visible are the widespread inequalities between the rich and the poor. Looking at statistics of household expenses, these inequalities are marked enough: the expenditure passed from 3,3 percent to 10 percent for the poorest, against 25 percent for the 10 percent of the richest in 1960 to 2.6 percent against 28.8 percent respectively.

This poverty can involve exclusion, which is a form of social inequality, implying the incapacity to climb steps within society. This exclusion, which is especially urban, is related to the integrating role of employment and watches the dysfunction of a society unable to integrate certain categories of individuals.

The general evolution of the international and national macro-economic context and the effects of the economic policies, in particular those related to the application of the programme of structural adjustment between 1983-1991 (suppression of the subsidies and progressive price liberalization, market liberalization, installation of a new tax system, control of acute public deficits and rigorous monetary policy aiming at limiting inflation) mainly explain this evolution and the deterioration of the purchasing power of the social categories with limited incomes during the 1970's.

After having favoured, and for a long time, the economic equilibrium, the policies for economic and social development have seen a turning point within the last fifteen years. This became more noticeable with the existence of the social development strategy comprising an economic and human axis as well as social assistance for the poor. As of 1990's, strategies for fighting against poverty were already planned and implemented through an increase on the part of the budget reserved for the social programs (39 percent in 1993, 48 percent in 2004). They contributed to the opening-up of the rural regions and achieved progress beyond what was expected, especially in terms of electrification and drinking water conveyance. Nevertheless, the success of these programs did not remarkably reduce poverty and inequalities.

In parallel, it has been noticed that there is an ongoing development of an associative sector which, at the same time, reveals the will of the citizens to take their problems in their own hands and the great demand on the ground and the inefficiency of the administration. However, we notice the absence of specialization, vision and coordination between associations, on the one hand, and between the associations and the public sector on the other hand. Also, the lack of training of their members make them, with the exception of some rare NGOs, perform the role of charitable organisations and do not exert their duties as pressure groups .

Despite all the direct or indirect efforts performed to reduce poverty in Morocco, the results were at the beginning of the year 2000 not very satisfactory. All the reports signalled the crippled coordination between the programs in place and the institutions, the disparaging and scattered efforts, the bad targeting and a predominance of the cyclical activities. This is why a recent initiative was launched in 2005 by a more high ranking authority; it is called National Initiative for Human Development Human (NIHD). It aims towards a socio-economic development of the country by supporting a bottom up participatory method. At the national level, developmental micro-projects were set in place, carried out and financed² by public authorities and in close cooperation with the local elected officials and associative actors. This new program reinforces (at least in theory) the process of *territorializing* mobilizations by stressing on what is local and by explicitly developing the work of micro-associations. Due to its conceptualisation, the social mobility upon which it is based on, this recent initiative is carrying change. Still, it is too early to evaluate its effects.

Finally, it is to be signalled that if poverty in Morocco is a predominantly rural phenomenon, it is not distributed homogeneously, which sometimes makes rating insignificant. Some of the regions have their rates raised up to three times higher than the others (map 3).

Culture

Crossroads of Civilisations

Thanks to its significant geographical location, Morocco is a historical crossroads of civilisations. Over history; it has received African, Arab, European and generally Mediterranean influences. This gives the country a strong personality forged through history starting from the Berbers, then the arrival of Arabs around the 7th century, added to the hundreds of thousands of Jews and Muslims driven out of Spain (15th and 17th centuries), and the blacks from Sudan. The various dynasties which followed one another since the 9th century had all been crafty in building works and left their prints. Several of which founded the following cities: Fès Al-Bali (The Old town of Fès) was

founded in the 8th century by the the Idrisides, Marrakech in the 11th century by Almoravides, Rabat in the 12th century by the Almohades, Fès Djedid (Fès the New one) at the 13th century by the Mérinides. Meknès became the capital of the Alaouites in the 17th century. Hence, the four mentioned imperial cities carry the mark of their founders.

The Moroccan architecture is a testimony and a synthesis of these various influences. On the religious level, Islam is the official religion of Morocco, though its coexistence with other faiths does not pose problems. One estimates the number of Christians at approximately 35,000 .The Jewish community in Morocco, formerly one of most important of the Arab world, emigrated massively towards Israel during the last 40 years. One estimate approximately 5,000 of Moroccan Jews are still living in Morocco.

Arabic is the official language of Morocco. But, the dialectical Arabic is the language used in daily life. It is a derivative of the classical Arabic language with some small modifications. The classical Arabic is also the language of teaching, administration and media. The Berber language (Tamazight), always extremely alive, is already programmed in teaching programmes and scientific research. The Tamazight language varies between North and South according to a linguistic gradient on which one identifies three types of Berber languages: *Tarifit*, *Tamazight* and *Tachelhit*. These are spoken in Rif, the Middle Atlas and the Souss area respectively (Table 2).

The French language, introduced during colonization - along the Spanish language in the northern zone - acquired a great importance, especially during the Sixties and Seventies. It competed with the classical Arabic in the educational system and the administration. Since, a great deal of Moroccan literary figures took a lead in the domain of French Literature.

The Issue of Human Rights

At the beginning of the 1970's, Morocco had just exited the period of the state of exception which lasted since March 1965. This context was marked by the illegal arrests and disappearances, violations of human rights, result of a coercive treatment reserved for the social movements, disputes, street demonstrations and riots, strikes and the conscience movements. It is at the exit of this phase from the history of the country (1972), commonly known as the "Iron years", that the term "human rights" appeared.

The problem of prisoners of conscience was thus the entry platform to the issue of the human rights in Morocco .It has allowed the mobilization of the political and associative actors who fought for public freedom, even if other breaches for the freedom of opinion, of the right to create associations, the right for strike, the physical integrity, the right to circulation, safety, the right to work, the non violation of the private life all these represented notable aspects of the Iron years.

At the start of the year 1990, initiatives were taken to resolve the issue of Human rights, following the adoption of a series of measurements and reforms directed towards a balance of power and a consolidation of the State of law. The creation in 1990 of the Advisory Counsel of Human rights constitutes a political expansion involving important changes in this field. Also, the constitutional revisions of 1992 and 1996, introduced new standards regarding the primacy of law, the development of means of control of the Parliament on the government policy and the relative autonomy of the Prime Minister. These are followed by the solving of a certain number of previous disputes, of

taking favourable decisions for the development of the Human Right issue, such as the case of the commission of investigations in prisons.

On the generic level, such an evolution is also related to significant events: riots with political inclinations overflowing traditional opposition forces, demonstrations surprising even the organizing parties, such as the one organized in Rabat against the first Gulf war, and the strikes which impose on various actors to adopt a calendar for negotiations.

The Moroccan civil society, the Moroccan Organization of Human rights and the written press, which inform on the evolution of the Human Rights culture and its treatment, will also play a crucial role by relaying and supporting the actions of the humanitarian organizations. These dynamics allowed a reappropriation of a set of themes related to Human Rights by actors resulting from civil society, often revealed through inclinations of independence with respect to their partisan considerations and an increasingly efficient organization through coordination between the organizations defending Human Rights in Morocco.

The progressive projections in the recovery process of human rights are being prolonged due to the measurements taken by King Mohammed VI, aiming to regulate the cases of forced disappearances, the exile for political reasons and at rehabilitating the victims. They were backed in December 2003 by the Sovereign installation of the commission for "Authority Equity and Reconciliation", within a precise time, to carry out a comprehensive assessment of the former violations, payment of the cases of forced disappearances and arbitrary detentions, and to continue researching the cases of unreported missing persons. This authority had received 5,127 requests of compensation and paid, by February 2003, more than 4,000 final awards. It inspired the relief of some 450 political prisoners and encouraged the return of the exiled. Finally, several areas and communities having suffered from the abuses of the past, benefited from the program "Compensation for damage".

Relationship with the European Union, Views of Morocco

The geographical location and the density of the historical relationship with Europe show the old and privileged relations that Morocco developed with the European Union. These relations were capitalised by the end of 1960 by various bilateral agreements, and knew since an evolution which was demonstrated through the modifications of terms such as "agreement of association, co-operation and partnership" etc, especially through the contents of these agreements. The result of this evolution was the coming into effect in March 2000 of the agreement of association, envisaging the progressive installation of a free trade zone. In theory, this agreement reflects a new spirit in these relations since these ones should gradually make from a preferential mode founded on unilateral commercial concessions granted by the EU to certain products of Morocco into an agreement of association having to lead to reciprocal commercial concessions.

If the evolution of the relations binding Morocco to the European Union is particularly sensitive, it is the result of many and complex factors related to the clearly marked will of Morocco to fasten its economy in the old continent and the modification during the 1990's of the external European policy, and in its relations and co-operations with third countries in general and Mediterranean Third Countries (MTC) in particular.

With regard to Morocco, The country had in an early stage expressed through the voice of its high ranking authorities the country's will to anchor its economy to the European structure. In view of the admission of the south European countries which called in question the advantages granted to Morocco concerning the flow of some of its agricultural products, this will for anchoring did nothing but increase. Today, it is mutually shared by all active forces in the country: government, political parties and civil society.

As for Europe, it has to redefine its foreign relations after the Fall of the Wall, by launching at the beginning of the 1990's its "renewed Mediterranean Policy - RMP" which widened the commercial and financial conventional co-operation with new fields like the policy and the cultural one, and a "Euro-Mediterranean Partnership - EMP" solemnly proclaimed in Barcelona in 1995 and having as ultimate goal the creation of a zone of stability and safety in the Mediterranean and the installation of the bases of a fast and sustainable development. For this purpose, a new generation of association agreements "Euro-Mediterranean Partnership Agreements - EMPA" is proposed and a new instrument, the development of "Accompanying measures For the Reforms of the Economic and Social structures".

In this new strategy, the MTC - amongst which is Morocco- constitute at the same time a centre of interest and a factor of uncertainty .This is due to internal reasons within these countries and in consequence of the tendencies even in Europe to privilege Eastern Europe and to redeploy all the financial effort towards this area.. According to Europe, Morocco illustrates to some extent this double attitude: It is at the same time a traditional diplomatically, a point of meeting between Europe and Africa, a "model of democratization and political liberalization», a potential in the area and the source of origin of a strong community of immigrants which fixed itself in Europe; therefore, an essential partner for the Euro-Mediterranean countries.

However, at the same time, it is a country with an economy still strongly dependant on agriculture, exposed to climatic risks, and marked with a less performing industry and a clear lack of investments to which serious social problems are added. This partner is fragile. It will be among the first countries to sign a Euro-Mediterranean Countries Agreement (EMCA); whereas a Euro-Moroccan bilateral cooperation adopts priorities going in the direction of a re-establishment of social balance and an accompaniment of the economic transition by means of assistance to public and private sectors.

Nevertheless, and according to Morocco, this partnership is far from being an answer to the strong expectations of a country expected to be a distinguished entity for the Euro-Mediterranean Countries. Signed in 1996, the EMCA (Euro-Mediterranean Countries Agreement)concluded with Morocco comes into effect only in March 2000 after long negotiations and four years of ratification, which illustrates the excessive bureaucracy, complex procedures and oppositions of certain Member States. The oppositions are generally related to the file of agriculture which constitutes one of the most difficult points of this partnership. In fact, the old agreements concluded between Morocco and the EU aimed at the development of privileged relations with a preferential mode for Moroccan exports. However, while other similar type of agreements were signed with other partners, and the Union's extension to countries of South Europe, the advantages conceded in Morocco underwent a process of crumbling.

Besides, Morocco had made considerable efforts to diversify the production and to provide to the European market the early products. But at the time when the effects of these efforts became sensitive, the accession of Spain and Portugal came to upset the given data. Moreover, "Common Agricultural policy - CAP" comprises measurements and regulations on exchanges regulation, of which are added other measurements (safeguard clause, national restrictions, import licenses, medical and plant hygiene rules) which are many internal devices used each time it is necessary, to protect the Community's productions. Lastly, the new CAP aiming to create the conditions of a better integration of the 10 candidates belonging to the Central and Eastern European country (CEEC) will not improve the place of Morocco in all this system.

In addition to the establishment of the FTZ and agriculture file, three other fields mark the Euro-Moroccan co-operation: fishing, the financial and the migration aspects. Let us focus on the area of migration

There is agreement to recognize that the shifts in population between two banks obey a differential of Living Standards and development. That joint actions are necessary to control these flows. But the absence of a general framework in which a coherent, concerted and continuous action in which it could be carried out explains these successive failures. Thus neither the frontier checks outside the Union or the Schengen space, nor could the sometimes Draconian legislation of the Member States on foreigners stop clandestine immigration. *Vis-à-vis* this continuous pressure, the EU tries a common new approach (fight against clandestine immigration, the concluding of agreements with the countries of origin and of transit etc) but the pivot of this new policy remains the assistance with co-development and a co-operation of scale and directly with the areas of origin of the migrants and the local actors.

Migration

An Ancient, Evolutionary and Ground-Breaking Phenomenon

It started under the French colonization which covered the three Maghreb countries: Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia. The international migration from Morocco saw its mechanisms and structures being set up gradually throughout the previous century. Starting from a bunch of countrymen from the Rif area, who left at the end of the 19th century to work in the colonial exploitations in Algeria - under French occupation- up to today's' young Moroccan University Graduates, who are settled today in Italy or Spain. That century of migrations wove close links on both sides of the Mediterranean between Morocco and the European countries. These bonds developed during the recent history of the country while resulting in the construction of solids abstract networks allowing the operation of a transnational family economy.

But if the interests of the researchers and the media as well as the management of mobilities are focused on one dimension of these various mobilities only (the southern-northern migration, legal formerly and mainly clandestine today), with no reference to all other dimensions, the migratory phenomenon in Morocco was not and will never be limited to the only relations with the neighbour Europe, nor to the southern-northern movement. Indeed, it is often forgotten that Morocco had remained until the beginning of the Sixties more a land of immigration than of emigration and that the Northern-Southern flows were more important than the Southern-Northern Flows. Today, if the southern-northern flows are most visible quantitatively, the north -south flows have just started outlying itself.

This migration from, towards and through Morocco has moved constantly. We can resume it in four major phases (Berriane & Aderghal, 2009):

The First Phase

From the beginning of the century to the middle of the 1970s, the traditional model of the maghrebi migrations was characterized by the following facts: Migration departing from Morocco was mainly of working labourers, generated by the French colonial system and most of these headed to France. This colonial intervention had led to the mobility of a population who was till then stable. However, the population growth started with the Moroccan workmen who flowed to work in the French market, or recruited by force to join the colonial metropolis. Furthermore, this growth of migrations was not only limited to France, it spread to involve other countries like Belgium, the Netherlands, and Germany. This amplification of flows and their diffusion with several European countries are explained by competition. Thus, bilateral agreements were made between European countries and Morocco; so Moroccan emigrants would guarantee their sources of provision, and on the other side the European countries would improve the economical sector by benefiting from Moroccan labour. Mainly males who were emigrating; their families stayed in their country of origin and they were making a « come and go » between the two countries (Charbit, Hily, Poinard, 1997). Space wise, this type of emigration was very selective. It concerned mainly the rural areas and those who were suffering from lack of resources. The initial cores were: The belonging to the old Berber countrymen communities, the sedentary population of Eastern Souss and of Rif, which explains the effectiveness of the villagers' emigrants' networks. This had been seen in the accumulation of people coming from the same village in the same place and live in the same area, be in the same neighbourhood and sometimes they may work for the same company.

The Second Phase

The second phase coincides with the closing of Europe and family regroupings. The movement of immigration was stopped in the middle of the 70's due to a new policy of European countries. This was set in place because there was no need for immigrant workers at that time. Thus, the borders were closed and suitable policies were established attempting to stimulate families to return. As a strategy of facing this border closures, the candidates who are eligible to migrate resorted to the process of family regrouping to maximize their chances (De Mas, 1990). As a result; deep changes have happened at the demographic and socio-professional structures of the Moroccan male community in Europe, which became more balanced. At first, primary regroupings consisted in bringing families living in Morocco to move to Europe; then, secondary regroupings related to the constitution of new households. This rebalances the demographic structure of the Moroccan community in Europe.

At the Moroccan level, the migration phenomenon is not limited to the rural regions anymore; (Souss, the oases and Rif Eastern). Yet, it switched into international migration, which includes the large metropolis of Morocco: Agadir, Fes, Meknes, Nador, Al Hoceima, Taza, Oujda, Tangier and Casablanca, this is placed at high rank levels of international immigration (approximately the quarter) (Simon, 1995, Berriane, 2001).

At the European level, the widening of the Moroccan migratory phenomenon in Europe is hitting new countries like Spain and Italy.

Emigration has changed in this new phase. It is often clandestine, but started to involve educated young people, including university students. Although flows of illegal immigrants also include unqualified persons coming from the neo-urban populated areas, we can regularly find among the new emigrants women, highly qualified personnel, technicians and skilled workers

The Third Phase

The Third Phase (1990 to 2000) witnessed a traffic jam between the Maghreb and Europe. In fact, the movement of people between Morocco and Europe got more complicated at that phase, in contrast with the European migration policy which was aiming at decreasing the traffic jam (Emmanuel « Ma Mung » and al, 1998). Thus, besides France which hosts (1.131.000 emigrants)², Moroccan emigrants are also settled over other European countries; in Belgium (285.000), in the Netherlands (278.000), in Germany (130.000), in Spain (547.000), Italy (379.000) and in the Scandinavian countries. This jammed migratory movement did not only concern France and the other European countries, yet it went further to include Libya (120.000 emigrant), Saudi Arabia (28.000), North America (100.000 in the USA and 60.000 in Canada), and even Australia and the New Zealand. Among the three Maghreb countries, Morocco is considered to be the country with the highest community living outside the borders and widely spread out with an estimate of 3.292.599 in 2007. However; it is very difficult to distinguish between the 1st, second and third generation due to the double nationality.

This geographical dispersion of the Moroccan emigration led to a new reality which is the existence of the transnational networks and migratory circulation. So, Moroccans emerged in the trade sector and they set up interesting sales networks operating between various European countries and the countries of origin and also by controlling a euro-Mediterranean transnational economic area.

Current Trends Include Migration Flows of the Type South-South and North-South

Current Trends include migration flows of the type south-south and north-south. New flows are developed requiring new approaches and methods, adding to the complexion and to the translational dimensions and motilities. In terms of orientations, these are two diametrically opposed flows consisting in the South-South and North-South flows.

Being widely covered by the media, the most distinguished migration flow is the one originated from sub-saharian countries. These are also called undocumented or irregular migration. Still, there are also many entries that are becoming quite regular. Being either regular or irregular entries, these people's main objective is to transit through Morocco to reach Europe. Nevertheless, the majority of these flows camp in Morocco awaiting for a potential passage to Europe. The figures and estimates are very approximate. This demonstrates the presence of people from several countries not only from Central and West Africa, but also Eastern and Southern Africa (Map 4).

² These estimates are derived from very recent publication of the Hassan II Foundation for Moroccans Residing Abroad "Moroccans from outside" (2007).

The phenomenon is still rather recent and its emergence was somehow brutal in part due to its high media profile. Research is just kicking off and first results should mainly underline the most recurring questions. Still, these migrations are always understood without taking into account possible joint migration with Morocco. Only the most distinguishing aspects are selected for study and analysis. A case in point is the migration of the African students to Morocco, since it involves participation in the movement of the internationalization of student migration, which fits well with this subsaharian migration current (J. Berriane).

There are another flow which is less visible; yet of more interest by its significances and consequences. This substantiates at the increasingly appearance of many Europeans who come to settle in Morocco. Furthermore, they manage their own investments in Morocco, and they are attracted by old residences which they take as their second home. Today, the circle widens and the phenomenon that developed from mid 90's to cover other social categories of westerner: intellectuals, senior officers, tourists, etc. Marrakech, being as a dynamic developed community remains unique in Morocco; thus by the end of the year 2000, 457 foreigners bought more than 500 houses in Marrakech (medina). These newcomers are of different nationalities, of which 60 percent are French.

Actually, the North-South flows towards Morocco saw an increase during the recent years. This concerns mainly the European pensioners; who are seeking a better geographical location to enjoy the sun and live a healthy sound life. Thus, they would guarantee a third life term. However, this phenomenon is still residual, but it tends to increase and challenges the researcher to provide further reasons.

According to the researches, these foreigners who come to settle for definite in Morocco are still known as tourists and never as immigrants. However, these new actors perfectly correspond to the definition of "migrants" and should be approached as such.

To sum up, one can say that the evolutions of the migratory phenomenon in Morocco has led the country to undertake many migratory functions and in a simultaneous way. In addition to its historical role as a place to settle on a temporary basis at the beginning- then permanent and circular- , Morocco assumes from now on the task of a country where people coming from the south get fixed either temporary or permanently. It also becomes –more or less- a temporary place for fixation of Europeans as well.

In addition, either they are flows of international Moroccan emigration or those of the returns of these same international migrants, or flows coming from the south crossing this country while heading to Europe, or finally flows coming from the North to settle in Morocco. One finds in all these cases a relation that binds Morocco and Moroccans to Europe. This intense relation binding the country and the old continent will no doubt be having its impact on the construction of mutual perceptions, hence the importance of the EUMAGINE approach.

The Migratory Policy

Taking into account the importance in terms of the number of Moroccans abroad and their financial flows, the public authorities have developed a policy which concerns their supervision while cultivating their attachment to the country.

Laws

Even if Morocco is among the countries of significant migrants flows, while being a land of welcoming foreign population, it is obvious that until the promulgation of the 02-03 law, the legal framework of reference as for migratory matter is based on texts inherited from the protectorate.

A Period Prior to 2003

For the immigration part, the majorities of the texts cover the entry and residence of foreigners in Morocco. Thus, the coming of migrants to Morocco is regulated by the residential Order of January 8th, 1915, whereas the residence is submitted to conditions by virtue of the General Commander in Chief orders on November, the 13th, 1914 and January, the 15th, 1924. As far as the emigration part is concerned, it is governed by the Dahir of November 8th, 1949 which focused on the regulation of the Moroccan workers' emigration and sanctioned its clandestine forms. These inherited laws have become obsolete today and Morocco has set up a new law from 2003.

A Period after the Promulgation of 02-03 Law in 2003

It is a law made up of 58 articles, 8 chapters and 3 titles: "entrance and residence of foreigners in Morocco", "penal provisions relating to irregular emigration and immigration" and "transitional provisions".

The regulation of foreigners' entry to Morocco, gives the Moroccan State a discretionary right to refuse entry to Morocco for people who do not meet the required conditions by the law. But the application of this article is limited by the international engagements of Morocco submitted to various international conventions. Whereas the residence of foreigners in Morocco is submitted to conditions fixed by articles 9 to 18 for obtaining one of the two permits of residence delivered by the competent authorities: i) the registration certificate for foreigners who have lived in Morocco for three months, while introducing the distinction between 3 types of registration cards: for visitors, students and for workers with the precise mention of the type of the exercised activity, ii). The certificate or the resident card is delivered to foreigners who give proof of an uninterrupted residence since a period of 4 years. The implementation of the Geneva Convention, relating to the statute of refugee of July 28th, 1951 (art.17. al.5), the resident card is also granted to foreigners who obtain the statute of refugees. For foreigners whose card of resident or registration is refused, the law gave the possibility of recourse to courts within a period of 154 days without making them safe, from being escorted back to the border or deported.

As for the settlement of Foreigners in Morocco, the texts prior to 2003 subjected it to the exercise of a professional activity or family reunification (dahir of November 15th, 1934, extended by the dahir of April 17th to the northern zone of Tangier). But, according to El Madmad (El Madmad, 2004), the 2003 law repealed the texts in force without making it clear enough about the settlement of migrant workers and family reunification. Even if the migrants who are regularly settled are authorized to circulate freely in the country (art. 4 al.1), they cannot, on the other hand, exercise a lucrative activity unless after obtaining an authorization (art. 40).

Concerning the emigration part, the new law neglected organizational aspects relating to the rights of Moroccans in migratory situation. On the other hand, it has carried an interest to the repressive aspects as for the irregular and clandestine emigration. Penal sanctions are envisaged in case of

non-compliance with the rules of immigration and emigration. Suppression concerns also the mafia networks involved in illegal emigration and immigration as well as the illegal migrants themselves.

The 02-03 law is considered an advance over the consolidation of the law culture in Morocco. But it is necessary to consider these laws as deficient as regards the protection of migrants' rights, and as being more explicit as far as suppression is concerned (Belguendouz, 2007).

The Authorities Involved in Migration Issues

The Ministry of Cooperation and Foreign Affairs

The consular representation's function is to provide consular benefits for Moroccan nationals living in its consular district, to promote cultural economic and commercial relations between the host country and Morocco. Its functions are defined according to the article 5 of the Vienna convention, and extend to everything related to administrative, legal and social services (passport, marital status, marriage contract, etc). They are also the headquarters where other public institutions concerned with Moroccan immigrants are represented, namely, the Ministry of Interior, Ministry In charge of the Moroccan Community Living abroad and Hassan II Foundation for the Moroccans Living Abroad.

The Ministry of Interior

As a responsible for the national security, the Ministry of Interior is called to intervene on many cases about the migratory issue, surveillance of the borders, handling the question of clandestine nature of the Moroccans and all the foreigners who try to cross the Moroccan borders illegally, international cooperation to fight terrorism, etc. As regards frontier control, Morocco cooperates with Spain for exchanging information and organizing mixed patrols. A department office of migration was created within the Ministry of Interior.

The Ministry In Charge of the Moroccan Community Living Abroad (MCCMRE)

Created in 1990, the MCCMRE is responsible for working out and implementing the governmental policy which concerns the Moroccan community abroad before its cancellation in 1997. From 2007, the Ministry will be again restored by decree³ and will be attached to the Prime Ministers' Office, but without relying on of the other ministerial departments' personnel and budget. As a rule, the Ministry has as a mission:

- promoting economic, social, cultural and educational action in favour of the Moroccan community abroad;
- contributing to the safeguard of the material and moral interests of the Moroccan community abroad, both in the host countries and in Morocco;
- encouraging community/association life of the Moroccan community abroad;

³ Decree n° 2-07-1390 of 15 Hija 1428 (December 26th, 2007) having the delegation of attribution and powers to the minister in charge to the Prime Minister responsible for the Moroccan community living abroad (BO n° 5592 of January 3rd, 2008, p7)

- following the migratory movements of the Moroccans to comprehend their various aspects and promote their study;
- participating in the negotiation of bilateral and international agreements related to the Moroccan community abroad and ensuring its monitoring;
- making sure of the implementation of actions concerted to ensure the best conditions of reintegrating emigrants, in Morocco, at their final return .

Hassan II Foundation for the Moroccans Living Abroad

The Hassan II Foundation for the Moroccans Living Abroad is created in 1990. It is an institution with a non-lucrative objective, legally set up and enjoys a financial autonomy.

The funds for its functioning come from the State's budget through the subsidy of the Ministry In charge of the Moroccan Community Living abroad, as well as from contributions from banks and financial institutions⁴. It is made up of six operational structures:

- The pole of Education, Cultural Exchanges, Sport and Youth;
- The pole of Legal Assistance;
- The pole of Social Assistance;
- The pole of Economic Promotion;
- The pole of Co-operation and Partnership;
- The pole of Communication.

This structuring makes it possible to notice the extension of the fields of its competences which includes giving economic assistance for migrant investors, social assistance for the neediest persons, socio- cultural supervision, legal assistance in litigations, and the participation in the reception of migrants during the busy time for migrants' returns to their country of origin.

The foundation has also acquired a structure dedicated to monitoring and analysing the development of the MLA's living conditions. It is the Watchdog of the Moroccan Community Living Abroad (W M C L A) which has in its favour the publication of more than ten books tackling the problematic issue of the Moroccan migration and the socioeconomic, cultural and legal topics between the two countries.

The Overseas Moroccan Community Council (OMCC)

The OMCC was set up on December 21st, 2007. Its operational budget was allocated by the state. In 2008, it had reached 45 million DH, definitely higher than that of the Ministry in charge of the

⁴ "These contributions were practised under the 28-31-1989 Interbanking Agreement, based on 0.28% of deposits on demand of the MLA to the 14 involved banks.

Moroccans Living Abroad (MLA). The members of the Council (50) were selected within the framework of a concerted and participative approach. They were selected due to the recognized and acknowledge qualities of these members: their attachment with the constants of the nation, such as their remarkable connection to the issue of immigration and their defence of the causes of the Moroccan community abroad.

This Council is especially competent to make proposals and recommendations. It will contribute in collaboration with the whole of the national authorities, to develop a national strategy of a total and multidimensional type of immigration. This strategy should be founded, in its national dimension, regional and international, on the coherence and the overlap between the authorities' actions and the parties in charge.

The established institutions in place to manage the migratory problems are recent, because the oldest ones (the Foundation and the ministry in charge of the MLA, dating from the Nineties) date back to the 90's. Still, it should be underlined that in a first phase the security considerations for the training of the Moroccans living abroad overrode the considerations of their emancipation on the cultural, political and economic levels. During the last decade a significant change took place in the relation between these institutions and the collective of Moroccans they are in charge of. But what seems to arise from the action of these various institutions is the absence of dialogue and coordination, which deprive the institutions of a possibility of action integrated vis-à-vis the European institutions which act in a more unified system. (Mchichi, 2005).

Conferences and Treaties

The fight against clandestine immigration carried out by the European Union countries is founded on the contribution of the African countries including Morocco, the country from where the majority of the migratory flux proceeds. But, since the fight cannot be exclusively monitored on one side, a big part of the strategy relates also to the bases of a co-operation for economic development of the countries of origin of the migrants.

To ratify this co-operation for development and the fight against illegal immigration, a forum- called (Forum 5+5)- gathering the European countries of the Western basin of the Mediterranean (Spain, France, Italy, Malta and Portugal) and the Maghreb countries (Algeria, Libya, Mauritania and Tunisia) was created on an initiative of France in the Eighties.

Several meeting and conferences were held since the creation of this forum, in which Morocco had participated. It was even the country host of the conference on migration in the Western Mediterranean held in Rabat in October 2003. This conference, comes after the declaration of Tunis and showed the same objectives by stressing "the need for a comprehensive approach of the migratory issue in the area", and while carrying a private interest with the issues related to the regulation of the migratory flux, the illegal emigration, the integration of the migrants and Co-development

This articulation between illegal migration and development will constitute the matrix of all the meetings on the various levels of the hierarchy of the Member States of the Forum. A meeting of the Heads of State and governments were held in Tunis between December 5th and 6th 2003 around topics on economic partnership after the widening of the EU, the Mediterranean policy and

the relations between countries of the Maghreb, terrorism, safety in the Mediterranean basin and the issue of migration.

In 2006, this dialogue will be widened to include the African countries. Thus, under the initiative of Morocco, Spain and France, an Afro- European conference was organized in Rabat on July 10th and 11th 2006 with the objective to bring a total and urgent answer to the migratory problems between Africa and Europe on the basis of partnership between the migrants' country of origin, transit and destination.

On a broader scale, Morocco took part at the UN conferences on the Human rights in Vienna in June 1993 and on Women's Rights in Beijing in September 1995.

International Conventions

Claiming a rule of law, Morocco adheres to international conventions, multilateral or bilateral, which guarantee the right of the migrants and protect them from the State abuses and from being exploited by the Mafias of immigration. These conventions engage the country on a double level:

A Universal Level of Human Rights

- Human rights resulting from the universal convention of 1948 which also includes the migrants in an implicit or explicit way. In addition to introducing into the Moroccan constitution of October 7th, 1996 of several provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the 10th October, 1948, it ratified, though at shifted dates, several international instruments of human rights which were stretched to include migrants (Table 3).
- Human rights issued from specialized organisations of the United Nations, in particular UNESCO, the UNICEF, WHO,
- Instruments in relation to refugees, in particular The Geneva Convention relating to the statute of the refugees of July 28th, 1951, and ratified by Morocco on January 31st, 1967.
- Universal instruments in relation to migrant workers. Among the conventions of ILO ratified by Morocco, we quote, conventions N° 195 of 1957 on the abolition of forced labour, N° 111 of 1958 concerning the discrimination in terms employment and profession, N° 182 of 1999 concerning the worst shapes of work children and the immediate action for their elimination .

Regional level: Bilateral Conventions and regional agreements

These concerns the agreements made on work conditions and establishment of manpower with third countries, European (Germany 1963, France 1963, Belgium 1964, the Netherlands 1969, Spain 1996), Arabic (Iraq 1981, Qatar 1981, UAE, 1981, Libya 1983, Jordan 1983) and African (Senegal 1967). In October 1987 an agreement signed with France, relates to the conditions of stay and employment of the Moroccans in France and of French in Morocco.

Other bilateral agreements relate to the social security with several countries of the European Union (France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, Germany, Denmark, Romania, Italy and

Portugal.) and which aim " to facilitate the residence of the Moroccans Living Abroad MLA and reciprocally of the foreigners living in Morocco and to get the medical care necessary to them " .

Discourses

The discourse on the migrants emanates initially from the State and the depending organizations, the University, the press, erudite associations, ONG and charity associations. The political discourse emanates initially from the government, through the ministries of foreign affairs, Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Justice and the Ministry charged of MLA. It illustrates the positioning of Morocco compared to the political orientations on the problem of migration at regional or international levels. It is also materialized in the decrees and laws directly or indirectly connected with the migrants.

Various discourses emerge from the multiple sources on international migration in Morocco. Ideally, it would be better to collect, store and analyze them through distinguishing between different sources. But, due to the lack of space, we approach them as global entities while considering carefully the most recurrent themes in the press.

These discourses are mainly related to the emigration of Moroccans. The latter is presented as an economic necessity, as well as a right under the freedom of movement. However, it does not fail to emphasize the negative effects of irregular and illegal migration. Even, Movements of opinion and civil societies' organizations do carry out actions to educate youth about the dangers of illegal emigration. The links between the Diaspora and its future abroad present a hot topic in these discourses. There is a call for policies and actions to strengthen ties between Moroccans living abroad and the actions plans aimed at a socio-economic, political and cultural integration of Moroccans abroad. Further, the economic contribution of Moroccan migrants is highly significant. Discourses over money transfers are diverse; however, they seem to share the same idea over their uneasiness towards the tendency of migrants to invest in real estate and constructions

Regarding migration, mainly the one originating from subsaharian-african countries, there is a tendency to develop a policy to regulate the entry and stay of the people coming from these destinations. The civil society demands the protection and promotion of the socio-economic and human rights of the immigrants, as well as protecting the rights of certain categories of immigrants, especially the undocumented and the vulnerable.

The Moroccan press does also distribute diversified discourses covering various issues. The topics revolve around the attitudes of host countries and the measures taken *vis-à-vis* emigration, issues related to discrimination, racism, violence and exploitation of migrants, those affecting integration, adjustment and expulsions, calling into question the Moroccan government for the lack of interest or responsibility towards the situation that leads to emigration, the daily life of Moroccans living in Europe, remittances, brain drain, etc.

Often, migration is treated in the overall context of North and South especially the relations between Europe / North Africa. In recent years discourse topics were more geared towards denouncing the European attitudes: abuse accompanying the fight against illegal immigration, double standards criteria, use of the topic for election purposes and domestic policy, etc.

Migration and Development

In spite of the efforts made by Morocco in relation to development, constant markers continue to stigmatize a reality which is unbearable and nourishing temptations with regarding to migration. This consists primarily in poverty and marginalisation which still prevail in the disadvantaged zones in both rural and urban environments. The deficits in social services, the precarious state of health and illiteracy are problems which give a bad classification to Morocco in the hierarchy of the countries according to the indicators of human development.

Appropriateness of the Participation of the Migrants in the Development

No one sees in this situation a structural opportunity to call with the need for the implication of the Moroccans living abroad (MLA) in the development of the country.

This participation is operational in four essential components:

I) The importance of financial flows provided by Moroccan immigrants, which generate a great savings capacity. These flows having reached 53 billion DH in 2008, and 8,9 percent of the GDP in 2007, are behind the maintenance of the balance of macroeconomics, in addition to taking part in the consolidation of savings in several tens of thousands of households. Furthermore, the money transfers are contributing to absorb poverty, and in many cases to the creation of employment through the thousands of small assembled businesses set the money of the migrants.

II) Organising within associations the Moroccan migrants in the host countries and the interest which they show to participate in development actions in their country of origin. The experience of Migration/Development in the southernmost areas of Morocco (High-Atlas, Anti Atlas and Souss) is being piloted.

III) New orientations taken by the process of Co-development. For instance, the political, economic and ethical questioning of Co-Development will lead to two essential facts:

1) The communitarisation of the migratory policy which contributed to having the European Community , at the beginning of year 2000 , setting up the development strategies in the starting countries of migrations, which can have a dissuasive effect on temptation to immigrate. On this European base for the common migratory policy, the national States will follow different strategies;

2) New actors appear and adapt the development actions in the countries of origin of the immigrants, the territorial collectivities, NGO and the International Organizations of Solidarity IOS resulting from migrations (Lacroix, 2005)

IV) The migrant participation in the development constitutes a new orientation regarding the migratory policy in Morocco. The organizations set up for this purpose, namely the Ministry charged with MLA, the Hassan II Foundation, the OMCC and the Mohamed V Foundation developed channels to act on two levels. On the level of the host countries by close assistance to the Moroccans on the problems they face such as housing, education and religious practices. An effort on this level is also provided to encourage the migrants to invest in the country, either on a private basis in productive projects or in real estate, or on a purely collective basis in community and through associa-

tions. In Morocco, these authorities prolong the offer of their services to the profit of the migrants, social assistance and accompaniment of the private sector investment and the activity of associations of migrants by the Hassan II Foundation, reception at the borders and organization of the national day of the migrant on August 10th of each year by the Ministry in charge, more recently the interest for the intellectuals of the Diaspora by the OMCC.

One can, to the credit of the official authorities, make considerable efforts to accompany the Moroccan migrants in the design and the implementation of their investment projects. This is the direction to which the economic pole of the Hassan II Foundation for the Moroccans residents' abroad is geared and dedicated to achieve. It is also the case of the Ministry charged of the MLA which is in the process to develop an approach for the benefit of a visibility of the grouping of the migrant Moroccans at the regional level through the construction of houses for the emigrant (two are already functional in Nador and Béni Mellal), or by the organization with the associative network of the Moroccans living abroad and the systematization of their implication in relation to development issues.

Migration and Economic Crisis.

It is from the second semester of 2008 that the repercussions started to appear through the export sector, the tourist activity, and the transfers of the Moroccans Residing abroad and of flows coming from outside investments.

Regarding the MLA, The volumes of their transfers for the year 2009 saw a fall. Between July 2008 and March 2009, the cumulated amounts of the transfers dropped by -11 percent compared to the same period 2007 and 2008.

But what the crisis revealed is that the persons in charge were focused on the transfers of the migrants' savings and the means to implement to maintain the flow upward in times of crisis, in consideration of macro-economic balances. The committee for Strategic care, public-or private, built at the beginning of February 2009 has the role, inter alia, to undertake "with macroeconomic framing, the follow-up of the transfers of the MAL, the industrial sectors, tourism and phosphates" (Online Doc).

It is what one can also understand through the measurements taken jointly by the government and the banks for the exemption from interest payment of the money transfers in 2009. Or encouragement of investment in the private sector through the granting of a subsidy of 20 percent on the cost of the project when it mobilizes a capital exceeding 1 million DH.

Migration and Gender

Women participation in migration from Morocco is a fact that statistics reflect. This participation was clearly visible by its social, economic and cultural implication rather than by its quantitative dimension.

Growth in Numbers:

The presence of women as an element of international migration goes back to the period of the first family gatherings during the seventies. Marginalized from the job market, her life was limited to her husbands and her parents' surroundings. In the female migration, it is necessary to distinguish between 3 phases (Khachani, 2009):

The first phase, prior to the seventies, when women were poorly represented in an economic emigration dominated by men who are generally bachelors;

The second phase, which corresponds to the years after 1973, when women joined the waves of emigration through family gathering. Women who emigrated alone were still rare. The flow of emigration of women was directed primarily towards the countries where their husbands live. That's why France, Germany, the Netherlands and Belgium were the countries which accommodated the first migrant Moroccan women;

The third phase of female emigration corresponds to the Eighties, when women started to emigrate independently "as autonomous economic entities". But their flows were mainly directed towards countries of recent emigration, in particular Spain and Italy, Libya and the Gulf countries.

The evolution of women manpower was noticeable these last years. Thus, in Italy, the number of Moroccan women multiplied by 6,6 times in 10 years, between 1992 and 2002. In Spain, there were 170498 women in 2005, against 39790 women in 1998. But if their workforce was highly increased, their proportion compared to the total staff of the Moroccan emigrants living currently in Spain did not see important variations, 35,8 percent in 2005, against 33,3 percent in 1992.

Very recently, women were contracted to carry seasonal labour in agriculture in Spain through The National agency for the Promotion of Employment, the ANAPEC. The contracts are one year renewable by "renewal by tacit agreement". Women workers recruited to work in picking strawberries in Andalusia, for 32,45 euro per day with housing ensured by the employer, passed from 1200 women in 2005 to 12000 in 2008 (Khachani, 2009).

Feminization and Transformations of the Moroccan Society:

Feminization became a fact of the Moroccan emigration through three aspects:

the first aspect concerns the mothers who left Morocco in a situation of inferiority and who acquired with the passing of years a capacity within the family, consolidated by a relative financial autonomy;

The emergence of a second and third generation of women born in migratory situation. Educated, their statute is managed by laws of the host country and the relationships to their male congeners are regulated by standards belonging to another cultural reference frame;

For Women, the fact of emigrating during the two last decades became an autonomous project and not totally dependent of male migrants.

In parallel with this transformation of women's social status in the migratory context imposed by more economic determinants than sociocultural ones, the feminist movement in Morocco started to become extensive. Even if these movements were carried by feminist associations, considered as a minority in the overall socio-political landscape of Morocco, its influence were large, since it mobilized most of the civil societies and defenders human rights and the militants of the left, and allowed to lead to the reform of the family code in 2004.

This evolution of the statute of the emigrated woman, or the one who remained within Morocco, enabled her to conquest the economic and social fields reserved for men. The economic crisis factor helped as well .Women who were formerly passive elements of society became having a financial autonomous life, an active performer carrying influences both in and outside the family context.

Moroccan female emigration highlighted the tendencies of an in-depth social change. Because women could reach the possibility of conceiving and of carrying out a life plan out of the country and without the supervision of a man, that is because the Moroccan context was marked by a relaxation of the cultural restrictions and the tendency to more permissiveness to the mobility of women away from social controls (Kenza El Ghali, 2005).

Background on Regions

Introduction (Map 5)

Following the presentation during the Antwerp meeting on the proposals for a choice of our areas, the collective discussion then the validation of these proposals at the same time with our partners from Oxford and during the workshop, we retained the 4 following areas:

The area of Tinghir consists of oases, which have occupied the third place as a hub issuing migrants to the inside or outside of Morocco. It meets the criteria of a historical area of great emigration. Formerly, it depended on the province of Ouarzazate, later it was promoted to a province in 2010. Thus, all the statistics available in the province are only for the province of Ouarzazate. As agreed during the workshop of Antwerp, we retained the town of Tinghir then the rural douars to annex the two communes bordering on the city and which are Toudgha El Oulia and Toudgha Es-soufla (Table 4).

As it is a weak area in emigration, we retained the geographical area called "Central Plateau". The three centers representative of the area are localized in two different provinces: Khémisset and Khénifra. A Pastoral area whose socio-economic balances were broken, it remained not affected by currents of international emigration. Our samples will be taken from the centres of Oulmes, Aguelmous and Moulay Bouazza together with the neighbouring douars.

The city of Tangier was selected, since it represents the area with very strong immigration. It was a city which formerly used to receive an active internal migratory flux, today it witnesses a dynamic economic trend through major projects of infrastructure. This had amplified these migratory flows to which can be added those of the sub-Saharan migrants. The three urban most dynamic districts of Bni Makada, Charf-Mghogha and Charf-Souani, will be the ground to contain most of the emigration flows of urban origins.

Lastly, the area of Tounfit in the High central Atlas belongs to the province of Midelt and represents an area which suffered from human rights problems. The centre of Tounfit and the neighbouring douars will be used for the test sample selection.

Research Area with High Emigration: Todra Valley (City Of Tinghir and Surrounding Villages) (Map 6)

Tinghir and the few villages which grew in its orbit belong to the oasis system of the valleys of Draa, Dadès and Todra. These villages are located along Todra Valley.

It should be remembered here that these oases areas are historically the third large hearth for the supply of Moroccan emigrant's troops abroad and it is the principal criterion which is behind their choice. They constitute farmlands limited in terms of surface, but where human concentrations of the type "anthills" existed throughout the last centuries. Their existence relied on water resources; a vital factor in the surrounding desert. So, they are microcosms where "total" hydraulic civilizations were sometimes the key point of the history of Morocco. But due to the demographic pressure, the

scarcity of the resources, the change of mentalities etc, there was a need to search non-oasis, and external resources.

To carry out the surveys, we propose to choose some districts of the town of Tinghir and four douars (rural villages) downstream and upstream of the city, localized in the rural municipalities of Toudgha El Oulia, Taghzoute N Ait Atta, and Toudgha Essoufla.

Natural Framework and Geo-Ecological Conditions

The area is in the ditch of Ouarzazte - Errachidia, bordered in the north by the High Atlas and in the south by the Anti- drained by wadis coming from the High Atlas like Dades, Rhéris and Todrha : the wadi which drains our area. It is in this circulated corridor of circulation of oasis cities like Errachidia, Goulmima, Boumalne Dadès where is located Tinghir and the oasis which bears its name. Altitudes are raised enough and vary between 1400 and 1100m.

The environment is marked by a very strong aridity and it is the presence of the water which fixes the populations. The climatic conditions are severe. Except for the mountains where rainfalls can reach the 200 mm a year, everywhere precipitations record reach less than 150 mm and the thermal regime is characterized by intense sunstroke and an evapotranspiration with important thermal gaps. Because of the arid climate, the vegetation is reduced to a discontinuous and graminaceous steppe, thyme, mugwort and transitory plants. The only islands of greenery correspond to the oases.

Population, Activities and Local Dynamics

Strong Concentrations of Populations in the Oases

Since men's settlement was closely related to the presence of water, the oases have developed for centuries irrigation techniques and adapted them to various hydraulic resources .The diversity of these techniques, old or modern, do necessitate water and heavily depend on it.

So, the populations had always had two types of lifestyle: the wandering nomads and the semi-nomads who lived on mobile livestock with the constant search for pastures and water points and the sedentary oasisians who participated in intensive agriculture in the oases. This explains contrasts in the densities. Whereas, in the vastness of the desert and on the stripped mountains, these densities are extremely low (less 10hab /km²). In the oases the human concentrations are impressive and can exceed 500hab /km². Today, the wandering lifestyle of the Berber speaking tribes and Arabic-speaking people is considerably reduced; whereas the oases become the attachment points of the population and a place of a very strong movement of urbanization.

To the outlet of the gorge of Todrha extends large and splendid palm plantation of olive-trees and annual crops on which reigns the town of Tinghir, which from its role as a service center spread out in the oasis in the form of several excrescences. Since March 2010, Tinghir became the main town of the province, which will accelerate its growth and its expansion.

The town of Tinghir and the rural municipalities in its orbit, shelter approximately 100.000 inhabitants, including 36.000 in the city. The population is still marked by its rural character since more than 60 percent lived in rural environments in 1994. But, as elsewhere in Morocco, the weight of this rural population dropped (57,7 percent in 2004) even if the fall is not as spectacular as in other areas of the country. The population is very young: the age group under 15 years represents more than 20 percent and the one concerned by our study (15-45 years) is 40.7 percent.

Deep Socio-Economical Changes

Oases in general, and that of Tinghir in particular, saw deep changes because of the succession of years of dryness, the movement of urbanization and the appearance of new economic activities besides agriculture. But if the share allocated to palm crops was reduced, agriculture in the form of gardens irrigated by the water pumps out of the palms has progressed. This makes it possible to maintain oasis activities and the economic activity will still be marked by the relative weight of agriculture (24 percent of the total active population and up to 37 percent in rural environment). Here works one of the traditional agricultural systems, of the most intensive in the world, to satisfy the needs of their strong human concentrations. They form artificial spaces in the middle of the desert. The agricultural intensity, due to the irrigation, reflects the multiplicity of the trees and the cultures which the oasis carries. The trees appear in stages and laminated (date palm, olive-tree, pomegranate, apricot tree). The annual cultures (intercalated) are the cereals (barley, wheat, and corn), legumes and forages.

But, sectors of commerce, administration and building/construction also employ a good part of the population. Other new activities, in particular tourism, bring an essential additional resource. Parallel to that a local dynamics must be stressed. It is about the appearance of a large variety of dynamic actors who invest themselves in local development. Resulting from emigration or the public office sector or from the traditional elite, these actors react to the tendency of State and the difficulties the area is living. Through an increasingly active associative movement, several projects are led to the local level and are supported by the State or the international agencies: construction of roads and bridges, installation and management of generators, drinking water supply, rehabilitation of schools, courses to eliminate illiteracy, campaigns against the endemic diseases, etc.

Lastly, the contributions of internal or international emigration are considerable even if sometimes they are more connected to sentimental investments.

Socio-Economical Indicators

Mobilizing local actors and the impact from emigration are reflected on the socio-economic indicators of the area. Compared with the two other research areas selected and which are strongly rural (central Plateau and High Eastern Atlas), the research area of Tinghir displays less homogeneous indicators. When we consider the demographic behaviours, the area of Tinghir provided strongest birth rates (23,1 per thousand for an national average of 20,6 per thousand) and of mortality (55,8 per thousand for an national average of 42,8 per thousand) as if it is not affected yet by the demographic transition. It also records the strongest percentages of families living under the vulnerability and poverty lines (respectively 22,8 percent and 21,1 percent), which reveals the difficult living conditions in the oasis milieu. But, at the same time, it has the strongest rates of connections to drinking water and electricity. Are these two last performances explained by the instrument of the

associative movement, in particular thanks to the emigration which provided considerable efforts to improve the community equipments?

All in all, it seems difficult to implement to the area standard indicators which have significance elsewhere. The interpenetration of the rural and the urban is the principal feature in the area. The cities in their extension absorbed whole rural villages which continue to have rural profiles while being classified urban. The multi-activity is one of the consequences of this overlap. The active population occupied in the agricultural sector is about 37 percent, but it is known that there is an ongoing multi-activity, each family even installed downtown, is occupied in non-agricultural sector and performs an agricultural activity, even if this would consist in only some heads of cattle. These oasis agglomerations, considered as urban spaces, do correspond neither by their morphologies, nor by their activities at cities, which results in wide deficiencies in terms of equipment and infra-structures.

Cultural Aspects

We are here in the country of the tribes of Berber origin (Aït Atta) or Arabic, formerly nomads and semi nomads and now settled, to which came to be added the sedentary black populations of African origin to work the land in the oases. One of the more striking cultural features of the region is the architecture of its lands. We are here in the country of the kasba, a habitat strengthened in the form of a fortress built out of ground, marking the landscape by their ochre silhouettes and the society through the type of collective organization of the communities which they live there. Today this landscape of oases, kasba and slackened desert is in full transformation following the multiplication of solid houses built into two floors with bright colours, which belong to emigrants. The old age of these settlements and the secular civilization which developed in the oases reflects a rich and diversified culture.

Migratory Aspects

In the past, the oases of Morocco were seldom operating as systems closed to any external influence; they took part in the Trans-Saharan caravan trade and maintained the reports, certainly ambiguous, but intense and complementary with the large wandering pastors who were around them. However, the saving in traditional self-sufficiency dominated. Still, since the brutal contact with French colonization, the oases have following the example of other areas of Morocco, faced with a new situation in which their economic inferiority was shown. Incorporation in the monetarised capitalist economy, the very strong population growth (more than 3 percent a year in the last quarter century) and the pressure on the rare hydro-agricultural resources, are some of the factors which will influence their future.

Thus the displacement of the centres of economic gravity towards the cities and the littoral areas led to an inversion of the roles, to the detriment of the Saharan areas. This development proceeded at a time when individual needs increased (as far as the delays, deficits, and the deprivations were not any more culturally acceptable). The poverty in the oases areas (and, especially, of the categories most alienated socially and ethnically) was clearly manifested. The only exit with this crisis appeared in the search for other activities apart from agriculture, mainly thanks to the emigration. Since the 1960s, the internal migrations followed by the external are the most distin-

guished facts to notice. All the economy is based on the contributions of the migrants. Indeed, everywhere, one observed an exodus towards the cities and the industrial building sites in the inner part of the country. The large metropolises (Casablanca, Rabat-Sale, Fès, Agadir, and Marrakech) and the medium-sized cities full of administrative offices in general will attract the oases populations and those of the area of Tinghir in particular. Then, and for some oases, it is the external emigration which will kick off, pushing thousands of locals towards the European work market. This external migration has dramatically affected the oases of Todgha, including Tinghir and its satellite villages. Most of the households in the area have at least a member of their family working abroad who gets more or less substantial income to them.

Mobility towards the outside accelerated with colonization. The first waves of emigrants moved towards Algeria under French occupations elsewhere. Sources from early 1950's evaluate the departures of 4 to 6 percent of the population of certain villages⁵. But it is between 1960 and 1974 that the emigration trend from this area and that of Tinghir will reach its peak. Following a series of agreement of labor signed between Morocco and the countries of Europe, a group of recruitments agencies came to Morocco to initiate a selection and recruitment process of many Moroccans candidates who departed abroad, mainly to France. The most famous of which was Felix Mora, recruiter of the Collieries of North of France. These recruiters are relayed by the operation of other networks and channels.

The total of the emigrants originated from the province of Ouarzazate was estimated at 18.000 people, half of which would return to the circle of Boumalne, whose current province comprise Tinghir with record rates of 58 emigrants by douar in the valley of Todra. The countries of destination are initially France followed by Belgium, Holland and Germany. The area was always classified as the third hearth of international emigration after Souss and Eastern Rif.

Research Area with Low Emigration: The Central Plateau Region (Localities: Oulmès, Aguelmous and Moulay Bouazza) (map 7)

The choice of the central plateau is justified by its position in an agro- forest area of the centre of Morocco, which witnessed social and economic upheavals following the dynamic land use process launched at the beginning of last century. The principal consequence of these upheavals was the emergence of an economic and social elite made up of two groups: (I) local notabilities of ethnic origin establishing their power of domination based on tribal alliances and/or notables reproduced through electoral means to maintain the control of the territory, and (II) the category of the contractors related to urban, industrial and agro financial capitalism. The main part of the resources controlled by these groups and the local populations turned to a selective emigration. The latter contributed, by the supports brought to the families remained at the same place, to the resistance against the socio- territorial and economic agro- pastoral system. This emigration will spread, thereafter, to the various social categories announcing a state of crisis of the local system.

The first wave of emigration is to be put in connection with the recruitment networks operating in the army and the administration ordered by the notables. Its release goes back to the first years of the colonial period. This old type of migration led, by means of family solidarity, to the maintenance

⁵Montagne investigation in 1951 estimated that about 4% of the population departure from Todgha and Se Savasse estimated a departure from a Ksar Todgha of 6% of the population.⁵

of a part of the population locally, and to emancipate children through achieving academic success. Those who did not emigrate succeeded in developing their farms and continued to put on a drip through a livestock food supply of the forest and the capital invested in the herd by these emigrants exercising official jobs elsewhere. The force of adaptation of the system would put the region at the shelter of misery emigrations, and to have even its hour of glory in terms of attraction for the populations coming from poor regions. But the dryness of the Eighties, the failures of the agricultural development actions, the budgetary cuts imposed by the Structural Adjustment program (SAP) and the tight capacity of the State regarding employment, would overcome the forces of local economic resilience to the local economic system. For the young people who went to school, the absence of prospect to reach a position in the administration or even in the army as it was the case for their predecessors, was going to direct them towards the internal and/or international emigration. Despite this, the intensity of the international emigration will not reach the degrees reached in other spaces and the region almost does not appear in the specialized literature dealing with the Moroccan international emigration.

The Administrative Status

The central Plateau region is shared between two provincial administrative entities under the zone of Oulmes is located in the province of Khémisset, and those of Aguelmous and Moulay Bouazza are located in the provinces of Khénifra.

This territorial construction, a work of the Protectorate maintained after independence, contributed to the establishment of limits in a tribal space which formerly fell under a pastoral continuity towards the south to the Middle Atlas. The provinces created in the Seventies ratified the placement of the communes of Aguelmous and Moulay Bouazza in the orbit of Meknès which became the metropolis of the Meknes-Tafilalet region thereafter. Whereas the commune of Oulmes is directed towards Rabat, the country's capital and the regional major city of Rabat'salé- Zemmour-Zaer region.

Natural Framework and Geo-Ecological Conditions

The Central Plateau is a transitory natural unit between the inside part of Morocco and the Atlantic Morocco. It is an area with compartmentalized topography where the centre is occupied by the highland located at altitudes reaching 1600 m with the Mtourzgane Mountain in the surroundings of Aguelmous. Altitude and the northern-western exposure of the slopes allow an opening on the climatic ocean influences which give to the Mediterranean type a humid feature, in spite of the southernmost and continental location of the region. The latter is characterised by a widespread green surface, and most of the grounds is occupied by forestry, particularly of cork and green oak on the slopes with wet exposure and on the surface of the plateau, whereas the secondary formations, of cedar and wild olives, occupies the most arid parts of the slopes on the valley.

In an area with pastoral vocation where there is a striking lack of ground and water for agriculture, the forest is for the majority of the exploitations a natural wealth which constitutes the central element of the production system. On a more general level, it is a sector of integration of the region in the formal or informal urban economy through the organized fields of cork exploitation, green oak and cedar.

Population, Activities and Local Dynamics

A Population in Moderate Growth

The total population of the rural municipalities and urban centres of Aguelmous, Moulay Bouazza and Oulmes, forming the zone of the central Plateau, counts 64191 inhabitants, including 26091 inhab, where 40,6 percent are the urban ones. The rate of urban population sees variations on the level of the three units. It reaches 49,7 percent in the zone of Oulmes, 31,7 percent in Aguelmous, and 56,1 in My Bouazza, that is to say lower rates, except in the case of Moulay Bouazza, with those recorded on a provincial level of Khénifra (52,8 percent) and Khémisset (58,1 percent). The urbanization remains however an essential aspect of the evolution of the population; because, if- on a general level- manpower had seen a total increase of 2,2 percent compared to 1994, the urban population saw an increase of 17,8 percent.

In pastoral areas, characterized by a dispersed settlement structure, urban areas with Aguelmous (11 390), Oulmes (9460) and Moulay Bouazza (5241), are service centres of local outreach services, representing the first relay in the migration route of people living in the surrounding douars. Demographic trends at these three centres are to the detriment of the rural population who witnesses a regression of - 8.3 percent, since in 10 years the population decreased from 41288hab to 38,100 inhabitants.

Compared with the Moroccan countryside in general, the demographic behaviour in the area of the central Plateau is marked by a low fertility rate. The aggregative index of fertility in 2004 for the 3 rural communes was in average of 2, 9, against 1, 9 in urban areas, with a maximum in the rural area of 3, 1 registered in Moulay Bouazza and a minimum of 2,7 in Aguelmous. At the national level, this index switched in 2004 to 3,1 in rural environment, against 4,3 in 1994. This resulted in a relatively low average of birth rates (19,5 per thousand), and the infantile death rates went around an average of 34 per thousand.

A Demographic Structure Characterized by an Imbalance between Man/Woman and a Prevalence of the Young People.

The gender ratio of males is of 99, 9, slightly higher than that recorded at the regional level 96,5 (Meknes Tafilalet region). This balance cuts off at the youth level since it is of 96,9 for the 15 to 55 years old and of 105,6 for less than 15 years old. A great opposition characterising the urban environment with the male rate of 89, 1, and 69,5 for the categories in the active age. However, in rural environments, the rates are respectively of 107 for the total and 118,3 for the sections from 15 to 55 years. These rates mark an originality of these small centres in pastoral areas which tend to receive a female population coming from the douars, and do not manage to retain the working male youngsters. Women being the heads of the household, the divorced and widowed count for 21,1 percent of the total heads of household in the centres of Aguelmous, Moulay Bouazza and Oulmes.

Job Insecurity and Low Complexity of the Economy

In terms of employment, the rate of the working people compared to the total population of more than 7 years old is 41,8 percent, but those considered as busy assests or are unemployed hardly account for the 36,6 percent. These rates are relatively higher in urban environment (25,5 percent

and 20,5 percent), that in rural environments (15,9 percent and 16,1 percent, respectively). The opposition between rural and urban environment as regards female employment, indicates a transformation of the context of the centres whose economic profile has a tendency to evolve towards more urban than rural shapes.

88,3 percent of workers are employed in commercial sectors, services and Building and Public Works sector (BPW), industry and mines. Except for the zone of Oulmes where the mineral water bottling plant of Oulmes, and the modern fields of arboriculture, whereby part of the workers work on a permanent basis. The paid work of the private sector is carried out in connection with breeding (shepherds paid on a yearly basis) or seasonal works in agriculture during peak times, or occasional work in underground quarries or as rangers in forests.

The economic system in the area of the central plateau is still dominated by the activities of dependant production on the natural resources; either they are agro pastoral activities, sivilicultural activities, or extractive ones, mines and mineral water resources. A system close to the mining economy, where the activities are far from being remunerative in terms of wages, and where the product generates an added-value after transformations by the urban economy.

Socio-Economical Indicators

The phenomenon of poverty is revealed through the insufficient incomes, whether in the forms of agro pastoral exploitation or perceived wages. This is why one finds significant proportion of families of rural origin which gave up agriculture and breeding to take refuge in survival activities in the level of the local urban centres. The phenomenon is doubled of a deficit in term of literacy, schooling and training by the departments of public health in infrastructures and basic equipment in a general way.

In 2004, connection to drinking water did barely cover 5 percent of the homes in rural environment and 83,5 percent in urban one, whereas the connection with the electrical communication was maintained in the two areas around 0,2 percent and 79,4 percent respectively. It should be said as between 2004 and 2010, an effort was provided by the State to improve the situation of the equipment in the area, as well as in regard to access to water and electricity within the framework of the PAGER⁶ and PERG⁷ programs, and through the actions carried out within the framework of the National Initiative of Human Development, NIHD.

However, the efforts made are not sufficient to absorb poverty in which 18,3 percent of households live in, and to make disappear the vulnerable state of the rural and urban households which constitute 22,8 percent of the total households of the region. Maybe the proportion is relatively low, compared with those observed in the area of Tounfit. Still, they remain higher than the average recorded on the level of the provinces of Khémisset and Khénifra nearly around 15,6 percent and 18,2 percent for the proportion of the households in the lower part of the poverty threshold, and 19,5 percent and 20,8 percent for those below the threshold of vulnerability. In term of human development, the indexes recorded in 2004, around 0,6 in urban environment and between 0,47 and 0,51 in rural environment, place the region on higher levels compared to the provincial averages of 0,4 in Khémisset and 0,5 in Khénifra.

⁶ PAGER = The supply of drinking water in rural areas

⁷ PERG = The Global and rural program for power supply

The region, in spite of its geographical proximity to the active centres of the national economy, suffers from a marginalisation and an eccentricity which appears by the enslavement and the weak development of the productive structures. It is a place which is aligned more on the mountains of inner Morocco than on the areas of plains and plateaus of the Atlantic Morocco. After having been an attractive area for populations resulting from regions less provided in forest and pastoral natural resources, an emigration of misery is currently undergoing and has as a consequence the abandonment of the traditional activities related to breeding. For, the system having reached a threshold of saturation is not any more able to allow survival to the most have-not. The years of dryness came to end their financial capacities to reconstitute the herds, and the local economy did not know any dynamics which would have made it possible for the demographic surplus of the families to have an outlet in non -agricultural jobs.

Cultural Aspects

Among the country sides of inner Morocco regarded as the bastion of the Amazigh culture, stands the central plateau as an area where mixing between populations of various origins gave birth to a culture which arises through a mixture of Amazigh and Arabic cultures. At the beginning, population consisted of two distinct entities: Ait Amar around Oulmes, Zaians around Aguelmous and Moulay Bouaaza. They are groupings of Amazigh speakers and also made up of Arabic-speaking people of which some claim of maraboutic origin, The Mbarkiyine in reference to the saint founder of the locality of Moulay Bouaazza. This fund was enriched by the arrival of waves of migrants who through time were subjected to assimilation with the local tribal groupings, while influencing them by their cultural and linguistic contributions.

Moreover, it is a region where the natural partitioning supported a segmentation of the population in tribal amazigh communities and Arabic-speaking ones occupying contiguous territories and whose limits were not tight.

These factors allowed the catalysis of several changes of cultural order which one raises in the frequent use of Arabic beside the Amazigh language, and in the adoption of pastoral practices that one finds at the Arabic-speaking people tribes, Ben Khirane and Smaala, specialized in the breeding of smaller live-stock, as well as the practice of irrigation by elements coming from the southernmost areas.

In addition, currents of modernity crossed the area since the first years the protectorate. It took place through school, recruitment in the administration, the army, through flows of economic exchange in the local souks or the provincial and regional metropolises, and more recently through satellite television and the Internet.

Migratory Aspects

Traditionally, the central plateau is not regarded as a traditional area of international emigration. This characteristic finds its explanation in the interaction of several factors of demographic socio-historic and economic nature.

It is an area which initially, at the beginning of the protectorate and at the end of the Eighties, witnessed an acceptable level of demographic activities, maintained an acceptable level which did not generate a rupture of an early balance. The low rate of fertility which characterizes the demographic behaviour of the populations reflected more by labours deficit than by excesses. Whereas other regions sought an outlet for their surpluses, the central Plateau had a strong attraction. The latter was supported by the opening of the region to the capitalist forms of agriculture and breeding, such as the exploitation by private companies of the sivilicultural resources, mines and mineral water.

Parallel to this phenomenon calling for a foreign population, a movement of recruitment in the army and public administrations, initially of the protectorate then of independent Morocco, crossed the region resulting in the increase in the demographic deficit. But, contrary to those who arrived in the region, due to the poverty in their region of origin, those who left took advantage of their social promotion allowing them to support the families remained back home. This had contributed to the delay of the release of a process of international emigration that Morocco saw during the 60's and 70's. The population of the region did not ignore completely the option to go abroad, namely France, whether through the colonists or through the returned soldiers after a career which made them pass through Europe during the War in 1940's.

International emigration did not represent itself as a solution to a multitude of schooled young people until at a later period around the end of the 80's. It centred on internal emigration, starting from the douars of the local centres towards the cities and then the departure abroad. The region thus fell under a migratory practice having been initiated in Tadla and having been stimulated by the facilities of settlement presented by Spain and Italy during the 90's.

Discourses on Migration in the Region

As it is the case of the Tounfit region, less known in international emigration and important in terms of natural resources, emigration in the central Plateau is not an issue which was taken seriously by public authorities. Also, it does not represent its priorities which could be taken into account in a developmental perspective. In its clandestine version, emigration did not involve further drama which would have grief-stricken the local society and gave the opportunity to the emergence of an active civil society. Emigration and the positive outcomes it generates when it is successful, do occupy an important space in the discourse of young people. The latter, lack of prospects for social success through studies continue to hope for the construction of their future beyond the borders in spite of the echoes that reach them on the economic crisis of the countries of their dreams.

Research Area with Immigration History: Tangier City: A Bridgehead Towards Europe (Map 8)

In the extreme North-West of Morocco, the "Tingitane Peninsula" (of Tingis, the Roman name of Tangier) is showered by the Atlantic ocean in the West, the Mediterranean in the East and the Straits of Gibraltar in the North forming the most advanced northern part of the African continent to Europe. The geographical position of this area has largely contributed to create its identity, particularly through the major role of the bridge it had played throughout the history between the two

straits' banks. It is this strategic position which gives it today a developmental potential which makes it one of the most promising areas of Morocco in terms of economic growth, outside the middle Atlantic coast around Casablanca.

Curiously, the position and the opening of Tangier have not resulted in migratory movements abroad only later on; the city does not appear amongst the traditional homes of the Moroccan emigration. In fact, before being a starting departure zone of its inhabitants abroad, Tangier's peninsula was especially the arrival point of external flows and this is the main criterion which explains why we opted to choose it here to illustrate the case of a the research aerie with very strong immigration. Long before the arrival of important Spanish communities that populated the Spanish zone of occupation and the multitude of nationalities which had settled in Tangier during the period of international status, the area received important flows of internal migrations. They were mostly the Rifans coming from central and eastern Rif during the XIX century as well as tribes of Eastern Rif engaged in the armies of The Alaouites sultans who carried out the fight to take back the cities of the North-West occupied by the Spanish, the Portuguese and the English.

Nowadays, because of its strategic position and the political will to relaunch the North of Morocco at the economic level, a dynamic/process was engaged since the beginning of this century through important structure projects such as the port complex Tangier-Med, the Off-Shore zone, road and rail infrastructures, the future high-speed train (HSP or the TGV), the urban upgrading of the city, the development of industrial and tourist zones. These dynamics increase the attractiveness of the area as well as a strong human mobility towards and through the region.

The role of the crossroads and the open zone on the outside world is therefore reinforced and the Tingitane peninsula is from now on a refuge zone for candidates considering clandestine immigration towards Spain and Europe who do not only come from Morocco but also from other African countries. Henceforth, the city receives thousands of potential emigrants and phenomena such as the emigration of street children, the emigration of the individual women, or regular trips of emigrants or seniors which give a distinguished feature to Tangier and its region.

The area receives also transfers and investments from emigrants living in the area as well as those originating from other regions. Most of the incomers are settled in city centres, which explains the remarkable urban growth witnessed in cities like Tangier, Asilah or Ksar el Kébir.

All these migratory dynamics have contributed to a urban growth and development seen before, particularly the strong housing demand. The development of urban network and its expansion are the results of these migratory dynamics.

Within the urban area, the three districts of Charf Mghougha, Charf Souani and Bni Makada situated towards the East of the city show this urban growth. They were selected for the sample test for our survey.

Administrative Demarcation

At the administrative level, the town of Tangier is the major headquarter of the Tangier-Asilah prefecture and the Wilaya bearing the same name. It is also the capital of Tangier-Tétouan Area² which extends on 11,570 km² (1,6 percent of the area of Morocco). This administrative load earned

it the status of the regional capital from which it dominates the regional urban infrastructure and exerts a great influence on its rural area.

According to the last administrative and territorial division, Tangier is made up of four districts: Tangier-medina, Charf Mghougha, Charf Souani and Bni Makada. The last three (Charf Mghougha, Charf Souani and Bni Makada), kept for our survey, provide housing for a population of 496,208 inhabitants according to the general 2004 census (against 358613 inhabitants in 1994), i.e., 74,10 percent of the urban area's population, which confirms the demographic and urban weight of the studied zone/of the study.

Population, Activities and Local Dynamics

According to the 2004 census, the population of Tanger-Tetouan reached the 2, 460,220 inhabitants, or 8.15 percent of the Moroccan population, including 58.24 percent in urban areas. The population density is of 213 per km² (176 in 1994) against 42 inhabitants / km² (37 in 1994) for the whole of Morocco.

The population growth of the districts of Tangier has registered an annual rate between 0.9 percent (Charf-Souani) and 5.2 percent (Bni Makada). The population of the four districts has progressed into approximately 170 000 inhabitants between 1994 and 2004. The evolution of the population in metropolitan Tangier increased due to rural exodus and migration from different areas of Morocco (Table 5).

The changing demographics of Tangiers is quite strong. The average rate of growth of population in the three districts is equivalent to that of the city (3 percent). But it goes far beyond the borough of Bni Makada with 5.2 percent. This population is characterized by the dominance of a class of an active and very young population. The class of ages between 15 and 59 makes 64 percent of the total population of the city. This explains the large size of the active faction of job seekers. However, the illiteracy rate is high in the city of Tangier 27 percent, with variations depending on the districts: Beni Makda higher (35.7 percent) and lowest in Charf Souani (21 percent).

Moreover, the economic dynamics of Tangier is based on the development of diversified activities. These activities have had an impact on the induced activities, particularly in the informal sector with activities of small sizes. In addition to many large projects, six industrial zones and residential areas guide the extension of the city. Currently, Tangier is the second industrial centre of Morocco after Casablanca (textile, mechanical, chemical, metallurgical and naval).

The distribution of the workforce by economic activity shows the preponderant weight of industry 32.78 percent, commerce 17.03 percent, 12.56 percent services, public administration (11.73 percent) and Public and building works (11.34 percent). A large informal sector occupies a large part of the population (eg 15 percent of the population Bni Makada), and most often associated with illegal activities. Thus, the informal sector is generator of job creation and services.

Cultural Aspects

The human groups that make up the indigenous population of the region form the community of Jbala whose seniority and density characterizing the installation over the Rif altitudes.

In fact, agricultural practices have marked the old countryside with some originality. The inhabitants of this region are organized in groups and villagers have adopted methods of collective organization of social life. The indigenous population constitutes the majority of the inhabitants of the city of Tangier and in particular the town consists of three districts.

But the increase of immigration in Tangier, from different cities and rural areas of Morocco has led to a specific urban culture for the city of Tangier heavily influenced by Spanish heritage, which is reflected in the daily life style. In addition to sub-Saharan migrants in transit and tourists from Europe who settled in the city over a long period of time, the population tends toward a certain palpable cosmopolitanism and cultural diversity.

The region was once an international zone with different languages, including Spanish. But the Moroccan Arabic dialect is the daily language in the city of Tangier. Classical Arabic is the language of instruction and administration. The positioning of Tangier as an import place for tourism,

The diversity of people in three districts, and the crossing of different migration flows create a linguistic diversity in which Arabic, French and Spanish are the most frequent. The "Tarifit", the ancestral language of the Rif, is also common in the city of Tangier.

Migratory Aspects

Based on the previous, the city of Tangier is attracting more and more migrants. According to the Bipolar Study Tangier-Tetouan (2003), 4 of 10 migrants settle in the urban area of Tangier. A 24 percent of migrants in the region reside in the rural areas of Tangiers. According to the latest census of 2004, the net migration was during the period 1994-2004 of 94,331 people over. This was due to the depopulation of rural areas that has received only 856 during the same period. This net migration affects urban growth: the Beni Makada district has received more than 44,593 migrants in ten years, 40.5 percent of newcomers, District of Charf Mghogha 24 percent and 22 percent Tanger Medina (Table 6).

As for outward mobility, Tangier has long been aside from movements of departures to Europe. Of the total departures between 1969 and 1972, the entire region is accredited as of 5500 departures (Bonnet and Bossard, 1973), or 4.8 percent of this total, and ranks among the "Secondary areas". According to the same publication, emigration was then still relatively new and undeveloped. Thus the attrition rate between 1969 and 1972 there were 9 in 1000.

The geographical position of the peninsula and the absence of migratory tradition explained the original destination of this migration compared to the rest of the country: On all of these departures France had recruited less than 40 percent of the emigrants. Gibraltar has absorbed the largest flow of workers from the region after the withdrawal of Spanish workers in the British colony. Just as there were large departures to Germany and Holland. Last, Spain has also has received significant numbers; however, we could not assess them with precision because they did not pass through regular channels.

Today, Tangier has become a bridgehead of emigration to Spain. Taking into account the relative weight of migrants in relation to the total population, Tangier and The *Tingitane* Peninsula topped the list of regions for migrants to Spain. The weight of Tangier and its region in the overall total of

identified Moroccan immigrants in Spain (Lopez Garcia and Berriane, 2004) has been increasing for a decade, having risen from 23.3 percent in 1991 to 28 percent in 2001. These percentages are quite high if we know that the demographic weight of the region represents just under 8 percent of the total population of Morocco. The migration is mainly from urban, mainly from Tangier and its region.

We must put this predominance of urban origin in connection with the transit of migrants from rural towns and urban centres of the region before their migration abroad. Very often, the bridgehead of the candidate to emigration is in town, where a parent or loved ones who has already been emigrated had chosen his domicile to either return for it periodically or leave it for family member who stayed in Morocco. This is despite the enormous potential of development and many sites recently opened in the Tangier region. But besides the fact that these projects are yet to be felt by a decline in migratory pressure, we must insist on their appealing nature for the populations of the Interior who is becoming mobile, and who do sometimes seek to continue to Europe.

The region and the city seem to play also the role of an exit to Spain for migrants from other regions and other countries. This is reflected in the ongoing discourse and perceptions. This is because the city is regarded as a bridgehead, a gateway to Europe; it is even visible in good weather, which increases tensions and temptations.

Research Area with Human Rights Situation: The Tounfite Region (Map 9)

The choice of the region of Tounfit in this project is justified in what we see as original: it is a region of agro-pastoral Mountains and forestry, potentially rich in natural resources, geographically eccentric and economically marginalised. But it has not developed a migration process that caused a demographic drain, or having had a return of the drainage of new wealth. This in our view is a specific size that can illuminate an aspect of the relationship between deficits in spatial development and migration. But it serves primarily to clarify the issue posed by the absence of a fair redistribution and the need to protect the right of access to land resources in its relationship with the migration issue.

Official Status

The area of Tounfite is located in the province of Khenifra, before moving into the newly created Midelt. It roughly corresponds to the administrative boundaries of the territory of caidats in Tounfit. The administrative organization is under 4 municipalities, Tounfit, Agoudim, Sidi Yahya or Youssef and Anemzi. It a territory of two groups: Yahya Ait and Ait Amer Ait home or Himmi Hididou.

Natural Framework and Geo-Ecological Conditions

Arranged between the High and Middle Atlas, the Tounfit area occupies the upstream basin of the Moulouya. The area has a series of ridges (3000 m) and depressions. The mountain's climate brings in very cold winters (between 300 and 350 mm of rain) and relatively cool summers in the highlands. The forest covers large areas at the heights, holm oak and cedar to be associated with

secondary species. Low formations replace the forest areas. The nature of the climate and the altitudinal distribution of vegetation types explain the use of mainly agro and forest resources.

Population, Activities and Local Dynamics

The Modest Growth in Numbers

The total population of the research area of Tounfit is 23,588 inhabitants, 5,028 (20.2 percent) of which are in urban areas. It represents a proportion of 4.7 percent of the population of the Province of Khenifra. It is among the mountains where the distribution of the population is not regular. The overall density is relatively low, about 15.3 inhabitants per km² while the density increases to 2.84 inh per agricultural hectare.

In this difficult area, the population increased from 21,906 inhabitants in 1994 to 23,588 by 2004, representing an overall increase of 8.2 percent in 10 years, less than two points from the 10 percent rate registered at the provincial level.

The total fertility rate, TFR varies from a minimum of 2.6 in the town of Sidi Yahya and Yousef, and 2.8 in the central Tounfit to a maximum of 5.1 in the town of Anemzi. In contrast, mortality rates, infant in particular, are as strong: 194 per thousand in the town of Anemzi. These indicators reflect a profile that contrasts with the demographic transition registered at the national, regional and provincial levels.

A Demographic Structure Characterized by a Balance Between Men and Women and a Predominance of Young People

The gender distribution of the population reflects a relative gender balance, with a slight predominance of women 50.1 percent, against 49.9 percent of men. In terms of age groups, 15-55 years, this report does not vary much. This indicates a peculiarity in terms of potential emigration of men. This is a population where the age categories of activity, between 15 and 60 years represent 54.8 percent of the total, and where younger people of less than 15 years. That is to say that the age of compulsory education is of 35 percent, and the oldest category of 65 years and over constitute less 5,6 percent.

Job Insecurity, Low Complexity of the Economic Fabric

In terms of employment, the rate of assets compared to total population is 23.5 percent, but the employed represent only 20.02 percent. In this group women are underrepresented because they represent just 13.6 percent of the workforce and 12.9 percent of the employed labour force. These proportions are relatively higher in urban areas, 16.7 percent and 28.6 percent.

This opposition between rural and urban women in employment, despite the relative homogeneity of the economic environment, can also be found at the level of occupational status. In the rural area, the self-employed and family workers constitute the bulk of the employed 81.3 percent, against only 61.1 percent in urban areas. The labour wage is more prevalent in the urban centre. These include service activities related to trade and services 40.4 percent, central Tounfit being a chief administrative hub, and ancillary activities related to the wood industry and crafts (12 percent)

and the construction industry (20 percent), while agriculture accounts for 83 percent of assets in rural areas.

With the exception of the centre of Tounfit, the region continues to be characterized by an economic system focused on traditional activities, agriculture, livestock and forestry.

The recent trend is marked by a double phenomenon consisting on the degradation of natural resources and growing phenomenon of poverty.

The Socio-Economical Situation, Poverty and Human Development

Poverty is a characteristic of the local rural dwellers of this difficult mountain area. This is manifested by a lack of income generated by the agro-pastoral and the underdeveloped equipment and infrastructure. In 2004, the connection rate to drinking water did not exceed 10.7 percent of households in rural and 92.2 percent in urban areas, and the rate of connection to the network is maintained around 15.4 percent and 89.9 percent respectively. It must be said that between 2004 and 2010, an effort has been provided by the State to improve the situation of equipments in the region. But the fact remained that the region is marked by poverty rates and high vulnerability, 35 percent and 23.8 percent, against 18.2 percent and 20.8 percent, respectively, at provincial level. This is reflected in indices of human development in all instances lower than the provincial average of 0.45 or 0.15 for the least developed joint and 0.42 for the most favoured.

This statement reveals the paradox of an area with potential natural resources but where most people have no means of access to their operations. Revenues of multiple activities or emigration constitute an alternative to a cyclical few families, but fail to induce a dynamic capable of reducing structural poverty affecting the majority of families. The tendency to abandon the area is a solution increasingly chosen by the vulnerable, particularly since the tragedies caused by the cold wave that has seen the region between December 2006 and February 2007.

Cultural Aspects

The eccentric location, combined with a precarious socio-economic status of the population and a weak state presence in the development, are all factors that have kept the region at the margins of modernity and the social and cultural change. The two ethnic groups of the people of the region are of Amazigh culture. It is a culture that has been maintained not only through language, despite the presence of Arabic mostly through schools and the souks, but also in the customs of people and their farming practices, agricultural and craft .

Migratory Aspects

Even if all the socioeconomic indicators used to classify the region of Tounfit as repulsive, migration flows have not been provided a scale to cause its dramatic depopulation, as it is the case in some of the Rif Mountains or the Anti Atlas. This is a peculiarity which might have characterized the region at least until the 80s from the last century. But in the absence of official data available

on migration flows to and from the region, one is forced to proceed on assumptions which we infer from indirect demographic indicators, per male total ratio and per age, and our empirical knowledge of the region. In reference to balancing, the relationship between men and women we showed in the demographic analysis we advance three following assumptions:

- Men are not attracted by emigration, because the region offers opportunities for keeping them in place,
- Men move in search of seasonal work, but return to douar after some months of absence,
- Women are affected by migration as well as men.

Moreover, investigations in the region have revealed the existence, in the first place, of a circular mobility for working men in the construction sites of northern towns, which women joined later going to work in the modern fields of export crops in the agricultural regions of Tadla, Lower Moulouya and Souss. The first temporary emigration has seen two developments: i) the tendency towards the final determination in regional or remote towns, ii) the illegal emigration of young men and women to Europe.

Discourses on Migration in the Region.

The region is not affected by the very discourse on migration, given the small magnitude of the phenomenon in its international dimension. But given the situation in mountain areas, the political discourse and even the scientific on the region, took a developmental dimension related to preserving the environment and the natural resources in which the pressure of overcrowding and depopulation have arisen as specific issues.

The discourse on immigration becomes a product of local people who are starting to boast to go far way, even in some of their songs as an escape from the miserable conditions in which they are in because of an inequity in the redistribution of wealth produced in their territory.

Conclusion

The selected research areas in Morocco are quite different both at the socio-economic and developmental dynamics levels (Table 7). Hence, it seems that they are fairly representative of Morocco to provide a realistic picture about the perception and image that is made of Moroccans about Europe.

Yet, another feature seems even more relevant for the analysis of this image. It is the degree of closeness to Europe: it might be either geographical or cultural such as the case of the city of Tangier, separated from Europe by only 15 km. Further, this proximity can also be relational as in the Todra valley that, although it is far removed geographically from Europe, it is strongly attached to the latter through an old, long standing and tense emigration flows. Between the two extremes (City of Tangier and the Todra Valley), there are two other areas of research, one in the center and the other in full High Atlas region. These remained relatively aloof from Europe due to the weak or absence of emigration activities. We believe that these three types of cases should be reflected and taken into perspective.

This can already be verified from the discourses. In the Valley of Todra, migration is part of the socioeconomic system, and if Europe has a heavy presence in the minds of the people, it would only be linked to countries known by the very high density of emigration such as France or Spain. This Europe is viewed very positively, and sometimes idealized, but the last economic crisis tends to reflect a somewhat blurred image about it. Although In Tangier the perception is sharper, there are tense frustrations as well. The closure of Europe is very badly perceived, while at the same time this same Europe calls and requires an openness and movement except that of people. Finally, in the Central Plateau and the High Atlas, Europe is less present; there is certainly a perception, but less clear. Although emigration is considered an alternative, its pressure is lower.

Surveys and qualitative approaches should verify and clarify these initial findings.

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Table 1 - Rate of medical coverage

Number of inhabitants per	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Doctor	1.846	1.779	1.755	1.688	1.637
Dentist	10.027	9.488	9.174	8.880	8.147
Pharmacist	4.530	4.317	4.049	3.854	3.729

Source: Ministry of Health.

Table 2 Languages spoken in Morocco

Languages spoken	Number	percent
Arabic dialect	24 036 041	89,8
Tashlhit	3 894 805	14,6
Tamazight	2 343 937	8,8
Tarifit	1 270 986	4,8
Hassaynia	194 742	0,7

Source: HCP, 2004

Table 3 - Universal and international instruments issued by the United Nations and ratified by Morocco

Universal international instruments	Dates of ratification by Morocco
International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights December 16th, 1966	03 May 1979
International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights December 16th, 1966	03 May 1979
International Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination of December 21st, 1965	18 March 1970
Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women of December 18th, 1979	22 June 1993
Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment of December 10th, 1984	21 June 1993
Convention on the Rights of the Child of November 20th, 1989	21 June 1993
Optional Protocol on the Convention on the Rights of the Child, on the involvement Children in Armed Conflicts of May 25th, 2000	22 May 2002
Optional Protocol on the Convention on the Rights of the Child, on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography of May 25th, 2000	02 October 2001
International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and the Members of Their Families of December 18th, 1990	21 June 1993

Source: information of The Office of the United Nations' High Commissioner for Human Rights, January 2003 (cited in El Madmad, 2004, P. 163)

Table 4 - selected areas and their administrative contexts

Research area	Province	Municipality
High Emigration Research Area : Todra Valley	Tinghir	MU Tinghir (Urban)
		Toudgha El Oulia (Rural)
		Toudgha Essoufla (Rural)
		Taghzoute N Ait Atta (Rural)
Low Emigration Research Area : The central plateau region	Khémisset	Oulmes (Rural)
		Oulmes (Urban)
	Khénifra	Aguelmous (Rural)
		Aguelmous (Urban)
		Moulay Bouazza (Rural)
		Moulay Bouazza (Urban)
Immigration Research Area : Tangier City	Tanger Assilah	Bni Makada (Urban)
		Charf-Mghogha (Urban)
		Charf-Souani (Urban)
Human Rights Situation Research Area : The Tounfite region	Midelt	Tounfite (Urban)
		Tounfite (Rural)
		Agoudim (Rural)
		Anemzi (Rural)
		Sidi Yahya Ou Youssef (Rural)

Table 5 - Population distribution in the research areas (Tangier City)

	Population 1994	Households 1994	Population 2004	Households 2004	Growth Rate
Bni Makada	144154	25527	238382	47384	5,2
Charf-Mghogha	108577	19932	141987	30036	2,7
Charf-Souani	105882	20514	115839	25948	0,9
Tanger-Medina	138534	30721	173477	40929	2,3
Total	497147	100	669685	144297	3

Source: *General census of population and housing 1994 and 2004*

Table 6 - Migration and net migration (Tangier City)

Districts	Incoming	per- cent	Outgoing	per- cent	Balance	per- cent
Bni Makada	44593	40,51	7055	44,78	37538	39,79
Charf-Mghogha	26938	24,47	4051	25,71	22887	24,26
Charf-Souani	14367	13,05	1715	10,89	12652	13,41
Tanger-Medina	24188	21,97	2934	18,62	21254	22,53
Total Tangier	110086	100	15755	100,00	94331	100

Source: *Office of the High Commission Plan 2004*

Table 7 – Comparative Table For The Four Research Areas In Morocco

Morocco	High Emigration Research Area	Low Emigration Research Area	Immigration Research Area	Human Rights Situation RA
Name of the RA	Todra Valley	Central Plateau	Tangier City	Tounfite
Number of Towns	1	3	1	1
Number of Villages	39	70	0	38
Surface Area (km ²)	626,63	1888,93	60,46	1535,62
(2004)*				
Population (Total)	68536	64191	496208	23588
Population growth rate	1,1	0,23	3,3	7,96
Sex Ratio	0,929	0,997	0,993	0,995
Population (15-44)	33857	31416	260214	10389
Population Density	109,4	34,0	8207,2	15,4
Infant Mortality Rate	57,17 per thousand	34,12 per thousand	32,97 per thousand	93,39 per thousand
Life expectancy rate				
Literacy Total	66,2 percent	38,2 percent	69,9 percent	28,3 percent
Literacy (Male/Female)				
Rate of Urbanization	53,1 percent	40,6 percent	100 percent	30,9 percent
GDP per capita (cst 2000 US\$)				
Unemployment rate	4,0 percent	10,5 percent	11,7 percent	10,4 percent
Net Migration Rate				
Remittances as percent of GDP				
Average annual growth rate, period 1980-2009*				
Population				
GDP per capita (cst 2000 US\$)				
Outmigration				
Remittances				

Diagrams

Diagram 1

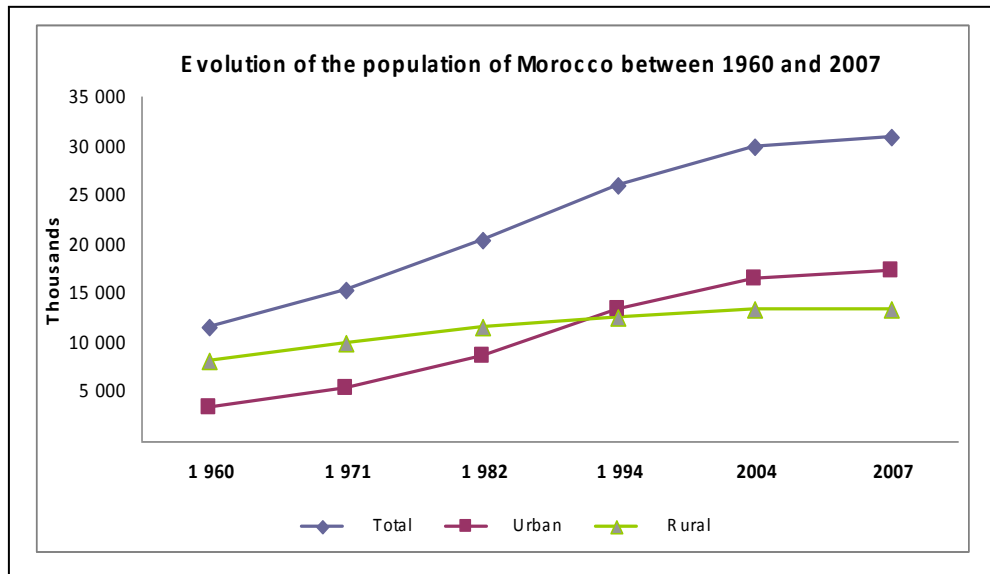


Diagram 2

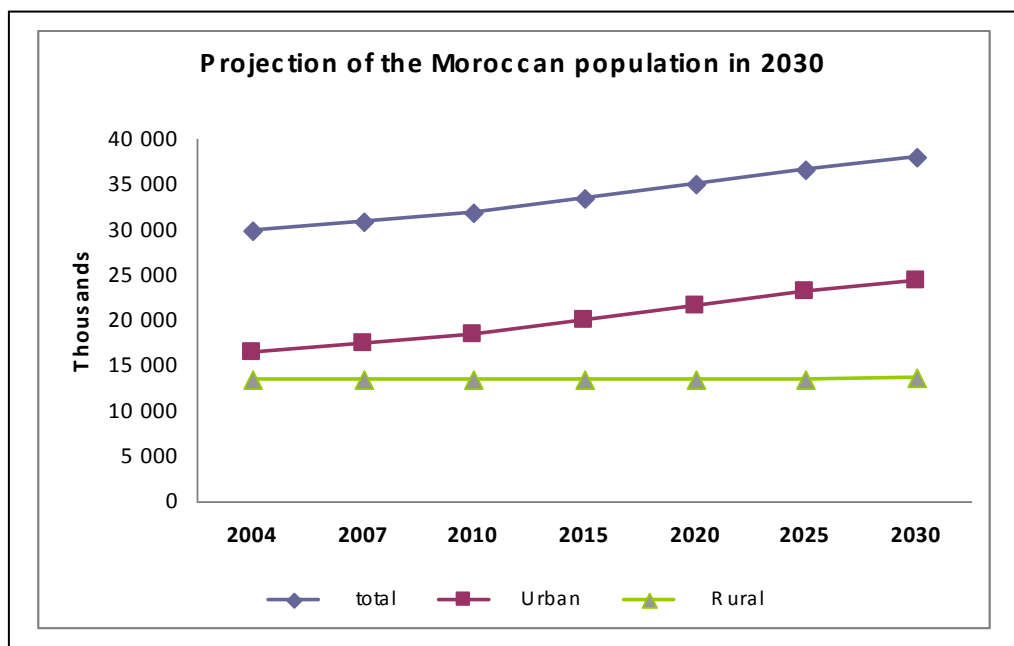


Diagram 3

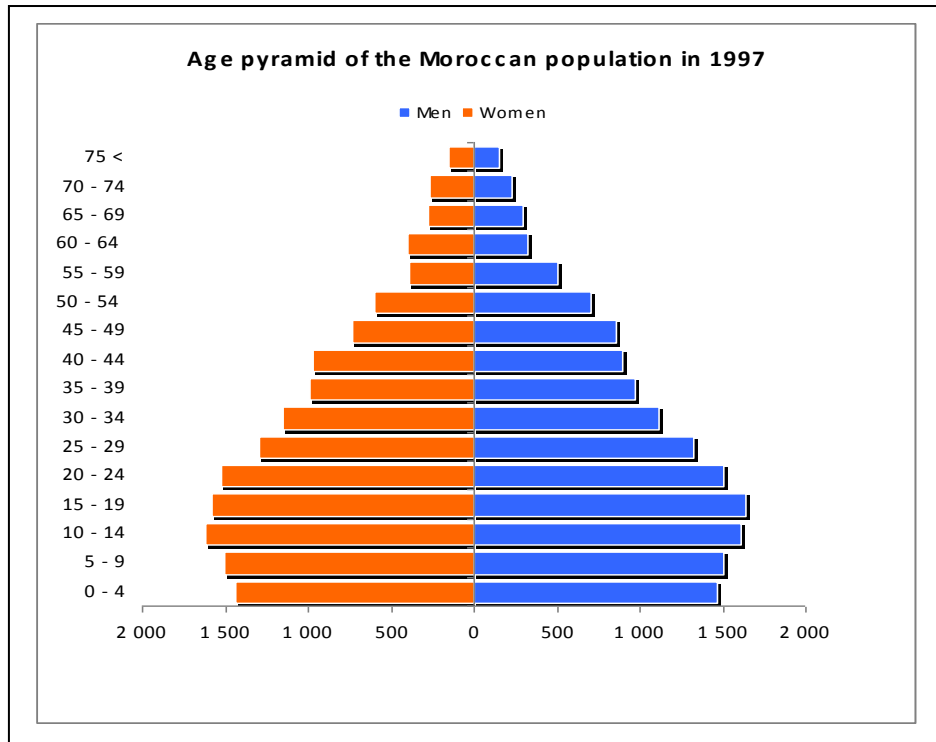
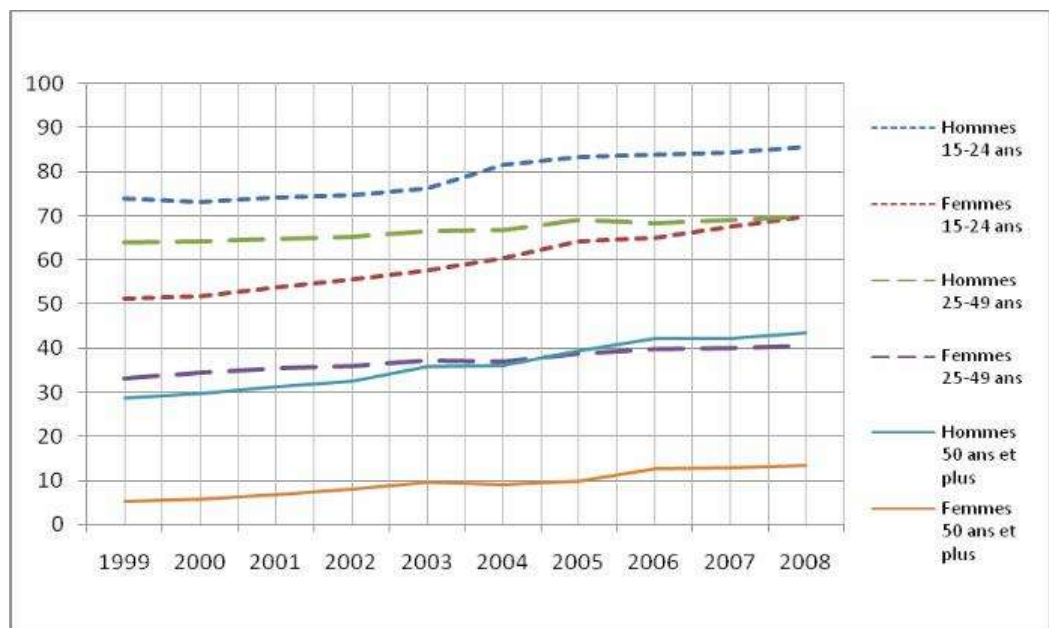


Diagram 4

Illiteracy rate by age group and gender at the national level (in percent)

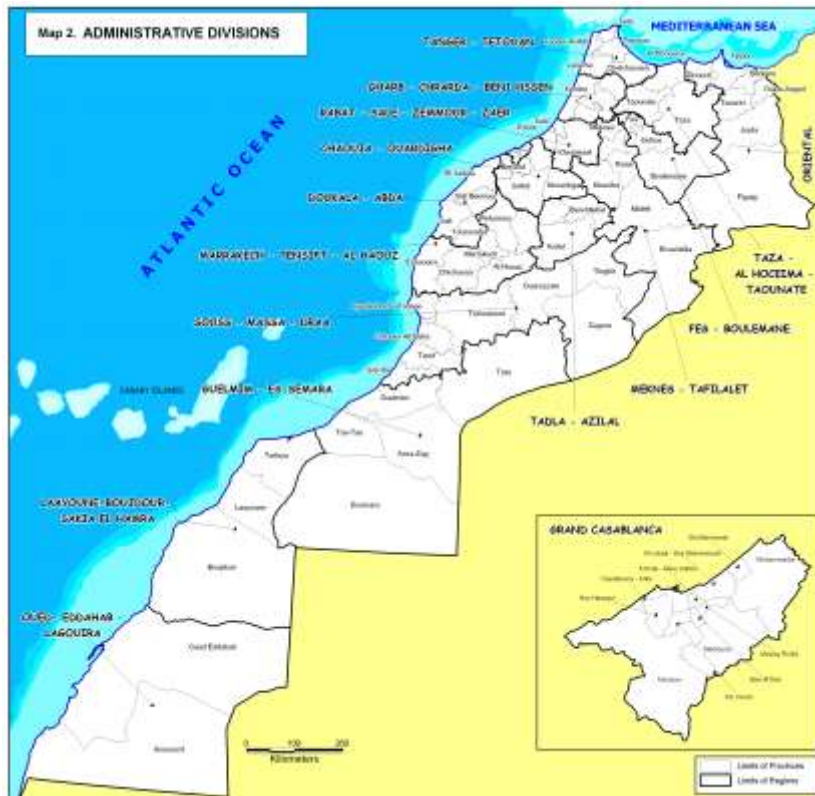


Maps

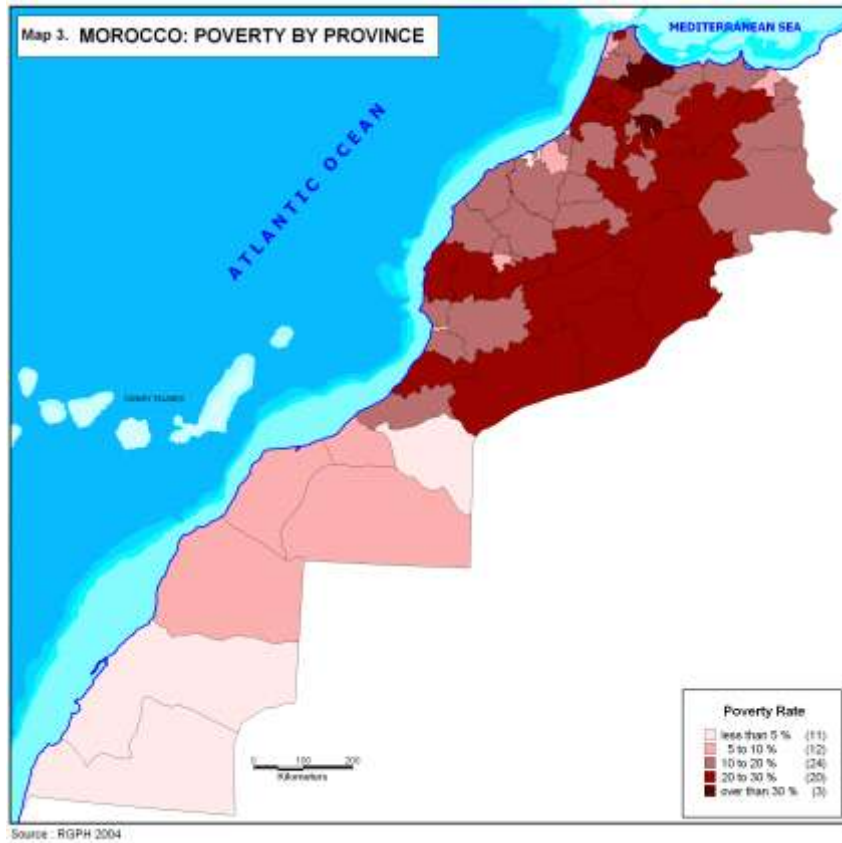
Map 1 – Morocco : General Map



Map 2 – Administrative divisions



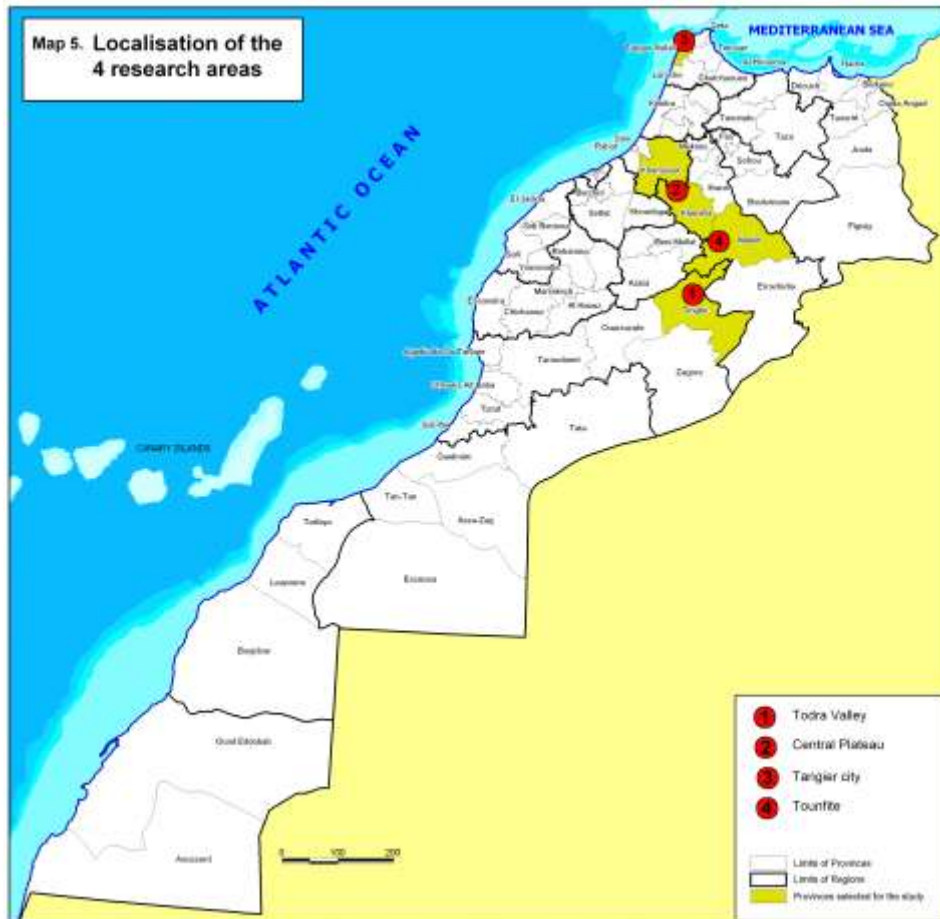
Map 3 – Morocco : Poverty by Province



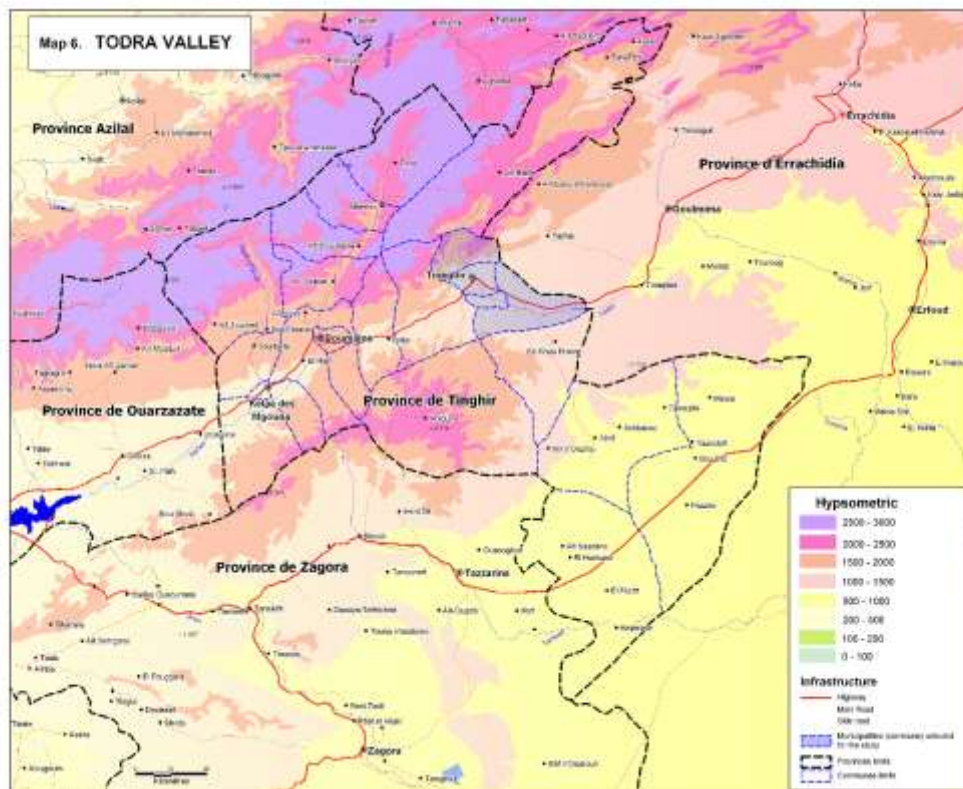
Map 4 – Main origin countries of a sample of subsaharan immigrants surveyed in Fès (2010)



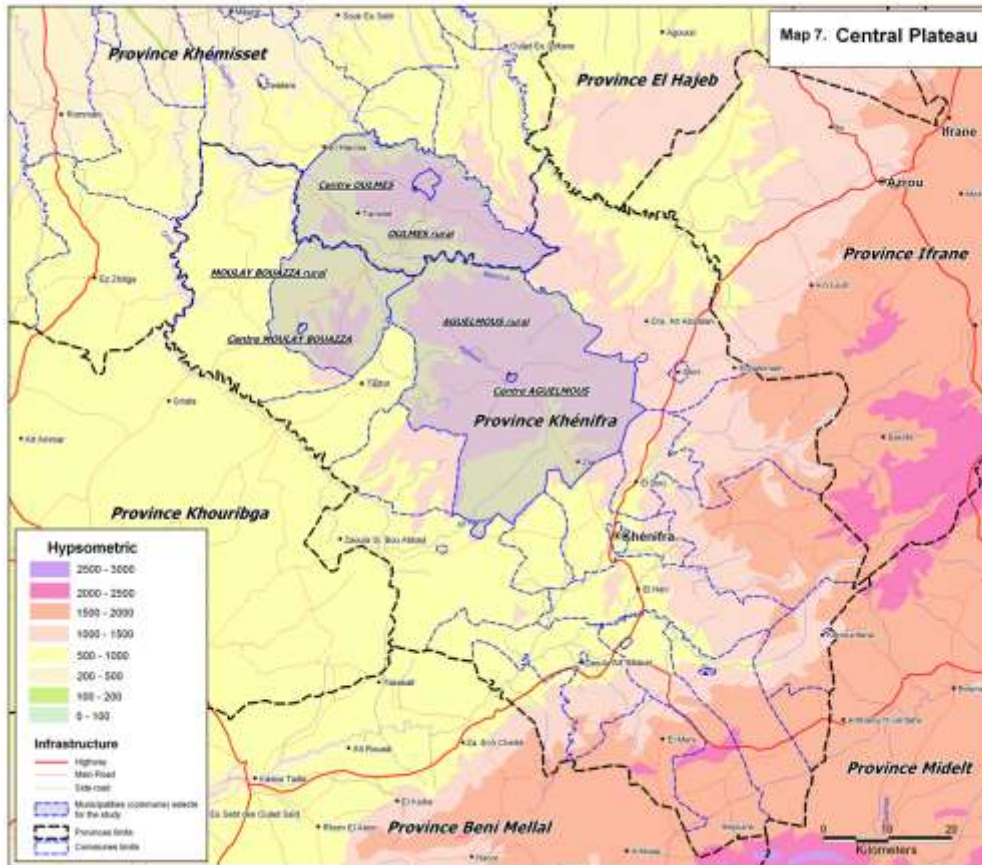
Map 5 – Localisation of the 4 research areas



Map 6 – Todra Valley



Map 7 – Central Plateau



Map 8 – Tangier City



Map 9 - Tounfite

