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Gender and Voluntary Return: Moroccan Migrant Labor Women as a Case Study

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1. Objectives

The purpose of this study is to investigate the long term universal migration of Moroccan women to the Middle East where no family reunification strategy exists. Therefore, this thesis tries to find out the gendered effects of worldwide migration of Moroccan women on the three levels of analysis micro (women themselves), meso (their families), and macro (the Moroccan society). While the vast majority of the current investigations talk about the migrant women' conditions in the receiving country, this thesis concentrates on the results of the developing pattern of feminized universal migration, especially the long-term movement and return of women.

This thesis tries to spot light on the social outcomes of long period migration on gender. It, also, attempts to study the social change communicated through the rebuilding of family units and the redefinition of families and gender relations. Furthermore, this study investigates the different reasons which contribute to the increase of a societal culture of migration. The culture of migration has reproduced an expanding reliance on women moving to work in chiefly gender segregated occupations with low status and low esteem, which, thusly, subject women to vulnerabilities to manhandle and abuse. This includes both deskilling educated and talented women accepting such job opportunities.

Statement of the problem

Considering return enables to reflect on the degree to which migration objectives have been accomplished or not, the conditions under which return happens for a migrant woman, and the large scale (macro) powers which help clarify the conditions of return and post return life standards. I contend that a gendered approach in understanding return (and also the whole migration process) is important to be taken into account, keeping in mind the end goal to move the investigation beyond the economic and money related variables to incorporate socio-psychological and social components. A gendered approach enables to have a more prominent consciousness of the more extensive social factors that impact women and men inspirations and roles, the flow of gender relations, and the well comprehension of the impact of migration on women's and men's position with reference to the time and space settings and also to life conditions. The social outcomes of women migration on the individual, family, and societal levels will be the center of this investigation, in this manner adding to an imperative measurement in the gender and migration writing and giving original information analysis.

The study attempts to give answers to the following research questions:

RQ1: What does the return of women migrants show as to migration inspiration objectives, agencies, identities, and consequences?

H1: as opposed to many existing research that deals with migration from the economic point of view, I assumed that not only the economic facts that pushes women to migrate, and that there are other reasons that are purely social and cultural, such as escaping a harsh rural life, a difficult relationship, or to live new experiences

RQ2: What are the gendered implications of return? The end result for the women when they come back to their home country in the terms of: a) the impacts of migration experience on their positions and roles, their identity, and feeling of strengthening; b) the effect of migration on their families, relationship with the family and society as a whole?

H2: for this question I assumed that female migration affects not only the woman by making a huge change in her identity, agency and empower her positively, but also her relationship with her husband (concerning gender roles distribution), and enhances her family status, by changing her family's attitude towards her related to control, opinion consideration, and decision making.

RQ3: What are the gendered results of long term migration and return of women migrants on the Moroccan culture in general?

H3: I also assume a culture of migration has taken place in our society, and that people are relying on migration in order to overcome poverty and joblessness. This altitude is also adopted by the government that find it as an easy way to fight poverty, as well as economic benefits through remittances

Methodology

My investigation uses a multi-level approach to give an integrative point of view on the return migration of Moroccan women and its gendered outcomes. I clarified in the theoretical structure that my primary focus of study is at the micro level, that of the migrant women' lives and experiences. As a woman migrant sees her life of being far from home for quite a long time, she can think back and ponder the implications of her experience as a labor migrant in a globalized world, on her work in an outside home country; and her ways of life as a woman, non-resident in the receiving country; on her job experience and conditions in a different

culture and country. Her coping strategies, as well as her actual perception of herself, her family and her experience in a foreign country. can we really say that her return is going to be easy? How is she going to reintegrate, both within her family and her society? Is it accurate to say that she is ready to fit back and resettle? What does getting back home mean? Has the home to which she returns changed?

The use of the semi structured interviews, by making use of both an interview protocol that is guided and structured the research as well as keeping some space for conversational aspects. The choice of this interview type was based on both my will to stay focused, and avoid empty talk, as well as my concern on keeping some intimacy, and a friendly atmosphere with the interviewees, which will lead to more details about feelings and worries description needed in my research.

Knowing that interviews would not target a big number of people, I tried to add another method, questionnaires. This method is considered as highly practical, and more accurate, due to the fact that it is far from any subjectivity of the interviewers, who can easily be biased through interviews. The choice of questionnaire was then based on my need to be more objective, in addressing such issue, in addition to targeting a bigger number of people.

One would opt for the mixed questionnaires that used both open ended and close ended questions. This choice was based on the need to give some free space to my respondent to explain exactly what they want, as well as closed questions that would help collect more accurate statistical data. This explains the choice of many types of questions the leading questions, importance questions, Likert questions, dichotomous questions, and rating scale questions.

Main chapters and areas of research

This study is divided into five chapters. The first chapter addresses the issue of Migration in Morocco, its historicity, the contemporary condition of migration patterns, and migration in relation to development. Chapter two describes and examines the different theories of migration and gender development. It, also, gives an insight on the following concepts: return; women, gender and return; identity, agency and empowerment. Chapter three sketches the research methodology including: setting and participants, research design, the approach used, validity and reliability, data collection instruments, and data coding and analysis. Chapter four present the findings of the data gathered. The last chapter is concerned to be a comprehensive discussion

of the findings that attempts to answer the research questions and suggest further strategies to integrate women' returnees socially, economically, and psychologically.

2. Findings

The findings confirm most of my already mentioned hypotheses, and also confirm to some extent the findings of the interviews. Return was then due mostly to external factors, and most of the returnees were aged between 45 to 55 years old. Most of returnees found that their financial situation weakened after return, and most importantly, female migrants' financial responsibilities extended after return, and happily there is more sharing of household and caring and nurturing responsibilities with the husband. In addition, returnees had known a huge change in their identity and agency, which made them more self-confident, and assertive, these qualities made their surrounding pay more importance to their opinions, and see them as capable to take decision and control the households. Concerning the culture of migration, we have found that many Moroccan people see migration as an opportunity to don't miss, in order to get out of poverty. Thus most of the respondent think about migrating again.

Originality and significance of the study

In Morocco, female migrant returnees have partial and insufficient opportunities to disclose their lived experience. The only chance to help them share their narratives is to make them involved in discussions and oriented interactions. It is a necessity if not a must to establish a platform for communication that will enable the understanding of their lived experience, and to comprehend the impact of their migration journey on them, their family that will impact in its turn the whole community.

Such understanding will never be possible if we do not include all the components of their experience, before, while, and after migration. The importance of the study lies in the inclusion of gender, since most of the few research deal with the topic without including the gender dimension. One can never claim that both genders live their migration experience in the same way, each gender has its own factors for movement, own occupations and work conditions while abroad, and at the same time its own, return reasons and condition after return. Adding to that another dimension which is the mother's movement that undoubtedly will have its implications on the children and sometimes husbands left behind, that in its turn will create other types of gender roles distribution with the husbands as carers and wives as providers.

The study deals with the topic by adopting an inclusive dimension, in the sense that the study focused on the micro, meso and macro levels, and how migration and return affects both the returnees, their families and the whole community. Using two quantitative methods (interviews and questionnaires) allowed for a more diverse and objective study. In fact, both of these two research methods created their own impact on the study, interviews that allowed a face to face interaction with the returnee, and sometimes with their families within their households, which created a more complete picture of their real life situations, and questionnaires that allowed both the objectivity of the researcher, and second to reach a larger group of people. Through this field work many questions were used in order to affirm or refute some hypotheses.

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Thirdly I would like to thank my parents, for their encouragement, and help. My husband for being present and caring during my research period, and my kids for their understanding, and cooperation.

Dedication

This humble project is dedicated to all the women who shared with me their sufferings and joys, without whom this study would have never seen the light and with love to my husband , parents , and kids:

Rim, Reda, Yahya, and Qamar

مقتضب

يتمحور هذا البحث حول تابعات ونتائج تأنيث الهجرة المغربية على المرأة المهاجرة العاملة ارتباطا بأسرتها و كذا بالمجتمع المغربي ككل. يهدف هذا البحث الى دراسة التغيرات التي تعرفها المرأة المهاجرة، خصوصا الى البلدان التي لا تخول التجمع الأسري الا بشروط قانونية صعبة، تعقد مسطرة لم الشمل. تعتبر هذه التغيرات عامل تأثير على كل من هويتها ، شخصيتها، وعلاقتها بأسرتها والمجتمع. حيث استهدفت هذه الدراسة عينة من النساء اللواتي عدن الى المغرب بشكل نهائي بعد مدة قضيناها خارج المغرب. لجمع وتحليل البيانات المتعلقة بهذه الدراسة تم استعمال تقنيتين مختلفتين كمية ونوعية وذلك بهدف الاجابة عن الاسئلة البحثية. حيث استعملت الاستمارة بهدف معرفة خصوصيات تجربة الهجرة على ثلاث مستويات (قبل، خلال، وبعد الهجرة) لدى 80 مهاجرة مغربية عائدة. وتم كذلك اجراء مقابلات مع مجموعة من النساء العائدات بما مجموعه 40 مقابلة، وذلك من أجل الاستفسار عن كل ما يهم حيثيات الموضوع المنوط بالدراسة وتجلياته بما في ذلك من أسباب ونتائج وحلول مقترحة. جدير بالذكر أن الاستمارة وكذا المقابلات خلصت الى نفس النتائج تقريبا. وفي الاخير خولت لنا هذه الدراسة قياس مدى تأثير الهجرة على ابعاد متباينة و المتمثلة في النوع، والمرأة في علاقتها بذاتها ومحيطها، وكذا ترسيخ ثقافة الهجرة في المجتمع.

المفاهيم الأساسية : المرأة المهاجرة العائدة، هجرة العمالة، ثقافة الهجرة، النوع و الهجرة.

Abstract

This study aims at analyzing the effects and outcomes of the feminization of Moroccan migration on labor women migrants themselves, on their families and on the whole community (Micro, Meso, and Macro levels respectively). This study investigates the change that occurs in the migrant women, especially those women who migrated to such countries where family reunification is such a hard deal. These changes affect their identity, sense of agency, relationship with their families, and the whole community. The study highlights the return phase of Moroccan women migrants, who have spent some time abroad as labor migrants. To collect and analyze data related to this topic two research methods are used: quantitative and qualitative, which aims to answer questions related to the topic. Questionnaires, filled by 80 women returnees, are used in order to comprehend the migration journey on three levels (before, while, and after) migration. In addition, interviews conducted with 40 returnees and used in order to inquire about the reasons and implications of migration and return. Notwithstanding that the findings of both methods were nearly the same. Thus, this study enabled us to analyze the outcomes of migration at different levels micro (on the woman herself), meso (her family), and macro (the whole Moroccan community): the women; her status in the family and gender roles; and on the fossilization of a culture of migration.

Key words: women, labor migration, return, agency and identity, culture of migration, gender roles.

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General Introduction

The introductory part provides the rationale and scope of this study. It also situates the research in the theoretical literature of migration and return migration, highlighting the shortcomings of the literature in explaining the migration and return migration, and indicating how the study seeks to address these limitations. A summary of the theoretical framework, research methodology, and the thesis structure is also made in this introduction. Finally, the personal motivations and the potential original contribution to the literature are presented.

Rationale

Migration presents a rich, complex, and fascinating field of study, particularly for a country like Morocco, with its long history of generations leaving the country to work, live or settle elsewhere, and where the phenomenon has taken different forms over time. According to the official statistics more than 4million of Moroccans are overseas migrant in all categories, half of which are women. Moroccan diaspora is dispatched in the five continents with an older and stronger condensation in Eastern Europe countries, especially France, Spain, Belgium, and Italy.

Moreover, the overseas Moroccan workers have been hailed as economic heroes for their remittances. In 2003 they sent home a record of 3.614 billion Dollars, whereas this amount has clearly doubled to achieve the record of

6.877 billion Dollars in 2011¹. This money gives a real boost to the Moroccan economy.

Lately, the number of women migrants has increased, to reach 48% according to the ministry of Moroccan living abroad; this increase will have a very important social impact on the Moroccan community. Hence, increasingly, over the years, labor migration from Morocco has become feminized and partly deskilled, partly skilled.

Studies (Boyd 2006; Lim and Oishi 1996; Parrenas 2006; Piper 2005) on the migration experience of women have shown that its effects on women themselves are unclear, ambiguous and even contradictory. Migration can be both exploitative and liberating, simultaneously offering new opportunities and horizons as well as new forms, structures and processes of oppression and marginalization.

At the household level, migrant worker's remittances have been utilized mainly for education, housing, and day-to-day living expenses. Some studies have indicated that remittances do help lift households out of poverty². Consequently, many migrant households continue to send members to work abroad in order to maintain the standard of living and level of income to which

¹ MPC-Migration Profile Morocco, June, 2013, Migration Policy Center

² Malika Benradi. "GENRE ET MIGRATION : Analyse de nouvelles formes d'esclavage" XXVI CONGRES INTERNATIONAL DE LA POPULATION, Marrakech – Maroc, Septembre 2009, p.2

they have grown accustomed. As a result, migrant workers spend several years away from the country and their families.

International labor migration is a complex phenomenon involving a myriad of issues: social, political, and economic, one impinging on the other, such as: the implications and ramifications of the growing numbers of women migrating; the ambivalence in migration policy-making stemming from the economic imperatives on the one hand, and the desire to protect the welfare and rights of migrant workers on the other hand—two faces which can be conflicting; the debates on the impact of remittances on poverty and sustainable growth and development, and the social consequences of migration.

1. Originality and significance of the study

This study seeks to bring at the center the debate on the social consequences of prolonged migration on gender, in particular, and the social change expressed through the restructuring of households and the redefinition of families and gender relations, as well as the rise of a societal culture of migration. The culture of migration has bred an increasing dependence on women migrating to work in mainly gender-segregated occupations with low status and low value, which in turn subject women to vulnerabilities to abuse and exploitation, and involve at times deskilling for educated and skilled women taking on such jobs.

In order to understand the social changes in Morocco arising from migration, the study undertakes the return phase of migration.

The return phase completes the full cycle of the migration process. Return can be an integral part of migration since many migrants always have in mind the idea of return. Women returnees bring to the study their insights and experiences of the different phases of migration. As they perform their roles in a foreign country, the women undergo changes, in their personalities and in their relationships. They demonstrate ways of coping and forging identities in day-to-day struggles, all this while, for some of them, keeping in their mind that at some point in their migration journey, there will be a return to their homeland. Studying return allows us to reflect on the extent to which migration goals have been achieved or not, the circumstances under which return takes place for a migrant woman, and the macro forces which help explain the circumstances of return and life after return.

2. Situating the study in the literature

Russel King³ noticed that return is the great unwritten chapter of migration. Return is a necessary aspect of the migration procedure; it has not been dealt with sufficiently in the migration debate. Frank Markowitz and Anders Stefansson offer two conceivable reasons why the topic of homecoming is obviously missing from a great part of the human sciences and migration

³ Russel Lord (2000:7)

studies. From one hand, concerns related to the aspect of return are at the periphery of assimilation, and multiculturalism.

On the other hand, homecoming is an act of unproblematic and natural reinsertion in the local or national community once left behind⁴. The last assumption applies well to transitory migration where return is guaranteed and frequently remains problematic. Interestingly, Satvinder Juss states that any comprehension of global migration needs to perceive the multi-faceted nature of migration, including temporary, circular or seasonal migration⁵. Moreover, moral and reasonable migration policies would consider the particular problems of these kinds of migrations, for example, the nonexistence of defensive lawful systems and weakness to abuse.

3. Brief theoretical framework

A review of migration theories (see Arango 2000; Castles 2003; Massey et al. 1998; Stahl 1995) shows that overall, these provide an understanding of the causes of migration, and the factors contributing to its self-perpetuation. The theories explain why people move and what determines the volume of migration. Hence, according to neoclassical theory, individuals from countries where labor is abundant and wages low, move to countries where labor is scarce and wages,

⁴ Markowitz and Stefansson, 2004, (eds) Homecomings, Unsettling Paths of Return, UK and USA : Lexington Books

⁵ Satvinder Juss (2006)

high. Migration in this sense is viewed as a result of an individual rational decision.

The new economics of labor migration theory enhances the neoclassical theory by emphasizing that migration is a decision made by families and households and that the primary motivation is to diversify sources of income rather than to maximize income per se. The role of remittances is thus made central in this theory. As opposed to these theories, the structural/dependency theory or the core-periphery model, argues that migration is a mechanism by which the core exploits the periphery and therefore it perpetuates the inequalities between countries especially through brain drain.

The social network theory brings to the center the role of social capital, of social relations in facilitating access to employment and to higher wages. It is through networks then that migration becomes a self-perpetuating phenomenon. The above theories tend to be limited and can explain only certain facets of migration or are applicable only to certain types of migration . The nature and characteristics of international migration have undergone profound changes, for example, why some countries have high outmigration while others, though structurally similar, do not. The forces of globalization and its attendant current financial turmoil render international migration much more complex.

Therefore, the time has come to pay attention beyond the causes of migration into other dimensions which are of paramount interest and importance in both

intellectual and policy terms such as: ‘processes and consequences... and societal transformations associated with international migration’; the ‘unsettled relationship between migration and development’ .

The study focuses on the individual and social consequences and social change spurred by the international migration of Moroccan women. It thus addresses a need and concern expressed by Arango (2000).

Just as there exist several factors explaining international migration, there also exist various micro and macro factors that motivate return and shape its configuration under specific circumstances. Overall, the literature analyses who returns, what motivates the returnee to return, what financial and human capital the returnee acquires and brings home.

The neoclassical and new economics of labor theories explain that motivations for return are determined by financial or economic factors, but no consideration is made of the social, economic and political environment at the home country which affects the return experience. In this regard, the structuralist theory makes up for this inadequacy. Structuralist theories argue that the returnees’ migration experience, skills and income earned have very little impact, because of the entrenched dynamics of power relations in the home country, that hardly any skills are brought back, and that returnees mainly use remittances for consumptive purposes, such as, building houses, mainly to keep up with the image of a returned migrant worker.

The transnationalist and social network theories place importance on sustaining linkages between receiving and sending countries to enable the migrant to return at a point when enough resources, both financial and non-financial, are mobilized and when conditions in the home country are favorable. Other typologies of return migration include return as failure (migrants return when they are unable to earn the desired level of income or when they are unable to integrate with host countries); return as conservatism (return is motivated by migrants' families and household decisions rather than by the migrants themselves); and return as innovation (migrants return with new knowledge and skills and financial capital such that they are able to become agents of change in their home country) (Cerase 1974 in Cassarino 2004). Return is also categorized as either forced or voluntary.

Voluntary return would refer to return without force, a clear and open choice on the part of the migrant worker. For a migrant worker, forced return occurs when they are physically forced to leave the country of employment due to unforeseen situations such as civil unrest or war or for whatever reasons there is no longer a choice to remain in the country of migration. This study shows that the return of cannot be easily defined as voluntary. Many factors come into play in the decision to return, rendering it a complex phenomenon.

The research contends that these migration s' return theories and typologies only partially explain the phenomenon of the return of Moroccan migrant

women. They do not adequately capture the nuanced circumstances and conditions under which return takes place for a migrant woman nor her situation following return. For example, when a woman returns home unplanned in order to care for a sick child or a troubled son, is her return voluntary when one considers that an element of voluntariness is free choice? Also, when she is forced to return by her male counterpart?

Therefore, the study asserts that the line between voluntary and involuntary return is blurred. It takes the position of Juss (2006:292), when he argues that ‘most movements of “forced” or “voluntary” migrants are often difficult to rationalize in such a straightforward way because ‘forced migrants may retain some choice as to where they flee; voluntary migrants may be escaping depths of poverty and insecurity which give little room for choice’.

The study argues that a gendered approach in understanding return (as well as the entire migration process itself) is necessary in order to move the analysis beyond the economic and financial dimensions to include socio-psychological and cultural elements. Gender is a key constitutive element of migration. ‘Gender not only matters to migration but also contributes substantial added value...’. A gendered approach enables one to have a greater awareness of the broader social factors that influence women’s and men’s motivations and roles, the dynamics of gender relations, and a better understanding of the effect of migration on

women's and men's position with reference to the temporal and special contexts as well as to life circumstances (Mahler and Pessar 2006; Piper 2005).

Some studies presented baseline data and profiles of women migrants, where they come from, which countries they go to, their educational attainment, income levels, among others. As well, policy studies were made putting forward recommendations to address problems related to the growing number of Moroccan female migration, their welfare and protection, before departure, on-site and upon return to the home country.

4. Limitations of the study

While recognizing the increasing literature on Moroccan migration, the review nevertheless identified several research gaps such as: insufficiency of gender-disaggregated data; the lack of longitudinal, interdisciplinary studies to investigate the social costs of female migration; the effects on the family, the children and community; the impact on marriage as a social institution, issues and problems of reintegration; as well as the effectiveness of government agencies dealing with the issue of migration.

Addressing the social consequences of women migration on the individual, family, and societal levels will be focus of this study, thus contributing to a vital dimension in the gender and migration literature and providing original data analysis.

5. Research aims and scope

The purpose of this study is to investigate the long-term universal migration of Moroccan women to the Middle East where no family reunification strategy exists. Therefore, this thesis tries to find out the gendered effects of worldwide migration of Moroccan women on the three levels of analysis micro, meso, and macro. While the vast majority of the current investigations talk about the migrant women's conditions in the receiving country, this thesis concentrates on the results of the developing pattern of feminized universal migration, especially the long-term migration and return of women.

In Morocco, female migrant returnees have partial and insufficient opportunities to disclose their lived experience. The only chance to help them share their narratives is to make them involved in discussions and oriented interactions. It is a necessity if not a must to establish a platform for communication that will enable the understanding of their lived experience, and to comprehend the impact of their migration journey on them, their family that will impact in its turn the whole community.

Such understanding will never be possible if we do not include all the components of their experience, before, while, and after migration. The importance of the study lies in the inclusion of gender, since most of the few research dealt with the topic without including the gender dimension. One can

never claim that both genders live their migration experience in the same way. Each gender has its own factors for migration, own occupations and work conditions while abroad, and at the same time its own return reasons and condition after return. Adding to that another dimension which is the mothers' migration that undoubtedly will have its implications on the children and sometimes husbands left behind, that in its turn will create other types of gender roles distribution with the husbands as carers and wives as providers.

6. Research questions and hypothesis

The study deals with the topic by adopting an inclusive dimension, in the sense that the study focuses on the micro, meso and macro levels, and how migration and return affect the returnees, their families and the whole community. Using two quantitative methods (interviews and questionnaires) allows for a more diverse and objective study. In fact, both of these two research methods creates their own impact on the study, interviews allow for a face to face interaction with the returnees, and sometimes with their families within their households, and creating more complete picture of their real life situations, and questionnaires allowing both the objectivity of the researcher, and second to reach a larger group of people. Through this field work many questions were used in order to affirm or refute some hypotheses.

The study will also attempt to provide answers to the following research questions:

RQ1: What does the return of women migrants show as to migration inspiration objectives, agencies, identities, and consequences?

H1: as opposed to many existing research that deals with migration from the economic point of view, the study assumes that not only the economic facts that pushes women to migrate, and that there are other reasons that are purely social and cultural, such as escaping a harsh rural life, a difficult relationship, or to live new experiences.

RQ2: What are the gendered implications of return? The end result for the women when they come back to their home country in the terms of: a) the impacts of migration experience on their positions and roles, their identity, and feeling of empowerment; b) the effect of migration on their families, relationship with the family and society as a whole?

H2: for this question the study assumes that female migration affects not only the woman by making a huge change in her identity, agency and empowers her positively, but also her relationship with her husband (concerning gender roles distribution), and enhances her family status, by changing her family's attitude towards her, related to control, opinion consideration, and decision making.

RQ3: What are the gendered results of long-term migration and return of women migrants on the Moroccan culture in general?

H3: the study assumes that a culture of migration has taken place in our society, and that people are relying on migration in order to overcome poverty and joblessness. This attitude is also adopted by the government that find it as an easy way to fight poverty, as well as economic benefits through remittances.

7. Thesis Structure

The introduction provides the rationale, aims, scope and brief theoretical framework and potential original contribution of this study. In chapter 1, the context and focus of this thesis is situated by examining three areas of theoretical-conceptual literature that guide this research: a) migration theories including return migration; b) gender, identity, and empowerment; and c) the culture of migration. a discussion of the salient aspects of these theories and indicate to what extent they illuminate this research. In doing so, the research seeks to identify what the theories explain and what they miss out and how the gaps maybe addressed.

This study is divided into three parts. The first part describes and examines the different theories of migration and gender development. It, also, it addresses the issue of Migration in Morocco, its historicity, the contemporary condition of migration patterns, and migration in relation to development. In addition, it gives an insight on the following concepts: return; women, gender and return; identity, agency and empowerment. Part two sketches the research methodology including: setting and participants, research design, the approach

used, validity and reliability, data collection instruments, and data coding and analysis. Part three present the findings of the data gathered. The last chapter is concerned to be a comprehensive discussion of the findings that attempts to answer the research questions and suggest further strategies to integrate women' returnees socially, economically, and psychologically.

8. Motivations

This study provides me with the opportunity to reflect on my own migration and return experience, which has lasted almost eight years; this experience has made me closer to the theme of migration. Also belonging to a family of a return migrant (oversea worker) my father had spent more than twenty years working as a university teacher in Saudi Arabia and in the UAE. During most of this period, we had been left alone with our mother in Morocco, we (my sisters, my brother, and myself) had experienced the feeling of being abandoned by our father, even if it was for our material benefit, but still, deep in our heart there has been a loss of paternal love and care. My mother during this period of absence had to perform the roles of both father and mother, a very hard task, that was after assigned to the elder brother, and then to me as the elder sister. These experiences made me feel closer to my interviewees and break barriers of communication with them, a very important step in creating an atmosphere of trust during the interviews.

My trainings in both the Ministry of Moroccans Living Abroad, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Development has enabled me to get in touch with Moroccans Diaspora coming from many parts of the world, to listen to their worries either in their home country or in the host country. In addition, it has given me the chance to organize group discussions, especially in the Gender office, which takes in charge the listening, and orientation of Moroccan women suffering from problems in or outside Morocco. The office, also, has enabled me to gather data for further analysis.

9. Research methodology

The present study is based on a mixed-method approach, using both qualitative and quantitative research methods with the aim of reaching much more valid and reliable results.

This investigation uses a multi-level approach to give an integrative point of view on the return migration of Moroccan women and its gendered outcomes. The theoretical part is in fact an examination of many international and national theories and studies done about the topic of migration and gender. Whereas the practical part shed light on the life stories of 120 women in general, with 40 interview, mostly done during a training done at the Gender Office in the Ministry of Moroccans living Abroad. Hand in hand with 80 questionnaires that was dispatched on some return migrants.

As a woman migrant sees her life of being far from home for quite a long time, she can think back and ponder the implications of her experience as a labor migrant in a globalized world, on her work in an outside home country; and her ways of life as a woman, non-resident in the receiving country; on her job experience and conditions in a different culture and country. Her coping strategies, as well as her actual perception of herself, her family and her experience in a foreign country. can we really say that her return is going to be easy? How is she going to reintegrate, both within her family and her society? Is it accurate to say that she is ready to fit back and resettle? What does getting back home mean? Has the home to which she returns changed?

The use of the semi structured interviews, by making use of both an interview protocol that is guided and structured the research as well as keeping some space for conversational aspects. The choice of this interview type was based on both my will to stay focused, and avoid empty talk, as well as my concern on keeping some intimacy, and a friendly atmosphere with the interviewees, which will lead to more details about feelings and worries description needed in my research.

Knowing that interviews would not target a big number of people, another method was added, questionnaires. This method is considered as highly practical, and more accurate, due to the fact that it is far from any subjectivity of the interviewers, who can easily be biased through interviews.

The choice of questionnaire was then based on my need to be more objective, in addressing such issue, in addition to targeting a bigger number of people.

One would opt for the mixed questionnaires that used both open ended and close ended questions. This choice was based on the need to give some free space to my respondent to explain exactly what they want, as well as closed questions that would help collect more accurate statistical data. This explains the choice of many types of questions the leading questions, importance questions, Likert questions, dichotomous questions, and rating scale questions.

Part 1

Part 1: Gender Migration and Return

Introduction

The aim behind this part is to give the hypothetical and methodological structure of this thesis. It starts by examining four regions of methodological and theoretical literature that guide this investigation: gender theories, migration theories, feminization of Moroccan migration by devoting a whole chapter on gender and migration both in the world and in Morocco, and finally return migration in Morocco.

As Ronald Skeldon (1997: ix) puts it, *'the increase in migration has been matched by grown in writings about the topic, and analyses from every conceivable point of view continue to pour out'*. Caroline Bretell and James Hollified (2000) express that each discipline conveys a hypothetical and experimental commitment to the subject of migration. For instance, anthropologists consider families, households, social networks and transnational groups as playing a major role in migration decision.

Sociologists and financial analysts have a tendency to harp on the significance of social and human capital and the issues of settlement and integration. Political researchers worry about inquiries of open approach, citizenship, administration. while demographers contemplate how migration developments influences populace progression in both the sending and receiving countries.

There is an urgent need for an interdisciplinary approach to deal profoundly with the intriguing migration issue, an approach that takes into consideration the multilayered effects and reasons of migration. and views it as a lifelong process which affects all aspects of a migrant's existence.

There has been a loss of comprehension of the overall migratory process because of the fragmentation of research into fields of study, a fragmentation which conflicts with the lived reality of migrants⁶. Migration itself is a difficult field of study as a result of its wide and diverse structures and procedures and additionally its socio-cultural and financial dimension. As a compound issue, it needs to be “unpacked” so that each part can be seen in its proper historical and social context’⁷.

This investigation discusses one side of the international labor migration: the return of Moroccan women migrants. By drawing upon the three fields of writing expressed above, the study tries to ‘unpack’ the implications and inspirations of return and its outcomes on the micro (the migrant woman), meso (her family), and macro (the whole Moroccan society) levels.

The theoretical part examines the improvement of migration studies by highlighting their weaknesses and how this investigation tries to overcome them. The conceptual and theoretical structure are based on gender and

⁶ Khachani 1990

⁷ Hourmat lah 1999.

migration, and also return theories; the idea of identity, agency as well as empowerment. It also focuses on the fossilization of a culture of migration within the Moroccan society. Gender is then considered as the backbone of the study.

While considering gender as a social construct, which organizes our and the migrants' way of living and the sexual perception of the other, it is considered as *'organizing power in every single human relationship, including those among individuals moving'*⁸.

It is a dynamic power so that *'It is a dynamic concept so that 'gendered ideologies and practices change as human beings cooperate or struggle with each other, with their pasts, and with the structure of changing economic, political and social worlds linked through their migrations'*⁹. migrants frequently turn out to be aware of the social and logical nature of gender as they endeavor to satisfy social expectation of identity and conduct that vary strongly in the different countries they live'¹⁰.

Chapter1: Theories of Gender Development

People most of the time get confused between the terms sex and gender. Sex, in fact, refers to the biological differences between males and females;

⁸ Cassarino, 2004

⁹ Arango, Joaquin 2000

¹⁰ Gardner, 2002

whereas gender, refers to the culturally different expectations from men and women according to their sex; many people argue that a person's sex can't change from birth, but the gender can.

Gender theories, the same as all the theories, are an attempt to comprehend and explain gender roles from specific perspectives, depending on the research methodology.

There exist at least five theories that explain gender roles; firstly, **biological** that considers the roots of gender roles as justified by biological differences. Secondly, **psychological** theory that emphasized the cognitive construction of gender conceptions and styles of behavior transmitted within the family model. Thirdly, **social** theory that considers the social process through which the individual comes to construct one's social identity as belonging to one gender or another. Fourthly, **cognitive** theory that cares much about the process through which the individual comes to recognize him/herself as belonging to one gender category or another and behave as such. And finally, **Behaviorist** theory, and **social cognitive** theory that perceives the individual behavior as an outcome of one's cognitive capacities, in addition to social pressure around.

1.1 Biological Approach to Gender

Biological theory claims that sex differences are the core of our gender differences, relying on some biological differences, such as, hormones, and chromosomes to justify gender roles. In fact, biological theory, states that men and women are biologically different, in terms of chromosomes (men XY/ women XX), those chromosomes lead to the discharge of different hormones, which are responsible for women and men differences concerning gender roles¹¹.

Therefore, this theory claims that everything that is psychological is first biological. Biology controls all our thoughts, feelings and behaviors. Nobody can neglect the importance of the study of some biological aspects on human behavior, for this reason that scientists use many relevant biological perspectives in the study of psychology, such as:

1.1.1Hormones

Hormones are chemical substances secreted by glands throughout the body and secreted in the bloodstream. Both men and women have the same sex hormone, but differ in the amounts, and in the effect they have of different parts of the body. For example, testosterone is a sex hormone more present on males than females. It has an important effect in the development of behavior

¹¹ Mintz, L. B., & Betz, N. E. (1986). Sex differences in the nature, realism, and correlates of body image. *Sex Roles*, 15, 185-195.

before and after birth. This hormone is released in the womb, causes the creation of male sex organs, and affects the hypothalamus causing the masculinization of the brain. Testosterone causes typically male behaviors such as aggression, competitiveness, Visio-spatial abilities, higher sexual drive... etc.¹²

1.1.2 Chromosomes

The normal human body contains 23 pairs of chromosomes, a long thin structure that contains thousands of genes, they are biochemical units of heredity, and govern every human's development. Each pair of chromosomes controls different aspects of development, and biological sex is determined by the 23rd pair, which resemble physically the letters X and Y¹³.

. Males: XY

.Females: XX

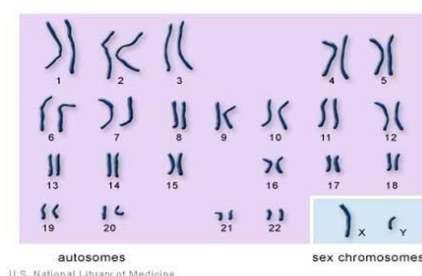


Figure 1¹⁴: Human Chromosomes

¹² ibid

¹³ Saul McLeod, 2014, Biological Theories of Gender, <https://www.simplypsychology.org/gender-biology.html>, retrieved on 06th of July 2017

¹⁴ ibid

There are many people with atypical chromosomes, these individuals are socially, physically and cognitively different than the others with typical chromosomes. In order to defend the biological theory, many people argue that studying people suffering from Turner's¹⁵ and Klinefelter's¹⁶ syndrome, helps us to understand the importance of our biology on our behavior, especially while comparing these special cases with normal individuals.¹⁷

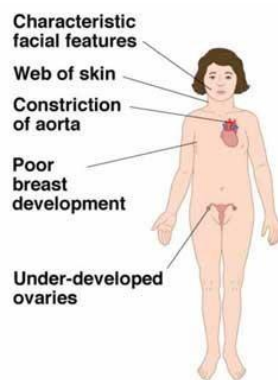


Figure 2 : Turner's syndrome

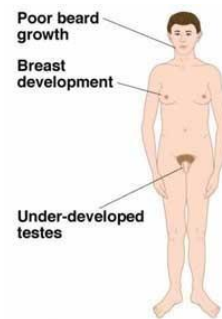


Figure 3: Klinefelter's syndrome

Though this theory, by using natural facts and science, claims universality and truthfulness; one can easily detect biases. In the sense that it is true that men and women are not biologically identical, concerning physical appearance and strength, but there are no scientific arguments that can prove intellectual capacity's differences, and most of the existing arguments, are constructed by

¹⁵Turner syndrome (TS), also known as 45,X or 45,X0, is a condition in which a female is partly or completely missing an X chromosome. Signs and symptoms vary among those affected.

¹⁶ Klinefelter syndrome: A condition in males who have XXY sex chromosomes, rather than the usual XY. Some also have additional X chromosomes, or more than one Y chromosome. XXY is one of the most common chromosomal abnormalities. It occurs in 1 in 500 male births. The signs of Klinefelter syndrome include small testes, insufficient production of testosterone, and infertility. XXY males are more likely than other males to show breast enlargement, lack of facial and body hair, and a rounded body

¹⁷ ibid

the patriarchal minds, who distort reality to make it fit within the men's superiority theory.

1.2 Psychodynamic Approach to Gender

Psychodynamic approach is mainly based on Freud's theory of psychosexual development. Family dynamics has a great subconscious influence on the individual, which leads to the development of the internal gender identity.¹⁸

According to Freud's perspective, many conflicts occur during the development of different psychosexual stages. Gender roles are a result of resolution process of a conflict, at the phallic stage. At this stage, feelings of rivalry and hatred, against the father, develop; the father is perceived as a strong and unconquerable individual, which leads to a conflict; identification is then used to resolve this conflict, which on its turn leads to gender identification, and leads to sex-typed behavior and gender roles.¹⁹ For this reason that same sex parent has a great impact on the process of gender development type, and they are more likely than other males to be overweight and be taller than their fathers and brothers. Klinefelter boys tend to have learning and/or behavioral problems.

¹⁸ Gender Issues in Psychology PSY – 512, Lecture 12, the virtual university of Pakistan,

¹⁹ Stevenson and Black, 1988

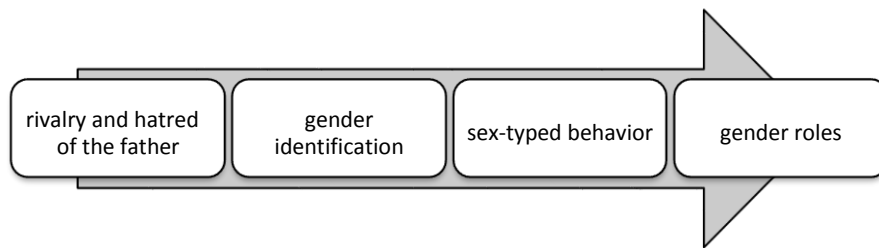


Figure 4²⁰: The process of gender development

Karen Horney reexamined some Freudian concepts; she differed from Freud on Gender differences in personality development. For instance, she disagreed with Freud's penis envy concept, leading to females' sense of inferiority, and masculinity complex. Horney argues that the envy, females have, is symbolic, in fact they envy the social position men have. Also she added that men develop a womb envy, because of their non-capacity to reproduce, and this lack of womb, and desire to have it leads at its turn to demonizing the women, in order to keep their supremacy at the top²¹.

Thus Horney believed, unlike Freud, that the origin of females' inferiority, generated by men, society with masculine bias, is men's insecurity, and feelings of inferiority.

Oedipus complex which is according to Freud, a universal phenomenon is perceived as responsible in the development of gender identity and the super ego of children. Another concept developed by Freud is the **castration anxiety**; when the small boy sees the female genital; he will assume that the

²⁰ ibid

²¹ Horney Karen: *Feminine Psychology* (reprints), Norton, 1922–37 1967

girl had her penis removed, probably as a punishment of misbehavior. Hence, he will become anxious that the same thing will happen to him.²²

Critics, activists and feminists, have been highly critical to penis envy as a concept of psychoanalysis, saying that this approach to psychoanalysis is mainly patriarchal, antifeminist and misogynist, since it presents women as inferior to men. In Freudian psychoanalysis, gender development is due to issues related to castration, and Oedipus complex, which is controversial in feminism. Because Freud says that women's lack of the visible genitals make them feel inferior so they develop a sense of gender inferiority and penis envy. However, this theory focused only on one aspect of human beings, which is "nature" what about the other aspects? are there any external factors that can lead to gender construction?

1.3 Behaviorist Approach to Gender

The behaviorist approach appears as a reaction to the prevailing existing introspective –inner experience- approach. The behaviorists emphasize on 'nurture' rather than 'nature' for the biological approach. For this theory defenders' human behavior is the result of a learning process. Early behaviorist like Skinner, emphasized upon the importance of reinforcement. It was only later on that other variables were introduced to this theory such as: reward and

²² The Oedipus complex, in psychoanalysis, is a group of unconscious ideas and feelings and desire to possess the parent of the opposite sex and eliminate the parent of the same sex and it begins between the age of 3 and 5

punishment, social context, observation, modeling, and imitation. All these variables are the key to social learning. Behaviorists approach to gender is explained through:

Classical conditioning

Operant conditioning or the uses of: Positive, negative, punishment, or no reinforcement

Learning through observation²³

The behaviorists believe that Gender roles are, just like the other cultural patterns, learnt and not innate, they are shaped by reinforcement²⁴. Human behavior is designed from childhood through their upbringing, by steering them toward learning specific socially desired gender roles. Already from their birth kids are treated differently based on their sex. This treatment differentiation may increase while they grow up, and they even can be constantly exposed to it, at home, in childcare settings, in the street...²⁵ the fact that there are different variations of gender roles, across cultures, is an indication of different treatments²⁶.

Classical conditioning is the daily exposure to models of behaviors, leads to the adoption of gender roles. For instance, when a kid sees his parent of the

²³ A. Bandura, &K. Bussey, (1999). "Social cognitive theory of gender development and differentiation" Psychological review, 106, 676-713

²⁴ Guerin, 1992

²⁵ ibid

²⁶ ibid

same –his/her- own sex, wearing a particular type of clothes, using some specific gestures and style of communication, he/ she will automatically adopt the same sex behavior.²⁷

Operant conditioning, is a type of learning affected by positive or negative consequence, leading to either stronger or weaker voluntary response. This learning is based on the type of reinforcement that may encourage or discourage the individual to repeat the same behavior.²⁸

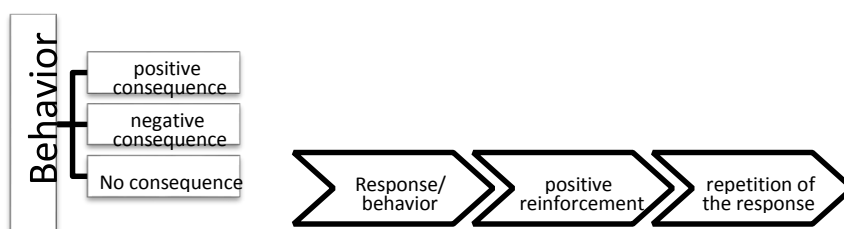


Figure 5: Consequences of Behavior

Figure 6 : Reinforcement and behavior

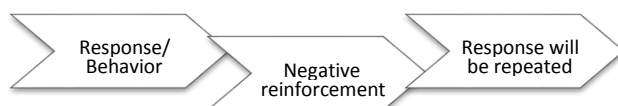


Figure 7 :Negative reinforcement and behavior

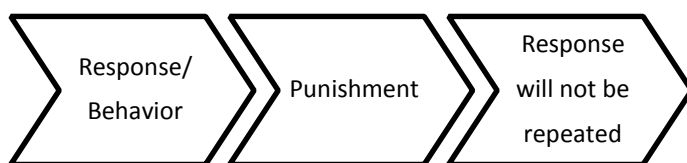


Figure 8: Punishment and behavior

²⁷ A. Bandoura&, Busey, (1999)

²⁸ Gender Issues in Psychology PSY – 512, Lecture 10, the virtual university of Pakistan,

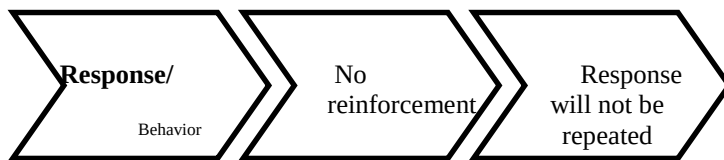


Figure 9: No reinforcement and behavior

Applying gender rules on reinforcement and social learning is the same; for instance, a son copying his father, makes his father proud and happy (positive reinforcement) and makes the son repeat his doing again and again. At the same time for a boy cleaning his clothes (a girls' task for many cultures), leading to no attention (no reinforcement), the boy then will not repeat his action again. Whereas for a girl cleaning the clothes, to avoid harsh treatment (negative reinforcement), leads to repeating the action again. Also, when a son is ridiculed for playing with dolls (punishment), will make him not repeat his action again. Thus, gender rules and roles are then learned during the socialization process, through punishment, and reward²⁹.

1.4 Social Approach to Gender

Social theory, tries to explain gender roles from another perspective, and sees gender roles as the outcome of the socialization process. In fact, this theory considers that family, peers and school are whom the children follow as a model of behavior, and make them create gender awareness. This socialization process is the outlet through which individuals, especially in childhood, start to perceive themselves, and perceive the others. One can

²⁹ Gender Issues in Psychology PSY – 512, Lecture 10, the virtual university of Pakistan

compare this socialization process to a kind of lenses through which one can see gender roles, in order to live, conform, and behave accordingly³⁰.

The social theory in fact tries to examine the influence of society on our own perception of our inner self, how society makes us believe in some social construct norms, known as Masculinity (the appropriate behavior of a man) and Femininity (the socially correct behavior of woman). It also studies the impact of such understanding on the individual's identity and social practices. This theory also pays special focus on the gender power relationships, emanating from the established gender order in a given society. It also argues that gender order is not fix and universal, since it changes from one society to another, and across the time; consequently, gender roles and expectations change from one culture to another, then, what is socially accepted in a special lap of time may become unacceptable in another³¹.

From the already cited biological gender theory one can deduce that many individuals, who suffer from some biological disorders, can never fit within this sexual dichotomy of gender. For this reason, that advocates of the social theory argue that sex and gender do not always align. This non alignment is due to the fact that society has only two genders either man or woman, and the

³⁰ Renzetti, C. M., & Curran, D. J. (1989). *Women, men and society: The sociology of gender*. Needham Heights, MA: Allyn and Bacon.

³¹ Zuleka Zevallos, Sociology of Gender: Study of how society influences understandings & differences between masculinity & femininity, <https://othersociologist.com/sociology-of-gender/>, retrieved on 07/07/2017 at 19:02

gender roles attributed to each one of them can never be interchanged, or not attributed.

Gender roles are the social laws of behaviors of each gender, it describes the tasks and functions ideally prescribed for masculinity and femininity. These roles have been affected across the time by many factors from the beginning of human life till now. All this leads us to question the way society succeed in the construction of gender identity.

Many scholars believe that social constructionism is one of the key theories used by sociologists to put gender into historical and cultural focus. In fact, social constructionism is a social theory that detect how meaning is constructed through social interaction (words and acts we do with other people). This theory explains that gender is neither a fixed nor an innate fact, it varies across time and place.³²

Gender norms are acquired starting from birth through the socialization process. Since the first day of our lives, society uses many devices to teach us what it is expected from us, according to our biological sex. In fact, society dictates the minute details of our behavior; starting from general appearance, clothing, colors (pink for girls, and blue for boys) to the expression of our feelings (boys don't cry, girls can cry), leaving no free room for one's personality. All the social institutions (parents, school, religious and cultural

³² ibid

teachings, media among others) work hand in hand in order to make socialization successful.

1.5 Cognitive Approach to Gender

The cognitive theory focuses upon the thought processes leading to learning, giving importance recognition in understanding and explaining behaviors. In fact, this theory stressed upon both the internal state of a person, as well as the environmental events; although it focuses on the perception and thinking as key factors of learning. Cognition refers to “knowledge” and “the process of knowing”, five main variables are at the heart of this approach: (thoughts, feelings, thinking, values, and expectations), and considers that people’s perception of the world is determined by their thinking.

The Cognitive theory focuses on the inner mental structure. In other words, opening the black box of the human mind to understand how people learn their gender roles. This theory came as a reaction to the behaviorist theory, which claims that people learn via imitation. The cognitive theory, on the other hand, argues that people are rational beings and that the learning process requires active participation in order to learn³³.

These actions are consequences of thinking so people, especially children, are not perceived as passive consumers and imitators but rather they use their

³³ Zussman, J. U., Zussman, P. P., & Dalton, P. (1975). Postpubertal effects of parental administration of progesterone. Paper presented at the meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development, Denver

minds and create novel words that were never heard before in their environment. Social theory and cognitive theory pretend to be universal, but, both of them give mere descriptions and fail to provide justifications; the reason why, if we join them together, we may come up with a new theory, social cognitive theory (SCT), which may provide a fertile ground for explaining gender roles in society.

Lawrence Kohlberg's cognitive development theory come up with the concept of **Gender constancy**, meaning that gender is understood by children as anything else, they have experiences with people from both sexes, from which they take notes of what is socially expected and acceptable from a male and a female, and select what they have to do following their same sex model.

³⁴ They themselves classify and organize their behaviors towards their own sex and the other. Behaviors consistent with their own gender are adopted, and reflected in their use of language, clothes, toys etc. for Kohlberg gender roles acquisition emanates from gender constancy, meaning that the kid's understanding and awareness that his/her sex is constant, permanent, and will never change³⁵. Gender constancy emerges at nearly 7 years old, but it doesn't occur at one point in time, it occurs in three stage³⁶:

Gender identity: knowing one's and the other's sex.

³⁴ ibid

³⁵ ibid

³⁶ Ruble & Martin, 1998

Gender stability: the understanding that girls become women, and boys become men; and that gender is fixed, permanent, and part of one's personality; although their understanding is done on the basis of superficial, external appearances, and stereotypical behaviors.

Gender consistency: the complete awareness that sex will never change no matter the changes that one can do (hairstyle, clothes, and all the superficial external appearances)

Many scholars do not agree with the gender constancy hypothesis and argue that before the age of gender constancy (7 years old as affirmed by Kohlberg) children start to develop gender typed preferences (preference to play with the same sex peers, girls prefer to play with dolls, and boys with cars)³⁷. From the age 2 ½ years old children tend categories activities and objects by gender, and even acquire gender appropriate behaviors.

Other scholar come up with gender schema theory; which considers that children develop a gender schema, a mental framework used to organize and guide the child's understanding of gender. The following table describes the gradual process of gender schema development:

³⁷ C.D Levy & Carter, 1989

Stage	Age	Description
Gender Identification	2-3.5 years	Children believe that they can change sex, by interchanging the appearance (wearing the opposite sex's clothes). They can distinguish between household gender stereotypes. Gender labeling is learned.
Gender stability	3.5-4.5 years	The understanding that sex is stable and permanent, their older siblings are models for social learning of gender roles. They can play with toys that are socially labeled to the opposite sex, but rarely own them. Labeling is applied to self and other inconsistently.
Gender consistency	4.5-7 years	Sex is stable, children value and imitate same sex behaviors, which leads to the development of gender appropriate attributes

Figure 10: The process of gender schema development³⁸

Piaget comes up with the stages of cognitive development and gender roles development, he argues that they take place at different ages starting from 2 to 4 years, the **preoperational stage**, at this stage children's thinking is concrete, but not logical, they judge based on the appearances, they think that sex can change if appearance is changed. They are also able to categories sex/gender, and make use of gender labeling, by identify what it is socially considered as male's or females' objects and actions, they consider gender stereotypes as rules.

Another stage is identified, concrete operational stage, which takes place, according to Piaget, between the age of 7 and 12 years, during this period,

³⁸ Gender Issues in Psychology PSY – 512, Lecture 11, the virtual university of Pakistan

thinking becomes logical but limited to concrete, they also start understanding that sex is permanent and fixed. The last stage, Formal operating stage, takes place from 12 years till adulthood, during which thinking becomes scientifically logical, with the development of the understanding of the abstract concept, and sex typing becomes more rigid.³⁹

This approach was criticized for ignoring the role of biological factors, which are believed to be as important factors in the cognitive schema development, also for not addressing the cultural differences in forming gender roles.

1.6 Social Cognitive Approach to Gender

Social cognitive theory is a subcategory of cognitive theory, which focuses on the effects that others have on our behavior, it is based on the ways in which we learn models of behaviors of others. According to the principle of social cognitive theory, we learn not only through our own experiences but also by watching how the others behave. Social cognitive theory is elaborated by its founder the Canadian Albert Bandura in his famous work *Social Foundation of Thought and Action* (1986). This theory focuses on the coming points, in order to explain, how people come to see themselves as belonging to one gender or another⁴⁰.

³⁹ ibid

⁴⁰ Bandura, A., Ross, D., & Ross, S. A. (1963a). Imitation of film-mediated aggressive models. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 66, 3-11.

People do not only learn through their direct experiences but also via observing others, it is in fact a process known as ‘**vicarious learning**’⁴¹, this latter refers to a learning that comes about through watching how others behave. Social cognitive theory is based on the individual’s learning ability. Normally, behavior that is reinforced continues, while behavior that is punished stops. Today, reinforcement is seen as more effective than punishment in changing behavior. People are more likely to follow the behaviors modelled by someone with whom they can identify. The more emotional attachments perceived between the observer and the model, the more likely the observer will learn from the model.

The degree of self-efficacy that a learner possesses directly affects his or her ability to learn. Self-efficacy is a fundamental belief in one’s ability to achieve a goal. Only when you believe that you can learn new behaviors, then you will be much more successful in doing so. Hence, from the above we can notice that gender is a very complex issue but what if we add migration, and how can gender effects migration and Vice versa?

Chapter2: Theories of Migration

In this section, I will highlight the existing migration theories; I will try to explain them and show their shortcomings. My focus will be on the structural,

⁴¹ Bandura, A., Ross, D., & Ross, S. A. (1963b). A comparative test of the status envy, social power, and secondary reinforcement theories of identificatory learning. *Journal of Abnormal and Social*

neo-classical economic, household strategy, network, and the integrative theory, this later comes as a reaction and as a continuity of the existing theories, which do not introduce, or do not give much importance to the gender variable in the migration studies.

2.1 Neo-Classical Theory

Partisans of the neo-classical theory consider that the patterns of the international migration are attributed to such economic factors as labor demand, and supply, wage differences⁴². However, Oishi (Oishi2002), in her comparative study of the link between the GDP (Gross Domestic Product)⁴³, unemployment rates, and the female international migration, finds out that those two economic factors do not play a fundamental role in raising female migration⁴⁴.

Hence, Oishi compares the GPD, and unemployment rates, as well as female migration rates of six countries. She finds that the countries with high rates of women migrants (Philippine, Sri Lanka, and Indonesia) have higher GPD per capita than the countries with lower rates of female migrants such as Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan. In addition, she discovers that in Sri Lanka,

⁴² Nana Oishi “ Gender and Migration: An Integrative Approach” Working Paper No. 49 University of California-San Diego La Jolla, California, March, 2002

⁴³ GDP: Gross Domestic Product. The total market value of all final goods and services produced in a country in a given year, equal to total consumer, investment and government spending, plus the value of exports, minus the value of imports. See <http://www.investorwords.com/2153/GDP.html/> extracted the 20th January 2011

⁴⁴ “ Gender and Migration: An Integrative Approach” Op-cit.

the rate of unemployment among men is higher than among women, at the same time, women constitute 79% of total outmigrants. Furthermore, Oishi finds out that in Pakistan, women's unemployment is much higher than men's, nevertheless, women's migration constitutes only 1% of the total out-migrants. Thus, Oishi questions the efficiency of the economic factors, in explaining the international migration of Asian women.

Country	GDP per Capita (US\$)	Unemployment (%)			Women's Share in Labor Force (%)	Women's Share in Migration Outflows (%)	Total Annual Migration Outflows	Total Stock of Migrants Abroad (Millions)
		Male	Female	Total				
Philippines	3,600	7.0	2	8.	37	58	250,000	6.5
Sri Lanka	2,600	8.0	6	7.	36	79	163,000	1.2
Indonesia	2,800	3.3	6	7.	40	68	121,000	1.9
Bangladesh	1,470	2.7	3	2.	42	0.5	210,000	2.0
India	1,800	n.a	n.a		31	10	415,000	1.4
Pakistan	2,000	4.1	13.7	9	26	1	130,000	3.1

Figure 11⁴⁵: Temporary Labor Migration from Selected Asian Countries in 1996

n.a. = Not Available. Source: Asian Migrant Centre (1999); ILO (2000). Sri Lanka Bureau of Foreign Employment (1998); and ILO.

The data for the Philippines refers to only newly hired migrants.

⁴⁵ 'Gender and Migration: An Integrative Approach' Op-cit.

2.2 Structural Theory

Oishi defined the structural theory as “*The structural theory views international migration as a form of exploitation of the peripheral countries by the “core” countries in the international system*”⁴⁶; in other words the labor force belonging to developing countries are structurally put in the secondary labor markets in developed countries, this secondary position is mainly characterized by lower wages, and working under less comfortable conditions as well as lack of job security.

Hourmat Allah states that each of these two theories focuses on the world-system and the human capital to explain migration⁴⁷, consequently, they neglect the role of the individual factors, the domestic responsibilities as well as procreation, which have detrimental implications on migration¹⁷³. In spite the fact that these theories have brought a new vision to migration phenomenon, they were actively criticized for adding a feminine variable to an already existing frame, in other words, they were criticized for providing a mere description of the relation between gender and migration without giving any explanations⁴⁸.

At the beginning of the 80s and after those critics, researchers have developed another approaches that are more coherent than the two others, and

⁴⁶ Hourmat Lah Hind “ L’approche genre dans les politiques migratoires des pays africains : cas du Maroc ‘’, codesria, 2010.p.5

⁴⁷ Ibid

⁴⁸ L’approche genre dans les politiques migratoires des pays africains : cas du Maroc ‘’. Op-cit. P.5

which takes into consideration the social environment in which migration takes place, these new theories have tried to approach the phenomenon from another angle of vision in order to include the individuals' factors into their analysis of migration.

2.3 Household Strategy Theory

According to Oishi, Gregory and Piché (1985) have presented a new approach that is based on the household strategy to explain the feminization of migration. Oishi claims that “*migration decisions are not made by individuals but by households*”⁴⁹. In other words, and according to the advocates of this theory, they consider that people act in a collective way, first to increase their income, and second to minimize risks for the members of the family units.

Hormat Allah⁵⁰ sees this theory as beneficial, and states that it seems to integrate gender roles in the explanation of migration. For instance, this theory uses a bunch of factors that influence women/men's migration, such as, factors linked to production and reproduction activities within the household, as well as power division in relation to decision making, in addition to other factors linked to the status, and sexual discrimination within the job market in both rural and urban areas¹⁷⁸.

⁴⁹ “ ‘ Gender and Migration: An Integrative Approach’”. Op-cit.

P.8 Ibid

⁵⁰ “ ‘ L’approche genre dans les politiques migratoires des pays africains : cas du Maroc ‘ ’. Op-cit. p.5 ¹⁷⁸ Ibid

Thus, Hormat Allah sees this theory as taking into consideration not only the global context in which migration takes place, but also individuals' factors. This fact explains its gained widespread attention.

Despite this raising attention, only few of these theories' advocates have conducted fieldworks, as it was clearly stated by Oishi⁵¹. For instance, interviews and other forms of data collections to test their hypothesis are lacking.

They get their data only from the census, which shows that migration is found within the poorer household more than within the richer ones. In contrast, Oishi⁵² findings, which state that the vast majority of women decide to migrate on their own, thus, it is not really related to the family social or economic level. Another criticism against this theory is that it lacks the "why" and can be seen as a mere description. For instance, it does not explain why some countries send more migrant women than others, those critics will lead to the emergence of another theory.

2.4 Network Theory

Network theory, as it is explained by Oishi⁵³, "*...attributes migration process to personal, cultural, and/or other social ties. In migrant-sending countries, information about jobs and living standards abroad is most*

⁵¹ "Gender and Migration: An Integrative Approach". Op-cit. P.5

⁵² "Gender and Migration: An Integrative Approach". Op-cit.P.7

⁵³ L'approche genre dans les politiques migratoires des pays africains : cas du Maroc ". Op-cit.. p.8

efficiently transmitted through personal networks such as friends and neighbors who emigrated.”⁵⁴ This means that the new migrant gets, most of the time, help from the migrants’ communities.

This help can be on the one hand, before migration, which means that they get the necessary information about the host country in which they intend to emigrate; this information maybe concerning the job market, the living standards. On the other hand, after their emigration, most of that newly arrived immigrant are provided with the necessary help from the already existing community. This fact reduces the cost of immigration, as well as encourages other potential migrants to leave their countries

Furthermore, Oishi finds out that this theory is mainly applicable in the case of female migrant from Asia. In this regard, she argues that according to the literature and her own findings, women often rely on their own personal network more than men. In addition, many immigrant women find jobs thanks to their friends or relatives.

In contrast, this theory, as it was stated by Oishi, cannot explain why and how those networks were developed among countries. She argues that the migration system theorists consider that the development of such networks is based on historical, geographical and political ties existing before the large-

⁵⁴ Ibid. P. 6

scale migration begins (Kritz et al, 1992)⁵⁵. Giving the limitations of the existing theories, Oishi proposes an approach that she named the Integrative Approach.

2.5 The Integrative Approach

Oishi's integrative approach to international female migration is based on three levels of analysis: the first one, the macro level or the role played by the state to determine international female migration; knowing that there are some countries that restrict the migration of women, others that even ban it, and there are others that put no restrictions on women's migration. Oishi argues that the former, on the one hand, tend to be "non-sending" countries of female migrant, the later, on the other hand, are considered major "sending countries" of female migrants⁵⁶.

The second level, which is the micro-level, or the agent level, is considered as the capacity or independency of female migrants to explain the patterns of female migration. Oishi hypothesizes that women must have the efficient capacity, and power in decision-making within the households, in order to have a large-scale female migration.

⁵⁵ "Gender and Migration: An Integrative Approach". Op-cit. p.7

⁵⁶ Ibid. P.7

Ibid.P.8

For the last level that is the meso-level, Oishi assumes that the social environment has to be accommodated for international female migration⁵⁷. For instance, female migration can be hindered if some societies stigmatize and develop hostile attitudes towards female migrants. The community has to accept female migrant, and not penalize her, in order to make her feel comfortable when going back home. Oishi suggests that internal mobility has to be induced (rural to urban migration) first, in order to make people used to female mobility, and this will pave the way for international migration. The following table explains those three levels⁵⁸.

⁵⁹Figure 12: The three stylized levels of migration analysis

<i>MICRO</i> values or desires and expectancies	<i>MESO</i> collectives and social networks	<i>MACRO</i> macro-level opportunity structures
<i>individual values and expectancies</i> – improving and securing survival, wealth, status, comfort, stimulation, autonomy, affiliation, and morality	<i>social ties</i> – strong ties families and households – weak ties networks of potential movers, brokers, and stayers; <i>symbolic ties</i> kin, ethnic, national, political, and religious organizations; symbolic communities <i>content of ties</i> – <i>transactions</i> obligations, reciprocity, and solidarity; information, control, and access to resources of others	<i>economics</i> – income and unemployment differentials <i>politics</i> – regulation of spatial mobility through nation- states and international regimes; – political repression, ethnic, national, and religious conflicts <i>cultural setting</i> – dominant norms and discourses <i>demography and ecology</i> – population growth; – availability of arable land – level of technology

⁵⁷ L'approche genre dans les politiques migratoires des pays africains : cas du Maroc ". Op-cit. P.8

⁵⁸ ' Gender and Migration: An Integrative Approach". Op-cit. P.9

⁵⁹ Thomas Faist. "A review of dominant theories of international migration" from The Volume and Dynamics of International Migration and Transnational Social Spaces by Oxford. 2000, p. 2

2.6 Cassarino's theoretical framework of return migration

Cassarino (2004) provides a theoretical overview of how return has been dealt with and analyses the various approaches that have studied return migration. He emphasizes the advantages and disadvantages of these approaches and takes them one step further by introducing the notion of preparation for return. He argues that preparation for return is highly dependent from return motives and that it is central in understanding different post-return experiences. His theory is therefore based on three main pillars: return motives, preparation for return and post-return experiences.

Furthermore, he insists on how legal status in the host country and emigration motives in the first place are essential to understand return migration. Among these factors, SES (Socioeconomic status) is also important to understand return migration ⁶⁰. Questioning if migrants emigrated with the intention of sending remittances is for example important to understand potential pressures and expectations towards returnees upon return. Cassarino also highlights how post- return experiences are essential to understand re-emigration intentions negative post-return experiences generally expressing the strongest re-emigration intentions. By adopting this perspective, he thus acknowledges that migration phases are interconnected and that to be fully comprehended return cannot be studied as an isolated phase.

⁶⁰Gmelch, 1980

The focus of his theory is on the link between migration and development in the home country of the migrant, and therefore he uses these concepts as a means to understand why some returnees will appear as actors of change in their countries while others will not. He argues that “the propensity of migrants to become actors of change and development at home depends on the extent to which they have provided for the preparation of their return”⁶¹.

Preparation for return is understood as both *preparedness* and *resource mobilization*. Preparedness refers not only to the migrant’s *willingness* to return home, but also to his *readiness* to do so, and readiness is supported by the gathering of information and resources about post-return conditions in the home country. Resource mobilization is intended as the possibility to access *tangible resources* (i.e. financial capital) and *intangible resources* (i.e. contacts, relationships, skills, acquaintances)⁶². Thus, according to this framework, the more a migrant has prepared return, the more likely he is to have positive post-return experiences and not to have re-emigration intentions. His theory also shows that how prepared a returnee may be is not only dependent on his experience abroad, but also on factors in his home country. Based on resource mobilization and on preparedness, Cassarino describes three degrees of preparation; returnees with a high level of preparedness, returnees with a low level of preparedness and returnees with no preparedness. He explains

⁶¹ Cassarino, 2004, p. 271

⁶² Among tangible and intangible resources Cassarino also introduces social capital as a third component of resource mobilization. In this thesis, social capital is intended as part of the intangible resources that a migrant can rely on.

how the level of a returnee's preparedness is shaped by pre and post return conditions, by the length of the stay abroad and by status in the host country. The higher the level of preparedness of a returnee, the more likely he is to have a positive post-return experience. He argues for example that migrants having faced deportation generally return unprepared and have negative post-return experiences. The main elements of Cassarino's theory are summarized in the following table:

Figure13 : Cassarino's theory

Return motives	-They affect both preparation for return and post-return experiences; -<u>Emigration motives</u> are also essential to understand return motives		<u>Status in the host country</u> and <u>length of stay</u> abroad are also essential to understand return motives, preparation for return and post-return experiences
Preparation for return	Resource mobilization	Tangible resources	
		Intangible resources	
	Preparedness	Willingness	
		Readiness	
Post-return experiences	Post-return experiences tend to influence <u>re-emigration intentions</u>		

2.6.1 Advantages of using Cassarino's theory

Cassarino's framework is useful in the sense that it conceptualizes return as referring to a preparation process that does not depend solely on the migrant's

will but to a great extent to the environment and to factors in the home country. Such an approach allows to consider the family as one of these factors and to conceptualize its influences.

In order to understand return migration Cassarino looks at emigration motives and at situation in the host country. Furthermore, he highlights that post-return experiences influence re-emigration intentions. This approach allows to embed return migration in the wider framework of the migratory experience. Sayad (1990) underlines in fact that migratory phases are interconnected and may not be understood independently from each other. This aspect of Cassarino's theory is essential for the study of family influences on return because it allows to conceptualize how families influence the emigration phase. Investigating what role the family played in the choice of the destination country, and what type of family support migrants could rely for emigration and in the host country, is in fact useful to contextualize return within the whole migration process. Furthermore, it allows to investigate what role family expectations related to remittances play in the return phase.

His insistence on the importance of the returnees' *readiness* and *willingness* to return constitutes an essential tool to look at family influences on return. Families often affect return decisions ⁶³, and the concepts of readiness and willingness thus allow to understand how they affect return motives and

⁶³ Nauck & Settles, 2001

decisions across typologies of returnees. This framework “regards various types of migrant ranging from economic, skilled and unskilled to refugees”⁶⁴, and by providing a broad framework to look at return migration it also allows to look at other typologies of returnees such as students.

Finally, his theory is useful because it highlights the importance of migrants’ *experiences*. There are two academic perspectives that may be applied to understand post- return experiences. The first seeks to investigate post-return experiences by comparing the economic and social particularities of the returnees, and the second is based on the migrants’ personal assessment of their post-return experiences⁶⁵. Given that the focus of this study is on social aspects of migration, pertaining to the returnees’ lived experiences, the analysis of post-return experiences in this study is based on the respondents’ subjective assessment of their situation.

2.6.1 Overcoming shortcomings of Cassarino’s theory

Overall, for the above-mentioned motives, Cassarino’s framework emerges as the best theory to study family influences on return migration. However, it presents some problematic elements that need to be addressed.

Within his framework, Cassarino only acknowledges the negative role of the family in post-return experiences for those returnees with a low level of

⁶⁴ Cassarino, 2004, p. 272

⁶⁵ Van Meeteren et al., 2015

preparation for return. By doing so he obscures that families may also act as forms of support. However, even if he tends to

neglect positive family influences, his framework provides the tools to look at family influences globally. The concept of resource mobilization appears in fact essential to analyse what type of resources the family may put at the disposition of a returnee, as well as it allows to see what type of migrants do not receive family support and if this affects their post-return experience.

Furthermore, Cassarino categorizes returnees based on their level of preparedness. This categorization emerges as problematic for the study of family influences. In fact, instead of giving an understanding of how different returnees prepare for return, it gives a general assessment of the levels of preparedness so as to calculate the potential of a returnee to contribute to the development of his home country. This thesis thus uses preparation for return as a means to understand and conceptualize how the family influences return migration, and not to hierarchize returnees based on how prepared they are.

His definition of the concept of willingness also deserves particular attention. According to Cassarino, a migrant is willing to return when return is a voluntary decision. In this sense he considers as not willing to return only those migrants that were deported, and thus physically forced to return. However, it cannot be assumed that all migrants that are not facing legal issues are willing to return. Other non-legal circumstances such as family issues or

structural characteristics of the host country may in fact be forcing migrants to return. In this sense, when in this thesis I say that a migrant was not willing to return, I mean that he had to return because of external reasons (e.g. family issues, deportation, job loss etc.) that can be caused by multiple factors.

The main shortcomings of Cassarino's theory lie in the fact that his framework is conceived to look at how returnees can influence the development of their home country, rather than to understand more social aspects of return such as family influences. However, the tool he uses in his theory appear ideal to conceptualize family influences on return motives and to understand post-return experiences. By applying his framework to the study of family influences, this thesis thus lays the basis to further develop and refine his framework so as to include family and gender influences among the factors that shape return migration.

Chapter3: Moroccan Migration

Migration has a long tradition in North African countries: seasonal and circular migration patterns between some rural areas and towns in Western and Northern Morocco. The Moroccan migration boom, which leads to Moroccans being among the most prominent diaspora groups in Europe, started with the “guest worker” programs in the 1960’s, notwithstanding, The South is also known for its nomadic culture. In this chapter I try to give a brief history of the Moroccan migration, starting from the early Moroccan migration to its current trends. Then I move to talk about return migration, and reasons behind the low tendency of return.

A first counterpart to the traditional migration patterns emerged after the colonization of Algeria by the French in 1830, which was also the beginning of economic and political restructuring of the area. It was the starting point for migration from rural areas in Morocco to Algerian cities like Algiers or Oran and to farms of the French colonialists where wage laborers were needed. When the French-Spanish protectorate was established in Morocco in 1912, Workers on road construction and other infrastructure works were engaged at large scale,

and the growing cities along the Atlantic coast became a destination for rural-to-urban migration⁶⁶.

During World War II Moroccan men were recruited in the French occupied zone to offset labor shortages. Moroccan men were again recruited into the French army, and as many as 126,000 were enrolled by the French army during WWII and subsequent wars in Korea and French Indochina⁶⁷.

After the end of WWII, especially as a result of the end of French recruitment, Moroccans increasingly migrated to France to work in factories and mines. The Moroccan population in France increased from around 20,000 to 53,000 between 1949 and 1962⁶⁸. Moroccan circular migration to Algeria stopped when the Moroccan-Algerian border was closed in 1962 due to political and military tensions between the two countries that had intensified after Morocco's independence from France in 1956.

Migration to Algeria had often been the first step to subsequent migration to France, and some of the Moroccans' who had worked in Algeria followed their French employers when they left Algeria after the independence⁶⁹. After this period Moroccan migration was characterized by labor migration to Europe,

⁶⁶ De Haas, H. (2007b) Morocco's Migration Experience : a Transitional Perspective. International Migration, Vol . 45

⁶⁷ ibid

⁶⁸ ibid

⁶⁹ ibid

which was triggered by agreement between Morocco and several European governments⁷⁰.

3.1 Historic overview of Moroccan Migration

3.1.1 Moroccan Migration from the 1960s to the 1990s

The so-called “guest programs” were a starting point for a numerically important outmigration from Morocco to several European countries. Between 1963 and 1969 Morocco signed labor migration agreement with France (1963), Germany (1963), Belgium (1964), and the Netherlands (1969). This program initiated the diversification of Moroccan migration away from France and established Europe in general as the dominant destination⁷¹.

Formal recruitment through agencies in Morocco was only important at the beginning stage. It was gradually complemented by network migration, spontaneous settlement, and informal recruitment by companies. In many cases family or friends who had already moved to Europe supported potential employers. In this way administrative obstacles, long waiting lists, and necessary bribery could be avoided⁷².

⁷⁰ *ibid*

⁷¹ Collyer, M. et al (2009) Migration and development: The Euro-Moroccan Experience. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol 35 (10), December 2009, PP. 1555-1570

⁷² De Haas, H. (2009) Morocco. Country profile, no16, Focus Migration. February 2009

The fact that in many cases migrants belonged to rural peasant communities explains the efficacy of village migration networks⁷³. The existence of these networks often led to the migration of people from one village in Morocco to the same region, or sometimes even in the same town, in the new European destination⁷⁴.

International migration from Morocco has been spatially selective and mostly involved rural regions at the peripheries, where a big gap existed between natural resources and population needs. Out-migration from these specific regions was not simply an autonomous process, but it was stimulated by the Moroccan government for political and economic reasons⁷⁵.

In encouraging migration from particular regions, the Moroccan government continued a policy that had already been used by the former French colonizer. Both the Moroccan state and the French colonial power stimulated migration from mostly Berber-speaking regions that had formerly been independent. The aim was to prevent poverty as well as political unrest.⁷⁶

⁷³ *ibid*

⁷⁴ Berriane, M. and Mohamed A. (2008), *Etat d'ela recherché sur les migrations internationales à partir, vers et à travers le Maroc*. Country Paper : Morocco. Préparé pour le programme sur la Région et la régionalisation, Faculté des Lettres et de Sciences Humaines, Rabat, Université Mohammed V, Agdal Maroc

⁷⁵ De Haas, H. (2007a), *Between courting and controlling: The Moroccan state and "its" emigrants*, Centre on Migration, Policy and Society, WP-07-54, University of Oxford.

⁷⁶ *ibid*

The first sending regions in Morocco were the Souss in the South West of the country and the Oriental Rif in the North east⁷⁷. The oases located in the south of the high Atlas soon became an area of international outmigration as well. As a result, those three regions (souss, Rif, and oases near the High Atlas) can now be identified as the three principal migration belts in Morocco⁷⁸.

They belong to those parts of Morocco where insurrection had taken place after independence as a result of economic crisis, political discontent, and perceived discrimination. Giving young men the opportunity to work abroad and earn good money was seen as a mean to reduce rebellious tendencies and contribute to prosperity⁷⁹. Those early departure zones of international migration have also been the regions with established traditions of seasonal and circular migration within Morocco and towards Algeria.

Souss is a dry region in which traditional economic activities are based on different irrigation technologies, and it is inhabited mostly by the Berber population⁸⁰. Next to the strong tradition in the internal migration, the Soussi migrated to Algeria very early and later on oriented activities mainly to France, the former colonizer. Migration from another important sending region, the

⁷⁷ Berriane, M. and Mohamed A. (2008), Etat de la recherche sur les migrations internationales à partir , vers et à travers le Maroc. Country Paper : Morocco. Préparé pour le programme sur la Région et la régionalisation, Faculté des Lettres et de Sciences Humaines, Rabat, Université Mohammed V, Agdal Maroc

⁷⁸ De Haas, 2007b)

⁷⁹ ibid

⁸⁰ Berriane and Aderghal, 2008

Saharan oasis, has been mainly oriented towards France and, to a small extent, to the Netherlands and Belgium.

The Rif area is, from a quantitative point of view, the most important region for migration to Europe. This very densely populated rural region was colonized by the Spanish, and the population thus does not generally speak French. History helps explain why migration from the North East was mainly directed towards the Netherlands, Germany, and Belgium rather than to France. The Moroccan state had directed Dutch, German, and Belgian recruiters to this northern region after low harvests at the end of the 1950's⁸¹.

finally, until the mid-1970's the Moroccan migration to Europe was characterized by male migration from only some selective regions and by efficient migration networks. Migrants typically had relatively low educational/skill qualifications and a strong attachment to their families and their home country⁸².

3.1.2 Family Reunification

The nature of Moroccan migration to Europe started changing after the oil crisis of 1973, when European countries experienced growing unemployment and economic stagnation and were no longer in need of unskilled laborers from abroad. European countries successively closed their borders to further labor

⁸¹ De Hass, 2007a

⁸² Berriane and Aderghal, 2008

migrants and implemented policies supporting family reunification and return. However Only few migrants actually returned to Morocco, where rising oil prices and worldwide economic downturn had even more severe consequences than in Europe.⁸³

The majority of migrants opted to stay and make maximum use of the possibilities for family reunification. This choice translated into a profound change of demographic and socio-professional structures of the Moroccan communities in Europe, which are no longer dominated by male migrants⁸⁴. While Moroccan migration to Europe up to the 1970's was essentially circular, the large-scale family reunification translated into a shift to more permanent settlement. The scope of family reunification can be seen from the change in the number of Moroccan residents in Europe: between 1975 and 1992 the registered population in the Netherlands, Belgium, France, and Germany increased from 400,000 to around 1 million people⁸⁵.

⁸³ De Haas, 2009

⁸⁴ Berriane and Aderghal, 2008

⁸⁵ De Haas, 2007b

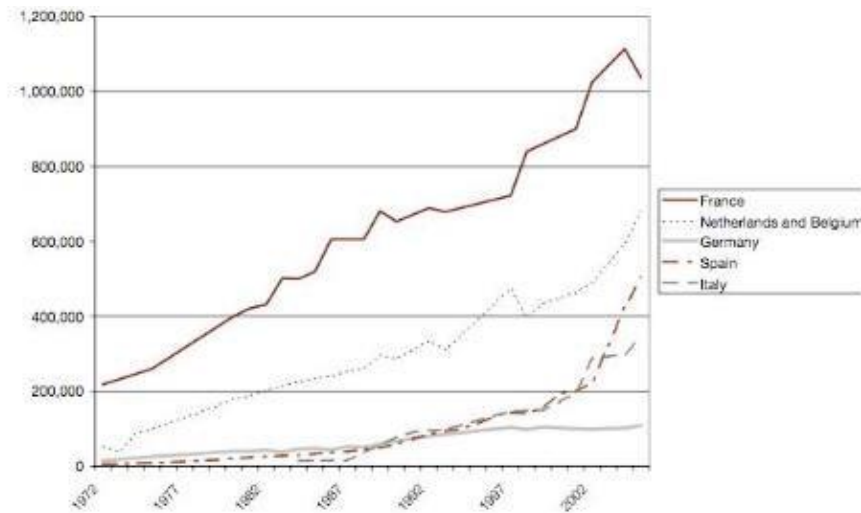


Figure 12 : Evolution of population with Moroccan citizenship in main European destination countries 1972-2005⁸⁶

3.2 Current Migration Patterns

3.2.1 New Characteristics of Moroccan Migration

Since the 1990's Moroccan migration has been characterized by the diversity of the patterns and destinations. A first new characteristic was the increased appearance of family reunification. By the end of the 1980's, marrying a partner in Europe became the only legal way of migration to the classic European destination countries for many Moroccans. Family creation thus became an important means of migration, which was also triggered by the fact that many second-generation Moroccans in Europe prefer to marry someone from their family's home country⁸⁷.

⁸⁶ De Haas 2009, with reference to Moroccan Consular services

⁸⁷ De Haas, 2007b

A second new development is the increasingly-undocumented nature of Moroccan migration to Europe. Moroccans were attracted by working possibilities in agriculture, construction, and service sectors, and they often obtained a regular status after marrying in the destination country or through legalization operations⁸⁸.

Spain and Italy are the most important destinations for irregular migrants, particularly because they are the countries that closed their borders the latest. The new migration flows also reflect the emergence of new regions of outmigration from Morocco, namely the central region that shows a clear orientation to Italy⁸⁹.

Among the new regions are Khnifra (in the Middle Atlas), the region of Laarache (south Tangiers), and the Tadla plain (south of Khoribga)⁹⁰. The recent flows are also characterized by the fact that not only low skilled people are migrating, but increasingly those with a certain educational background and sometimes even university education are also leaving. Women, executives, technicians, and qualified workers are increasingly present within the new emigrant cohort⁹¹.

⁸⁸ *ibid*

⁸⁹ Berriane and Aderghal, 2008

⁹⁰ De Haas, 2007b

⁹¹ Berriane and Aderghal, 2008

A further new characterization can be seen in the diversification of destination. Next to Spain and Italy, Canada and the United States have also seen an increasing number of the (often highly skilled) Moroccan migrants coming to their territories. The scope of these new migration flows is considerable: according to the Spanish Statistics Institute, the number of Moroccan legally residing in Spain was 5,817 in 1985, 378,979 in 2003, and 511,294 in 2005.

This corresponds to an 87-fold increase within 20 years⁹². In some years Moroccan accounted for more than 40% of all individuals who were legalized in the regularization campaigns that took place in Spain since 1991. In Italy the number of Moroccans taking part in legalization programs were considerable as well: 19,000 people were legalized in 1986, 50,500 in 1990, and 48,000 in 2004⁹³.

Taken together, family reunification, family formation, natural increase, undocumented migration, and new labor migration to Spain and Italy explain the increase of Moroccan migrants in Europe after the recruitment stop at the beginning of the 1970's⁹⁴.

⁹² *ibid*

⁹³ *ibid*

⁹⁴ *ibid*

3.2.2 Migration to and Through Morocco

While Moroccan migration has changed in nature in recent years, there are some new change to be observed in migration to and through Morocco⁹⁵. Since the mid-1990's Morocco has become a transit and destination country for Sub-Saharan migrants. From of Moroccan independence and the beginning of the 1990's some students and highly-qualified migrants from Sub-Saharan countries (Senegal, Mali, and Zaire, to name few) came to Morocco, but their numbers remained limited⁹⁶.

This changed in the 1990's when an increasing number of migrants came to Morocco, often with the intention to continue their journey to Europe. Reasons for those flows may be political unrest, civil wars, and economic downturns in some west Africa countries as well as in anti-immigrant "migrations" in Libya from 2000, where many Sub-Saharan migrants had formerly found working possibilities⁹⁷.

While some of Sub-Saharan migrants in Morocco aimed to continue their journey to Europe, an increasing number also stayed in Morocco, either to study or to work in, for example, in call centers⁹⁸. Estimates of the number of irregular migrants in Morocco range between 10,000 and 20,000 people, and most of those

⁹⁵ De Haas, 2009

⁹⁶ De Haas, 2009

⁹⁷ ibid Berriane and Aderghal, 2008

⁹⁸ Ahlou, M. (2008) Undocumented Migration. Counting the Uncountable. Data and trends across Europe. Country report Morocco. Report for the research project CLANDESTINO and the European Commission

migrants are from Sub-Saharan countries. The prominent countries of origin according to the Moroccan Ministry of Interior are Mali, Senegal, Cote d'Ivoire, Gambia, Nigeria, and Ghana⁹⁹. The number of deportations at the borders has been estimated to be around 15,000 in 2005¹⁰⁰.

Since the middle of the 1990's, the number of Europeans immigrating to Morocco is also on the rise. Europeans migrate to live in Morocco, to establish a business, or to have a second residence, often in the old medians of cities. A similar process applies to foreign pensioners who go to Morocco to spend their retirement age at the sunny south of the Mediterranean. Statistically, this migration is not yet a major phenomenon, but the trend is rising¹⁰¹.

3.2.3 Moroccan Diaspora

Moroccan diaspora is not only large but also one with the most dispersed population across Europe¹⁰². More than 4 million Moroccan nationals currently live outside of Morocco, and more than 90% of them reside in European countries. After the Turkish community the Moroccans are the second-largest group of non-EU-migrants in the European Union¹⁰³. While migration of Turkish

⁹⁹ Mghari, M. (2009) La Dimension démographique et économique des migrants. CARIM Mediterranean Migration Report 2008-2009, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, San Domenico di Fiesole (FI) : European University Institute, pp. 219-228

¹⁰⁰ *ibid*

¹⁰¹ Berriane and Aderghal, 2008

¹⁰² De Hass, 2009

¹⁰³ GTZ (Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit) (2007): the Moroccan Diaspora in Germany. Its contribution to Development in Morocco. Authored by Kirsten Schuttler

nationals to the European Union is currently stagnating, Moroccans are expected to be the biggest non-EU group living within the next decades¹⁰⁴.

France hosts the largest group of Moroccans, over a million (1,131,000). As a consequence of the former labor migration agreements, large Moroccan communities also exist in the Netherlands (278,000), Belgium (285,000), and Germany (130,000).

Spain and Italy have become destination countries for Moroccans in recent years. Considerable number of Moroccans live in the US (100,000) and in Canada (60,000) as well. In addition, other Maghreb and Middle East countries host around 281,613 Moroccans, with 120,000 in Libya and 80,000 in Algeria. A little more than 8000 Moroccans live in Sub-saharan African countries, and around 4000 live in Asia and Oceania¹⁰⁵.

The relation of Moroccan state to its citizens abroad changed in the beginning of the 1990's. During this time political changes took place in Morocco, led to an improvement in the country's human rights record. At the same time, remittances stagnated in the early 1990's, and the fear of the decline in remittances caused the government to revise its attitude towards emigrants. This can also be seen in the restructuring of institutions in charge with migrants' community.

¹⁰⁴ De Haas 2009

¹⁰⁵ Numbers apply to 2007, quoted in Fargues, 2009

One of the newly created institutions (1995): foundation Hassan II for Moroccans living abroad, assigned to promote and protect Moroccans residing abroad. It is financed by remittance revenues ¹⁰⁶ and its principal missions include facilitating the summer holiday return of Moroccans abroad and participating in teaching Arabic, national culture, and religion to children of emigrants¹⁰⁷, as well as studies about Moroccans expatriates.

Today, some 22 publications can be found on the foundation's website about topics ranging from the use of remittances in Morocco to traditional art, culture and the experiences of retirement of Moroccans in Europe. The foundation also introduced "Opération Transit", a program that provides assistance to migrants returning to Morocco during summer holidays. The efforts to attract and support Moroccan visitors have, among other things, resulted in less corruption and abuse of migrants at the borders, accelerated various administrative procedures, and attracted advertisements¹⁰⁸.

The "Opération transit", which was taken over by the "Foundation Mohammed V for solidarity" in 2000, is one of the measures indicating a change in the Moroccan state's attitude towards its emigrants and the recognition of their importance. This shift can also be seen in the royal speeches in which migrants are continuously celebrated, and in the fact that an emigrant council (*Conseil*

¹⁰⁶ De Haas 2007a

¹⁰⁷ Brand, 2002

¹⁰⁸ De Haas, 2007a

Supérieur de la Communauté Marocaine à l'étranger) was created in 2007 and established in July 2011.

A special working group to facilitate the establishment of the emigrants' council was created in 2006. This group is comprised of some former exiles and opponents of the monarchy as well as publicity-critical scholars. This would have been an unacceptable form of civic activism in the past, but it is widely acknowledged today¹⁰⁹.

3.3 Return and Circular Migration

The issue of return migration has initially been driven by two forces. Morocco has always seen migration as a long-term project that would eventually benefit the country's development. For instance, from the Moroccan point of view, migrants are potential contributors to the country's socioeconomic development¹¹⁰. According to Sasin Morocco took many measures to prevent migrant's assimilation in the host country, in order to preserve their precious role in development¹¹¹.

For Europe, the discussion on return migration only rose became important when migrants' presence start to be "visible" due to their relatively important

¹⁰⁹ *ibid*

¹¹⁰ Gubert F. and Nordman, C. 52008 /02), Return Migration and Small Enterprise Development in the Maghreb, MIREM project, Migration de Retour au Maghreb, Analytical Report, Robert Shuman Centre for Advanced Studies

¹¹¹ Sasin, M. (2008, Morocco's Migration/ The profile and the Impat on Households, The World Bank, Paper presented at "Labor migration from North Africa: Supporting policies to Maximize Benefits for Importing Countries, October 26-27, 2009

number in the host countries¹¹². Given the increased levels of unemployment in Europe and the public discourse scapegoating migrants, all these factors make migrants' return seen as a possible solution¹¹³.

In this way Europe could limit the number of migrants living in its societies and avoid potential problems related to the social cohesion of heterogeneous society, multicultural society. These two dynamics enforced by both Morocco and the European host countries has led to the adaptation of return migration policies.

As it was already discussed in the Moroccan migration history section, the labor migration which started in early 1960s was followed by migration due to family reunification. Countries such as France, Belgium, and the Netherlands allowed migrants to bring their families with them, whereas only in Germany labor migrants were considered to be temporary migrants, who would eventually turn back to their origin country¹¹⁴.

In Germany as well as other European countries, by the time the migration influx had increased beyond what labor-importing governments had planned, return migration policies were being developed to mitigate the potential

¹¹² Khachani M. (2006b), Statistiques sur les migrants de retour en Maroc, MIREM Project, Migration de Retour au Maghreb. Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies

¹¹³ Ibid

¹¹⁴ Khachani, 2008

problem. Consequently, the pioneers of return migration in Europe have been Germany, the Netherlands, and France¹¹⁵.

According to De Haas (2006) between 1985 and 1995, almost 315,000 Moroccan migrants returned from the main European immigration countries. The number of return migrants was the highest in 1991. 40,000 Moroccan returned, since 1994, however, this number has been decreasing. According to OECD sources, there were 3,500 returnees from Belgium, Germany, and the Netherlands in 1991. This number has only increased to 3,700 in 2000, indicating that there is not a considerable increase in return to Morocco¹¹⁶. It is even argued that the Moroccan return migration is amongst the lowest in Europe¹¹⁷.

3.3.1 Reasons for Low Tendency to Return

Return and circular migration are seen as channels for the contribution to Morocco's development. However, there exist challenges that make the successful outcomes of these channels difficult to achieve, for instance although host countries encourage return migration, but it is very difficult to make migrants go back if the economic and political environment in the home countries is not good enough¹¹⁸. For instance, Moroccans have a very low

¹¹⁵ Kachani 2008

¹¹⁶ Lahlou, M . 2006, Migration de Retour au Maroc : une approche socio-economic et institutionnelle, MIREM project, European University Institute, Institut National de Statistique et d'Economie Appliqué (INSEA)

¹¹⁷ De Haas, 2006

¹¹⁸ De Haas, 2009

tendency to return, which implies that morocco is not the most attractive environment to live and invest in¹¹⁹.

Hence, for the realization of the conditions under which return migration would occur, Morocco must experience constant growth and a stable economic development. The most important examples that can be stated in this case is Asia, and Taiwan that stand out as significant examples of this process.

In this region attracting back highly skilled migrants was successful only when the job market was adequate and the investment in research and development was politically supported¹²⁰. For return migration to take place at wide scale, the Moroccan economy should thus improve.

The situation is not different for stimulation of circular migration, which is considered to contribute to the economic, scientific, and technological development of Morocco by encouraging the transfer of skills competencies, and capital of migrants based on specific agreements and projects¹²¹.

Although in this more pragmatic approach no permanent physical return to the home country is necessary, there should be a convenient environment in the origin country¹²². Pure attachment to the home country is not a sufficient condition for migrants to invest in it. Circular migration demands accountable

¹¹⁹ DeHaas, 2006 ; Collyer, 2004

¹²⁰ Khachani 2006

¹²¹ Ibid

¹²² Ibid

and efficient organization of the expatriate networks, which are unified around the same objective (this issue is going to be given more importance in the coming chapter).

3.3.2 Migration of Highly Skilled

Moroccan migration is traditionally characterized by the emigration of the low skilled to Europe. Although this type of labor migration to Europe continues, there are also new types of flows. Migration of highly-skilled Moroccans to Northern America and Europe is an interesting phenomenon. For Morocco the migration of the highly skilled has increased by 78% in the last decades of the 20th century. In 2000 the emigration rate of the population with tertiary education reached 10.3%¹²³.

More specifically, according to Dorcquier and Bhargava¹²⁴ 6.7% of the physicians trained in Morocco (953 people) emigrated in 2000; Clemens and Pattersson (2006) 6.7% of the physicians trained in Morocco (6,506 people) emigrated⁷. An estimated 14.9% of Moroccan nurses (5,176) also emigrated abroad. Overall, a considerable part of highly-skilled population from MENA region lives in OECD countries¹²⁵.

¹²³ World Bank, 2009

¹²⁴ Dorquier

¹²⁵ Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

Overall education performance in Morocco is significantly low, but compared to other countries in the region, Morocco's investment on education is considerably high¹²⁶. Investment in tertiary education is particularly high in both absolute and relative terms. However, highly educated population faces serious problems. Emigration of the highly skilled is explained, to a large extent, by the unemployment problem in the country¹²⁷.

A significant number of highly skilled Moroccans live abroad, if we add the number of students' migration, the share becomes even more interesting. In 2007 according to UNESCO there were 41.501 students abroad¹²⁸. It is worthwhile to mention Moroccan students choose such common education migration countries: UK and North America, beside other destinations like France, Belgium, and Spain for higher education¹²⁹.

Compared to some other emigration countries, "brain drain" is not considered to be a big issue in Morocco. A survey done among MENA country national, has shown that Moroccan national do not believe that Morocco is affected by "brain drain". This category of highly skilled Moroccan migrants is mainly found in

¹²⁶ Herrera, C., Dudwick, N. & Murrugarra, E. (2008) Remittances, Gender Roles and Children's Welfare Outcomes in Morocco, The World Bank, paper presented at "Labor migration from North Africa: Supporting Policies to maximize Benefits for Exporting Countries, October 26-27, 2009

¹²⁷ De Haas, 2009

¹²⁸ UNESCO, 2007

¹²⁹ Collyer, Michel et al (2009) Migration and Development : The Euro- Moroccan Experience. Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, Vol 35 (10). December 2009, PP. 1555-1570

North America, in the United Kingdom, and in France, which forms a new “bourgeoisie”¹³⁰.

This group is seen as potential contributors to new types of development strategies for Morocco, especially in contemporary societies where knowledge is increasingly appreciated. Moreover, this category is expected to contribute to countries’ development through skill, knowledge, and technology transfer as well as through sending more remittances back home.

Then, we can assert that, the effect of highly-skilled migration on development is difficult to observe. Indeed, highly-skilled Moroccan migrants constitute a diaspora of knowledge. Although there is an increase in the organization and activities of the groups, it is too early to conclude on their effects. Considering that recent circular migration policies are mainly targeting the highly skilled, it can be stated that highly-skilled migration will be considered as a development tool for Morocco in the coming years as well.

In this Chapter I tried to talk about the phenomenon of migration in Morocco, the chapter gave a brief overview of migration in the country and moved to more specific information about the Moroccan migration. Moreover, it presents some studies done by some Moroccan scholars about migrants and their characteristics, and then moved to talk about the return phase, and stated some

¹³⁰ Kahchani, 2005

reasons behind the low tendency of return for both skilled and unskilled migrants. However, women continue to be absent in the discussion about migration, and that will be the goal of the coming chapter that will shed some light on gender in relation to migration and return.

Chapter 4: Migration, Gender and Return

For a long time, migration researchers had considered migration as men's issue. Women were either totally neglected, or not even recognized as active migrants, since women were only considered as migrating with their husbands or fathers. As it was stated by Benradi (2009), and Hormat Lah (2010) who claimed that including gender in migration analysis is newly introduced in studies and research about migration¹³¹.

This type of analysis was only introduced in Europe in the last decades, whereas, in Africa, it is only recently that interest in this question has begun, especially after the emergence of illegal migration that researches including gender approach in dealing with migration have started, which is also an indicator of the increasingly strict Moroccan policies toward the flows of irregular migrants.

¹³¹ “ L’approche genre dans les politiques migratoires des pays africains : cas du Maroc”, Op-cit. p.2
- Malika Benradi. “GENRE ET MIGRATION : Analyse de nouvelles formes d’esclavage” XXVI CONGRES INTERNATIONAL DE LA POPULATION, Marrakech – Maroc, Septembre 2009, p.2

4.1 Feminization of Moroccan Migration

Oishi (2002) argues that the feminization of international labor migration is a global trend¹³². She states that *“the percentage of women in the migrant population in both forms (permanent, and temporary migrants) has been increasing in the postwar period, and now women comprise the majority of international migrants”*¹⁰⁴.

In fact, Zlotnik (1998) argues that across the world the number of female migrants has increased by 63%. He also states that this number has risen from 35 million to 57 million, during the period of 1965 and 1990. This raise is 8% higher than male migrants¹³³. Therefore, we can say that women are no longer following their husbands or fathers as it used to be the case, or at least as it was considered.

Hormat Allah (2010) points out that according to the International Office of Labor, liberal globalization has contributed not only to the intensification of international migration, but also to the diversification of the profile of migrants, such as gender profile. In other words, gender defines the status, reasons, and destination of the migrants¹³⁴.

¹³² ‘‘ Gender and Migration: An Integrative Approach’’, Op-cit. P.9

¹⁰⁴ Ibid p.9

¹³³ Hania Zlotnik. “International Migration 1965-96: An Overview,” Population and Development Review, Vol. 24 (3), 1998. pp.429-468.

¹³⁴ ‘‘GENRE ET MIGRATION : Analyse de nouvelles formes d’esclavage’’. Op-cit. p.4

4.1.1 Moroccan Female Migration to Europe

According to Malika Benradi (2009) European countries have known two waves of Moroccan migration. The first one was after the Second World War; this migration has concerned mainly France, Belgium, and Netherlands. In fact, this migration is essentially masculine and in most of the time of non-qualified people. Women migrated only in the case of family reunification, or in order to follow their migrant husbands or their fathers.¹³⁵.

The second wave has taken place in the middle of the 80's, this wave must be placed in the context of the Moroccan economic crises¹²¹, due to the Structural Adjustment Program imposed by International Monetary Fund (IMF). The reduction of the social expenditure has caused a strong pauperization of the most vulnerable categories, especially women.

This wave was also characterized by the migration to Europe of non-accompanied, young, single, literate women, and most of the time qualified women. Because of the difficulties to obtain a work permit, a big part of these women fall into the trap¹²², by working illegally and usually in domestic services.

Hormat Allah (2010) states that the raising number of female migrants has a big impact on the international labor market. She states that the increase of the number of women working in the domestic sector as well as advertisement

¹³⁵ « GENRE ET MIGRATION : Analyse de nouvelles formes d'esclavage », Op-cit. P.19 ¹²¹
Ibid. p.19 ¹²² Ibid.p.20

industry is at the expense of the decrease of women working in the traditional sectors such as agriculture and textile industry. Consequently, and according to Ehrenreich (2003)¹³⁶, and Hochschild, millions of developing countries' women migrate towards the northern countries in order to work as nurses, maids¹³⁷.

In the late nineties those "domestic" or indoor professions have represented one of the most provider sectors of the informal labor for migrants. According to Benradi the number of house employees in Europe is estimated to more than one million of people; the majority of which are in illegal situation. Furthermore, Hourmat Lah argues that the domestic labor is characterized by ethnical segmentation. For instance, in the Netherlands and Belgium, most of women working as outdoor servants are from Eastern Europe, whereas African (mostly North African) and South American, work as indoor servants¹³⁸.

As a result, this globalization of domestic work increases the number of abuses and exploitation¹³⁹. Due to the nature of their work (working in private homes), and because of the lack of a legal status, those female immigrants find themselves under the control of their employers, they can be sexually abused, or/and not paid, underpaid, or/and physically and verbally abused. They are totally vulnerable, and cannot ask for their rights because they are threatened by

¹³⁶ Barbara Ehrenreich and Arlie Russell Hochschild, Global Women, eds By Michelle Goldberg. Henry Holt and Company: New York, 2003, P.15

¹³⁷ Ibid. P.15

¹³⁸ "L'approche genre dans les politiques migratoires des pays africains : cas du Maroc ". Op-cit. p.3

¹³⁹ "Gender and Migration: An Integrative Approach". Op-cit. P.12

their employers, since they are totally dependent on them concerning staying legally in the host country (as we are going to see in the case of the Middle East), as well as providing shelter and food.

However, the situation is more serious for illegal domestic workers, knowing that this category of workers does not denounce those abuses, because of fear of judiciary prosecution or expulsion¹⁴⁰. This kind of migration has another effect on countries with high rates of female migration.

According to the United Nations Population Fund, in its annual report released in 2006, Africa loses each year more than 20 000 highly qualified nurses and Physicians. This loss is considered very dangerous knowing the serious situation of a region already destroyed by AIDS, Malaria, and a very high rate of child and maternal mortality.¹⁴¹

Morocco is traditionally known as a country with high number of migrants. During the second period of the 20th century, Morocco has changed to become among the principal sending countries of migrants in the world. In fact, Moroccans constitute a large and dispersed community of migrants over the world. With a large concentration in Europe, a very important community in the Golf countries, and a noticeable presence in the United States and Canada;

¹⁴⁰ ‘‘GENRE ET MIGRATION : Analyse de nouvelles formes d’esclavage’’. Op-cit. P.14

¹⁴¹ Blasco C. « Exemple de la féminisation mondiale des migrations », 2007.retrived on 26 January 2011 <http://local.attac.org/13/aix/spip.php?article822>

approximately 4 million of Moroccan minds and arms live outside their country¹⁴².

This number exceeds the population of both Kuwait and Qatar together, and more than the population of United Arab Emirates¹⁴³, which gives an idea on the importance of Moroccan Diaspora, knowing that this number is continually decreasing. Economically speaking, Morocco benefits largely from migration. It receives \$3,6 billion in official remittances in 2003 to archive \$5.04 billion in 2006 ¹⁴⁴.

This makes from Morocco among the largest receiving countries of remittances in the world, and makes from inward remittances a huge booster of the economic income as it is clearly shown in. From this latter we can notice the big share of remittances in comparison with other financial shares such as GDP, manufacturing exports, agricultural exports, and commercial service exports

¹⁴² Abdellatif Mansour, *Liaisons suspectes*, 2007 http://www.maroc-hebdo.press.ma/MHinternet/Archives_713/html_713/liaisons.html retrived on 26 January 2011

¹⁴³ Ibid

¹⁴⁴ Migration Policy Institute, MPI Data Hub Migration Facts, Stats, and Maps <http://www.migrationinformation.org/datahub/remittances/Morocco.pdf> retrived on 29 January 2011

Formal Inward Remittance Flows

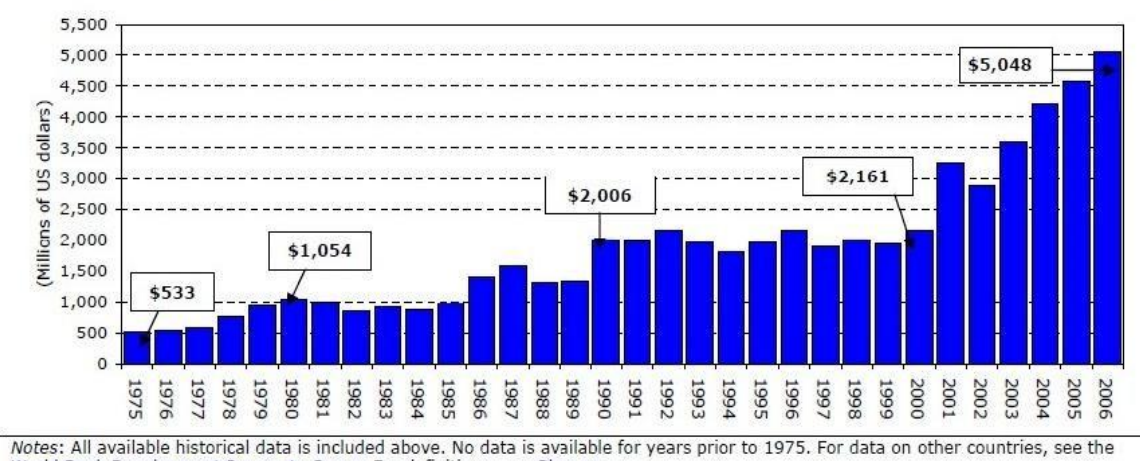


Figure 13¹⁴⁵ Formal inward remittance flows

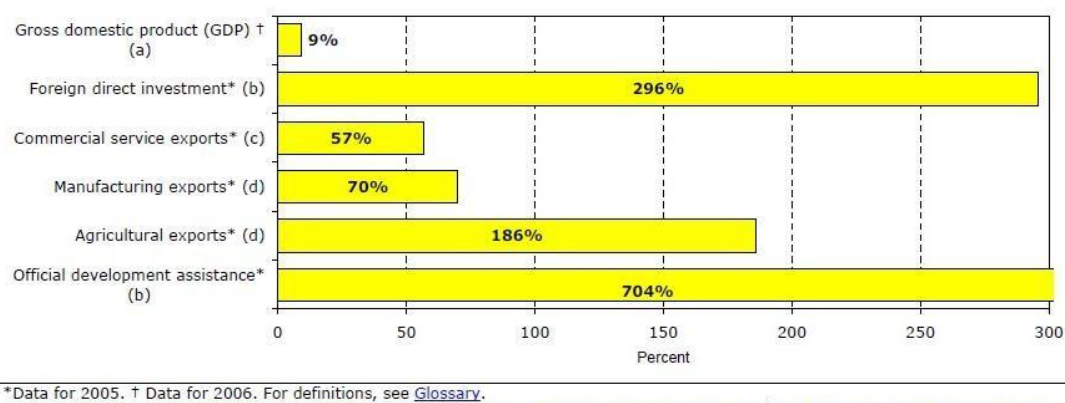


Figure 14¹⁴⁶ Remittances inflows

According to migration information source ¹⁴⁷, since the 1990's Moroccan government starts to notice stagnation in remittances at around \$2 billion per year, this created fear from a decline. As a result, the Moroccan government starts to rethink its strategy concerning attitudes towards its Moroccan

¹⁴⁵ Migration Policy Institute, MPI Data Hub Migration Facts, Stats, and Maps <http://www.migrationinformation.org/datahub/remittances/Morocco.pdf> retrieved on 29 January 2011

¹⁴⁶ Ibid

¹⁴⁷ Hein De Haas "Morocco: From Emigration Country to Africa's Migration Passage to Europe" from *Migration Information Sources* by Radboud University Nijmegen, 2005 <http://www.migrationinformation.org/Profiles/display.cfm?ID=339>

expatriates, which will push the Moroccan government to maintain a closer relationship with Moroccans living abroad.

Among those institutional measures, Morocco has created in 1990 a Ministry in charge of the migrants. The main objective of this Ministry is the protection of migrants, particularly, the most vulnerable among them, such as women, to help them to fully exercise their citizenship both in their host country and their home country.

In the same year, Morocco has established Hassan II Foundation, a non-lucrative organization, exclusively dedicated to the Moroccan migrants. This institution is in charge of, among others, helping the Moroccan migrants to face all kinds of difficulties both in Morocco and abroad. In addition, the Kingdom has created The National Observatory of Migration, this institution is established with the purpose of analyzing the migration phenomenon, as well as to establishing a dialogue among the different socio-economic actors that play a role in the increase of migration.

Finally, Morocco has signed with the principal host countries many bilateral agreements and conventions, at both levels regional and international. At the regional level, Morocco has been associated with the United Nations, group of 5+5. At the international level, Morocco is among the first Signatories of the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families. This was concerning European

countries, but what about the Middle East, what are the conditions under which Moroccan migrants live, especially with the Kafala system?

4.1.2 Moroccan Migration to the Middle East

The economic migration to the Middle East, especially to Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirate has lately become important, especially after ‘‘the 1973oil crisis’’¹⁴⁸. Those migrants come practically from all regions of morocco without exception. Furthermore, this migration is fostered by many factors such as the very restrictive measures conducted by Europe in order to prevent immigration, as well as the cultural and religious similitude.

The employment sectors offered to those Moroccan migrants are varied, with a predominance of works reserved to women especially in the UAE (United Arab Emirates); as well as handicraft, electricity, electronic, and so on¹⁴⁹.

Kharchani states that Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates are the principal destination of Moroccans. The first destination is more related to the Islamic religion, since Saudi Arabia contains the religious cities Mecca and Medina, their visits are considered as the accomplishment of the fifth pillar of Islam, pilgrimage. Kharchani argues that many cases of religious migration have become permanent migration. Many aspects of this kind of migration can be

¹⁴⁸ Khachani Mohamed, ‘‘ La migration Marocaine dans les pays du Golf ‘‘ CARIM, 2009 P :5.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid. p.4

detected; such as the existence of some families originating from Morocco: Soussi, Kettani, Ben Khadra, Moghrabi, Sekkat and so on¹⁵⁰.

Concerning UAE's migration, Kharchani claims that it was mainly related to the oil crisis, and to the special relationship existing among the two heads of states Hassan II and Cheikh Zaid¹²⁷. Khachani divides the Moroccan migration flux to three principal phases:

Phase 1:1985- 1990: Khachani qualifies this phase as political migration, since it has existed out of agreements among the two heads of states, to satisfy the needs of UAE lack of qualified people in police, army, and bodyguards of princes and princesses. Moroccan immigrants were highly privileged, and appreciated to fill this lack¹⁵¹.

Phase2: 1990-2000: Khachani relates this phase of migration to the almost closing of Western Europe boundaries by the establishment of VISA system. This fact has pushed Moroccan migrants to find an alternative, which is UAE. This migration is distinguished by the migration of highly qualified Moroccans, especially in the oil sector, as well as magistrates, engineers, stewards and stewardess. In addition, this kind of migration was noticeable by a feminine migration.¹⁵².

¹⁵⁰ “ La migration Marocaine dans les pays du Golf ‘’, Op-cit. P: 6 ¹²⁷“ Ibid. P.6.

¹⁵¹ Ibid. P.7

¹⁵² Ibid. p. 8

Phase 3: The last phase is considered by Khachani as being noticeable by the development of illegal migration networks; constituted by Moroccan and Arab members (Syrian, Lebanese, ...) ¹⁵³.

From the two following tables, one can see the rising number of Moroccan migrants in the Middle East in general and especially in United Arab Emirates. According to (figure 15) the number of Moroccan residents in the UAE has increased from 2992 in 1993 to 13040 in 2004. Furthermore, according to (figure 16), one can notice that in the early 1960's there were no contract given to the Moroccan migrants, in contrast within the 2000-2006, one can see the big number of contracts 5525, which number is higher than all the other cited Arab countries. Thus, we can notice the importance of Moroccan immigrants in the United Arab Emirates.

¹⁵³ 0“ La migration Marocaine dans les pays du Golf ‘’, Op-cit. p. 8

Country of residence	1993	1997	2002	2004
Libya	102413	112026	120000	120000
Algeria	54576	47998	63000	79790
Tunisia	20000	24840	16414	25637
Saudi Arabia	9000	20000	11973	27830
UAE	2992	4782	8359	13040
Sultanate of Oman	2213	2910	2910	1700
Kuweit	638	620	1000	1700
Qatar	392	460	500	1208
Bahrein	-	493	948	1995
Syria	702	1189	1279	2700
Jordan	554	869	877	1958

Figure 15¹⁵⁴: The evolution of the number of Moroccan diasporas in some Arab countries

¹⁵⁴ “ La migration Marocaine dans les pays du Golf ‘’, Op-cit. P :7

Country and Year	1958-1968	1969-1979	1990-1989	1990-contracts	2000-2006	total number
Libya	8300	12775	20180	4986	274	46515
Iraq	2	302	9450	509		10263
UAE		7	1938	937	5525	8407
Qatar		1	258	64	297	620
Bahrain				42	1590	1632
Kuwait				428	1140	1568
Saudi Arabia				2389	679	3068
Yemen					60	60
Syria					11	11
Tunisia				242	5	247
Jordan		10	522			532
Sultanate of Oman				62	805	867
Total in Arab countries	8302	13095	32095	9659	10386	73790

Figure 16¹⁵⁵: The evolution of the number of contracts to some Arab countries

This will make us question the kinds of jobs practiced by those migrants. From the following one can see that the most important employing sectors in the Middle East are art, music, and hotel services. For instance, in the case of UAE, hotel services are the most employing sectors, followed by commerce, workers, administration (this includes policemen and military services), esthetics, hairdressers, domestic labors, as well as dressmaking, one can divide these jobs by gender if we take into consideration the social dimension.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid. P : 10

Country of residence/profession	UAE	Qatar	Kuwait	S. Oman	Libya	Syria	Tunisia	Saudi Arabia	Total in the Arab World	Others	Undeclare	Total
Administration	638	29	137	38		1	7	7	862	6	0	862
Domestic work	235	21	24	7		6		118	411	3	0	414
Hairdressers	285	9	424	11				148	887	1	0	888
Esthetic	316	5	112	11				1	447		0	447
Educators	216	51	14	6		3		12	302		1	303
trade	1023	9	93	230			1	18	1376	1	2	1379
Art and Music	125	3	9	387				2	2045		1	2046
Hotel business	1378	59	103	85	32		1	75	1748	10		1759
teaching	12	1		1					14			0 14
Stewardess	38	11	9	6					163			0 163
workers	691	50	119	15	231		1	332	1345	2	4521 9	46566
sewers	219	45	44	6			1	44	363	1	0	364
decoration workers	35	1	0	1				1	48		809	857
Agriculture workers	40		1	1				1	48		809	857
Electric	41		9					6	56			0 56

Figure 17 ¹⁵⁶: Job division of Moroccan migrants in the Arab world

4.2 Return Migration

4.2.1 Moroccan Return History

Originally, Moroccan migration was mainly professional, migrants most of them illiterate, and unqualified men, who migrate alone leaving wives and children in Morocco. Their aim was to gain money, finish their job periods and go back home (Morocco) to join their families. Undoubtedly, their final return was unquestionable¹⁵⁷.

¹⁵⁶ “ La Migration Marocaine dans les pays du Golf ‘’, Op-cit. P. 10.

¹⁵⁷ ibid

Migrant's investment in real estate can be considered as a proof of their final return determination. Indeed, the aim behind this investment is evident. Culturally speaking, real estate investment is first and foremost a sign of social success in the Moroccan society. While, being far from home country, this house embodies in itself an emotional charge; an umbilical cord that links the migrant to home country, which gives to the migrants a real feeling of safety against life's hazards¹⁵⁸.

Return myth has vanished naturally with the end of migration for professional purposes, and the implementation of family gathering procedure at the beginning of 1970. Final settlements' need in the host country started first to take place among Moroccan expatriates living in France; followed by the other oldest countries of migration, like Belgium, Netherlands, and Germany¹⁵⁹.

As a consequence, migration shifted from an economic project, to a life project. The raising tendency of Moroccan migrants has become staying in the host country, making their stay as long as they can or even trying to acquire citizenship in order to get safeguarded against life hazards. Family gathering made an overturn in migrants return determination. With the coming of their families, settlement, in the host countries, becomes their priority.

¹⁵⁸ *ibid*

¹⁵⁹ Hein De Haas "Morocco: From Emigration Country to Africa's Migration Passage to Europe" from Migration Information Sources by Radboud University Nijmegen, 2005
<http://www.migrationinformation.org/Profiles/display.cfm?ID=339>

Moreover, other factors such as the worsening of financial situation in Morocco, hand in hand with some bad experiences of some home returnees, boosted Moroccan migrants' citizenship migration in their host countries. We can nowadays speak about forth or even fifth generation of Moroccan migrants. Consequently, it is not surprising in such conditions to find that Moroccan migrants constitute a very important part of the number of naturalized migrants in Europe.

Therefore, the rising number of migrants in host countries has made their presence very visible. In addition to the rising number of unemployment in host countries, as well as the rising public opinion's pression against migration. These factors pushed some host countries to adopt a **help to return policy** of migrants. Help to return policy was considered as migration reduction strategy, or even migration stopping measure.

However, this policy has slightly affected migration, since most migrants preferred staying in their host country. This choice was mainly pushed by many factors: "family gathering right", socio-economic factors and differences among both countries "host and origin countries" such as (salary, living standards, and social security coverage...)¹⁶⁰.

¹⁶⁰ *ibid*

Nowadays, "migrants' final return" becomes a myth. in fact, it is becoming more and more rare to find a head of a family deciding to return definitely in the country of origin. Leaving behind, in host countries, children and grandchildren unwilling to follow the head's decision. Because of many reinsertion problems faced in the country of origin, since those children were either raised, or born and raised in the host country, that their host country turns to be their mother country.¹⁶¹

Nevertheless, it must be stated that most of return cases predominantly took place in traditional countries of migration, where most of migrants are now at the retirement age. Whereas the new comers as well as second and third generation choose to stay in the host country, due to insertion and reinsertion problems faced in their origin countries¹⁶².

Furthermore, it should be pointed out that the assessment of return experiences in whatever host country, remains very limited. The poor results of the French's program of "help to return", as well as the Netherlands' project in Moroccan *Rif* "REMPLOD" (Reintegration of Emigrant Manpower and the Promotion of Local Opportunities for Development), can be considered as a proof of this limitation. It should be recalled, in this context, that return may concern many

¹⁶¹ *ibid*

¹⁶² " La migration Marocaine dans les pays du Golf ", Op-cit. P. 15.

different migrants' profiles. Apart from its impact on development, skilled migrants return can be interesting for a country like morocco¹⁶³.

In fact, an effective or “virtual” skilled migrant’s return, hand in hand with youth migrants, whose professional, and social integration increases the potential initiatives. Both of those elements could become new agents or types of links between host and origin’s countries of the migrants. All these elements will lead us to question the feasibility of return, or how can the government push more migrants to come back to their home country, and be part in its development wheel.

4.2.2 Return Adopted Strategies

We have to bear in mind, that in developing countries, many strategies are adopted in order to make the home country more attractive to its migrants. Either by improving the quality of life in the home country or by adopting other strategies, two models are already established:

The first model is very expensive. It needs an important financial effort, because it implies the local reproduction of the same work conditions in countries of origin. The main objective of this model is the organization of return of graduated migrants. This model is adopted by Asian countries, North Korea, and Taiwan. It aims to benefit from the investment done in the training of highly

¹⁶³ *ibid*

skilled migrants, who had benefited largely from their job experiences in host countries.

Nonetheless, for this model to succeed, a number of conditions must be combined: Both countries must have benefited, for many decades, from a consistent growth. This growth enabled them to reach a significant economic level of development, supported by an active R&D¹⁶⁴ policy. This context has created the right conditions for a mass return of scientific elite's expatriates¹⁶⁵.

For instance, in South Korea till the beginning of the 80's, only 10% of students return at the end of their higher studies abroad. Yet, this politics has inversed this tendency. Nowadays, almost 70% return to their country in the three years that follow their PhDs, and 40% return as soon as they get their degrees¹⁶⁶.

The second model is very pragmatic; in fact, it turns around making from expatriates useful to their origin countries from their host countries, where they actually live. this model was used in Columbia, where physical return is not considered as essential. The origin country has developed a network of expatriates' researchers, whose objectives are, from one hand to gather all the

¹⁶⁴ (R&D, also called research and technical development or research and technological development, RTD in Europe) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Research_and_development

¹⁶⁵ Lahlou, M . 2006, Migration de Retour au Maroc : une approche socio-economic et institutionnelle, MIREM project, European University Institute, Institut National de Statistique et d'Economie Appliqué (INSEA)

¹⁶⁶ ibid

competencies around the same case; and from the other hand, to establish links with the origin country.

This contribute to its economic, scientific, and technical development from host countries, where they live¹⁶⁷. This expatriates' elite will be at the technological watch forefront, and allow the scientific community, of the origin's country, to be kept informed on the development of science and technology in the most developed countries. This model implicitly recognizes the legitimacy of the individual right to success.¹⁶⁸

However, the problem is to know how to well drain the potentials in terms of finance and know-how to their origin country? Undoubtedly, this must be an important objective in Morocco's migration politics. Especially that the country is facing heavy socio-economic constraints, and should deal with critical deadlines for its economic future.

4.3 Studies about Moroccan Return Migrants

4.3.1 Before Return Situation

Although, socio-demographic studies about international migration have progressed, return migration phenomenon did not grab the attention of many researchers. Still, its demographic and economic impacts are very important for

¹⁶⁷ Hein De Haas 2005 opcit

¹⁶⁸ Khachani Mohamed : Les Marocains d'ailleurs : la question migratoire à l'épreuve du partenariat euro-marocain. Publications de l'AMERM. Rabat . 2004, p 79

a country subject to mass migration, such as morocco¹⁶⁹. Obviously, raisons behind this lack of attention are due to the existing lack of statistics and investigations related to this topic in morocco.

In morocco, mostly all realized, or in progress studies are concerned with migrants' investment, without taking into consideration that they can be subject to return. Actually, according to *HCP (Haut Commissariat au Plan)* it is very difficult to assess the number of returnees, because of the lack of statistics in both host and origin countries. Even if some host countries give some data on the outputs of Moroccans from their territories, yet, none of them precise their destination.

Nevertheless, we can approximately calculate the number of return migrants by studying the population's general census, or investigations conducted in Morocco. In fact, up till now we have only 6 sources of information: 1982 and 1994 census; 1986 National Demographic Survey; INSEA investigation done in 2000; an investigation done on return migration of Moroccans living abroad by CERED in 2003 in the big Casablanca, Souss-Massa-Draa; as well as 2004 census (figure18)¹⁷⁰. Hand in hand with some studies done by CARIM, OMI. Most of the presented statistics were taken from statistics conducted by HCP

¹⁶⁹ Mohamed MGHARI, HCP, Les Cahiers du Plan N° 29 - Mai / Juin 2010, p.4

¹⁷⁰ Statistics found in HCP websites

(Haut Commissariat au Plan), the study was conducted by Mohamed Mghari in June 2010.

Place of residence	GCPH 1982 (1975-1988)	Population Census 1986_1988	GCPH 1994	GCPH 2004
Urban	--	--	131805	146843
Rural	--	--	19392	18573
Total	68000	33000	151197	165416

GCPH: General Census of Population and Housing

Figure 18: Demographic origins of returnees¹⁷¹

According to the figure, the number of Moroccan return migrants has known a huge decline from 1986 to 1988. One can also notice that only 33000 people returned in comparison with 1982 census. In 1994 census this number has hugely increased, especially among people belonging to urban areas. Furthermore, this increase continues till reaching 165.416 in 2004. In contrast the number of return migrants belonging to rural areas has known a slight decrease in 2004. Unfortunately, concerning 1982 census and the national investigation of 1986 there exist no further data about return migrants' origin (rural or urban).

¹⁷¹ Mohamed MGHARI, HCP, Les Cahiers du Plan N° 29

4.3.2 Demographical, socio-economical profile and gender of return migrants

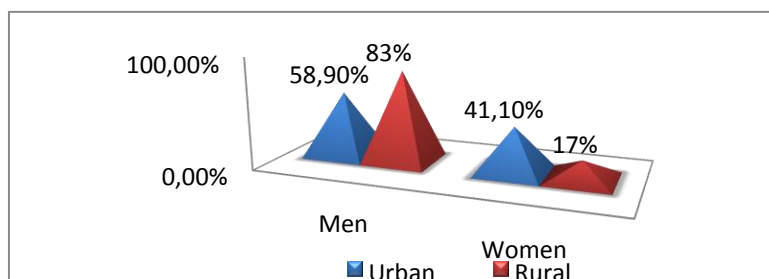


Figure 19: Gender of returnees¹⁷²

In 2004 census, 63.4% of return migrants are men, against 36.6% women. In addition, men constitute 83% of rural return migrants, against 17% of women. In contrast, this huge difference strikingly vanishes in urban areas, since 58.9% of return migrants are men, against 41.1% of women.

4.3.3 Return migrants' area of origin

Furthermore, according to this same census we can notice that the distribution of return migrants is also affected by the region of origin. In fact, from the figure, in four regions the difference between the percentage of men and women return migrants is very big; Guelmim-Es Smara (81.9% of men), Souss-Massa-Draa (78.6% of men), Taza-Al Hoceima-Taounate (74.6% of men), and Tadla-Azilal (71.1%) in those regions we can notice that the number of returning men is very high in comparison with women. Whereas in other regions such as: Grand

¹⁷² ibid

Casablanca (60.3%), Tanger-Tetoun (60%), The Oriental (59.8% of men) and Rabat-SalaZemmour-Zaer (58.1% of men) both genders are equally concerned with return.

Region	The number of migrant	The percentage of women %	The percentage of men %
Grand Casablanca	43403	26.2	60.3
Rabat- Sale- Zemmour- Zaer	22882	13.8	58.1
Oriental	20714	12.5	59.8
Souss-Massa- Draa	16828	10.2	78.6
Tanger- Tetouan	15311	9.3	60.0
Marrakech- Tensift- Al Haouz	10078	6.1	64.3
Meknes- Tafilalt	6541	4.0	62.1
Fes- Boulmane	5770	3.5	62.7
Gharb- Chrarda- Beni Hssen	4909	3.0	62.1
Taza- Al Houcima- Taounat	4370	2.6	74.6
Chaouia- Ouardigha	3656	2.2	68.0
Doukkala-Abda	3514	2.1	64.6
Tadla –Azilal	3013	1.8	71.1
Guelmim- Es Smara	2267	1.4	81.9
Laayoun- Boujdour- Sakia ElHamra	1337	0.8	66.1
Oued Ed Dahab- Lagouira	8823	0.5	60.3
Total	165416	100	63.4

Figure 20¹⁷³: Return migrant's area of origins and gender

4.3.4 Age of return migrants

One might assume that return concerns mostly the retired category, an old aged category of people, who made their choice to finish their last years in their country of origin. Surprisingly, and according to this census, we can notice that the dominant return migrants age is between 15 and 59 years old. From this finding we can infer that the aim behind their return is to participate in the socio-economic life of their origin country.

Age groups	Number of returnees		Total	Percentage of returnees		Total
	Men	women		Men	Women	
Both Rural and Urban						
Less than 15 years	10741	10110	20851	10.2	16.6	12.6
15-59 year	65814	41886	107700	62.8	69.2	65.1
60 Years and more	28291	85573	36865	27	14.2	22.3
Total	104847	60569	165416	100	100	100
Urban						
Less than 15 years	10323	9715	20038	11.5	16.9	13.6
15-59 years	59930	39956	99886	67	69.9	68
60 years and more	19175	7744	26919	21.4	13.5	18.3
Total	89428	57415	146843	100	100	100
Rural						
Less than 15 years	418	395	813	2.7	12.5	4.4
15-59 years	5884	1930	7814	38.2	61.2	42.1
60 years and more	9117	829	9946	59.1	26.3	53.6
Total	15419	3154	18573	100	100	100

Figure 21¹⁷⁴: Age of return migrants

From the figure, one can notice that 12.6% of return migrants' age is less than 15 years old, 65.1% are aged between 15 and 59 years old, and 22.3% are more than 60 years old. In contrast, if we take into consideration return migrants area of origin, we will find big differences. Return migrants proportion of 60 years old and more category in rural areas is three times bigger than in urban areas (53.6% against 18.3%). At the same time the proportion of young return migrants is 13.6% in urban areas against 4.4% in rural areas.

Moreover, the percentage of women returnees is higher than men in most age categories, in both rural and urban areas. Except for 60 years old and more category, that knows a higher proportion of men than women returnees.

This rejuvenation and feminization tendency is confirmed by the 2003-2004 investigation on return migration conducted in two regions: Grand Casablanca and Souss-Massa-Draa. This investigation confirms the rejuvenation and feminization of return migrants. Although, this investigation reveals that return migrants women are younger than men; 37% of women are less than 30 years old against 14.5% for men at the same age category.

In contrast, 60 years old and more category men, represents more than 60% against 16% women returnees from the same age category. These findings might infer to the aging of male migrants and rejuvenation of female migrants.

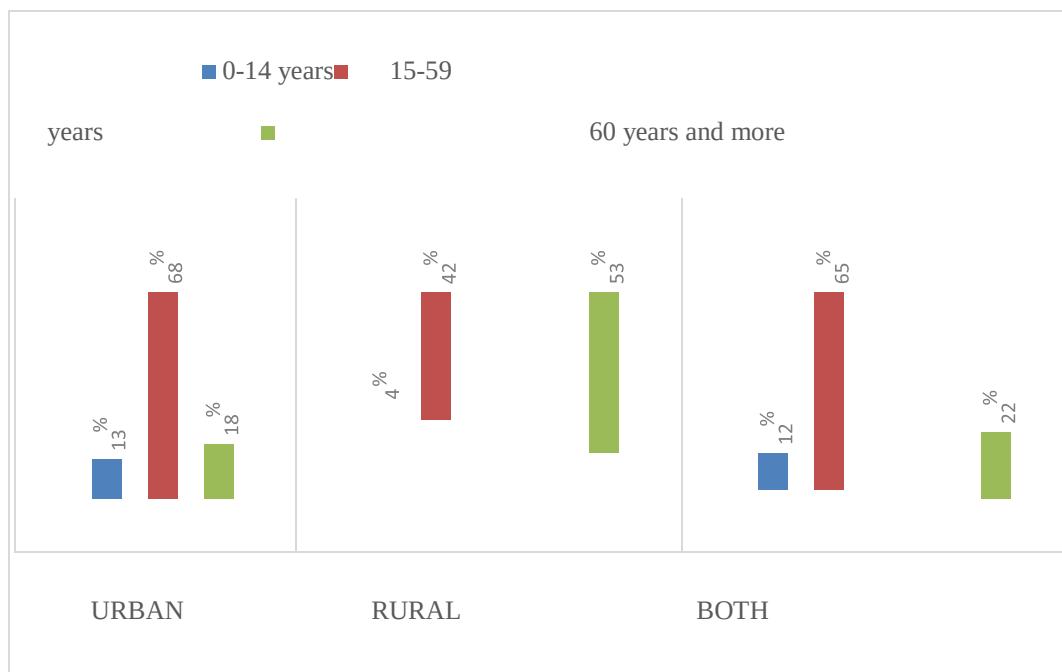


Figure 22: The age of urban and rural return migrants ¹⁷⁵

According to 2004 census, one can notice that there are more young return migrants belonging to urban areas than older ones. The proportion of men aged of 60 years old and more is higher in rural areas.

Age groups	Male Number	%	Female Number	%	Total Number	%
0-4 Years	3359	3.2	3202	5.3	6561	4.0
5-9 Years	3994	3.8	3580	5.9	7574	4.6
10-14 Years	3388	3.2	3328	5.5	6716	4.1
15-19 Years	2859	2.7	2894	4.8	5753	3.5
20-24 years	4395	4.2	3711	6.1	8106	4.9
25-29 years	5826	5.6	4865	8.0	10691	6.5
30-34 Years	7226	6.9	5818	9.6	13044	7.9
35-39 Years	8741	8.3	5973	9.9	14714	8.9
40-44 Years	10507	10.0	6107	10.1	16614	10.0
45-49 Years	9722	9.3	5278	8.7	15000	9.1
50-54 years	9295	8.9	4290	7.1	13585	8.2
55-59 years	7243	6.9	2950	4.9	10193	6.2
60-64 years	7800	7.4	2809	4.6	10609	6.4
65-69 years	7960	7.6	2221	3.7	10181	6.2
70-74 years	6328	6.0	1707	2.8	8035	4.9
75 years +	6028	5.7	1779	2.9	7807	4.7
Undeclared	176	0.2	57	0.1	233	0.1
Total	104847	100.0	60569	100	165416	100

Figure 23: Age and gender of returnees

¹⁷⁵ MGHARI, HCP, Les Cahiers du Plan N° 29

Analyzed by a quinquennial age strategy, we find that 2004 return migrants are characterized by a concentration in adulthood, then in the third age. In fact, age pyramid has a very strange form, flattened by its two peaks. In the first four age categories, from 0-4 years old to 15-19 years old the number of returnees is very low. Then, starting from 20-24 years old, we notice that the number of return migrants, especially among men, starts to rise.

**Men* ** women*

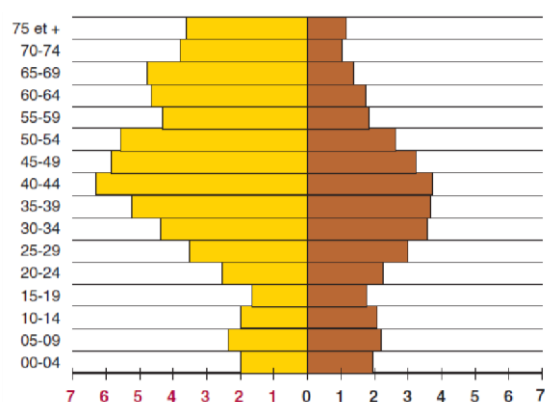


Figure 24: Gender and age of returnees

Reasons behind gender and age differences are multiple: the classical gender inequalities in migration, students return after obtaining their degrees abroad, return of illegal migrants most of whom are men, the return of retired people who have left their wives or husbands and children in the origin country, among others.

4.3.5 Family status of return migrants

According to 2004 census findings, the majority (69.7%) of return migrants, at the age of 15 years old and more, are married, against 22.4% are single, 4.2% are divorced, and finally, 3.6% are widows.

Marital status	Male	Female	Urban	Rural	Total
Single	22.3	22.7	24.0	11.2	22.4
Married	74.3	61.2	67.8	83.3	69.7
Divorced	2.2	6.2	3.8	2.0	3.6
Widowed	1.2	9.9	4.3	3.4	4.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Figure 25: Marital status, gender, and origins of return migrants

Furthermore, we can notice that returnees' percentage of married men is higher than married women, 74.3% against 61.2%. whereas women returnees belonging to the category of single, divorced, and widows is higher than men belonging to the same categories; 22.3% single men against 22.7% women, 2.2% divorced men against 6.2%, and 12% men against 9.9% women.

Concerning the origins of return migrants and their family status. We find that rural married migrants return more than urban married ones, 83.3% rural married return migrants against 67.8% urban married migrants. Single urban return migrants come after married and single rural returnees. Divorced and widows urban return migrant come before rural returnees, for instance, 3.8% urban return migrants against 2% rural, and 4.3% urban return migrants against 3.4% rural ones.

Age groups Single			Married		widowed		Divorced		Total	
Number	%		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Male										
15-19 years	2815	13.5	40	0.1	2	0.1	2	0.2	2859	3
20-24 years	4164	19.9	224	0.3	6	0.3	1	0.1	4395	4.7
25-29 years	4370	20.9	1396	2	53	2.5	7	0.6	5826	6.2
30-34 years	3330	15.9	3737	5.4	145	6.9	14	1.2	7226	7.7
35-39 years	2334	11.2	6137	8.8	255	12.2	15	1.3	8741	9.3
40-44 years	1626	7.8	8548	12.2	304	14.5	29	2.6	10722	11.2
45-49 years	886	4.2	8463	12.2	336	16.1	37	3.3	9722	10.4
50 Years +	1398	6.7	41248	59.1	990	47.3	1018	90.7	44654	47.5
Total	20923	100	69793	100	2091	100	1123	100	93930	100
Female										
15-19 years	2695	23.5	180	0.6	18	0.6	1	0	2894	5.7
20-24 years	2580	22.5	1036	3.4	89	2.9	6	0.1	3711	7.4
25-29 years	2058	18	2605	8.4	187	6	15	0.3	4865	9.7
30-34 years	1359	11.9	4101	13.3	317	10.2	41	0.8	5818	11.5
35-39 years	918	8	4544	14.7	317	13	106	2.1	5973	11.9
40-44 years	667	5.8	4759	15.4	405	15.6	195	3.9	6107	11.9
45-49 years	504	4.4	3996	12.9	486	15.8	285	5.7	5278	10.5
50 Years +	666	5.8	9648	31.3	496	35.9	4326	87	15756	10.5
Total	11447	100	30869	100	1116	100	4975	100	50402	100

Figure 26: Age and marital status of returnees

From the figure one can deduce that the majority of single return migrants' men, return back to morocco starting from the age of 25-29 years old (20.9%), followed by 20-24 years old (19.9%), and by 30-34 years old (15.9%). In contrast, the majority of single return migrant women are at the age of 15-19 years old (23.5%), followed by 20-24 years old (22.5%), and then 25-29 years old (18%).

In the case of married return migrants' men, the majority of them return at the age of 50 years old and more (59.1%). Whereas for married women, the majority return at the same age category (31.3%).

Concerning widows and divorced men and women, the majority of them return at the age of 50 years old and more; 47.3% of widow men against 35.9 % of women, and 90.7% of divorced men against 87 % of divorced women.

4.3.6 Educational level of return migrants

The analysis of return migrants according to their educational level, shows that the majority of urban return migrants are highly educated men 34.6% against 29.5% women. In addition, 21.9% of urban return migrants' women are having no educational level against 16.4% men.

Concerning rural return migrants, the majority of return migrants belonging to this area have no educational level equally for both sexes (57.2% for man and 57.2% for women).

Education level	Urban			Rural			Both		
	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both
None	16.4	21.9	18.5	57.2	57.2	57.2	22.8	23.7	23.1
preschool	5.1	0.6	3.4	13.2	1.0	11.2	6.3	0.6	4.3
Primary	16.3	16.2	16.3	16.4	17.2	16.6	16.4	16.2	16.3
Junior High school	12.0	14.1	12.8	5.8	8.4	6.2	11.0	13.8	12.0
High school	15.6	17.8	16.4	4.2	8.7	4.9	13.8	17.3	15.1
Higher education	34.6	29.5	32.6	3.3	7.4	3.9	29.7	28.3	29.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Figure 27¹⁷⁶ : Educational level and gender of returnees

¹⁷⁶ MGHARI, HCP 2010, Les Cahiers du Plan N° 29

4.3.7 Type of professional activities in the host country

From 2004 census we can notice that 46.8% of return migrants exercise a professional activity, among which 40.7% are active workers in contrast to only 6.1% who are unemployed. if we analyze the table from a gendered point of view, we will find that there are more active return migrants among men than among women. Since 24.3% of women were active workers at the time of the census, against 50.2% of men, but only 3.7% women were unemployed against 7.6% of men. At the same time 40.2% of women were housewives. Surprisingly, only 2.8% of women were disabled or sick against 21.8% of men.

Professional activity	Male		Female		Total
Urban	Number	%	Number	%	Number
Employees	52616	50.2	14704	24.3	67320
unemployed	7896	7.6	2260	3.7	10156
Housewives	0	0	24326	40.2	24326
Student	12854	12	10631	17.6	23261
Owner/ retiree	535	0.5	120	0.2	655
Diseased/ disabled	22854	21.8	1680	2.8	24534
children	1692	1.6	702	1.2	2394
Other unemployed	6624	6.3	6146	10.1	12770
Total Urban	104847	100	60569	100	165416
rural					
employees	47214	52.0	14323	24.9	61537
unemployed	7066	7.9	2157	3.8	9223
Housewives	0	0	22581	39.3	22581
Student	12273	13.7	10355	18	22628
Owner/ retiree	477	0.5	111	0.2	588
Diseased/ disabled	15566	17.4	1589	2.8	17155
children	1272	1.4	620	1.1	1892
Other unemployed	5560	6.2	5679	9.9	11239
Total Rural	89428	100	57415	100	146843
Both					
employees	5401	35	381	12.1	5783
unemployed	830	5.4	103	3.2	933

Housewives	0	0	1745	55.3	1745	9.4
Student	357	2.3	276	8.8	633	3.4
Owner/ retiree	58	0.4	9	0.3	67	0.4
Diseased/ disabled	7288	47.3	91	2.9	7379	39.7
children	420	2.7	82	2.6	502	2.7
Other unemployed	1064	6.9	467	14.8	1531	8.2
Total	15419	100	3154	100	18573	100

Figure 28¹⁷⁷: Professional activity of return migrants according to their gender and origins

4.3.8 Length of stay in Morocco

According to the HCP study¹⁷⁸, many returns have taken place 30 years before the census was performed. In addition, it shows that more than the half of return migrants have returned 10 years before 1994 census, and 4/5 more than 20 years. Surprisingly, the number of return migrants has decreased dramatically between 1970 and 1974, the same period of preparation and establishment of migration restrictive measures by France.

On the other hand, the investigation confirms these results, by showing that 59.2% return migrants have settled down in Morocco for less than 12 years before the census, and 40% for more than 12 years. It is also worth mentioning that 36.3% of return migrants were back in Morocco for 5 years before the census, 27.4% among them between 1 and 4 years before the census, and 9% less than 1 year. From a gendered point of view there an equality between women and men returnees in almost all length of stays categories and area of origin.

¹⁷⁷ ibid

¹⁷⁸ MGHARI, HCP 2010, Les Cahiers du Plan N° 29

Length of stay in Morocco	Male		Female		Total	
Both	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Less than one year	8917	8.5	6032	10	14949	9
1 to 4 years	27804	26.5	17460	28.8	45264	27.4
5 to 11 years	24618	23.5	13027	21.5	37645	22.8
12 years +	43403	41.4	24003	39.6	67409	40.8
Not mentioned	102	0.1	47	0.1	149	0.1
Total	104847	100	60569	100	164416	100
Urban						
Less than one year	7894	8.8	5677	9.9	13571	9.2
1 to 4 years	24478	27.4	16622	29	41100	28
5 to 11 years	21041	23.5	12377	21.6	33418	22.8
12 years +	35939	40.2	22698	39.5	58637	39.9
Not mentioned	76	0.1	41	0.1	117	0.1
Total	89428	100	57415	100	146843	100
Rural						
Less than one year	1023	6.6	35	11.3	1378	7.4
1 to 4 years	3326	21.6	838	26.6	4164	22.4
5 to 11 years	3577	23.2	650	20.6	4227	22.8
12 years +	7467	48.4	1305	41.4	8772	47.2
Not mentioned	26	0.2	6	0.2	32	0.2
Total	15419	100	3154	100	18573	100

Figure 29: Length of stay in Morocco of returnees¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁹ MGHARI, HCP, Les Cahiers du Plan N° 29

4.3.9 Temporary or Permanent return migrants

The aim behind this section is to distinguish between temporary and permanent return migrant, based on an investigation on return migration in the Maghreb, conducted by The European University Institute in 2007¹⁸⁰.

Thereby, due to many factors, there exists a degree of uncertainty in the migrants' decision and will to stay permanently, or temporarily after their return. Leaving again can pop up at any time. From 2007 investigation, 43.9% of return migrants had the intention to stay permanently in Morocco, against only 24.2% who had the intention to stay only for some time. It is also worth to mention that 28.8% were doubtful.

The intention to stay in Morocco	Place of residence before migration			Total
	Rural	Urban	ND	
Permanently	39.9	47.2	29.4	43.9
Temporarily	14.4	26.4	52.9	24.2
Do not know	38.2	25.5	17.6	28.8
ND	8.2	0.9		3.0
Total	100	100	100	100

Figure 30: Return Migrants length of stay perspective in Morocco at the moment of their return according to their origin areas¹⁸¹

We can notice from the figure that most of return migrants belonging to urban areas (47.2%) are sure that they are staying permanently in Morocco, against

¹⁸⁰ MIREM investigation, 2007

¹⁸¹ MIREM investigation, 2007

39.2% of return migrants belonging to rural areas. At the same time 38.1% of rural return migrants were not uncertain about their decision.

Return migrant's intention to migrate again is very significant among return migrants, which points out a difficult integration in the Moroccan society for return migrants, who claim that their return is only temporary. In fact, on one hand, more than the half of the interviewed (56.3%) are sure that their return is temporary and that they are re-migrating again. On the other hand, 33.1% are quite sure that they are not re-migrating again and that their return is permanent.

Concerning women, 38.1%¹⁸² of return migrants, who claim that their return is permanent, are women, against 44.8% men. At the same time, only 24% of return migrants, who claim that their return is temporary, are men against 26.2% women. Whereas, 35.7% of return migrants, who state that they don't know whether they are staying or leaving are women, against only 27.8% men; maybe this lack of certainty is due to women position in the family, and that always men (husband, father ...) who decide.

4.3.10 Age of return migrants as a decisive variable for their type of return

The age of return migrants plays a significant role, in the type of stay. In fact, according to MIREM investigation, the majority of those aged of more than 30

¹⁸² MIREM Investigation, 2007

years old (37.5%) choose to stay temporarily in Morocco, this decision decreases by age, for instance, only 1.3% of return migrants aged of more than 60 years old, claim that their return is only temporary.

At the same time 40% of 60 years old and more did not answer this question, whereas 38.9 % of those aged between 31-40 years old do not know whether they are staying forever or migrating again. From this data we can infer the apprehension or even fear accompanying return migrants, fear from the future and the difficulties that they may face in their daily life in Morocco.

The

intention to stay in morocco....

Age	Permanently	Temporarily	Do not know	No answer	Total
Till 30 years old	14.5	37.5	27.4		23.3
31-40 years old	26.9	33.8	38.9	20.0	31.8
41-50 years old	26.9	18.8	18.9	30.0	22.7
50- 64 years old	20.7	8.8	12.6	10.0	15.2
65 years old +	11.0	1.3	2.1	40.0	7.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Figure 31: The decision of the stay's length according to the age of return migrants¹⁸³

4.3.12 After Return Situation

4.3.12.1 Return Migrants' Investments in Morocco

Life after return is obviously different from life in the host country. This is why many factors are very important and must be taken into consideration, while analyzing return decision, and whether this decision is temporary or permanent.

¹⁸³ MGHARI, HCP, Les Cahiers du Plan N° 29

According to MIREM investigation 57% of return migrants did not have any project in Morocco. 50.3% of them decided to stay in Morocco permanently, and 68.8% temporarily. Whereas 26.7% of return migrants stated that they are having one project in Morocco, 33.1% of them choose to stay permanently in Morocco against 17.5% temporarily. Surprisingly, from, we can notice that the number of return migrants, having a project in Morocco who decided to stay in Morocco permanently, decreases with the increase of the number of owned projects.

Investment in Morocco	Intention to stay in Morocco			No Answer %	Total %
	Permanently %	Temporarily %	Do not know %		
No	50.3	68.8	60.0	30.0	57.0
Yes, One project	33.1	17.5	23.2	40.0	26.7
Yes, Two projects	9.7	8.8	16.8	30.0	12.1
Yes, three projects	4.8	2.5			2.7
Yes, more than three projects	2.1	1.3			1.2
No answer		1.3			0.3
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Figure 32: Return migrant's projects investment and the stay type in Morocco

In addition, most of return migrants (84.8%) do not own any investment in the host country, against 10.3% of return migrants owning an investment. This data shows that migrants' choice of return is based on the hope for a better life.

	Intention to stay in Morocco				
Investment in the host country	Permanently	Temporarily	Do not know	No answer	Total
Yes	13.1	8.8	7.4	10.0	10.3
No	83.4	87.5	84.2	90.0	84.8
No answer	3.4	3.8	8.4		4.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Figure 33: Return migrants' investment in host countries

4.3.12.2 Work Availability in Morocco and Return

Work availability in Morocco is another primordial factor for return migrants' length of stay, according to MIREM investigation; 64% of return migrants who have opted for a permanent stay in Morocco had already an occupation in Morocco, against 52.5% who are in this same situation and have the intention to return to their host countries. This means that job ability isn't the only factor that must be taken into consideration while analyzing return decision.

Work availability in Morocco	Intention to stay in Morocco			No answer	Total
	Permanently	Temporarily	Do not know		
Yes	64.1	52.5	58.9	10.0	58.2
No	35.9	43.8	41.1	90.0	40.9
No answer	3.8			0.9	
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Figure 34: Work availability in Morocco for returnees

4.3.12.3 Professional Status

From the following table one can easily notice that permanent return is strictly related to the professional status. For instance, 25.5% of return migrants who are under permanent employment contract have decided to stay in Morocco permanently. 19.3% of return migrants that are business owners, who have decided to stay permanently in Morocco. In contrast, only 1.4% of fix-term contract return migrants have decided to stay permanently in Morocco, against 12.4% regular self-employed return migrants, and irregular self-employed 4.1% who are willing to stay permanently in Morocco. The category of retired return migrants represents 7.6% against 3.4% of the housewives who are willing to stay permanently.

Thus, we can clearly notice that job availability and quality are a primordial factor for returning permanently decision.

The professional status during the survey	The intention to stay in Morocco			No answer	Total
	Permanently	Temporarily	Do not know		
Employees under permanent contract	25.5	12.5	14.7		18.5
Employees under fixed term contract	12.4	5.0	1.1		2.1
Seasonal worker	4.8	15.0	7.4	10.0	8.2
Employer/ head of company	19.3	13.8	11.6		15.2
Independent regular worker	12.4	6.3	22.6		13.3
Independent irregular worker	4.1	1.3	4.2		3.3
Active unemployed	5.5	30.0	15.8		14.2
Student		2.5			0.6
housewife	3.4	2.5	3.2		3.0
Retired/ getting a pension	7.6	2.5	3.2	20.0	5.5
Other	12.4	5.0	10.5	40.0	10.9
No answer	2.8	3.8	5.3	30.0	4.5
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Figure 35: The professional activity of returnees

4.3.12.4 Financial Situation

Another factor that is closely related to the professional availability and quality is the financial situation after return to Morocco. According to the MIREM investigation findings, it is noticeable that most of return migrants who have decided to stay permanently in Morocco are those (49.7%) who have noticed that their financial situation has improved in Morocco. At the same time

most of those who have stated that they are temporarily in Morocco, are those (48.8%) who have noticed that their financial situation has decreased.

Actual financial situation in Morocco comparison to the past situation in the host country	Intention to stay in Morocco				
	Permanently	temporarily	Do not know	No answer	total
Improved very much	22.1	8.8	5.3	20.0	13.9
improved	27.6	17.5	29.5	50.0	26.4
unchanged	26.2	20.0	24.2	20.0	23.9
diminished	21.4	48.8	32.6		30.6
No opinion	2.8	5.0	6.3		4.2
No answer			2.1	10.0	0.9
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Figure 36: Actual financial situation after return in comparison to the situation in the host country

4.3.12.5 Living Standards

One can easily deduce from that living standard is very important in the choice of the type of return migration. 60.7% of return migrants whose choice is a permanent return to Morocco, have stated that their living standards has improved, against only 4.6% of those who have stated that their living standard is very bad. 26.3% of them have chosen temporary stay in Morocco.

The actual standard of living	Permanently	Temporarily	Do not know	No answer	Total
I live better in my country	60.7	20.0	35.8		41.8
Nothing has changed	9.7	12.5	12.6	10.0	11.2
The standard of living has diminished	17.2	28.8	27.4		22.4
I live very badly	4.8	26.3	13.7		12.4
No opinion	6.9	11.3	6.3		7.6
No answer	0.7	1.3	4.2	90.0	4.5
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Figure 37: Standard of living compared to the host countries

Satisfaction from the decision of returning to Morocco is reflected in the below table. According to MIREM Investigation, and as an answer to a question related to return migrant's satisfaction from their choice to return to Morocco. 75.9% of permanent return migrants are happy for their decision, against 11.7% who are not happy for their decision. Strikingly, 31.3% of temporary return migrants are happy for returning to Morocco and yet their state that their return is permanent.

Are you happy about your return?	Intention to stay in Morocco				
	Permanently	Temporarily	Do not know	No answer	Total
Yes	75.9	31.3	54.7	20.0	57.3
No	11.7	47.5	25.3		23.9
Indifferent	11.0	20.0	18.9	20.0	15.8
No answer	1.4	1.3	1.1	60.0	3.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Figure 38: Personal feelings towards return

4.3.12.6 Relationship with Host Countries' Institution and Society

Relationship with host countries' institutions and society, can also be added as an important factor encouraging or discouraging return migration. In fact, according to the figure most of temporary return migrants who have the intention to migrate again had good relationship with the host countries' institution and society.

Intention to stay in Morocco					
Relationship with home country 'institutions s	Permanently	Temporarily	Do not know	No answer	Total
Very good	44.1	60.0	33.7		43.6
Average	31.7	20.0	17.9		23.9
I had some problems	12.4	7.5	28.4		15.5
I had many problems	2.1	2.5	3.2		2.4
No opinion	6.9	5.0	6.3		6.1
No answer	2.8	5.0	10.5	100	8.5
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Relationship with host society	Intention to stay in Morocco				
	Permanently	Temporarily	Do not know	No answer	Total
Very good	42.1	57.5	31.6		41.5
Average	42.1	26.3	38.9		36.1
I had some problems	7.6	7.5	8.4		7.6
I had many problems	0.7	1.3	5.3		2.1
No opinion	4.8	1.3	5.3		3.9
No answer	2.8	6.3	10.5	100	8.8
total	100	100	100	100	100

Figure 39: Relationship with institution and host country 's society of returnees

4.3.13 Migration and Reintegration

In order to wisely analyze the reintegration mode of return migrants, it is logical to have an insight on their migratory experience. This subsection try to analyze some figures in order to come up with the impact of migration experiences on the return migrants' decision; starting from the following hypothesis: the easier integration is in the host countries; the easier reintegration is in the origin country.

Return migration in either economic or social sense can never be analyzed if we don't put it in the migration context, where and how this layer of return migrants had lived, and their integration dynamics in their host countries.

Many factors will let us tackle these contexts through MIREM investigation. The evaluation of the impact of the migration experiences on the modes of reintegration of return migrants has been approached by statistical analysis. Putting into relation many determinant variables of the migration experience (length of stay, relationship with society and institutions of the host countries, the realization of investment projects in the host countries). Other variables will enable us find out the modes of reintegration of return migrants to Morocco, such as: the financial situation, the satisfaction from the actual living standards, and the expressed opinion on the acquired experience in the host countries.

It has been noticed from MIREM investigation that there exists an optimal length of the migration experience that is proper to return migrants who are investors and projects creators. This optimal length of stay is between 4 to 13 years for the three Maghreb countries.

4.3.13.1 Length of Migration and Reintegration

Length of the migration experience has an important impact on the reintegration in the origin countries. Based on MIREM data, it is clear that return migrants' actual financial situation depends on their length of stay in host countries.

The actual financial situation in comparison to in the host country

Length of stay in the host country	Very improved	improved	unchanged	diminished	No opinion	No answer	Total
1-4 years	13.0	21.8	30.4	28.7	21.4		24.5
From 5 to 9 years	23.9	14.9	11.4	31.7	21.4	33.3	20.9
From 11 to 19 years	26.1	25.3	27.8	21.8	14.3	66.7	24.8
From 21 to 30 years	19.6	20.7	10.1	2.0	7.1		11.5
From 31 to 39 years	8.7	5.7	7.6	5.0			6.1
40 and more			1.3				0.3
No answer	8.7	11.5	11.4	10.9	35.7		11.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Figure 40: Length of stay in the host country and return decision

In other words; the financial situation has relatively improved for 51.4% return migrants, who had migrated for between 11 and 19 years. For return migrants who had spent more than 21 years old, 40% of them have stated that that their financial situation has improved, this number decreases at both edges. For instance, return migrants whose length of stay is less than 4 years 30.4% have seen their financial situation unchanged, and 28.7% of them have seen their situation decreased. At the same time for more than 31 years' length of stay return migrant 14% of this category has seen their situation improved.

4.3.13.2 Acquired Experience and Reintegration

Moreover, it is interesting to notice that the effect of the length of stay is also confirmed by return migrants when asked about their acquired experiences while abroad. From the following table taken from MIREM investigation one will try to find out whether their abroad acquired experience had helped return migrants or not.

The experience that you have acquired during your migration was ...

Length of stay in the host country	An advantage	inconvenient	Not important	Do not know	No answer	Total
1-4 years	23.7	20.0	46.2	11.1	9.1	24.5
From 5 to 9 years	21.9	40.0	11.5	33.3		20.9
From 11 to 19 years	25.4	20.0	19.2	33.3	18.2	24.8
From 21 to 30 years	11.8		3.8	11.1	27.3	11.5
From 31 to 39 years	6.1	20.0	3.8		9.1	6.1
40 and more	0.4					0.3
No answer	10.8		15.4	11.1	36.4	11.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Figure 41: The length of stay in the host country and the acquired experience ¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁴ MGHARI, HCP, Les Cahiers du Plan N° 29

The majority of return migrants (25%) who think that their acquired experience was beneficial have spent between 11 and 19 years abroad. At the same time 28.9% of return migrants who have stated that they are satisfied from their actual situation at the moment of the investigation have spent between 11 & 19 years abroad. As compared to return migrants stating that they are not satisfied, most of whom have spent between 1 and 9 years abroad.

Conclusion

This part tried to link migration with gender and return. The first section was dedicated to the feminization of the Moroccan migration, from which it was deduced that Moroccan women are no more seen as passive migrants, or only followers of their active men migrants. They take the decision to migrate and migrant alone.

The second section was devoted to return migration, its history in Morocco, and the strategies adopted by Morocco in order to make its expatriates return back home. I also presented some strategies adopted by some developing countries in order to benefit from the skills and experiences of its skilled migrants.

It ended up by presenting and analyzing the different existing data and statistics concerning return migration. Starting from basic information ranging from, age, gender, marital status, and educational level. Then moving to social and economic data before and after migration. Then concluded with the

returnee's own judgement of their own return experience, and the problem faced in Morocco. All these data gave us an insight on the return migrants profile, the following chapters will try to present the research methodology and check whether these findings can also be valid for the target specimen.

Part 2: Research Methodology

Introduction

This investigation uses a multi-level approach to give an integrative point of view on the return migration of Moroccan women and its gendered outcomes. It clarifies in the theoretical structure that the primary focus of the study is at the micro level, that of the migrant women's lives and experiences.

As a woman migrant sees her life of being far from home for quite a long time, she can think back and ponder the implications of her experience as a labor migrant in a globalized world, on her work in and outside her home country; and her way of life as a woman, migrant in the receiving country; on her job experience and conditions in a different culture and country.

Her coping strategies, as well as her actual perception of herself, her family and her experience in a foreign country. can we really say that her return is going to be easy? How is she going to reintegrate, both within her family and her society? Is it accurate to say that she is ready to fit back and resettle? What does getting back home mean? Has the home to which she returns changed?

Chapter1: Research Design

In this thesis it is argued that it is only through a subjective strategy (quantitative method), particularly, life stories /account, and questionnaires that one can uncover and completely grasp the dynamics of change, and how migration has affected and influences the three levels of analysis (micro, meso, and macro) of migrant women, their families and society. Qualitative studies inspire static reactions. They don't enable one to dig into the implications of experiences. The narratives try to uncover the strategies and experiences of migration from the viewpoint of the migrant women themselves. Accounts are key to personality development. They focus on procedures of progress over one's life course or life cycle.

Life stories helps the migrants and the researcher to investigate the topic of gender and migration in a reflexive way. The deployment of life history strategies springs from the position that 'knowledge is grounded in the everyday, common-sense world, and in the constructions and explanation, members of that world (the migrant women) describe their reality and actions'¹⁸⁵ .

Frequently, the voice of the migrant woman is smothered or quieted in light of the conditions of her life in a remote land. Consequently, her story upon

¹⁸⁵ Jones cited in Illo 1997 : 13

return can be empowering, approving the significance of the migrants' migration experience, revealing the intricate web of feelings, of torment, fulfillment and inconsistencies, the disengagements or discontinuities and progressions in their lives.

Turning into women's voices and gaining from women's experiences are essential to the feminist understanding of the world. Women's own stories highlight some aspects of gender, for example, the development of a gendered self-identity, the connection amongst individual and society in the creation and propagation of gender norms and also women and men power relationships.

Critics over accounts are numerous: the over-focus on the spoken in the development of senses; the powerful control of the speaker on what to add and what to omit. Although, these issues can never diminish the importance of narratives, *'it just makes it one kind of truth amongst others'*¹⁸⁶

I have chosen to focus on narratives, biographies/accounts, hands in hand with different other strategies, for example, government reports and International reports, literature review, but also the focus was made on other quantitative method, that is of equal importance, questionnaires. From one hand, 40 return migrant women of differing status (single, wedded, separated or widowed), ages and migration countries are the key sources and storytellers,

¹⁸⁶ Gardner, 2002

give a general view on the picture of women migration, from the other hand, questionnaires were dispatched on 80 migrant women.

The thesis additionally draws upon data and experiences assembled from the trainings at both the Ministry of Moroccan living abroad, and the Moroccan ministry of foreign affairs and cooperation. Those trainings have allowed to get into closer touch with the real problems faced by Moroccans living abroad, outside and inside Morocco. In addition, my years of experience as migrant have been a rich source of knowledge for identifying the needed issues to look at in this study.

1.1 Setting and Participants

The choice of the topic was affected by both the own experience as a migrant woman, and the training in the Ministry in charge of Moroccans living abroad. In fact, through this training in the Gender office that one could listen to most of the interviewees' experiences; this fact pushed me to work on this issue, and provided me with most of the needed data about it, and also enabled me to get into closer contact with 40 returnees and sometimes their families, and even visit them in their houses in order to have a more objective image of their real situation. The choice of participants was done at random with no prior selection.

During the interviews questionnaire were used a in order to be methodological, escape redundancy, and useless time-consuming talk. I didn't opt for recording in order to give a sense of intimacy, and to create a friendly atmosphere. During most of the interviews data was based on the memory, since I tried to not use any pen and paper. Most of the interviews took place either in the office, or sometimes at the houses of the interviewees, who were very glad to share their experiences, and that someone at least cared about them, and about their lives.

Concerning the questionnaires, they were used in order to reach a larger number of returnees, so in most of the time, It was given to some returnees to give to their friends or relatives, who are in the same condition (returnees themselves). 100 samples were dispatched, but only received 80 were received.

1.2 The used approach

The decision of the approach (gender) is molded by the points of the investigation, the subjects of investigation and the viewpoints to be examined. Feminists in fact call for listening to the muted voices of women, and to giving them the power to express themselves and state their worries, feelings, and problems. Gathering biographies enables one to dive deep into the implications of the migration journey. The narrations in this investigation try to uncover the

procedures of migration and the migration, from the point of view of the women migrants themselves.

The methodology is quickly presented in the introduction. With a specific end goal to give an integrative point of view to this investigation, return migrant of Moroccan women and its gendered outcomes, It is focused on a multi-level approach covering the small scale (the women migrants' identity), the meso (her family) and the large scale (the whole society). The primary aim is to highlight the micro level, that of the women's lives and migration journey before, during and after migration. It argues that it is just through a quantitative approach that one can uncover the elements of progress that migration has turned to be as a powerful influence for the lives of migrants' women.

A subjective approach, as indicated by Ann Oakley (2000) includes methods for realizing that expect thoughtfulness regarding singular points of view and conditions and that enable us to look for examples, simplifications and affiliations. To accomplish this, the study utilizes numerous strategies, for example, biographies, meetings and discourses with women migrants and questionnaire dispatched as key sources.

The adoption of a gendered approach to deal with migration and utilizing accounts technique, makes it possible to infer the non-economic reasons of migration; for example, getting away from abusive relationship, looking for

new horizons to discover, new opportunities to get a free life away from the daily constraints.

Accounts are fundamental to identity development and selfhood; they exteriorize how these identities develop through space and time, how the first identity develop and start questioning existential questions about the self and the other, and leaves the floor for a new one that is capable to overcome the numerous problems experienced during the migration journey, a journey that depicted a journey of inner-change and development *'the stories are themselves constantly evolving and moving, presenting living histories in every sense of the term and a unique resource and opportunity for social and historical understanding'*¹⁸⁷.

The strategy springs from the position that *'knowledge is grounded in the everyday, common-sense world, and in the constructions and explanation, members of that world [the migrant women] describe their reality and actions'*¹⁸⁸ The emphasis is on women's information and experiences, an epistemological position that considers women as being 'knowers', that their convictions can be *'legitimized as knowledge and that women's beliefs and ways of knowing and thinking (their —subjective truths‖) can count as knowledge'*¹⁸⁹.

¹⁸⁷ Thoson 1999 : 36

¹⁸⁸ Jones 1983 cited in Illo, 1997 : 3

¹⁸⁹ Harding 1987 : 3

I argue that regularly, the voice of the migrant woman is stifled as a result of the conditions of her life in a host country, moving alone to a new country with different culture, working inside the confined world of the domestic work, within the bounds of an unknown family unit, and for the most part without satisfactory assurance of national laws. Henceforth, I contend that revealing to one's story upon return can be enabling, approving the significance of the migrants' beneficial experiences, and uncovering the complex web of feelings¹⁹⁰.

The utilization of stories isn't without its critics who point to the over-accentuation on the verbal in the development of reality, which in the process makes the social relations undetectable, and also the authorial control of the researcher, what words to incorporate or to alter, to outline women's words. Reacting to these critics, this investigation contextualizes the lives of the women migrants inside the bigger social powers and procedures of migration which I analyze on in Parts 4 and 6 particularly.

Turning in to women's voices and gaining from their experiences are essential to the feminist recreation of our comprehension of the world. Women's own stories enlighten a few features of gender relations, for example, the development of a gendered self-identity, the connection amongst individual and society in the creation and development of gender standards

¹⁹⁰ Anderson and Jack 191 : 23

and additionally the flow of energy relations amongst men and women. While social developments of gender effect the individual, they are themselves formed by human agencies. *‘Women make their own lives (and life histories), but they do so under conditions not of their own choosing’*¹⁹¹.

Chapter2. Conceptual Framework

The methodology is quickly presented in the introduction. With a specific end goal to give an integrative point of view to the investigation, return migrant of Moroccan women and its gendered outcomes, It focused on a multi-level approach covering the small scale (the women migrants’ identity), the meso (her family) and the large scale (the whole society). The primary aim is to highlight the micro level, that of the women’s lives and migration journey before, during and after migration. It argues that it is just through a quantitative approach that one can uncover the elements of progress that migration has turned to be as a powerful influence for the lives of migrants’ women. A subjective approach, as indicated by Ann Oakley (2000) includes methods for realizing that expect thoughtfulness regarding singular points of view and conditions and that enable us to look for examples, simplifications and affiliations. To accomplish this, the study utilizes numerous strategies, for

¹⁹¹ Hale 1991 :125

example, biographies, meetings and discourses with women migrants and questionnaire dispatched as key sources.

2.1 Feminist Methodology

Gender constitutes a 'basic organizing principle which profoundly shapes/mediates the concrete conditions of our lives' as well as our 'consciousness, skills and institutions and the distribution of power and privilege'¹⁹². In fact, feminists ask many basic yet complicated questions related to women and society, the meaning of being a woman in a given society, knowing that its definition is bounded by space and time; and whatever this meaning is, are we ready to change it? As Liz Kelly, Sheila Burton and Linda Regan (1994:28) stated that, 'feminism for us is both a theory and practice, a framework which informs our lives.

Its purpose is to understand women's oppression in order to end it¹⁹³. Thus feminist researchers in this sense are trying hard to free women from the socially constructed roles and frame, that justifies women's subordination for ages, since we can never contend that women were only object of promotion of gender inequalities, but women were also subject, in the sense that they have their part of responsibility in the creation and construction of male supremacy.

¹⁹² Lather 1998:571 cited in Gottfried 1996: 1

¹⁹³ Liz Kelly, Sheila Burton and Linda Regan (1994:28)

Liz Stanley and Sue Wise (1993:32)¹⁹⁴ contend that women's research is very important to feminist studies, seeing women having women's activist awareness 'as rooted in the concrete, practical and everyday experiences of being, and being treated as, a woman'. Feminist research lights up 'how the social world would look different when seen from the standpoint of women a new sense of the everyday world as problematic - a thing to be explained'¹⁹⁵

In as much feminist research is by women, it is likewise to aim towards political change. Stanley and Wise (1993:43) additionally contend that women's activist research is 'seeing reality differently' from a different angle highlighting the weaker and the muted sex. It focused on reflexivity, 'turning back on oneself, a process of self-reference', with reflecting, investigating and diagnosing gender, and gender relations emanating from one's own reality. Being a researcher and a woman at the same time enables the exploitation of the own story as a key component to her research, talking about the concrete and the lived experience, unlike male researchers, even if they will try harder and harder, they will remain alien to the real struggle.

Many critics underestimate feminist for its over reliance on self-experiences rather than on logical and scientific methods. In particular, Martyn Hammersley¹⁹⁶ contends that overemphasizing on gender at the expense of

¹⁹⁴ Liz Stanley and Sue Wise 1993 : 32

¹⁹⁵ Smith 2002

¹⁹⁶ Hammersley 1995

other yet important factors can be misleading and essentializing women's plea, since there are women and women and the concept of freedom, and emancipation is not the same for all of them. I contend that only through life experience and gender relations of women that we can understand the root problems of the muted voiceless other sex, women need to voice out their feelings their sufferings as well as their strength to discover the common faced problems that need to be discussed and analyzed aiming to find pertinent solutions emanating from the women themselves¹⁹⁷.

The study additionally argues that gender is of importance to this study especially in addressing some primordial questions, as the reasons behind women's tolerance and acceptance of some underestimating jobs rather than men migrants; also the deportation of pregnant migrants in some host countries, or in the case they get married with local men. Lourdes Beneria and Martha Roldan (1987) state, 'gender involves ranking traits, activities, beliefs and behaviors, and almost universally accords greater value to those associated with men, or with the roles they occupy. Thus, such asymmetries generate male privilege and female subordination.'¹⁹⁸

Furthermore, it contends that despite the fact that the attention is on the lives of migrant women, gender stays as the focal frame of the investigation

¹⁹⁷ Davis 1999:4

¹⁹⁸ Lourdes Beneria and Martha Roldan (1987)

by focusing on the meso level of analysis that situate these women in their families and societies as well in the host country job environment (frequently as household aides). In the meantime, the study perceives that gender should be interlaced with different variables, for example, race, age, class and ethnicity to render a more far reaching investigation of power relationship.

2.2 Inner Change in the Returnees

Investigating return enables us to evaluate the outcomes of the migration experience on the women migrants themselves, on their families, and on the origin country's society. I argue that many inner changes occur in the migrant sense of identity, agency, as well as empowerment. This change is helpful in defining return and its outcomes on the women migrants themselves. I go back to the literature and theories that were very helpful for this study.¹⁹⁹

The experience and impacts of migration are necessary in forming and reshaping personalities. Personalities (identities) are in fact multi-sided, negotiated, situational, and progressively divided and broken. As the women migrants play out their economic parts in a foreign country, they experience change, in their personalities, their personhood and in their relationships.

¹⁹⁹ Piper 2005

They unconsciously use everyday battles to make new ways, new acts of resistance and a new way of coping and also new methods for opposing, adapting and fashioning identities to use them through the migration experience and inevitable return home. While they may seem, by all accounts, to be tenaciously reacting to expected gender roles of a caring mother and obedient little girls, they additionally settle on decisions influencing control over their lives, consequently consolidating family or parental commitment with their own particular objectives and desires²⁰⁰.

Amartya Sen defined freedom to be a goal and a way of development and contends that:

*Development has to be more concerned with enhancing the lives we lead and the freedoms we enjoy. Expanding the freedoms we have reason to value not only makes our lives richer and more unfettered, but also allows us to be fuller social persons, exercising our own volitions and interacting with and influencing the world we live*²⁰¹

A crucial feature of Sen's hypothesis of improvement, is individuals as subjects (agents) of advancement process and change. To him, people if given satisfactory opportunities, 'can effectively shape their own destiny and help

²⁰⁰ Boyd 2006

²⁰¹ Sen, 1999 : 14-15

each other²⁰², they may also become active bodies, who can create and handle social and political change.

A difference is made between what it was considered to be active agent of change or passive objects undergoing change, and his own view of active agents and bodies or active subjects, able to create, handle and develop change in their own lives. It is then up to the migrants' own sense of agency that make such huge difference, that sen (1999:191) views as a methods for '*removing inequities that depress the well-being of women*'²⁰³.

In other words, he linked the lost agency to social and financial factors (unemployment, freedom, education, violence and independence) the loss of these element affect the well-being of the women, and once freed she automatically develops a sense of agency that has a strong effect on her identity. Prosperity originates from substantive freedoms, the abilities to pick an existence motivation to esteem, to which Sen (1999) alludes as functioning. These could start from the basic needs such as nutrition, ownership capacity, health care, and the respect of the other that lead to her feeling of self-respect and even pride. ²⁰⁴

The study argues that while it is critical to think about the agency of the migrant women, It tries to problematize this by considering the macro powers

²⁰² ibid

²⁰³ Ibid : 191

²⁰⁴ ibid

that limits and prevent this agency to fulfill her desired goals, especially the forced return, described as the restricted agencies. It contends that the macro powers faced in the receiving countries, such as the nonexistence of protecting laws, especially if one takes into consideration the confined domestic job, that the migrant woman can easily be a victim of abuse, and ill-treatment.

Thus many factors can interplay to make from the women migration journey an empowering or not experience, in this study it addresses this question of empowerment from a number of questions that are related to financial, relational, and gender factors. Empowerment will be existing in the shadows of most of the questions, and can also be a real measurement of the success of migration.

The current writing presents a blended result of the empowerment of women migrants (Ghosh 2009; Lim and Oishi 1996; Piper and Yamanaka 2006): some point to it as a freeing background, giving more noteworthy feeling of self-sufficiency and power in perspective of better economic opportunities.

As women turn out to be vigorously engaged with the wage power, they utilize their income to impose their rights to more prominent self-governance and fairness. Different studies keep up that migration has not changed unequal

gender relations and that gender disparity remains the same as race, social class, ethnicity and legal status (see Gosh 2009; Hugo 2002²⁰⁵).

2.3 Conceptualizing Return

Lynellyn Long and Ellen Oxfeld (2004) defined return as incorporating a range from momentarily short visits to everlasting repatriation, spatially from one's birth country to a reproduced home country, and lawfully from intentional to forced migration. In this way, they allude to return of exiles, refugees, labor migrants, retirees and others. Return is considered as a historical, social and personal issue. return enables us to grasp the '*larger processes in terms of people's own systems of meaning and experiences and to discern the particular human consequences of these larger force in everyday lives and actions*'²⁰⁶. It additionally helps us to comprehend the political, social, economic and social outcomes, for both returnees as well as for the sending and receiving countries. Considering return enables us to look at the varied yet important conditions for individuals in the sending and receiving countries.²⁰⁷

Return uncertainty of migrants' women is highlighted in this thesis. Financial objectives stay central in the women's choice to stay overseas, in spite of the fact that underneath such financial reasons, are different concerns and

²⁰⁵ Gosh 2009; Hugo 2002

²⁰⁶ Lynellyn Long and Ellen Oxfeld (2004)

²⁰⁷ *ibid*

factors for postponing return. I also consider that these factors and concerns are gendered. From various perspectives, as per Brenda Yaoth and Shirlena Huang (2000), the expected excursion might be put off and even appear to be fanciful when the migrants grow new objectives and trusts, and when new dreams rise up out of requirements and wants of their families back home.

Meanwhile, the migrant woman starts questioning all her already constructed social believes, what is the meaning of being a worker, a spouse, and a mother, and new identities spoor out. This study tries to uncover the layers of the consequences of return, the reasons why return remains so removed, and, what circumstances led to return. All this by scrutinizing, financial, psycho-social, social and political factors.²⁰⁸

2.4 Gender, migration, and return

In 1993, Hania Zlotnik called attention to *‘the extent of women’s involvement in international migration has generally been overlooked, mainly because women have been viewed as dependents, moving as wives, mothers or daughters of male migrants. Such stereotypes are evident in statistical systems used to measure migration and, not surprisingly, have pervaded the study on international migration’*.

²⁰⁸ Yaoth and Shirlena Huang (2000)

Similarly, Gina Buijs (1993:1) stated that there have been '*few attempts to look beneath the surface of the mass migration of people and to disentangle the specific experience of women*'²⁰⁹ . Generally, women migrants were relatively undetectable; it was expected that they didn't have any financial role. For instance, in Ireland, from the 1870's, there were larger number of women than men moved to the US, however depicted as leaving for or with their male counterparts, they were relied upon to find out a job to empower them to secure their very own living.

Pamela Sharpe additionally argues that '*... until the mid-1980s, the circumstances of female migration were little discussed by anthropologists, sociologists or policy-makers. Since then , substantial accounts have been written about the invisibility of the female migrant and the ingrained assumption that the typical migrant was young, single and male with economic motivations for moving*'.²¹⁰

In exploring gender and migration in the European Union, Kofman (1999) alludes to an investigation done by Morokvasic 10 years before concluding that the '*existing literature had had little impact on policymakers and the media and that the main body of academic literature on migration has persisted with its male bias*'.²¹¹ Despite the fact that Stephen Castle and Mark

²⁰⁹ Gina Buijs (1993:1)

²¹⁰ Sharpe 200 : 4

²¹¹ Morokvasic 1984 cited in Kofman 1999 : 269-270

Miller (2003) allude to the feminization of migration as one '*general tendency likely to play a major role in contemporary migration*'²¹², substantially more investigation and analysis is needed to comprehend this multi-layered topic.

Eleonore Kofman (1999) argues that in understanding European post-war migration, the heterogeneity of women's migration, family reunification, and family construction must be made focal in any migration analysis in addition to all the usually used traditional factors such as economic, employment, and so on. Kofman also asked that it is '*time that migration theories and models embraced the multiple aspects of women's lives and caught up with the reality of changes of the last few decades in employment, household and social structures*'²¹³. Annie Phizacklea (1996) urged for a more genuine and diagnostic analysis of the gendered migration analysis.²¹⁴

Gender is the main organizer of the daily life. It is socially constructed enabling people to grasp the social role and expectations. In addition, as Kabeer (1995:65-66) argues that it turns around '*social relations*' and studies the '*broader interconnecting relationships through which women are positioned as a subordinate group in the division of resources and responsibilities, attributes and capabilities, power and privilege*'²¹⁵. unbalanced relations exist amongst men and women because of gender

²¹² Stephen Castle and Mark Miller (2003)

²¹³ Kofman E.1999

²¹⁴ Annie Phizacklea (1996)

²¹⁵ Kabeer (1995:65-66)

convictions. This unbalance explains the different gender roles and expectation that exist in all the layers of society (from the individual, family to society and policy making). Gender is additionally joined with other social disparities, for example, class and race, and must be studied through an all-encompassing frame in order to be able to comprehend the real lives of people. It is seen as 'one of the most important social change'²¹⁶.

Progressively, migration is currently seen as a gendered issue and it is starting to be dealt with as a separate field of study, instead of being merged with or in the shadows of many other studies. Thus, a gender approach to migration tries to highlight more extensive social factors that impact women's and men's roles and to enable us to comprehend the impact of migration on women's and men's situation with reference to time and space, in addition to singular life conditions. Migration isn't just a financial or political process; it is at the same time a socio-cultural process intervened by gendered beliefs, establishments and practices.

Great part of the current writings on women and migration deal with the situation of the migrate women in the receiving country; most of them are set in untalented occupations (unskilled jobs), especially domestic work. They inspected how this type of jobs is situated within the worldwide political economy, they analyze the situation of women working in such jobs, and

²¹⁶ *ibid*

question the existence of a protection in the clustered, confined domestic jobs. The interaction of gender, class, race, and ethnicity of such studies, there remains a need to investigate condition under which these women live when they come back to their country of origin. The consequences of their journey on them, their families, as well as on the society. What is then needed, is a general analysis of the impact of migration on their vision of the world and migration and how it has impacted on their families and society. An investigation of the consequences of the feminization of migration on the Moroccan society is likewise needed. This study will try to focus on these vital issues and concerns.

Chapter3: Validity and Reliability

Validity and reliability are considered as the backbone of any quantitative research, in the sense that these two elements must exist in order to give meaning and value to any research in order to be considered as real research which findings can be repeated by other research, not just a one-off research.

3.1 Validity

In addressing validity concerns in interviews, I tried to use the semi structured interviews, by making use of both an interview protocol that guided and structured the research as well as keeping some space for conversational aspects. The choice of this interview type was based on both the will to stay

focused, and avoid empty talk, as well as the concern on keeping some intimacy, and a friendly atmosphere with the interviewees, which will lead to more details about feelings and worries description, needed in this research.

Knowing that interviews would not target a big number of people, the study tried to add another method, questionnaires. This method is considered as highly practical, and more accurate, due to the fact that it is far from any subjectivity of the interviewers, who can easily be biased through interviews. The choice of questionnaire was then based on the need to be more objective, in addressing such issue, in addition to targeting a bigger number of people.

The study opted for the mixed questionnaires that used both open ended and close ended questions. This choice was based on the need to give some free space to the respondent to explain exactly what they want, as well as closed questions that would help collect more accurate statistical data. For this many types of questions were chosen the leading questions, importance questions, Likert questions, dichotomous questions, and rating scale questions.

3.2 Reliability

For the reliability concerns, the study opted for test and retest method, in a sense that the use of both questionnaires and interviews, in order to check the findings and compare them. The choice of these two quantitative methods,

enabled to be more objective, from one hand and also to compare the findings and check their reliability by two separate ways.

Internal consistency was also used through both the interviews and the questionnaires. This method was in fact, imbedded in different questions that aimed in measuring one point. The aim of this method was both in order to check the respondent and interviewees consistency, and truthfulness.

3.3 Measures Taken to Ensure Validity

In order to ensure validity, two measures were taken the first one is concerned with the number of respondents, that It tried as much as It could to enlarge it. Second, no interference was made in the choice of the respondents or interviewees, that was done at random, in order to keep the objectivity. Third, the use of two different quantitative methods, was done in order to have different angles on the issue.

Furthermore, the choice of the types of both questionnaires and interviews, semi structured and mixed respectively. These two types enabled to give them more freedom in expressing their opinions as well as more flexibility for the researcher.

3.4 The Pilot Study

This step enabled to test the questionnaires and interviews' questions, that was edited based on the results of the pilot study. The pilot study concerned 5 interviewees, and 10 respondents. Pilot study helped improve the questions types by making them easier, and focused. Improving the questions simplicity was mainly because of the educational background of the respondents, then they had to be the easier as possible. Also, the questions had to be more focused in order to be more accurate, and easier to be analyzed.

Chapter4. Data collection Instrument

4.1 Questionnaire Survey

In designing the questionnaire, and due to the complexity of this topic, the researches tried to be precise and concise. In order to maintain the order of the analysis that was bipolar from one hand comprehensive of the migration journey starting from the pre, while, and after migration, and from the other hand, it covers the micro, meso, and the macro levels. Notwithstanding that in order to be practical, the questions started from general to specific by making into consideration the bipolarity, and inclusiveness.

4.2 Interviews

For the face to face interactions, the researcher used the same set of questions, in order to check their validity and reliability with the questionnaire's findings. Although interviews enabled to meet with the interviewees, meet the families and even get into their real lives by entering their houses. This method in fact created a real-life picture of their daily realities by meeting and interviewing their children and even their husbands gave an insight on their real lives

4.3 Data Coding and Analysis

The data collected was transcribed, translated and then organized following a two phase process. First the data was divided into the following five themes:

- Emigration
- Experience in the host country
- Returning to Morocco
- Post-return experiences
- Re-emigration

Quotes from the transcripts were gathered according to these themes and a specific set of questions from the interviews were matched to each one of theme. The second phase of the analysis consisted in creating codes that identified elements in the various themes that were essential to answer the research question. The codes were:

- Emigration motives/ choice of destination country. This code was used to identify family influences in the emigration phase. It was then used to verify if family influences on emigration affected the return phase.
- Return motives. This code was used to highlight how the family affects return motives.

The various return motives were then used to identify possible influences on family support after return and on family impact on preparation for return.

- Preparation for return. This code was divided into “preparedness” and “resource mobilization” based on Cassarino’s theoretical framework of return migration. Preparedness was then divided into “willingness” and “readiness”. Resource mobilization was divided into “tangible resources” and “intangible resources”.

- Post-return experience. This code investigated the migrant’s situation after return and identified positive, negative and mixed experiences.
- Re-emigration. This code was used to identify re-emigration intentions

and to see their potential connection with post-return experiences and return motives.

- Family influence/ family support. This code was used across themes to identify all forms of family influences-both positive and negative.

The process of data analysis and coding, is a multilevel process that started from data collection and management, organizing and preparing, coding and describing, conceptualizing and classifying themes, connecting and interrelation data, and the last step interpretations and providing meanings. All these steps were respected in the data analysis and coding.

The core of this research was based on interviews, through which one could find out the connecting link between all the interviewees. After analyzing the interviews and in order to check all the found assumptions related to the topic, a questionnaire was designed that aimed to check the validity of these assumptions.

Excell was used in the coding of the data, it enabled to transfer the questionnaires into statistics figures, designed in charts and pies, to simplify its reading, and analysis.

4.4 Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations were kept in mind during the whole research process,

as they concern both the means and the ends of an inquiry ²¹⁷. It has to be acknowledged that the presence of the interviewer affects the respondents, and the same goes with regards to the knowledge produced by the study ²¹⁸. Ethical issues tend to arise because the production of knowledge, consists in making public private lives ²¹⁹.

In order to minimize the risk of negatively affecting the respondents, a series of precautions were taken in this study. The purpose of the interview was explained in detail to all respondents before beginning and permission to record was sought. Confidentiality was also guaranteed.

Following the idea that the research is to be seen as an exchange of knowledge ²²⁰, I agreed to send an electronic copy of the research to those respondents that were interested in the final result of this study. Furthermore, I also gave their voice recordings to those respondents that were curious to hear their interview again. I believe that adopting such an approach was a useful way to involve the interviewees in the knowledge we were producing together, and it also contributed to establishing a trust relationship with the respondents.

This piece of research is to be seen as independent, and the investigation was by no means influenced by a bias towards the respondents or any

²¹⁷ Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009

²¹⁸ *ibid*

²¹⁹ Miller, 2012

²²⁰ Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009

institution. This needs to be highlighted because ties to the participants or institutions may sometimes lead the researcher to emphasize some findings and ignore others to the detriment of the investigation²²¹.

Particular sensitivity was applied when interviewing respondents that had returned against their will. The interviews could in fact bring up painful memories and it was made clear that they did not have to talk about things they did not wish to. In such situations, the integrity and the well-being of the respondent is to be put above everything ²²², and thus it was also highlighted that if they did not want me to include certain things they had said they just needed to inform about which parts should be excluded. By doing so, I believe I have respected both the respondents' confidentiality and integrity.

In light of this, with this study I hope to contribute to a better understanding of the difficult experiences that some returnees face. I also hope that understanding how families influence these experiences will contribute to provide adequate support to those facing difficult post-return experiences.

Conclusion

To sum up, in order to comprehend this topic, I used qualitative, and quantitative research methods. For the qualitative method, I used national and international related literature, hands in hand with data and statistics about the

²²¹ *ibid*

²²² Flick, 2009

Moroccan Migration in general, which I tried to analyze and discuss their implications. For the quantitative method, I used both questionnaires and interviews.

Concerning feminist approach that put women empowerment, identity and agency, hands in hands with gender roles as the main prevailing concerns of this study, the use of this approach embodied by life stories as the main purpose of some feminist who call for the moving away from the armchair feminism, that tries to copy and paste individuals with some prevailing realities. The use of the feminist approach was in order to understand all the injustices that women in vulnerable situations face, especially before, while, and after migration.

The coming part gives more details about the field work, through which one tried to dig deeper in the migration experiences of female labor migrants in the three phases, before while and after migration. This section deals with the third phase (their return), and therefore constitute a micro level investigation.

The center of the research rotates around the lives of the individual migrant women, with a specific end goal to look at the change of their own lives, the impact of the migration experience on their agency and identity, and on society, as being part and parcel of the whole Moroccan society. In fact, this section narrates the stories of some interviewees that I found important to share in order to explain the many facets of women migration.

Part 3

Part 3: Interviews and questionnaires Analysis

Introduction

“Migrant stories have always been a central part of the migrant experience – in the imagination of possible futures; during the physical process of passage; and as migrants have lived with and made sense of the consequences of their migration. At each stage, life stories articulate the meanings of experience and suggest ways of living. When we record these stories, we not only capture priceless evidence about prior experience and lived stories. The stories themselves represent constantly evolving ways in which migrants make their lives through stories. Viewed in this way, migrants’ oral histories provide evidence both about past experience and about the life stories which are significant and material features of that migrant experience”²²³

This section particularly investigates the outcomes of feminized migration through highlighting the return stage, by trying to infer the meaning of return, the reasons behind it, the return decision, and how it was lived by the return migrant. As clarified in the introduction, contemplating this stage enables to look at the adjustments in the migrants’ women’s ways of life as methods for adapting to working in an outside the country, going up against untalented work, for the most part as a domestic labor, beautician, or sewer.

²²³ Thomson, 1999: 35-36

Frequently underestimated, and helpless to different types of misuse. It additionally empowers to feature the everyday battles including her day to day struggle and the weapons of the weak strategies that are developed during her migration journey, and that at the same time enables her to develop her new agency and identity. The description of their migration journey, bearing in their minds that at one point in their trip they should leave, and get back home, to their families.

It is just at this stage that one can evaluate and assess the migration trip, and state if their objectives have been accomplished or not; and furthermore, one can reflect on the conditions that prompted return, and the diverse powers and factors influencing their and their families lives after return. Along these lines, examining return empowers us to survey the effect of migration on women themselves, on their families, and on the Moroccan family.

In addition, the study contends that it is exceptionally hard to recognize intentional and voluntary return, since the line between them is obscured. Besides, as it appeared in this investigation, a great part of the return of the migrant women is conflicted. Subsequently, the study will examine the return of these women in order to find out if their returns were really as they were described or no (voluntary, and involuntary). At the end, the study talks about why and how return is a gendered procedure.

Chapter1: Interviews Analysis

Return can never be considered without being put inside the whole migration process, this is why this investigation will begin from the decision of migration, and the factors that pushes the woman to migrate and work abroad. Castel expressed that migration ought to be revealed and should be viewed as ‘dynamic whole and as a lifelong process’ ²²⁴.

Therefore, the focus of this investigation is on labor migration. This type of migration is known for being temporary and contractual. Against the permanent migration, where migrants move with a specific end goal to live and settle down in a given country. In addition, permanent migrants have the possibility to bring their families, as the opposite to labor migration with family reunification can hardly be achieved. Despite the fact that in some cases, labor migration can be a long period migration since some of them have trespassed 20 years of living in a foreign country.

Some foundation data must be firmly broken down if we want to analyze return, for example, the financial conditions, causes of their migration, their conditions abroad, their coping and struggling means, and their inevitable return conditions to their country of origin, Morocco.

²²⁴ Castles 2000: 15-16

1.1 Before Migration

1.1.1 Socio-Economic Background

Nobody can neglect the importance of socio-economic power in migration decision, which are the aim that frame both their migration, and their return. The vast majority of the interviewed women met in this investigation originated from poor and troublesome background. Although, there are some others who were belonging to better socio-economic background, but were facing other types of problems.

Three women, Halima, Khadija, and Fatima originated from a vulnerable background. Halima, the daughter of a jobless alcoholic father, and a day worker mother. She was the eldest of her five sisters, and needed to enable her mom to procure some cash. She just achieved elementary school, yet her other sisters still go to class. She started working at the age of 12 years old as a domestic help.

Khadija, was raised up in a poor neighborhood in Casablanca, by her grandma, after she was abandoned by her single mother. She had good recollections of her youth with her adoring grandma. Yet after her passing away she was back with her mom and her step-father. This latter couldn't tolerate her sudden arrival in his family, and tried to show and make her feel this unwelcoming attitude.

At 16 years old she flees from her mom's home to wind up in a delicate and troublesome circumstances. She was then compelled to prostitute to gain a living. Fatima the most youthful, lost her father, and stayed alone with her seriously ill mother, battling against a dangerous disease. After the passing away of the bread winner (father), the powers of circumstances obliged Fatima to drop out of school, and attempted to discover an occupation so as to procure a living for her, and for her mom.

The other women in the stories were in better financial situation than these three. Leila's father had a couple of hectares of land in the east of Morocco, Azemour. A city situated in Doukkala-Abda area, an exceptionally rich zone, known for its fertile grounds. Nora's dad was a soldier, both Leila and Nora went to primary school together. However, when Leila finished her elementary school, her dad made her quit in light of the fact that he believed that a woman's place is at home, and that she wouldn't need much instruction.

Leila was crushed, she was a brilliant student, and had many plans for her future. She endeavored to influence her dad to let her complete her education. At 16 years old she was compelled to get married with her cousin, at 17 she was separated with a child in her womb. When she got married, Nora's husband helped her finish her studies for one more year, yet inevitably she just finished two years in secondary school.

Yasmine, Fatimazahra, and Rachida finished their university studies with the help of their families. Rita was one year of finishing her university, when she turned out to be profoundly interested in activism, and went to prison for 15 days. The thing that wasn't accepted by her family, who took her back to their countryside. Soukayna came up to first year university after which she dropped out because of money related reasons. Adiba went to secondary school, her parents were little landowners, who grew vegetables, and sell them in the neighborhood market.

Before migration, Yasmine and Fatimzahra had formal occupations with the private sector. Rita was independently employed and owned a private business which she and her husband managed. Adiba helped her parents in their farming work. Anissa and her husband were a full-time agriculturist in their own land. Nora was a dental assistant. Only Yasmine and Fatmazohra who had their salary, the other women in this investigation were independently employed with sporadic wages. This was especially troublesome for the farmers since their work and earning is totally dependent on the weather conditions in a country usually affected by drought.

1.1.2 Economic and Non-economic Factors

Financial reasons prevail as the primary reasons behind women's decision to work abroad. The neo-classical, economic migration theory²²⁵ argues that it is the aspiration for higher wages that drives individuals to move, this remains applicable for a portion of the women in this examination. For a considerable number of them migration was the main source of regular pay. Sufficiently winning to have the capacity to better one's standard of life, and in addition to acquiring a property, especially a house is central among the women in the biographies.

Incomes in Morocco are low and scarcely address fundamental needs and necessities for everyday living, not to mention back kids' instruction in the private sector. In Morocco entering kids' tuition based school, which charges high expenses, rather than the free public schools, has turned to be from one hand, a way of showing off status, from the other hand, the parents' consideration that private sector offers a better quality of education in comparison with the public sector; which is not the case.

Two of the interviewees considered migration as a way of alleviating poverty. One of them was a single mother working as a domestic servant, and the second was married to a seriously sick husband.

²²⁵ Arango, 2000

In some cases, women's migration was likewise pushed by nonfinancial factors. For example, getting away from miserable relationship or looking for a change from difficult and brutal rural life, or just seeking change, and an adventurous new life far from the constant control of the family and siblings. Particularly since global migration infers energy, experience, travel or development to another place heretofore untried, unfamiliar.

Such factors are not even considered by the neo-classical economic theories of migration that are mainly focusing on the push and pull factors, as well as the purely financial motivations for migration. From all the interviewees, none of them stated that they based their migration decision on the calculation of advantage and disadvantages (cost and benefits) of migrating. Other than focusing on individuals' propensity to move from low wage/low pay to high-pay/high-wage nations.

The hypothesis doesn't represent the particular inspirations, conditions and circumstances of individuals who move.

The adoption of a gendered approach to deal with migration and utilizing accounts technique, makes it possible to infer the non-economic reasons of migration. For example, getting away from abusive relationship, looking for new horizons to discover, new opportunities to get, and a free life away from the daily constraints.

Anissa was persuaded by a female friend that going to Saudi Arabia to work was an open door to discover a new land for a land farmer in a remote countryside like her. Her friend confirmed that there are a number of job opportunities for unskilled uneducated women like her, as domestic helps or babysitters. In this way Anissa felt it might be a good adventure to try.

Additionally, it was getting increasingly hard to get a decent income from offering farms' products. Her kids were excellent students in secondary school and furthermore wishing to head off to university, and move to the city. Thus, working abroad in Saudi Arabia was a chance for her to buy a house in the city to enable her three daughters to live and study there, where they can even find a decent job.

For Fatima, it was her niece, who was then working in Qatar, who urged her to similarly 'attempt her luckiness'. 'I thought it was a smart idea', said Fatima, "surprisingly, my husband consented to my migration", she was just 30 years of age at that point, the base age acknowledged in the formal application reports, required for those looking for domestic occupations in the Middle East. Fatima commented that she didn't have solid plans for her work abroad. She left home when her two children were only 5 and 2 years of age. Her mother in law took care of the two kids as their dad went to fill in as soldier.

In some cases, for two of the women migrants, migration was viewed as an escape from a troubled and brutal conjugal relationship. Soukaina was gaining

much money from selling vegetables and fruits to three markets in her home region. Due to the nature of her job she spent most of her time outside, then she discovered that her husband was having an affair with another woman. Thus, she chose to leave and work in Dubai as a domestic help.

Adiba was abused by her husband every time he got drunk, a profound scar on her upper right cheek is a demonstration of his fierce violence. When she could never again endure these beatings, she chose to join her cousin in Dubai, who was then working as a domestic help. She left her three children to the care of her family.

For Halima, working abroad was clearly a way to fight neediness. left by her husband after 13 years together, she needed to fight for herself and her four kids. with only primary school education, and no skills, she found it hard to find a fixed job in Morocco. She tried working as a domestic help, but she couldn't afford for the kids' nutrition and the rent. She then tried various kinds of small businesses such as food vending, selling contraband blankets, toiletry and food supplies, she herself brings from the North of Morocco.

In Morocco, where the patriarchal mind prevails, women are more probably to be abandoned by their husband than the opposite. Although Moroccan women have attained different highly ranked position in the government, business, private and public sectors, many traditional norms are still dominating the

majority of both educated and uneducated people (men and women). Marriage is still seen as an opportunity for a girl that she mustn't let go.

In this manner, manliness is still connected with (among others) virility and sexual endeavors. women, then again, are relied upon to be the adoring and loyal accomplices, who might endure through all to keep the family in place. Migrant men expect their spouses left behind to fulfill their duties, and be the faithful loving wife, but migrant men thus can be unfaithful, and their wives cannot judge them since their wives are far of them. Men are considered to have sexual drives that they cannot control.

Leila had a hard life after fleeing from home, finding herself in a relationship with a man, who could 'not even feed himself, because of his ill health, then she got pregnant. So as to feed herself her son and her man, a cousin working in as a beautician in Saudi Arabia has opened her eyes on the possibility to migrate to Saudi Arabia, she did all her best to have a hairdressing diplomat, and with the help of her cousin she found a job as a hairdresser. Leila stated: "it was a troublesome choice to make, to abandon my young child to work abroad, however this appeared to be the main alternative accessible. thus, I cleared out for Jeddah with unhappy heart"

As clarified by social network theories, the women's network of relatives and friends encouraged their migration by making contacts with planned bosses, and by helping them settle in their place of work. Sometimes The choice to migrate

was made by the families. In spite of the fact that the new economics of labor migration theory clarifies that migration is principally inspired by the want to expand pay, it is the situation in a few families in this examination that the normal reason behind moving was the only average wage.

For Khadija, the choice to travel to another country and work as a way to enhance her life and that of her family. Life was troublesome since she depended just on her profit from a little accommodation store and her husband's sporadic wage as a construction worker. Khadija included amid the interview that her dream was to have her very own place, business, and to send her child to the private school.

As appropriately pointed by the integrative theory of migration, the inspirations for migration are regularly those that react to the necessities of families and relatives and in the meantime, additionally consider the people's wants and goals²²⁶.

For Yasmine and Fatimzahra, it was not because of financial reasons that they looked to work abroad, yet they wanted to enhance their living. It was their want to procure enough to have the capacity to send their kids to great schools and ideally up to university level. Moroccan family puts an incredible

²²⁶ Asis 2002 and Tacoli 1999

importance on education and regardless of how poor a family is, different ways and means are used to make children go to class.

In 1963 free instruction was made mandatory for every single Moroccan kid, between the ages of 6 till 13²²⁷. Although, due to the high cost for basic items and everyday expenses, poor individuals are not capable to afford the day to day needs of their school-going kids. Different components may prompt kids de-tutoring, for example, the absence of school in some remote regions, particularly secondary schools, which might be far from a few towns, prompting de-tutoring of numerous kids particularly young women²²⁸.

Yasmine was a university graduate and was working as attorney assistant. Her husband was an alcoholic cab driver. They induced that even with their joined wage, they would not have the capacity to satisfy everything they needed: sending all their five children to school, and buying a bigger house. Aware of the opportunities for women to work abroad and gain great pay, Yasmine suggested to apply, and discover a job there for a few years, simply to gain the needed amount of money for a house, and after that return to her family. She did her best to persuade her husband and he accepted. With the assistance of a relative in Kuwait, she could find an occupation as a saleswoman.

²²⁷ Diyen, Hayat 2004, "reform of secondary education in Morocco: Challenges and Prospects." Prospects, vol XXXIV.no.2, pp212

²²⁸ *ibid*

Like Yasmine, Fatimzahra was a university graduate. She held various employments as a business woman, a secretary, and later as a bookkeeper agent in a government agency. In spite of her 4 years of employment in this office, she was yet incapable to secure a permanent status. In the meantime, her husband who had worked for various years in Iraq, came back to Morocco when the war with Iran started. suddenly, he fell sick, and was hospitalized for a half year and the money he had spared from his long years of migration was spent in meeting hospital bills.

As a result, Fatimzahra clarified that she was compelled to look for an occupation, which would allow her to win considerably more than she was earning at her position in Morocco. To address the family's issues, especially the house loan, in 1980 she went to the Middle East especially Emirates to work as private educator for a family.

Fatimzahra's story is a case where even a formal occupation can make instability; and how hard-earned money can be effortlessly spent when sickness happens. As a result of the high expenses of medical and health care in a country like Morocco, where medicinal services and administrations are to their approach to be privatized. Knowing that in the public hospitals minimal expenditure can be paid, yet at the same time the nature of the care is evaluated to be low and the appointments are given in an extremely remote dates, which pushes individuals experiencing dire and urgent ailments to go to the private

hospitals that are exceptionally costly. Besides, medications must be paid for, and more often their costs are high. Besides, the human services framework is lacking individuals, especially provincial territories are lacking social health care and services.

Rachida's dream was to be a decent instructor. She was being taken care of by her grandparents, who sent her to the university where she completed a degree in biology. After graduation, she didn't have the idea to apply and work as a teacher because of the low salary. The idea of going abroad simply like numerous different Moroccans in Morocco, started growing in her mind, where incomes are considerably higher than in the country of origin. Furthermore, she was told that if she could manage to find a job in a multinational in the Middle East, she will have the capacity to go to Europe or the United State, or even Canada.

Thus, the particular conditions of women before their migration to work were that: the greater part of them were independently employed, having their private small businesses, with unpredictable incomes. Three worked in farms as unpaid farming laborers, whose income was gotten from the products they sell. Two women had regular employments in the formal sector. One was a full-time housewife, and another, university graduate. Two life partners worked as soldiers, and the rest were independently employed or journeymen. The majority of the husbands were either sick, or alcoholic.

Among the migration expressed objectives: lift the family out of neediness, enhance the family welfare, acquiring a property, send the kids to great private schools and up to university, escape from an unfaithful, or from harsh husbands.

The above conditions and circumstances of the lives of women migrants illustrate that the migration choice for these women was voluntary (deliberate) to enhance the lives of their families, yet under troublesome conditions like deserting their young kids. For others, it was a choice constrained by severe and rough conjugal connections.

1.2. Life in the Host country

What is recalled is what is esteemed, what gives significance and coherence to one's migration experience, and hence, an important information in itself. Such comprehensive stories are developed and made out of the mass of events and connections that describe most lives.

In the stories, the women shared accounts of hardships and troubles, of adapting and fashioning characters to manage them through their migration experience and possible return home. The stories are those of separations lived by the migrant women in a globalized world,²²⁹ which thusly progress toward becoming signifiers of their personalities. These personalities are situational, arranged and multi-faceted showing a plethora of elements and powers in their

²²⁹ Yeoh and Huang 2000 :414

work environment and in their country of origin. Thus, “complex day-to-day negotiations in defining self-vis-à-vis ‘home and ‘host society”²³⁰

A number of investigations victimize women and depict them as suffering²³¹. While others portray them as subject of their destiny and powerful agents capable to face and adapt for their new experiences²³². The women’s accounts in this examination uncover the two circumstances, however what is eventually stressed are their methods for adapting and surviving, their operator selves.

1.2.1 Coping with the New Culture

Being Arabs, and Muslim doesn’t imply that there are cultural similarities between the Middle Eastern countries and Morocco. In fact, culturally speaking there are huge differences between them. For example, working in the Saudi Arabia implied real changes at certain parts of way of life and customs were outsider to Halima. Particularly the food, and the family structure where she worked was headed by a man with four spouses. In her story, she unmistakably recalled the circumstances she heard a number of insults like: Moroccan bitch, swine, stupid, ..., were heaved at her just in light of the fact that she was viewed as a poor individual, an unimportant domestic help, a nonnative. As communicates piercingly by Halima:

²³⁰ Moussa, 1993

²³¹ Parrenas 2001

²³² Benmayor and Skotnes 1994

"I tolerated and swallowed all the insults and hardships while working abroad. I was the main assistant in this vast family unit. I cleaned the whole house. I washed the kitchen utensils. Luckily, I didn't need to do cooking, the spouses did this"

Being far from family, particularly on vital events, was most agonizing to Halima, yet what supported her were the steady letters and voice tapes from the kids. At regular intervals, she sent the greater part of her wage home, keeping just a little sum for her. This made her feel good as she could provide for her kids as being a single mother.

1.2.2 Domestic Work

Long working hours and an extensive variety of chores from general housekeeping to cooking, pressing, shopping, washing cars, giving food to babies, coaching the kids, even the domestic animals (feeding, cleaning, and walking) are parts of the daily chores of a domestic help. And since this type of job is not controlled in most receiving countries, it ends up noticeably unregulated, and workers remain unprotected and under the mercy of their employers. Aside from the requirement for legal protection, household work places women in individualized workplace where they remain isolated and far from any supporting network²³³.

²³³ ILO 2008

Fatima starts her day at 4 a.m. in Qatar. beside doing all the house tasks, she needed to deal with two kids. Over these, her boss decided that she must help her in her business, in a lingerie store, and that she must spend same hours in the store to arrange and sort. In Saudi Arabia Nora had a boss who ensured that each penny she paid was justified. Nora commented: *"she pressed each ounce of me so that even on my days-off, I needed to set up the day's meal early in the morning before going out"*

In her story Fatimazohra indicated how her want to be loyal spouse and mother, unselfish and generous empowered her to survive the first years of her migration.

"sometimes I was at the verge of surrendering, then I remember the bank loan, the ill spouse, who required health care, and the kids who required great education. I let myself know, you can tolerate, you can make it, and this is the way I survived the first year. I just worked and worked with scarcely enough time to eat, so that sometimes I even eat my lunch of noodles while in the toilet"

1.2.3 Employers'/Migrants Relationship

Fatimazohra also felt uncomfortable when her boss (a woman), made the remark that she wasn't allowed to smile with her male colleagues. She needed to comply with a clothing standard: no shorts, just close neck top, make up is not

tolerated in the work place, and goodbyes and farewells are just told to the woman manager.

Anissa expressed that she worked for longue time with a void stomach. The woman employer would count the eggs and fruits in the kitchen before leaving for work toward the beginning of the day, and upon return at night, she used to count them again to make sur that she didn't eat. In this sense, she is then disciplined to be the stranger in the house. She is like a machine that only needed to abide by the house chores, by the rules, and no food to be consumed 'she isn't one of us'.

Foucault considered disciplining as a kind of power, that needed a number of tools, strategies, and procedures '*...for assuring the ordering of human multiplicities, and in order to extract from bodies the maximum time and force, the use of ...time-tables, collective training, exercises, total and detailed surveillance*' ²³⁴. In the case of the woman's migrant disciplining is making sur that she abides by the rules, finishes her tasks or even to do more from what she is supposed to do. Her employer then controls and supervises her work through signs, and symbols that imposes some rules of conducts on the migrant.

The disciplining and control of Moroccan laborer originate from being the other 'Arab', notwithstanding that for many middle easterners, people belonging

²³⁴ Foucault 1977, 1995 : 215, 218

to the Maghreb countries are not even considered as Arabs, with a 'special class culture' based on the nationalities. In fact, in the Middle east people are most of the time divided according to their origin, there is a feeling of self-esteem (superiority) for national belonging to the Middle East the other 'second class Arabs' are people belonging to the countries of the Maghreb, this noticeable class division can easily be spotted for migrants to these countries.

1.3 Return's Decision

Return can be a very difficult decision to make, and can have many reasons. In the literature return can have many types: return as disappointment (failure), as success, as conservatism, as change and innovation²³⁵. Return might be deliberate or constrained. Morrison expresses that while there is no single meaning of voluntary return, it constitutes three components: a reasonable and open decision to come back to the country of origin or stay forever in the host society; a decision between coming back to the country of birthplace or staying and gambling persuasive return later; a nonappearance of power²³⁶. The UNHCR Handbook on voluntary Repatriation characterizes voluntariness as '*the nonuse of any physical, mental or material power*', thus, the component of freedom and absence of refusal to return²³⁷.

²³⁵ Cerase 1974 cited in Cassarino 2004; Ghosh 2000

²³⁶ cited in Black et al. 2004

²³⁷ cited in von Lersner et al. 2008: 2

The study contends that the implications of return are gendered if one considers its social dimension. The power of Social relations which implies the gender roles, and obligation based on the social expectation of the mother, daughter, and wife must come to the surface and be considered as important element in studying return of Moroccan female migrants.

After return, either the female migrant returns back to her traditional role or her role of family bread winner extends. The kids left behind in most of the questionnaires, expresses this feeling of being abandonment from their mothers, with all its emotional, and mental implications. In their turn, mothers' migrants interiorize a feeling of guilt, and un-satisfaction for having spent much time far from their kids. Many if not all confessed that this feeling was growing up inside them since the beginning of the migration experience. In other words, migration accentuates and highlights gender norms obligations concerning children – mother relationship.

The changed roles and upgraded status of the migrant women influenced their choice when to return. In the meantime, the migration of women likewise influenced the capacity of the men abandoned to deal with their families' management and children; which undoubtedly impacted the return of the migrant women.

The gender dimension of return is clearly imbedded in the power relationships of many social, economic, and political structures in the receiving and sending

countries, clearly highlighted in the migration consequences of the migration of men or women²³⁸.

For instance, both unskilled men and women suffer from the same work harsh conditions, women tend to be more tolerant towards these than men as it was seen in the life experience of domestic helps. A job that is by nature confined and can easily escape from any control, and legal protection of the migrant women, they are then put under the mercy of their employers, and can be abused, or exploited.

From the lives stories, one could deduce that involuntary return can happen at any problem in the work place. For some of the interviewees, reasons outside their ability to control, such as, the Gulf war in 1990, the civil unrest in Iran, the Palestinian conflict, and the 2006 clash amongst Israel and Lebanon constrained a great number of female migrants to escape and return home.

Willful (voluntary) return could be encouraged by a large group of variables, for instance, when problems happen in the states of work or when one's objectives for moving have been accomplished, or just the want to return home. In the meantime, regardless of whether the component of want to return is included, there may be a measure of mental weight on the migrant to return home. The stories below illustrate and clarify these issues.

²³⁸ *ibid*

After Halima had spent 10 years in Saudi Arabia, she felt that time had come to go home when she felt that her manager's business was confronting challenges and, in this manner, the family spending plan was being cut. she even needed to buy her own food. Halima accordingly chose to return home and acknowledged that she could return home in light of the fact that at that point, she had spared some cash which she thought could be used to set up a small business back home that will help her provide for her family.

Halima's return could be seen as voluntary as there was a free will to return from her side. She was not afraid from her future life upon coming back to Morocco. She trusted she could make it with her reserve funds. Additionally, her children were educated adults, and could provide for themselves.

Leila was going to finish her two-years' contract with her third boss, when she understood she couldn't go on because of the many coexisting problems with her boss, she chose to return home for good. Regardless of the fact that there was uncertainty in her mind realizing that she was the principle provider in the family.

She wondered whether she would find a job upon return and whether her children would have the capacity to finish their secondary school. While Leila's return was her own choice, consequently deliberate, she was living in a real inner torment, due to these factors. Inner conflict for Leila's situation depicts a debate

between ensuring her own needs and wellbeing, and the material needs of her family back home.

At the point when Fatima's husband stated that 12 years abroad was much too long to possibly be far from home, she chose to return home in the wake of finishing her work contract in Qatar, her fourth country of work. Fatima deduced that she had been away too long despite the fact that there were brief returns in the middle of her few contracts.

There also was doubt in her return. Her kids were still in school. Additionally, despite the fact that they had a house, they confronted the danger of expulsion in light of the fact that the house was based on a squatted land parcel. Not having the capacity to accommodate the material needs of her family in spite of the fact that satisfying the psychological needs of her husband caused inner conflict of return for Fatima's situation.

Fatimazohra worked for 15 years in UAE and with 4 bosses. Amid one of her yearly visits back home in Morocco, she got pregnant and therefore she needed to end her contract with her manager in the later time of her pregnancy. Satisfying reproductive role had turned out to be primordial in Fatimazohra's return.

Pregnancy while on work site is a troublesome circumstance for migrant women, In countries like Malaysia and Singapore, migrants are expelled once

discovered pregnant, not only because of the idea that they would not have the capacity to work tenaciously, but also authorities don't want the children of female migrants to put pressure on the social services²³⁹.

A greater fear is having offspring of migrants who could in the end ask for permanent resident status. In Taiwan, migrant women are obliged to return once they are pregnant, to exclude them from the permanent settlement²⁴⁰. the disciplining power of the state is also intervening in the reproductive role of the mother or the female migrant, migration policies go on with their racist/nationalist projects by controlling the female migrants' bodies.

For a long time, Adiba was a dedicated and persevering maid to a family in Kuwait. When she told her bosses that she needed to go home for good, at some point inside a half year, their states of mind changed to the degree of creating accusations against her. Adiba was crushed and felt that her times of faithfulness were absolutely unrecognized and unvalued. She shouted: 'I felt belittled and offended, for being erroneously blamed for a crime I didn't commit'. Adiba, immediately, left her boss's place, rushed to the Moroccan Embassy and looked for help.

Help came promptly and she could return home yet with some anxiety. On one hand, she was happy to be again with her children, whom she had not seen

²³⁹ Cheng 2003

²⁴⁰ *ibid*

for a long time. However, she wanted still to save some money (before the accusation) her pay of 6 months, with the goal that she could finish the insides of her recently built house, a house she could construct from her income in Kuwait.

Adiba's return was in fact framed by both emotional, and psychological torment. A preplanned return, that was made difficult by the accusation that prompted her return, without the possibility to finish her final goal. In addition, from her account, I could infer that she had built up a special relationship with a man in the work country, in spite of the fact that she didn't clearly state this, it was clear that her return to Morocco was likewise influenced by this relationship.

In light of my experience of communicating with migrant women, their accounts of return have a tendency to include just their want for more material needs for their families as opposed to their very own wants, for example, supporting personal relation they have set up in their country of work. By so doing migration pretext will have a greater impact, and fits within the gender norms and expectations.

1.4 Psychological Reasons for Return

Some migrant workers chose to return home, not due to meeting the objectives they had set for themselves upon migration but since they felt the time had come to go home. They had been away too long, with the goal that further

division from the family was not any more endurable. I consider this decision as pushed by a psychological need to return.

Rita, (whose husband died while migrating), struggled with her choice to come back to Morocco in spite of the fact that she felt the time had come to go home and be brought together with her only child. Rita was afraid to not have the capacity to make a living for her son, however felt that reacting to her own, and her son's emotional needs is far more important:

"I needed a lot of time to make this choice. I was afraid that It would not be simple for me to find an occupation once home. I didn't have cash to bring back even after working for a long time in Abu Dhabi, I had to choose between emotional, and material needs, and at last the emotional needs won and there is no turning back."

Zahira spent 15 years in the Middle East as a nurse. All through her stay abroad, she didn't get back to visit her two kids that were for her in the good hands of her own sister. To her, it was sufficient that she sent cash frequently. At last, she chose the time had come to go home and be surrounded by her friends and family. As being a single mother and the sole provider in the family, it was fundamental for her to migrate to provide for them, even though, her absence emotionally impacted her kids.

1.5 Return as Accounts of Struggle and Empowerments

The accounts of return are stories recording the struggles of the female migrant workers. Their use of a number of strategies to cope with their absence from their families, and coexistence with superior and powerful strangers. Coping with the burden of being the breadwinner of the family, and self-alienation all these struggles make the migrant women develop a new identity.

Thus, in other words, these are stories of empowerment, of female migrants' capacity to adapt to the troublesome conditions of their migration experience and to design an existence that they go for²⁴¹. I should talk about and examine in detail the migration experience and females' empowerment in the following section, with regards to family connections and re-settling in the country of origin.

Halima's account of her migration in Saudi Arabia is a continuation of the story of her life, which from birth, has been a consistent battle to fight neediness. She repeatedly depicted herself as being a survivor, a woman who tried hard to fight poverty by all means. Essentially, her life talks about a woman's capacity to get by, to transcend neediness and shape some way or another a sort of life that is descent and honorable.

²⁴¹ Barber 2000; Huang et al. 2000; Yeoh and Huang 2000

In fact, the common point that is shared between most of the women in this study is agency. Notwithstanding, challenges can be overcome if faced with the will and want to keep on working and staying solid. Fatima initially worked in Qatar and after that moved to Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and then to Lebanon. In every one of these work environments, she was confronted to many challenges in Kuwait, she was even sexually abused.

However, she continued on through everything and survived. Sanae didn't give up after her frightening experience of sexual abuse that led to her stabbing of her boss in Saudi Arabia. After a concise period in Morocco, following her expelling, she went to Dubai to attempt her luck once again where she could work and win some cash. Yet, Khadija, who endured through six troublesome years in Saudi Arabia, decided to return home for good when she understood she was covering herself in overwhelming obligations chiefly because of the extravagant house credit's expenses.

Notwithstanding that this agency is limited by many cultural gendered policies. Migrant workers, especially the individuals who work as domestic help, can't select their managers. Consequently, they are under the mercy of their bosses. Working connections and conditions differ from one boss to another, even with standard working contracts. The laws and arrangements of accepting migrants vary as well as some are more responsive to migrant workers than others.

1.6 Return's Contradictions

The choice to return is as intricate as the choice to migrate. There is indecision, and inconsistency, regardless of whether the choice to return is willful or not²⁴². This was communicated both by the narratives and the questionnaire. It is intensely gendered as appeared by some women in the interviews and through the questionnaires many of them stated that their choice to return home was due to children or husband's misbehavior.

Additionally, the women themselves were having a feeling of blame and guilt for leaving and giving their own responsibility to other female from the family. This blame stems from society's norms that a woman's place is home, that she should be at home and be the carer and nurturer. While Moroccan culture now acknowledges and accept women's migration principally to address their families' needs, many people profoundly believe that a woman's place is at home²⁴³.

Besides, her being far from home does not free her from the duty to react to the emotional needs of her family. As shared by one woman: *"I barely accepted deserting my four kids. I needed them to have a decent (wonderful) life. I did*

²⁴² Constable 2004

²⁴³ Hourmat lah 2004

what they needed, I could provide for their education; this was my method for making up for my absence, for abandoning them when they were very young”

In the meantime, the status and economic power that originate from being a supplier for the family are regularly impossible to surrender, that explains, the want for migrant woman to stay as migrant worker. Subsequently, there is uncertainty around needing to return.

For a few women, it took quite a while to return home in light of the fact that the objectives set and the necessities, requests and desires of families deserted continued duplicating. A brief period abroad couldn't meet these requests considering the wages of the women particularly the domestic helps, which pushes the women to expand their contracts for more than thrice.

In few cases, providing for families would mean more than the nuclear family in sometimes even the extended family or beyond. In fact, Moroccan culture puts an important incentive on solid family ties, relationships, and wealth sharing with neighbors, and community can be the norm, in some rural areas.

An investigation on the financial aspects of remittances called attention to that generally, remittances are utilized for day to day expenses, for example, food, clothes and health care. Assets are likewise spent on building or enhancing

lodging, instruction, acquiring land parcels or cattle, and purchasing machines and appliances²⁴⁴.

Findings of this investigation are re-affirmed in my exploration both by the individual biography portrayal and the questionnaires. Concerning this study for instance, migrants' remittances were used for everyday expenditure, then lodging building, buying of machines, acquiring a property.

Postponing return happens as a result of the anxiety or even fear of not having the capacity to support one's way of life because of absence of secure, and regular wage in the country of origin. Morocco is still suffering from joblessness and underemployment.

It is additionally the case that through the longtime of working and living abroad, the migrant worker turns out to be socially rooted in the host country, which may delay return. Yasmine, a college alumnus, said that Kuwait enabled her to both gain some money and provide for her family, and also to develop a new powerful identity.

The delight and comfort of living and working in Saudi Arabia (as differentiated to her cruel provincial life), an advanced city-state, influenced Annissa indecision to return to Morocco. It gives the idea that for women who had clear migration objectives at first, it was less demanding to choose when to

²⁴⁴ Hourmat lah 2004

return home as for Nora whose primary objective was to procure enough to build a house for her family and a small business.

However, for Fatima, who did not set an objective from the beginning of her migration, it was the spouse who persuaded her to get back home as '12 years is too long to ever be away'. She hesitated at first but then accepted. Nora had defined particular objectives, such as building a house, Nora was clear and centered in what she needed to accomplish. Her migration objectives were time-bound; there was no dawdling. Besides, her objectives were mutually chosen by her and her husband.

The stories of return began with the accounts of leaving to give an all-encompassing and incorporated way to deal with the issue of labor migration. This incorporates uncovering migrants' inspirations and objectives in migration particularly women migrants' objectives; understanding the interchange of different factors in forming the life and personality of the migrant women workers, her feeling of agency and its limitation; the implications of returning home and the different reasons why return stays inaccessible, undecided and contradictory; lastly the arrival of the female migrant worker.

Return enables us to understand the specific human outcomes of the bigger powers in day to day existences and activities: the war in Iraq, work and migration strategies, downturn in economic status of managers, the vulnerabilities of the domestic work. Each return makes its own particular

rationale, logical inconsistencies and potential outcomes for the future, and in each return, the significance of home is made once more'

Chapter2: Micro Effects of Migration

2.1. Resistance and Struggles

‘the weapons of the weak’²⁴⁵ as it was expressed by James Scott (1985: xvi-xvii) are a set of codes of resistance used by the dominated groups. In my study, the everyday battles of the migrant women are their methods for adapting and opposing which are likewise their methods for exhibiting and developing their feeling of agency. The change at the micro level as it was presented earlier, that concerns mainly the migrant woman herself, in her inner self, and personality. These weapons developed through the lived experience, can be an important indicator of the feeling of agency development, and can take many forms: from overt to covert, from untold to expressed by disobedience and even sometimes can take a violent form.²⁴⁶

In the narrations, some women’s methods for adapting implied submitting to specific guidelines in the work environment. Being effective and accepting to do different chores, and even doing more from what is expected from a typical domestic help.

²⁴⁵ James Scott ,1985: xvi-xvii

²⁴⁶ James Scott (1985: xvi-xvii)

Fatima instructed French to her boss' child and for this, she was showered with presents. These presents made up for the confinements (the disciplining) forced by her boss. For female migrants' gifts from bosses to household aides can be a kind of compensation for their overwork, but this in fact can never omit the power of imbalances existing between them, and at the same time can we say that they have a choice to accept both the stick and the carrot.

For 18 years, Adiba kept her manager's twofold story house spotless and clean. After completing her daily car and clothes washing, pressing and cleaning all rooms of the house. She had also to take care of the huge garden with a little lake and the six dogs of the family. For Adiba, being dedicated and most proficient in her work was her method for adapting to being away from her family, with nostalgia and depression. As shared in the interviews, especially during her first years of migration. Consequently, she had to only use her time in simply work and work, leaving almost no space to feel pining to go home. For Adiba, it was essential to maintain a good relationship with her employers in order to ensure staying abroad, and therefor to maintain the money flow to her family in Morocco.

For other women, adapting implied showing demonstrations of resistance. As stated by other interviewees. Such demonstration could extend from an extremely ordinary and undercover frame like spitting on the food served to their bosses, as demonstration of disdain and revenge, to calling them (covertly) by

epithets like 'chibani' (the old man, or 'chibaniya' (the old woman) and other exceptionally bizarre nicknames.

In other cases, some migrant women move to explain overtly their disagreement to some difficult and unacceptable working conditions:

Leila guaranteed that her first manager was violent and harsh. She worked extend periods of time and her days, more often than not, begin at 6 am, early in the day. Unfit to bear her harsh circumstance, she challenged by declining to eat and locking herself up in her room for two days. In the end, the boss tuned in to her protestations and turned out to be more sensible and thoughtful.

Aside from the ability to arrange her working conditions Leila hold tight to her faith in god to help her overcome her homesickness. She kept at her bedside a little Quran (Muslims' holly book) that made her vibe safe, and support her sentiment of solitude.

Another type of resistance was claimed by other interviewees, where they confronted violence with violence (as self-defense). Mouna was living under threat in her work place, since her male employers sexually harassing her, till one day she was left with him at home, when he tried to rape her in the kitchen, she then took a knife and stabbed him, she was arrested, and deported to Morocco.

From my experience as a volunteer worker helping female migrants in difficult circumstances, in the gender office of the ministry in charge of Moroccans living abroad, we have come across a situation where a Moroccan migrant woman under the pressure of her job as a domestic help, the ill treatment of her employers, the needy family back home, and all the stress that comes from such situation, she one day tried to set fire in her employers' house, she was jailed for some time and then deported to Morocco.

As communicated by Salwa one of the women met amid my training sessions in the Service, *'in some moment the ill-treatment becomes unbearable that you can even kill if you have the opportunity'*.

These stories of Mouna and Salwa and my sharing and highlighting of some specific episode, show the vulnerabilities of migrant women working as domestic help. Being far from families, limited to families of outsiders and with scarcely no emotionally supportive network. In the investigation of Nasra Shah and Indu Menon (1997) on brutality against female migrant workers, they argue that domestic work as well as the entertainment work are the two occupations where the danger of abuse and violence are most prominent. violence could be financial, social/mental and sexual/physical and may happen both in the migrant woman's country of origin and in the receiving country.

Such vulnerabilities of the migrant women influence their return, implying that their return to the country of origin could happen anytime in their migration journey. It could also mean barely acquiring anything, making them poorer than before they left. It could likewise mean coming back with overwhelming emotional and mental expenses.

The case of another woman that is now being treated by a psychoanalyst, back in Morocco, can be a good example of such occurrences. This woman who was a domestic help in Saudi Arabia, got in relationship with her employer, that could not be accepted by his 2 wives, especially one of them who was the daughter of a powerful man in Jeddah. Her father then informed the policemen, and they were put in jail both of them. she then was deported to Morocco. she said that she suffers a lot and that she believes that he is totally in love with her and that he would come back to bring her back next to him. This has emotionally and mentally affected her and made her incapable to get back to her normal life (before migration).

The outrageous circumstance would be not having the capacity to return, or to return but rather after a drawn out stretch of time, when, for instance, the migrant woman is imprisoned for a wrongdoing, regardless of whether she is blameworthy or not. The fact is that justice is regularly a long, exorbitant and monotonous process so that now and again, there is hesitance with respect to authorities, (for example, embassies) to defend or to support a Moroccan migrant

to sue her boss. Therefore, the women are denied of the full power of law and consequently come back to their country of origin without the fulfillment of the equity that they expected.²⁶² Lately and thanks to the social media we have heard of many cases of female Moroccan migrant addressing a video call to Moroccan authorities to take a step toward helping them getting from the jail. Although there is no fixed number of Moroccan women in the Jails of the Middle East, the situation is said to be critical.²⁴⁷

2.2 New Identities

‘Questions of identity are always posed in relation to space...’ and that *‘certain sociopolitical flows and barriers that constitute spatial configurations, also constitute and reflect the formations of identity’*²⁴⁸. space and identity must be seen as specific element built through the setting of many components such as race, class and gender. Even though, migration theorists and migration specialist try mainly to essentialize the migration experience in its economic dimension, and overlook the other numerous yet important dimensions.

Components related to the experience itself that can depict a journey of self or inner-change (micro level), through which the migrant women forge new identities that is mainly related to the special dimension.²⁴⁹ In my study the idea of change that occurs in the migrant women’s identity and agency is mainly

²⁴⁷ <http://machahid24.com/societe/174302.html> 10/10/2016

²⁴⁸ Papastergiadis, 2000

²⁴⁹ Silvey, 2004

related to special environment of work. Hayat, Houria, and Fadwa are a concrete example of this change these new personalities empowered them to stand up to the challenges that their role and status as migrant women involved such low status.

Being underestimated and socially rejected and yet moving forward in their migration until their inevitable come back to the country of origin, needs a very powerful will, and a huge amount of tolerance. As well as developing and forging new identities that help them adapt and even sometimes resist both temptations to give up and go back.²⁵⁰

2. 3 Change in Status

In his investigation of Indonesian women's migration Graeme Hugo (1995; 2002), underlined that migration has prompted social change as far as women's upgraded status and empowerment, albeit some proof proposes that it has not enhanced significantly. The way that most Indonesian women abandon one-man centric setting (their town) for another (Saudi Arabia) gives some answer²⁵¹. One study however pointed to spouses' expanded regard for the migrant's wives and their taking upon themselves more child caring parts during the absence of their wives and they detached themselves from traditional gender roles.

²⁵⁰ Papastergiadis, 2000

²⁵¹ Graeme Hugo (1995; 2002)

Katherine Donato et al. (2006) contend that the association between migration, employment and female freedom isn't really immediate and unidirectional, changing and fashioning in various ways²⁵². The experience of Mexican women workers demonstrated that migration did little to change gender disparity. Henceforth, what is required is a more nuanced and relevantly arranged comprehension of how migration influences gender relations.

Marta Tienda and Karen Stall affirm that assessing changes in women's position following migration is an experimental inquiry to be addressed in light of solid circumstances. In their attempt to draw speculations from existing writing, they keep up three conceivable results in women's status: change; disintegration; and 'rebuilt asymmetries'; which means the relative position of women stays unequal in relation to men, yet the solid conditions of their position are definitely changed, (for example, on account of a move from a subsistence to a money based economy'.²⁵³ Particular territories of progress incorporate access and control of assets, ownership and recognition of imbalances in power in both public and private spaces.

Six women storytellers communicated that their associations with their spouses enhanced because of the more prominent esteem and status set on them

²⁵² Katherine Donato et al. (2006)

²⁵³ Hugo 1995

for achieving financial contribution to their families. Yasmine's husband, Khalid, shared:

“There has been a major change in our life. Previously, we lived in only one room of our more distant family house. now, we have our very own place. Our kids are educated. Two finished school. Our child, a designer is presently working abroad and is a major help to us, to the family.”

Spouses turned out to be more caring and cooperative. The women enjoyed more control and power in the decisions made in the family. In significant family issues as in financial matters: buy of land, tricycle, house building. Such power stemmed for the most part from their salary procuring and sustenance to the family²⁵⁴.

Yasmine keeps up that her relation with her husband had reliably been built on an equal status, but since migration empowered her to contribute incredibly to the financial needs of the family, her basic leadership part turned out to be more articulated. For instance, while abroad, she chose that her income from a certain period of work ought to be put into a vehicle for money producing purposes. Upon return, extensive and little choices of family on different issues fell primarily on her.

²⁵⁴ Tienda and Booth 1991:56

A couple of spouses took upon themselves obligations in household chores when their wives were away working abroad and continued after her return. As shared by three spouses: *'We needed to make modifications. It was troublesome. You must be both father and mother, cooking and washing garments'*.

One spouse included:

"I should have been understanding, to drive forward. My wife and I had defined objectives throughout everyday life and we needed to accomplish them. I had an irregular job and my income was insufficient for the family's needs thus my wife needed to travel to another country and work".

Nora, who now manages a small restaurant, observed that her husband helps her in maintaining the business. He goes to the market and he deals with cutting up the meat and vegetables. Similarly, Khadija(2) 's spouse helps her deal with their small business.

Nonetheless, sharing family tasks and obligations continue even after return, in light of my meetings and visits to a few families, I watched that the women were as yet the same persisting and persevering women (as when they were abroad), embraced a wide range of work to financially provide for their family which regularly were extended family units.

Two women were not keen on repairing their broken relational unions, consequently they chose to lead a more self-governing life while one kept up a stressed relationship just to give a similarity of an entire family.

Chapter3. Meso Effects of Migration

"After working abroad, I decided to return home, our life turned out to be better. Before, we ate olives with bread, we only ate leftovers. Due to extend periods hardwork, I could just get a couple of hours of rest. My body hurt everywhere. I nearly had an emotional breakdown as a result of hardships in life exacerbated by the way that my husband left us me and my kids. I was furious at God for quite a while".

For Halima who used to work for a long time in Saudi Arabia as local aide, migration facilitated her own particular and her family's problems throughout everyday life. She brought home 100,000 MAD which was her reserve funds and with this cash, she set up a private business. She stated selling sodas and ice cream, she rented rooms in her house which she redesigned. Her children could complete secondary school and university.

In her account, Halima additionally stated that her work abroad influenced her to figure out how to blend with individuals from various backgrounds. She changed to become a more self-confident and independent "I never again felt that I was only a little irrelevant individual", she commented.

In the past section, I examined and broke down the implications of return for the migrant female workers (micro level), the reason behind their migration and the purposes behind their choice to return. I inspected the different sorts of return of the migrant women and to what degree the current theories of migration and return and other conceptualizations can clarify the women's return.

This section is an expansion of the investigation of the last Part. It investigates the outcomes of migration for the home and the deserted family (meso level) by the migrant women worker. It studies how migration has influenced the migrant women's feeling of agency and empowerment and what life after migration implies for her and her family.

In the introduction, I stated that that the migration procedure is profoundly embedded in the family standards, and accordingly, it is fundamental to find out the effect of women's migration on the abandoned family. In my examination, female migration is for the most part constrained by the want to upgrade the family's welfare and prosperity²⁵⁵. It is important then to investigate if migration has profited the family's welfare or not. In the meantime, the family itself is a gendered social organization, where relations are administered by the exchange of work, power and feelings²⁵⁶.

²⁵⁵ Asis 2002; Hugo 1995; Zlotnik 1995

²⁵⁶ Connell 1987

The long periods of absence of the female migrant, the mother, the spouse, the girl, reconstitutes the family's structure and elements of connections among different individuals. The women migrant's status changes because of her ability to accommodate the family. An adjustment in her position thusly influences her feeling of self and also the power elements inside the family units²⁵⁷.

In this part, my study starts by studying how migration changes the home, the deserted family, as far as family structures, gender roles, feeling of safety and uncertainty; the impact on the male and female children; and between generational connections. then, I study how migration has changed the lives of the migrant women and their families' prosperity. I investigate and examine whether the migration experience has added to the women's feeling of empowerment and in how.

In conclusion, this section tries to find out the outcomes of migration on the migrants' women when they at last come back to their country of origin and the possibly to reintegrate within their families, and society emotionally, socially, and economically. The elements I consider that enabled me to answer these inquiries are the material and psychological prosperity of families, migrant's status and confidence, family unit relationship based on equality in roles and decision making.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁷ von Lersner et al. 2008

²⁵⁸ von Lersner et al. 2008

3.1 Family influences on return motives

Across categories of respondents, it emerged that the family was among the factors influencing the return decision for most respondents. This supports the theoretical assumption that return migration cannot be fully comprehended without considering the social dimension of migration, such as family influences (Kofman, 2004). The main family influences that were identified are the following: wanting to be close to family members in Morocco; concerns about the children; family issues and following the family.

3.1.1 Being close to family members in Morocco

Evidence suggests that even for those respondents having returned primarily because of the economic reasons, factors related to the family played an important role in the final decision. This supports the idea that the migration decisions cannot be understood by looking only at economic factors ²⁵⁹. Factors related to the family in fact often appear to act as secondary triggers to the primary return motives. fatimazohra. for example

explains how her mother and her husband played an important role in her decision to return.

Halima on the other hand was deported, but still family factors were important for her to accept that she was returning:

“They made me return, the police. [...] because I had no documents. [...] But

²⁵⁹ Ferro, 2010

I returned to be close to my mother because my father was ill.[...] So when they [the police] told me to return I returned. I was not feeling well and I wanted to be with my family.” (Halima.).

This further supports the idea that factors related to the family are important to understand return, even for those migrants that were apparently not planning to return.

3.1.2 Children influencing return

Among migrants affected by the crisis, having children also emerged as an important factor triggering the decision to return. Nora had lost her job due, and she explains that within the context of this crisis their children played an important role in the return decision:

“We were thinking about our children. Because it is not easy to grow up without their mothers so I decided to get back home.” (Nora)

3.2 Return and Children Left Behind

Kids left by migrant workers, especially by migrant mothers have plainly been influenced, physically, emotionally and psychologically. my study shows that when the migrant moms came back to their families, clashes and inconsistencies amongst them and the kids start to happen in their lives as I clarify underneath.

Hamid (Rita's child) was five years of age when his mom left for Saudi Arabia. He explained that at when his mom got back home for a visit, he was spoiled' by her and she brought a lot of toys. Despite the fact that his mom was away for a

long time, she came back to see him once every year. when asked how he adapted to his mom's absence, he answered: *“I had become used to it. My grandma dealt with me exceptionally well, I was her most loved grandchild; I had an aunt who loved me very well and treated me her own son, I was surrounded by love, and well treated by my grandma, and my aunt”*.

Obviously, the female members from Hamid's family took the mother's responsibility, in a point that her presence became optional to him. this is not always the case, since in most other cases returnees' children develop a sense of lack of emotion, and considered that the mothers' love and care can never be substituted.

This issue gives place to another one, related to the capacity of the grandparents to take this caring role, at an age where themselves need to be taken care of. Contrasts between grandparents' education and the parents may lead to some conflicts. Hamid stated after his mother's return many conflicts aroused as they didn't have enough many as they used to.

He said *“We had arguments and problems about many and anything. My mom keeps saying that I was spoiled by her and her family, and that I was used to have to the good quality of life and that I had to get used to the hard life. Yet, I answered and said that she must not have returned yet since we required money to finish my studies. At last, we both became exhausted of fights thus we accommodated and figured out how to live with each other again agreeably”*.

Fadwa, Fatima's little girl was just five years of age when her mom left to work abroad. Fadwa shared profound confessions: *"Now, I am twenty years of age, a young woman. We lived our childhood under the care and control of my dad and my close relative without my mom. We were glad since we got what we needed. My mom has now returned, yet our way of life has changed, we can no more manage the cost of numerous things, for example, going to private school, yet I am not interested in education, all I need is to go to the USA, and live there"*

While Hamid was cared about by committed relatives without his mom, Hayat stated that when her mom (Halima) left for Saudi Arabia, she and her siblings were left to fight for themselves since their dad had left them even before her mom's working abroad. *"We lost the two pillars of the family"*. Her sibling had a similar assessment.

"Regardless of whether we got remittances from my mom, it was a desolate life for us. There was void in us. It is special and helpful if your parents are around to take care of you and have somebody to swing to when required."

Hayat additionally commented: *"My mom sent us cash consistently yet my siblings were always fighting more often than not. Later on, my kin and I understood how troublesome life can be without parents thus we decided to work and gain some money. What my mom sent was not much but rather we tried hard to well use it to have what we needed"*.

“Since my mom is back, we are more joyful and life is somewhat better for us. We have developed, we have our family and we have some income. We now give our mom some cash, she is substantially older now thus we have to take care of her”.

3.3 Children and Returnees’ Conflicts

Many battles and conflicts have occurred in migrant’s families. The mother who believed that the years of work abroad was a sacrifice for her kids. Her tolerance to the most unbearable conditions was for her family’s wellbeing, but kids don’t see the situation from that angle. The kids, think that their material needs and wants were put first before their emotional and psychological needs; particularly when they were teenagers.

In my investigation, during my interviews I could discuss these issues with the family members of some returnees. Sons and daughters were asked some questions related to their mothers’ absence. Most of the kids were abandoned by their mothers at a youthful age (one was deserted by her mother directly after her birth, the rest from age 3 months - 11 years) to the care of relatives, for the most part female. The youngsters overall comprehended why their mothers must be away yet every one of them shared the trouble of growing up independent from anyone else. Then again, a couple of them considered the absence of their mothers as an opportunity for them to create solid character, autonomy and confidence.

Another child commented that it was beneficial for her mother to be away on the grounds that she felt that their relation is closer when she was absent than when she is now around. As she claimed that now they are all the time arguing and fighting for anything. Another one really missed her mom and confessed the following:

“I used to ask my mother to get back home, but she always replied that she would only be able to be back when we will stop asking for many things that she wouldn’t be able to afford” and started crying.

Another kid stayed calm all through my interview with his mother, and when his mom was talking about the bad conditions of working abroad and how she suffered, he started crying and hugging her, and said *“I would never let you go mom, I will not eat much so you will not need a lot of money for me”*. Here the child developed a sense of guilt, because he thought that his mother was suffering for him to have the needed food.

The kids of migrant moms show a range of feeling starting from guilt, anger, loneliness, fear, and stress. All these feelings are related to their mothers’ absences. Sometimes all this feeling come together to create a depression, they are really confused, they don’t really know if they were loved or no. They have lived with a feeling of fear too long that they cannot now get rid of it. They were afraid because of their being lonely, and they are afraid now that they will be lonely again.

They are angry because they think that their mothers do not love them, and angry because their mothers had to go abroad, also as we have seen above their feeling of guilt and blame come together (guilt because they think that they are the reason why their mothers left, and blaming their mothers, because they left).

The investigation in contrast, shows up that children of OMW²⁶⁰s were in a superior position contrasted with children of non-OMWs in light of the fact that they were enlisted in nonpublic schools, and had more noteworthy chances of being part in extra-curricular activities, for example, field trips, school programs, and so forth.

In fact, my field work supports my mentioned hypothesis related to the gain and loss of the migrant women, and that even though migrant women gained financially speaking, they may have lost emotionally and psychologically especially concerning the kids left behind.

It is hard to foresee the outcomes of long-term absence from the kids. I argue that various elements would become possibly the most important factor, for example, the age of the child when deserted, the nature of care of the carers particularly by fathers, surroundings' support and help for an autonomous life. These factors merit deeper investigation.

²⁶⁰ Oversea Moroccan Workers

Similarly, as there was inner conflict and logical inconsistency in the migrants' choice to return, so there was likewise ambivalence in the children's reception of their moms' return. Hayat and Hamid communicated that it could have been better for their moms to not return home. Since her return means financial difficulties, and switching from private to public schools, which wasn't accepted by them. Their moms left to work abroad when they were both very young, pretty much three years of age so the times of separation had made torment to them.

Hayat additionally shared that many things had changed after her mother's return. *"sometimes, I had longed that my mom was still abroad, working so I could move on with my studies, and not just my brother. Consistently, my mom goes out endeavoring to sell real state property. We ourselves don't have our own particular house and land. She doesn't have time for the house and she procures pretty much nothing. Since she is constantly away, it is just like she is abroad. it is better for her to be abroad at least we would have the needed money."*

Khalid, Hayat's brother thinks life is the same: *"We are as poor as we were earlier. That is the reason I am working hard to complete my studies and latter have the capacity to help my parents and my sister"*.

while his mother was working abroad, Hamid felt secure emotionally and financially; Khalid and Hayat were secure financially. But, when their moms

returned, financial instability set in. Both Hamid and Hayat confronted troubles in continuing their tertiary instruction. Thus, the effect of rerun on the kids would likewise be affected by both the timing of return and by the age of the children.

Working abroad, even as a local help, gives one a feeling of safety due to regular wage. As opposed to being back home and working extend periods of time with low wage, thus, on return weakness sets in for different individuals from a family unit.

Investigation on migrant's remittances have demonstrated that these are used to meet basically the everyday needs of family units, this was clearly supported by this study findings.

3.4 Children Playing Adult Roles

Parents' migration, especially that of moms, places weight on kids to assume control over some families' duty in where the father could not assume, thus, a circumstance where kids all of a sudden assume grown-up roles.

Tension built in Soufian's family when the children themselves wanted the mother to get separated from the father. However, to her it was vital for the kids to have both a father and a mother in structure, even under troublesome circumstances. Kids are torn separated, living in isolated families and loyalties are partitioned.

Soufian, second child in the family and the brightest was compelled to grow up quick when his mom left to work abroad. He needed to figure out how to manage a bank account, with the assistance of his grandfather, at the early age of 10. As his mom sent the remittances to him and not to the father who left home for quite a while. By then, the family get separated; he was taken under the care of his maternal grandparents while his other kin were taken by their dad and under the care of their fatherly grandparents., Soufian commented:

When I grow up, I blamed my dad for being childish and unfaithful toward our mom. I and my kin had requested that our mom get divorced from him yet she opposed, because to her it was imperative for the family to be entire in shape, regardless of what happens.

The Family Code of Morocco has known a genuine change in 2004, in spite of the fact that there were calls for the change of the family law in the 1960's and 70's, its religious sources, made its change a challenge to the Moroccan religious and traditionalist thought. Modest changes have been likewise made in the 1993 under Ruler Hassan II. Notwithstanding it is just in 2004 that the new family code could occur²⁶¹.

This change has included numerous vital part of the family law and women's status, beginning from the raising minimal age of marriage to 18 from both

²⁶¹ Leila Hanafi, The implication of Morocco's family code Moudawana: stock-taking and recommendations, November , 2013

genders, to setting up joint obligation of the family among men and women, and restricting the terms of polygamy and divorce. In order to ask for divorce couples must go to the court, rather than simply getting a letter of repudiation from a religious authority. What's more, repudiation could only be made by men, women had no right to ask for divorce.

When Soufiane finished his university studies and got his engineering diplomat, his dad had changed, and returned to the family, taking care of the family and household. His dad likewise began a small business, offering vegetables and natural products from their garden and earned some income from it.

Farida, a 12years-old, whose mother began working in Dubai when she was just a year old, communicated being caught in a role she could scarcely oversee. Amid the weekly phone calls her mom made, she had to explain to her how she used the remittances. She discussed being aggressed by her older sibling as he was always nagging about the deficiency of his weekly money set by their mom. Their dad, a soldier, would visit them just once in three months. The kids were taken care of by a relative paid by their mom. As indicated by their relative, Farida and her sibling were doing bad in school. The kids longed for their parents regularly and consistently, Farida demanded that the relative would lay down with her.

We can see in Farida's family how the weight of household and management is carried by Farida herself and a procured parental figure. Farida's mom herself is a parental figure in Dubai. Thus, one watches, the chain of care-giving roles, 'the global care chain' describing a set of connections between individuals of differed social class status, in view of the paid or unpaid work of care-giving²⁶². While the chain typically stops at the parental figure for families or kids deserted, in Farida's family, the tie stretches out to her in light of the fact that specific family assignments have been passed on to her by her mom and not to her sibling.

3.5 Great Burden on kids

The existing writings claim that deserted kids are generally taken care of by female individuals from the family. In contrast, in light of my exploration, I contend that it isn't generally the case that the female individuals from the family, who bear the duty of caring for the abandoned kids. In a few families, it is the older child or the child who is seen as being more responsible than the others (like Soufiane or Farida) regardless of whether female or male, who for the most part dealt with the more youthful kin.

The eldest kid in the Moroccan family is regularly viewed as the capable relative who needs to take care of the more youthful kin particularly when the guardians can't. In this manner, for Latifa, whose mother was working abroad, it

²⁶² Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2002

was her older sibling who might go to parent instructor meetings and would likewise help her with her studies.

Nora, one of our biography storytellers, had three kids, all boys. She commented that her second child was affected by her absence. He believed he didn't have anybody to turn to for solace and guidance, despite the fact that his dad was near. His dad was a soldier who worked in a close-by military camp however his free hours were gone through with his friends drinking, and playing lottery. The second child needed to deal with the youngest child in the family. The eldest was in the university. Therefore, the second child at 15 years old, he met an 18-year-old young woman with whom he had a dating relationship, and got pregnant.

In Leila's family, the kids figured out how to oversee without anyone else. In spite of the fact that the best weight fell on the eldest kid, a son. Their dad worked amid the day when he could get up since he was regularly sick. In addition, he enjoyed drinking with his friends.

The eldest child needed to cook, wash their clothes and even needed to go shopping. Unfit to adapt to family duties, he dropped out from secondary school. Afterward, the family drew in the assistance of a woman to do the family tasks. But, Leila's husband got in a sexual relationship with her. This caused the second kid to flee from home and look for shelter in his grandma who lived in the countryside, several kilometers away.

These stories of Farida, Nora's and Leila's children show the different sorts of pressures, and weights on kids deserted by moms and left with fathers who can't or unwilling to assume control over the adjustment in gender roles and duties. The boys and girls shared the weight of taking care of the family despite the fact that the father was with them and this can never be without its psychological costs. Other children needed to live with the mental and psychological torment of their dad's infidelity.

3.6 children's sense of independence

There are some positive sides of women migration's effect on children left behind, for instance these children by the force of circumstances are able to be independent. Most of the children in fact and after the long period of their mother's absence can manage their household easily, can supervise their youngest siblings, and most importantly, can effectively handle and use any amount of money in the right place. These kids have lived a very cruel, and harsh experience that like their mothers have developed a sense of agency, and identity.

A 25-year-old young explained that as being a daughter of a former labor migrant in Saudi Arabia. Khadija related that in all her 25 years, her dad visited her and her sister for 25 months. As her dad earned significant pay, they could have a good quality of life and went to great schools and completed school

instruction. She and her sister are now working in important occupations. She additionally commented:

“Being left behind alone with my sister, (as her parents were divorced) enabled us to grow up to be solid, confident and independent. We figured out how to do a wide range of tasks including alleged men's work like fixing electric wiring, house painting and so forth. We had to manage our remittances in a good manner. We had to be noticeably self-confident and mature people. Thinking back, nothing can really substitute his presence, I can never forget what he once said ‘I should never have left you for so long’”.

Khadija's comments show that one can never say that he failed or succeed, since there are many aspects in migration outcomes, and material need may come at the expense of other yet very important needs. That reinforce my prior opinion that migration makes indecisive and opposing results whether for the migrant woman worker herself or for families, especially for abandoned kids. On one hand, migration converts into material prosperity for families deserted. Then again, it brings passionate and mental expenses and results. For the transient woman, it brings improved status, newly discovered joys and opportunity. In any case, it likewise brings blame, forlornness and uncertainties upon return.

Chapter4: Life After Return

As indicated by Paul Thompson, migration brings distress but on the other hand is a reason for festivity. While migration has obviously brought forth mental and emotional outcomes for migrant women and their families, migration, as well, has its prizes both in material and non-material sides: more extensive standpoint throughout everyday life, newly discovered delights, and opportunities²⁶³.

In the nine years that Leila worked abroad, she spared some cash to build a little humble house with concrete in spite of the fact that on a hunched down land parcel. She was likewise ready to buy a second tricycle which her child drives to transport things and individuals. At the point when asked what she gained most from working abroad, she commented:

“I figured out how to cope with a wide range of individuals, to perceive what is great or not for myself and my family. With respect to my being a domestic help, I figured out how to be effective, great coordinator, and still dealt with myself well”.

Thinking back to her experience of laboring for a long time in UAE, Fatima Zohra commented that it brought a few advantages. With her savings, she could build a house and buy a parcel where they grew olives and vegetables. Moreover,

²⁶³ Thompson in Benmayor and Skotnes 1993

the kids went to great schools and had great education. although, Fatima Zohra regret not having the capacity to seek after a profession in the administration, a vocation she had before her leaving for abroad. Reflecting and evaluating her experience, Khadija keeps up that there were no advantages by any means. She simply lost her family by her long absence abroad.

The greater part shared that their remittances were used chiefly for their kids' instruction, buy land, house construction and enhancements and setting up private businesses. The women likewise commented that their experience in working abroad ingrained in them the estimations of discipline, effectiveness, persistence with kids and investing more energy with them. Also, the troubles that their work involved made them solid and fearless, ready to face issues throughout everyday life, whatever they are. Nora specifically shared these advantages from her migration experience:

“With my long period pay, I enlarged our home, opened an independent business (a restaurant). My husband helps in the business. I wanted to put something aside for my child's university instruction, however now I don't know whether he can make it to school as he doesn't appear to be good. By and large, my experience abroad was great. My husband valued what I have done. I additionally have another chance to travel to another country once more, to Canada as a babysitter. But I think it is enough! It is so hard to be isolated from your family. Actually, I am satisfied with what we have. I feel that my husband

is more caring towards me now than some time recently. I feel more esteemed for my diligent work and commitment to the family's prosperity”.

These stories point to the benefits that migration brings, non-material and material: the security of a monthly pay, sufficiently income to send kids to private schools, to accommodate their everyday needs and some periodic extravagances and even to build houses. There are different benefits from the migration experience as described in the interviews and questionnaires.

The chance to see the world is a noteworthy reward for the migrant female worker, a luxury which even the more educated with steady employments in the country of origin would not be able to manage. There is opportunity for being far from home as one isn't physically present to confront the hardships and weight of overseeing families and the caring and sustaining roles. There is flexibility in not being bound by societal standards and desires on how a woman ought to act or create connections. There is opportunity in having the capacity to settle on one's own choices both in little and huge issues.

However, the financial and psychological expenses of migrating are high. The weights of being the supplier for the family exerts a solid pression on the migrants' women to succeed and subsequently keep up the identity of being a loyal spouse, mother, little girl, charitable and regularly obedient.

4.1 The Home of Return

Definitions of home differ, from one defining home as a private circle of closeness, individual feeling and relationship, household and familial life to home as a site of abusive behavior and violence, and a place a women subordination inside the private male-controlled society of the family. Nigel Rapport and Andrew Dawson (1998:10) argue that home means an individual inquiry, including either or both physical and psychological development²⁶⁴.

For migrant worker, as indicated by John Berger (1984), home are sets of habitual acts, constant connections, recollections, myths, and stories. Home is associated with roots, character, connection and settlement, and with its regular use as an allegory for country ²⁶⁵. I contend that returning home can be a troublesome and psychologically destabilizing for migrant women. For instance, I find that their place of return doesn't look to some extent like the home they have left or they have recollected or imagined it to be amid the years they were away. In this way, returnees get back home baffled and disappointed, and sometimes become alienated from their own country²⁶⁶.

In the meantime, *“home is the healing response to all other places and peoples, the starting point and endpoint that provide a reprieve to all phases of*

²⁶⁴ Webster 1998

²⁶⁵ Markowitz and Stefansson 2004:9

²⁶⁶ *ibid*

in-betweenness travel and adventure, newness and strangeness, alienation and confusion, and unpredictability”²⁶⁷.

From the questionnaires, the women communicated that the house is Morocco, ‘our country’ implying a feeling of having a place and rootedness. Home is the place you discover your family, subsequently, you go home to a family where there is love and care, wellbeing and security.

A migrant worker goes home to see the products of her/his well deserved money and to take a merited rest. Returning home additionally implies you have accomplished your motivation in working abroad, you have not experienced any troubles and you have gotten back home as a winner. These are shared opinions by a some of returning migrants. In any case, unquestionably, the truths are considerably more intricate than these as I clarify and break down beneath.

The home that the migrant comes back to has changed in both physical and emotional sense. For some of the interviewees, the once humble home in shanty towns with nearby materials like plastic and zinc, has now switched to a solid and concrete, a pride, an image of accomplishment. As one drives through towns, regions and even little villages, one particular sign of having been abroad, or an Abroad Moroccan Laborer, is a solid house, a sign of a very long time of hard work in an inaccessible land. To some migrant worker in the study, there is no

²⁶⁷ *ibid*

home to come back to where connections have broken down, the mate has left or the kids have begun to lead their own lives. For a considerable lot of the returning moms, reestablishing stressed or broke connections was a quick and foremost concern.

4.1.1. Family Structure and Dynamics of Gender Relationships

The Moroccan family is experiencing significant change, lately it has turned out to be hard to characterize families, as huge changes in structures are occurring. The issue of labor migration has created deficient family units where one or the two guardians are migrants, and kids are put under the care and supervision of their mothers, fathers, aunts or grandmothers.

Sometimes, families can even be headed by the oldest sons or daughters of migrant laborers. The long period of detachment of families has realized a radical change in family structures and the brutal the truth is that while Moroccan women work for families abroad, numerous Moroccan youngsters grow up without their moms.

Migration has unmistakably reconfigured families in both structure and gender roles. As Gardner battles, “migration is *inherently contradictory for it involves physical separation in a society which so greatly values*

togetherness”²⁶⁸ At the point when a woman abandons, her duties as spouse and mother children left behind are radically influenced.

In the Moroccan culture, the roles of a women in a household are numerous: caring, feeding, and supervising. So, her absence unmistakably makes a void in families and households, a void that is regularly hard to fill. In her investigation of offspring of migrants deserted, Rhacel Parrenas keeps up that offspring of migrant moms express more noteworthy challenges in their family life than offspring of migrant fathers do²⁶⁹. This is because of the role of the mother can never be substituted by any member of the family. In Yasmine's story, her little girl felt deserted for the years she has been away. Thus, children's feeling of abandonment is also gendered.

Yasmine was away for a long time. Although she used to get back for some yearly one-month visits, when she returned home for good, every one of the kids had changed and grew up. To her, the greatest reintegration challenge was to be with her husband again alone in their house:

"I felt weird eating with somebody and a MALE. Back in Kuwait, I was accustomed to eating by myself. I felt unusual laying down with somebody thus for quite a while, I laid down with my stuffed toys. I forgot the meaning of having a husband, a man next to me, I felt he was just a friend. My kids have developed

²⁶⁸ Gardner 2002:226

²⁶⁹ Rhacel Parrenas (2006:121)

this feeling of being abandoned by their mother, it took me a long time to make them forget, and understand my years of absence”

Aside from re-building up her physical and emotional bonds with her two kids, Yasmine needed to reestablish her connection with her husband which was extremely cracked amid the early years of her migration. *"It is troublesome in the sense that I wasn't ready to find a rational excuse to what he did (alluding to his infidelity). You can't have a family if the father is missing."*

In the Moroccan culture, the father is seen as the backbone of the home and the mother as the light of the home. A typical representation assigning the father as the provider and the mother as the carer, the nurturer. Hence, for a home to stand firm and solid, the father and the mother ought to be available.

At the point when Salwa returned, her little girls had developed into grown-ups. They had turned out to be far off from her. Also, the more experienced little girl was especially furious at her for her times of nonattendance. different from the other women who returned home in the middle of their long time of work abroad, Salwa did not. In the meeting she expressed that it was hard to return home, and leave the hospital where she worked in the Middle East. In addition, she needed to spare as much as she could and going home would have implied spending her funds. Salwa stated:

"My little girl gave me a wide range of issues when I returned. She quit working. She got married to an unemployed man. Afterward, she chose to get pregnant although her health could not support. I spent all my saving to take care of her needs. I even bought a tricycle to her husband, so he could utilize it to procure some cash instead of spending all his time with his bad friends and the bottle of alcohol. what harms me more than anything else is that my daughter does not even consider what I was doing for her. She didn't esteem what I have given her. It was for nothing."

In her story, Salwa stated that their fragmented relationship could never be minded regardless of all the efforts that she did that turned to be only one sided. She felt that migration was a real lost to her, she didn't take into consideration the emotional side before leaving. She was blinded by her need to overcome poverty.

Adiba came also back to a home where connections were stressed. after 22 years that she worked in Saudi Arabia as a domestic help, she just went by home three times. She needed to spare, so she could finish the loan of the land she bought while in Saudi Arabia, in the 1980s.

Adiba wanted to purchase cultivating equipment and cattle to profit from her land. When she at last returned, the 8-year-old-child she deserted was currently a man with a family. Adiba disliked her daughter in law and the two couldn't get

along. She couldn't show feeling of love and care for the grandchildren, which hurt her son a lot. He felt rejected and disliked by his own mother.

Nora expressed that: *“It took seven days before my youngest son could give me a hug, after I had returned home for good. I was absent while he was growing up. My family and relatives thought I was happy to work abroad however it hurt a great deal. I tolerated everything with the goal that we could raise above poverty. Others may think it is a good experience as far as one could achieve a set of material benefits. In any case, it is hard to leave your kids when they are young. My kids would ask me all the time amid my yearly visits, Mother, when are you coming back home?”*

Some returnees, confess that they were disappointed when they returned home, they found out that the home had changed in shape, structure and substance'. As one woman commented: *“When I got back home, I thought that my family would be happy as before I left. We used to share our issues, eat our dinners together, tell stories, share dreams. When I got back home, everyone cares about his own particular life, there is nobody to talk with, nobody is at home. Things have changed. Something is missing. What is imperative to me now is that I have returned after being away for eight long years.”*

4.1.2 Gender Roles After Return

In a leading study Alice Pingol (2001), investigated the change that happened in Filipino men abandoned by spouses who went abroad to work, and who have turned into the principle suppliers of the family. She explored the models of gender relations among couples whose lives have been changed by international labor migration. In particular, the study analyzed how the men managed conventional standards of manliness which constitute being great suppliers, and the main bread-winner, virile sex partner, firm and solid fathers²⁷⁰.

Her findings appeared among others, that the men, the spouses required mental modifications from being a principle supplier to that of a nurturer and from being dedicated and faithful husbands instead of their sexual deprivation. They must be emotionally stable to support the needs of their children. In fact, these men had to redefine masculinity and manhood. Another group of men couldn't adapt well, and had clashes with their wives and families, couldn't manage their remittances and went into sexual relations²⁷¹. In this investigation, I found that the last group of men prevailed.

For Kaltoum, returning home implied divorce from her husband, who had been unfaithful and who had mismanaged the remittances sent to him, while she was abroad in Saudi Arabia. She has returned to her initial situation (being a

²⁷⁰ Alice Pingol (2001),

²⁷¹ *ibid*

farmer in others' lands). Kaltoum has left the city where he lives, and even her children are with their grandparents, and refuse to live with her.

Halima came back to a home where she tried living with a spouse who kept on being unfaithful during her absence. She stated: *“Upon my return, I attempted to get the pieces of the puzzle yet I was unable. He always wants to hug me, but I reject him, I have no feeling for him, I feel that I have sacrificed my comfort and wellbeing for someone who doesn't deserve it. I needed to get separated from him however my dad refuses”*.

After 12 years abroad Fatima returned home, she discovered that her husband had misused the remittances which she transmitted frequently. He had lent the greater part of the cash to his kin to back their Business and was never refunded. Fatima was angry. She revolted and left home for around two months.

After returning from Saudi Arabia, Leila discovered that her husband had involved in a relationship with a woman she hired to take care of her kids while she was away. This caused clashes and torments in their family. she also discovered that the second child had fled and looked for shelter in his grandma's home in the region.

Like Khadija, Fatima reproached her husband for his betrayal and even requesting that he leave the family. Her husband was sorry, yet she could never again convey herself to re-set up their conjugal relationship. Fatima commented:

'The kids have lost esteem for their dad. They don't take into consideration what he says, they only care about what I say'.

What are the reasons behind these fragmented relations described previously? The male mates abandoned were not able to adapt to the spouses' absence from home and as a result, mismanaged the remittances, and get in sexual relations. The migrant spouses with unfaithful husbands needed to survive the emotional and psychological expenses involved. The kids endured too all the while. Some of these women couldn't ask for divorce because of parental weight and as I clarified previously, there is yet a social disgrace joined to divorced women or women who leave their spouses.

Even though the connections between return migrant wives and their life partners were obviously destabilized, I keep up that the female migrants were not passive, they exhibited acts of resistance and tried to negotiate the power relationship. Also, to some of them, their roles and status in the families were improved.

4.2 Migration and Women's Empowerment

Empowerment is deeply established in the meaning of power and Steven Lukes' theory of power causes us to comprehend this complex and multi-faceted idea. As indicated by him, *“power is a dispositional concept, identifying an*

ability or capacity, which may or may not be exercised"²⁷². In connection to social life, power alludes to the limits of social operators to achieve critical impacts and changes. Moreover, there is the measurement of 'control over' which does not really convert into mastery, rather, 'control over' others can be transformative, productive²⁷³. Feminists study of empowerment gets mostly from Lukes' investigation of power.

Empowerment is a dynamic and on-going procedure situated in a continuum. The procedure involves different stages, from individual to community awareness raising to mobilization for change to end women's' mistreatment. At the individual level it implies self-affirmation, confidence in one's ability to change conditions throughout everyday life.

In this manner, the empowerment procedure starts in the inner self, from woman's consciousness from having confidence in herself to self-assurance, and understanding that it is she, alongside her sisters, who must state that right. It is twisting, evolving awareness, recognizing areas for change, arranging techniques, representing change and influencing everybody: the individual, the activist, the group and the community²⁷⁴.

Empowerment constitutes a feeling of agency, capacity to arrange, convey, sort out and hold opinions. The power inside as stated by Kabeer (1995) is

²⁷² Lukes 2005:109

²⁷³ Ibid : 71

²⁷⁴ Ibid: 109

communicated as far as women's capacity to control assets, decide plans and settle on choices influencing their lives²⁷⁵.

An Asian provincial research on local laborer migration (Licuanan 1994) demonstrated that to the women, the experience of working abroad was a gain in itself. They turned out to be free, self-assured and built up a more decisive identity²⁷⁶.

Similarly, in the investigation of Filipino migrant women by Maruja Asis (2002), the women kept up that the experience of migration imparted the experience of migration *"instilled in them a more positive sense of self and a stronger sense of spirituality not because of the absence of trials but because they had surpassed various trials"*²⁷⁷.

In considering local migrant women in China, Delia Davin (2005:29-38) noted that when they came back to their provincial community from their urban work, the women carried with them distinctive constructions of women's roles, higher requests of living standards, more prominent inspirations for children and expanded feeling of self-governance²⁷⁸.

As per C. Cindy Fan (2004), migrant work for provincial women in China was not only a chance to win their own particular wages it additionally presented

²⁷⁵ Kabeer (1995)

²⁷⁶ (Licuanan 1994)

²⁷⁷ Maruja Asis (2002)

²⁷⁸ Delia Davin (2005:29-38)

them to new thoughts, viewpoints and ways of life. In this manner making the potential for the women to end up capable of financial and social changes in their groups²⁷⁹. Women migrants have turned out to be better prepared to design their future, to basically assess traditional life and conventions, and to participate in elective gender divisions of work'²⁸⁰.

In this investigation, I tried to analyze how women's migration influenced their feeling of empowerment, the power inside themselves to make change, to change power imbalance, and to be part in supporting for change of the bigger structures influencing their circumstances and conditions as returning migrant workers²⁸¹.

The experience of overseas worker has raised the awareness of the women, of their ability to provide and accommodate their families and to effectively overcome the problems of a migrant's life²⁸². Subsequently, this reinforced their character and feeling of self-governance. In the meantime, they additionally ended up clearly caught in the cycle of taking care of unending requests from their families that persisted upon return to the country of origin²⁸³.

This study demonstrates that the migration experience has changed the women to be more self-confident, and self-assured. Thanks to their migration, to their

²⁷⁹ Rowlands 1998

²⁸⁰ C. Cindy Fan (2004),

²⁸¹ *ibid*

²⁸² Asis 2002:91

²⁸³ Batliwala 1994:132

exposures to different countries, to different societies women have additionally built up a wide standpoint in life. They have acquired different abilities, time management aptitudes, and furthermore leadership abilities, that huge numbers of them are currently dynamic in their groups.

Women were additionally engaged as it appeared by their capacity to challenge gender norms. For instance, when spouses mismanaged their remittances, the women sent them to one of their kids as Nora and Yasmine did. What's more, Yasmine guaranteed that the properties she had obtained were set under her children's names as opposed to her husband's. To her, it was to give him a lesson for the time that he was unfaithful and careless. Others requested equivalent sharing in addressing family unit needs and duties.

Two women asked for divorce from their unfaithful spouses. Unmistakably, these women have tried to balance power relationship to their side. Being in charge and making choices in their lives, henceforth, changing the gender relations in each of the three perspectives: work (gender division of work), control (men's mastery and control in basic leadership, access and control of assets) and cathexis (passionate and sexual connections).

As indicated by Connell's (1987) conceptualization. One could contend that at the individual level, women have turned out to be empowered, yet such empowerment should be interpreted into activities to change the conditions of

their lives, for example, measure up sharing of caring roles and family duties, and equivalent community involvement.²⁸⁴

Jane Parpart et al. (2002)²⁸⁵ advise us that empowering is a procedure that happens in institutional, material and discursive practices with the goal that we should know about bigger and full-scale basic changes that help women empowerment at the individual level. I hence, argue, that women migrant's empowerment, remains an on-going procedure.

Pauline Barber (2002:42) keeps up that " *empowerment occurs within a process of on-going micro-political negotiation - it is not a state or condition that once arrived at is achieved and moved on from* "²⁸⁶. Like the limited agency that was have cited, empowering is additionally limited by class divisions and bigger social structures of energy.

Empowering, in this way, requires transformative social and political activity in societal organizations. It likewise implies aggregate power in setting talks and motivation, and for migrant women, their significant and real investment in migration policy at all parts of the migration procedure, particularly after their return.

²⁸⁴ Connell's (1987)

²⁸⁵ Jane Parpart et al. (2002)

²⁸⁶ Pauline Barber (2002:42)

4.3 Return and Reintegration

At the point when the migrant women have come back to their families and groups, reintegration questions arouse, in fact the long periods of absence have created in them and in their family a sense of being strange in one's place. what are then the helping factors for such resettlement? As per Bimal Ghosh (2000), effective reintegration is related to two inter-related measurements: one, individual achievement which converts into social, financial security and welfare of the returning migrant and two, the migrant's commitment to the financial and social improvement of the country of origin and the community.²⁸⁷

Are these affirmations pertinent to the lives of the returning migrant women workers in this examination? For the skilled migrant female workers, coming back to initial profession turned to be troublesome due to age, the deskilling that has occurred and the absence of job opportunities.

Field work in this investigation, uncovers to some extent stories of lost opportunities for the migrants themselves, their families and communities. Yasmine and Fatima Zohra were university graduates yet settled in the Middle East. Yasmine works hard so she could send her kids including a little girl to school and empower them find a great job in the Morocco. The girl got her BA but since she couldn't find a job she is thinking about migration.

²⁸⁷ Bimal Ghosh (2000),

When Yasmine returned, she was in her 50's, so it was unrealistic to rejoin the formal work. Rather, she and her family set up a private business to create some income yet this was not satisfactory to manage the way of life they had been used to when she was working in Dubai.

While Halima could send her older son to great schools and to set aside cash for a house and private business, she lamented not having the capacity to seek after her profession as bookkeeper. Like Yasmine, she could never again rejoin the formal work upon return in light of age. Fatima Zohra kept on taking part in small businesses to increase the family's income and put something aside.

Obviously, conditions in the country of origin don't propel or urge abroad migrants to return home. Many political, social, and institutional difficulties come into play that challenge their return. And make from their migration again a feasible possibility.

4.4 Breadwinning After Return

While a large portion of the migrant women were unmistakably empowered by a sense of independence, self-confidence, decision making abilities and more leadership roles, and upgraded status. This investigation likewise demonstrates that women's breadwinning roles have sometimes remained and have even extended.

It has been over a year since Leila returned for good. Now, she has a standard housekeeping role. Her husband provides for the family from his tricycle. Although, more often than not, he is sick. The eldest in the family did not complete school and he now gains some cash driving a tricycle. However, he has been married to a young woman, who did not complete school like him. Both now live with Leila and the family.

A nephew from the countryside had come to live with the family while he searches for a job. Leila wants to leave again, since the situation is still difficult, but she doesn't want to repeat the same mistakes and lose her family. She misses her activity abroad; she misses the security of getting a regularly scheduled pay. Then, she feels the immense weight of accommodating her family.

Fatima invested some energy patching her relationship with her husband and kids. Afterward, she had her home repaired and peaceful, her husband provides for the family from the small business they set from the remittances. Fatima now functions as a real estate agent; she puts aside some saving to pay for her girl's costs for getting ready to go to Dubai to fill in as an artist.

Yasmine was away for a long time yet her work abroad has realized substantial advantages for her family: a house, kids' education, two out of four kids finished school, a second-hand car, two tricycles, a little house for rent, little poultry and

sheep business. Life appeared to be steady and secure when she returned home. she commented:

“I now believe that I may have committed an error for getting back home. When I was still abroad, my kids guaranteed that when I return, they would provide for me now that I am a retiree in my sixties. However, now that I am back, I need to purchase my own medication, and my little kids still depends on me financially”.

Hada returned home after 15 years and immediately attempted a little women's accessories business yet failed. She spent her funds on the necessities of a girl: paid her clinic bills, provide for her since she quit working, help her jobless spouse by giving him a tricycle which he could use to procure some pay. Hada has finished her investment funds. She doesn't have any consistent income. She is a farmer. She feels alone and dismissed by her girl.

In her account, Hada piercingly shared that life is a struggle and she can scarcely meet her every day needs. Water and power supply have been cut in her family since she could not pay the bills. In a quiet way, Hada commented: *“I really regret my return, I thought things would be different, I imagined a different life with my daughter and her kids, I thought that she would care for me, provide for me, and that I could live my last days in peace with her, I hope if I can travel again”*

A few associations in Morocco are currently engaged with micro credit in spite of the fact that there is yet the issue of access for poor families in poorer places. For Hada, who lives in an urban territory, she could get connected with one of them to benefit herself from a loan to start her independent business-like Khadija.

Khadija chose to join an association, an urban poor individuals' association and profited herself from their small-scale loan program. A loan of 30,000 Dh empowered her to take part in private business (selling soda, ice-cream and breakfast). she additionally rented two rooms in her home. She calculated that she would earn (net) around 320 Dh a day and of this sum, she pays back 120Dh. The family can survive hardly on her everyday income. In the meantime, the spouse helps Khadija in maintaining the small business. Thanks to this program, Fatima Zohra and Khadija could profit from some offered leadership, and management training.

Rita, who lost her husband while abroad, attempted a wide range of work to procure a wage. She worked as offices cleaner which produced a poor wage. Rita began to set up an accommodation store, however neighbors bought products using loans that they didn't refund and after a short time, the business shut down. Two rooms were added to her humble home, which she rented. Rita additionally went into a garments business offering both new and second hand clothes. For

Rita, life has been a consistent battle and, at a certain point, she considered on simply surrendering it.

The accounts above exhibit the difficult situation of the migrant women when they return home and are not ready to find a safe employment either in the formal or in the informal work. In spite of the fact that the women had a few funds upon return, these were effortlessly spent. The situation of Rita and Hada particularly highlights the need for those in a similar circumstance to be helped, both economically and technically so they can provide for themselves. In the meantime, the accounts of Rita and Hada show the shortcomings of social security for returning migrants women and for poor people in Moroccan culture.

4.5 Ambivalent Consequences of Migration

What do these stories inform us regarding life after migration? Logical inconsistencies flourish. A long time abroad were spent watching over other children and families, yet the women couldn't be physically present to tend to their own kids and families. Consequently, the worldwide exchange of care from poor countries to rich countries; a reliance of another kind, that of less advantaged women supporting the requirements of the wealthier ones²⁸⁸. In the following part, I will break down a comparable reliance of rich countries on poor countries to address the wellbeing prerequisites of the last mentioned.

²⁸⁸ Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2002

In their want to guarantee the welfare of their families, women took conventional roles of their life partners and consequently 'crossed gender boundaries'²⁸⁹. They crossed gender standards by their physical absence from their families and homes to work in outside grounds. Moroccan women are viewed as the 'light of homes' thus when they leave, that light is stifled. Men are viewed as backbones of the home, which means fathers as providers whose essential obligation is to construct a house for the family.

To numerous women migrants, the migration experience gave a feeling of opportunity and freedom whether from the bounds of their town homes, or from miserable relationships, or from everyday tasks and duties. However, the return of the women migrants demonstrated that their role of providing for their families continue and even grow up after their return.

In spite of the fact that spouses had come to share family's different duties, women who bear the more noteworthy weight. In spite of the fact that men's role is changing, that is from the customary part of a dedicated provider to a father who is actually associated with caring and kids 'raising, it is still the spouse and not the mother who is for the most part in charge of domestic and child care.

²⁸⁹ Parrenas2006:59

4.6 Gender Roles and Return

Moroccan women as well as the families as well as the Moroccan culture in general are profoundly internalized with the reproductive roles of the women. While the migrants' women took upon themselves the providing part of participating in a paid work and supporting the needs of their families, in any case the women themselves felt their roles as carers and nurturers must be taken over by their partners, or any family member. This is unmistakably a sign of the rigid nature of gender roles and structures which maintains the estimation of the family and the traditional constructed roles of men and women.

All the women in the field work stated that guardians, particularly the mother, had horribly spoiled the children when they were abroad. They communicated that the care of the father or relatives with whom the kids are left isn't the same as the care given by the mother. Also, while the women recognized their financial commitments to their families, they felt that their physical presence was positively required by their kids, however they needed to give a decent life to the kids and in this manner they needed to persevere through the hardships.

The women and their families have turned out to be in an ideal situation financially than before, however not on a sustainable way. Funds were spent. remittances maintained a better way of life for the family, yet it creates a culture of reliance among different individuals from the family, as a result, making clashes and more pressure on the migrant women upon return.

Living after return has implied not having the capacity to secure a regular income or a pay producing activity to address their issues and those of the family. For those waiting for retirement, it has turned out to be tricky because of increasing needs to be provided for different individuals from the family including grandchildren.

The general political, social and financial condition in the country of origin is unsupportive and obtuse to the requirements of return migrant workers as voiced by the women in the field work. No satisfactory loan facilities to help the individuals who want to set up private businesses. For some return migrant, there is by all accounts no open door in the country of origin to give them the same income security that an abroad activity has gave them.

Living day to day after migration has implied a period for confronting the reality of getting back home and returning home to outsiders. In the psychological sense because of the long period of absence of women; broken the relationship with deserted kids who felt surrendered regardless of whether their mothers were out there satisfying their non-conventional parts; with companions unfit to assume changed gender roles.

The government's failure to give sufficient other options to abroad migrants has made the return troublesome and conflicted so the want to leave again and work abroad stays as an option. reintegration and resettling concerns are likewise impacted by life-cycle factors in the families that is, regardless of whether the

deserted kids are still at school-going age or not, or whether they have grown up with their own particular families and are financially independent.

The age of the return migrants is likewise a factor to consider. Few women from the field work, who returned were in their thirties and of them, the college student had attempted to join the formal work, however she did not succeed to be educator. Another woman came back to her previous occupation as a farmer.

The four women in their forties set up their small businesses. others worked as saleswoman and one as family cook. One woman in her fifties worked as a farmer in her farmland and cultivates and sells farm products for her every day survival.

Coming back to the arguments of Ghosh (2000), that effective reintegration of migrants implies their capacity to enhance the social and financial improvement of their communities. I contend that women were able at a certain point to achieve this, although to an exceptionally restricted degree, through their engagement in little salary creating businesses.

Being micro in nature, these projects can't enough fortify the groups' economy and give work and pay. However, these individual businesses can be extended and scaled up to greater and medium businesses to make more noteworthy financial benefits. This means sufficient and maintained material,

technical and financial help from the government and also from the private sector.

I contend that a solid political determination to create better conditions for migrants to influence their return and to secure financial and psychological help, is basic. I keep up additionally, that the social aptitudes acquired by women migrants, their more extensive outlook throughout everyday life, their upgraded social relations and their more egalitarian gender connections in their families, can be used and make the women agents of the social change.

Women can be well prepared by taking part in adult's education activities. furthermore, basing on the profundity and richness of their migration experience, they can be powerful voices to ingrain awareness among different portions of society about the outcomes of the migration on women.

In the following section, I examine the effect of long period women migration on Moroccan culture and contend that a culture of migration has now saturated the texture of Moroccan culture, influencing crucial organizations in the country.

Chapter 5: Macro Effects of Migration

At the point when Halima knew some information about an increasing number of women leaving the country to work abroad, she answered: *'It isn't great particularly if you need to abandon kids. Nobody can give them quality care especially when they fall ill. '*

Halima has got only one daughter, who is married with two kids, left for Kuwait to work in a beauty salon. Her migration was brief because of issues with the *kafil (sponsor)*. Her child who finished secondary school and a professional course was likewise intending to leave for Qatar to work in a production line.

After 12 years working in the Middle East, Fatima came back to Morocco, she commented that she needed to strive to sufficiently collect cash to have the capacity to send her only little girl to work in the Middle East as a performer.

All the four girls of Anissa experienced traveling to another country to work. Choumissa, the eldest, worked for 9 years, 5 years in Saudi Arabia and 4 years in Kuwait as a domestic help. She migrated when her kids were still extremely young and chose to return home on the grounds that the spouse was swinging to an ever-increasing number of indecencies. Part of her profit were used for the enhancement of their home; the rest were misused by the husband. Since the kids are at school age, she wants to leave once more. She is currently applying to go to Bahrain.

Anissa's second girl finished her higher education instead of searching for a job to suit her capabilities, she chooses to work in Kuwait. The third little girl took after her. Yasmine, who worked for 23 years in Kuwait, thought that her little girl would get a professional education and secure a great job in Morocco. The little girl finished secondary school however wanted to work like her, in Kuwait.

What do the above stories let us know? In spite of the apparent hindrance of abandoning young kids, the high cost of finding a job, and the vulnerabilities in securing a job, overseas migration continue.

This part will investigate the culture of migration (macro effect), its reasons and outcomes, how this culture created throughout the years and what are its impacts on the texture and institutions of Moroccan culture. While the first parts examined the effect of migration on the individual migrant women themselves and their families, this part will take a look at the gendered effects of the culture of migration on the individual and family levels and what it implies when families end up clearly subject to migration as a method for accomplishing a decent life; at the societal level and what it intends to the country's feeling of pride and esteem; and what are the different consequences of an governments dynamic part in promoting migration. This level of investigation can connect the micro, meso and macro powers which clarify the issue of universal migration from Morocco.

The narration, are a piece of the biographies reported in my study, indicate how overseas migration has turned out to be profoundly instilled in the Moroccan individuals' comportment, mindsets and existence. I will contend that such culture of migration has dissolved the country's feeling of pride and dignity and the benefit of working and serving in one's own country.

It has brought about the deskilling of qualified people and furthermore aggravated the brain drain, influencing basically fundamental social administrations. The stereotypes that follow the migrants as well, as being the largest exporter of prostitution in the world, Moroccan women are seen now as being cheap, and unimportant.

Migration culture has brought about a reliance of the government on international migration and progressively of women's work, as a method for fighting the country's joblessness and underemployment issues and additionally a reliance of families on migration as a way to better their lives.

The government favored the worldwide migration of Moroccan overseas workers over its obligation to set up auxiliary changes in the economy. Substantial dependence on migrant's remittances to stimulate the economy is an unsustainable procedure; thusly, the reliance of families on migration has brought forth gendered social outcomes, lost open doors and an unsustainable way of life and culture.

5.1 Culture of Migration

Culture is pervasive, with significant impacts on people. It is imperceptible and, in the meantime, inescapable²⁹⁰. The vast majority of our considerations, feelings and practices are socially determined, additionally contends James Neuliep. Roger Keesing (1981:68) that culture alludes to “systems of shared ideas, systems of concepts and rules and meanings that underlie and are expressed in the ways that humans live and what they learn.”²⁹¹ Studying society implies contemplating the sharing of a universe, basic implications and qualities.

The writing on culture of migration stays insufficient and without clear definitions. Generally, it alludes “*to a culture that ascribes migration the value of being integral to socio-economic mobility and therefore, an effective strategy for overcoming economic hardships*”²⁹².

Wayne Cornelius (1999:112) characterizes culture of migration as an ‘*set of interrelated perceptions, attitudinal orientations, socialization processes and social structures including transnational networks, growing out of international migratory experience, which constantly encourage, validate and facilitate participation in this migration*’.²⁹³

²⁹⁰ Roger Keesing (1981:68)

²⁹¹ Neuliep 2000:14

²⁹² *ibid*

²⁹³ Wayne Cornelius (1999:112 ³¹⁷ Massey et al. (1998).

Fundamentally, there are two hypotheses that clarify how migration streams: the social capital hypothesis, and the hypothesis of cumulative causation as created by Massey et al. (1998). The previous predominantly alludes to the role of interpersonal networks amongst migrants and relatives in both sending and receiving countries. While the last clarifies why after some time, universal migration maintains itself. Causation is cumulative since each migration modifies the social setting inside which migration choices are made. A culture of migration grows up because of the development and duplication of networks³¹⁷.

Sara Curran and Abigail Saguy (2001:63) argue that networks which expose people to different social groups transmit vital information and ‘*serve as conduit for new cultural values, identity and desires*’²⁹⁴, including want for market products that are seen as critical for asserting another identity. Thus, after some time, migration, the believes and convictions related to it end up noticeably coordinated into the structure, believes and desires of families and groups. Massey et al. contend that “*migration becomes a rite of passage, and those who do not attempt to elevate their status through international migration are considered lazy, unenterprising and undesirable*”²⁹⁵.

²⁹⁴ Tsuda 2003

²⁹⁵ Ali 2007

The above hypotheses are valuable in attempting to clarify how the culture of migration has been created in the Moroccan culture at the level of families and groups for the most part through the role of interpersonal networks. In contrast, I argue that the social networks, and the government of Morocco itself, assumes a noteworthy part in engendering and sustaining this culture and that the state establishments themselves are currently mixed with this culture of migration.

5.2 Reasons Behind the Culture of Migration

The social and ideological powers of universal migration are regularly and profoundly established in sending countries. Migration has a long tradition in the North African country: regular and circular migration between some rural regions and towns in western and Northern Morocco, in addition to trans-Saharan nomads, have existed for quite a long time²⁹⁶.

Today, the powers of globalization have added to the quick development in worldwide migration, and the culture of migration now implanted in the Moroccan culture is particularly a vital part of such powers. joblessness and income imbalances. In the midst of this circumstances, the exports of workers and the private sector, were seen as a relief by the government.

²⁹⁶ Ozge Bilgili and Silja Weye, December 2009, 'Migration in Morocco: History, current Trends and Future Prospects', Paper series: Migration and Development country Profilezs, Maastricht Graduate School of Governance

A culture of migration has occurred in the Moroccan society based on the conviction that financial change is conceivable just by moving and working abroad. Subsequently, families like that of Annissa have made a reliance on migration as a method for securing a better life with satisfactory pay.

Migration has turned out to be such a typical event in the general public and that coming back to the country of origin appears to be fairly a special case now. A few factors generally clarify why Moroccan culture has achieved a point where abroad migration has turned out to be so unavoidable. Migration itself is state-driven, advanced by the Moroccan government and has been standardized. It has turned into a gigantic industry as proved by the presence of various authorized organizations controlled by the legislature. networks of migrants have developed in some countries of the world encouraging the surge of Moroccans to work abroad. The simplicity of migration and worldwide communication (thanks to internet) has likewise added to the issue of global migration.

At the societal level, joblessness and underemployment persevere in the country. Additionally, work quality is declining: most new occupations are low-earning or non-permanent. The issue is closely related to the nature of work, for instance manufacturing and farming are huge in light of the fact that these are significant sectors for producing occupations as well as establishments for a vigorous economy. This prompted the perseverance of migration, yet to what expand.

5.3 Social Impact of Migration

5.3.1 Lost Occasions

Examining the field work in this study uncovers to some degree stories of lost opportunities for the migrants themselves, their families and the groups they deserted. Yasmine and Fatima Zohra were college graduates yet settled as agents in UAE and Kuwait. Yasmine worked hard so she could construct a small house but since she couldn't find a respectable activity, she inevitably moved to UAE and filled in as a babysitter. While Fatima Zohra could send her kids to great schools and to set aside cash for a house and a private business, she lamented not having the capacity to seek after her own vocation.

Hafida wanted to open a pre-school in the place where she grew up after finishing a degree in education. By the force of conditions, she was tempted by some friends to go along with them in Saudi Arabia to work as a caretaker. She worked there for a long time, after which she moved to Britain with her managers where she keeps on being a caretaker. she commented: *“this dream has been crushed by different requests and needs of my family essentially that of meeting the high medicinal costs of a weak mother. Since I can't be an instructor now, I can be a loyal little girl, sister, and close relative’.*

In the meantime, Hafida has likewise turned out to be open to being in an alternate piece of the world to which numerous seek to come to work and acquire

great cash, so she stays in Britain for whatever length of time that she can. The culture of migration has deskilled experts, (for example, instructors who have turned to becoming caretakers).

6.3.2 Remittances' Impact

Ninna Nyberg Sorensen (2005) argues that a gendered examination of remittances practices would involve inquiries, for example, who moves and who stays, under which conditions, for what remittances are used for and what manages gendered migratory practices²⁹⁷.

Similarly, Pessar and Mahler (2003) contend that studies need to exceed those which concentrate on the number of remittances streams and how they are put and, in this way, consider the social relations between the remitters and beneficiaries which have a tendency to be gendered consequently influencing gendered division of work. The gender control and generational flow amongst home and abroad are additionally conveyed to the surface throughout isolating how remittances are sent and spent²⁹⁸.

Remittances are so essential to the Moroccan economy and as the examination shows, to the survival and support of a better way of life for families and family units with the goal that the cycle of migration is sustained by prompting a culture of migration. In the meantime, a culture of reliance on

²⁹⁷ Ninna Nyberg Sorensen (2005)

²⁹⁸ Pessar and Mahler (2003)

migration and progressively, women's migration has followed, making clashes and more noteworthy weight and pressure on the migrant worker while at work abroad, and upon return and even after as this examination illustrates. As Sorensen (2005) ²⁹⁹ brings up, the worry to transmit may represent various troubles for the migrant worker, one of which is the powerlessness to aggregate assets for return and for potential investment.

In 2016 a report of the World Bank on Morocco assessed that the Moroccan diaspora sent around 6.4 billion Dollars to their country of origin in 2015, making from the kingdom the third-biggest beneficiary of remittances among MENA countries. While the raising number of migrants has created generous remittances, it comes at a high cost to the country as far as loss of brains, and can have high social expenses.

The cash that workers and migrants send home is used for sending children, little girls, nieces and nephews through school, while the lay is spent on food and housing and less than ideal private businesses that generally fall flat. A World Bank investigation referred to numerous workers experience extreme financial reintegration issues and any investment funds they may have brought home are effectively depleted³⁰⁰.

²⁹⁹ Sorensen (2005)

³⁰⁰ World Bank report 2015

Returning to the biographies, the findings demonstrated that returning home was full of challenges and life was no better for a considerable number of the women migrants in this investigation. Reserve funds were effectively exhausted, some returned home with no investment funds, some put resources into independent businesses, yet it was deficient to address the family's issues.

For migrants and their families, universal migration is regularly to a great degree powerful method for enhancing their financial situation and living conditions. It has been evaluated that 1.17 million out of 30 million Moroccans would fall back to total poverty without worldwide remittances³⁰¹.

In regions with high worldwide out-migration, the commitment of remittances to family unit pay development can be higher. In some Moroccan regions, the three primary migration belts — the Rif Mountains, the Sous valley and southern desert oasis — between one fifth to over a half of all families have more than one family member who has moved abroad.

It is frequently expressed that remittances are basically utilized for daily expenses, prominent utilization and 'no gainful' businesses, for example, the improvement of houses and, in particular, that such costs goad inflation and do little to create work and financial development. In numerous occasions, it is contended, migrant family even pull back from productive activities in and

³⁰¹ Fadloulah et al 2000; Hamdouch et al 1979; Lazaar 1987; Mezdoor 1993

outside agribusiness. This is believed to prompt a risky, latent reliance on remittances³⁰².

A few studies have demonstrated that among migrants' families the ability to contribute is higher than among non-migrant's family units. It has been generally contended in the writing that universal migration has added to agricultural activities decrease. The 'lost work' of capable (migrated) men is attributed a key part in horticultural decrease.

Notwithstanding, this cynical point of view is tested by experimental work demonstrating that despite the fact that the 'lost work impact' may at first have a troublesome impact, especially in the longer-term universal remittances can likewise assume a key part in encouraging farming businesses and the empowerment of rural production.

A key perception is that such effects are not uniform crosswise over various sending regions, and appear to be for the most part to happen in positively found districts with modern infrastructure and ideal institutional and agro ecological conditions³⁰³.

Adiba's most prominent pride is a one-story, three-room solid house, a demonstration of her 22 years of diligent work as a domestic help in Saudi Arabia. As she has returned home for good, the group admires her for having

³⁰² De Haas 2006; Hamdouch 2000; Heinemeijer et al 1977; McMurray 1992; Nyberg-Sorensen

³⁰³ De haas 2006

made it, for having satisfied the fantasy of many, to have their very own place and some different resources. But, maybe obscure to numerous is the feeling of weakness that she now faces as she can never again receive a consistent month to month pay. Likewise, on the grounds that she has invested her profit and funds into building her home, she has no savings left to be put into more gainful businesses.

The current writing has addressed traditional negative decisions about migrant's need for lodging. A huge number of specialists mourn lodging speculations, which is viewed as a type of "silly" and "ineffective" venture conduct which does not add to improvement. However, there is abundant motivation to scrutinize these suspicions³⁰⁴.

The significance attached to lodging ought to essentially be clarified by the natural and basic need of prosperity and own space, security, protection, less clashes and better wellbeing. It likewise empowers women to live in nuclear families and to be more autonomous from their in-laws³⁰⁵.

Actually, expelling such parts of prosperity as 'non-formative' reflects rather limit perspectives of improvement. Lodging can likewise be viewed as a generally secure investment in a shaky investment condition, through which families can conceivably produce wage through lease offering.

³⁰⁴ Fadloulah et al 2000

³⁰⁵ Aït Hamza 1988; 1995; Berriane 1996; de Haas & Van Rooij 2010; De Mas 1990a; Hajjarabi 1988

In migrants sending regions all through Morocco, remittances powered constructing fever has changed certain villages into towns, where migrants want to find different speculations. In this manner, migration and remittances have likewise quickened the broader long patterns towards job broadening, diminishing reliance on farming and urbanization³⁰⁶. This can be viewed as a generally constructive improvement, as it has made people's jobs less subject to caprices of the weather and horticultural markets³⁰⁷.

6.3.3 New Life Style and New Aspirations

Migration culture is profoundly instilled in the general population's outlooks and values so that regardless of whether there are other options to migration, these are seen as impermanent substitutes or not sufficient to satisfy one's needs and desires throughout everyday life.

The level of migration aspiration becomes ever more elevated. Receiving countries are positioned and stratified depending on the level of wages, open doors for progression, migrants political condition, and open doors for family reunification. Accordingly, Qatar, is a favored goal in light of its generally high wages. In Europe, it is Italy or Spain which gives some opportunity to family reunification. For those remaining at home, the fantasy of numerous is to go to Britain ideally or to Canada. For Moroccan domestic helps in the Middle East,

³⁰⁶ Agoumy 1988; Aït Hamza 1988; Ben Ali 1996; Kaïoua 1999

³⁰⁷ Bencherifa 1996; Bencherifa & Popp 1990; 2000; Bonnet & Bossard 1973; de Haas 2003; Pascon 1985; Popp 1999

their want is to move to Europe or Canada. Consequently, the cycle of migration is repeated and the culture of migration reinforced.

Migrations creates a migration culture, a culture that is created in the group by sharing information and experiences about circumstances, energies, present day and high expectations for everyday comforts in countries of destination. Moving has its spot as a community value and even as an ordinary transitional experience among youngsters.

Moreover, there is a developing number of individuals in the principle migration age groups who are better instructed and more educated about circumstances offered in different parts of the world. Indeed, even some youngsters in Morocco, now try to go abroad.

I argue that regularly accounts of migration are those of blushing pictures of life abroad, of new solaces, new tastes and experiences which consequently give an extraordinary appreciation for individuals to give it a shot there. In spite of the dangers, vulnerabilities, and high expenses involved.

Not many migrants would portray the hardships and troubles related with migration, for example, the long working hours, the absence of security or insurance, the sentiment of loneliness and distance, the cruel migration guidelines and controls, the prejudice, and the xenophobia. In the biographies the migrants portray their trip abroad and depict the humiliating conditions of

their domestic work, a story that manages a consoling vision of themselves as acknowledged and accepted by their families and their country. This consoling story along these lines sustains the cycle of migration.

Migration makes new styles of consumption for families which get remittances, higher buying power, and a way of life that others may seek to for themselves: branded garments, high tech machines, private schooling, and expansive and solid houses. In the meantime, utilization offers new wellsprings of social qualification and status.

Overseas Moroccan workers who can raise the way of life of their families by such new consumption patterns are very respected in the community. They are viewed as successful with regards to defeating the difficulties and hardships of working abroad and henceforth, appropriately compensated.

For women migrants, this could likewise mean a vindication for having left and even 'deserted' (the expressions of the women migrants themselves communicated in the field work) the family back home. New consumption forms in this manner have the ability to balance social standards based on 'man centric belief systems' and even supply the semiotic components for a counter hegemonic vocabulary.

Nevertheless, this raised living standard by new utilization products isn't maintainable. In the visits to the homes of the migrant's women who have

returned, I saw electrical appliances lying inert, never again used, for example, clothes washers or microwave stoves, since electric bills could never again be paid. Kids who used to study in tuition-based schools now expected to move to government funded schools similar to the case with Yasmine's grandchildren. Investment funds of FatimaZohra's spouse who used to work in the Middle East were depleted when he fell sick and was hospitalized. Likewise, Hafida's investment funds were additionally exhausted when the family brought about enormous doctor's visit expenses.

Supporting the family's level of living equivalent to or marginally lower than that got while the women migrants worked abroad, has turned out to be full of troubles for various reasons: absence of reserve funds or funds dissolved in view of high expenses of social administrations particularly health and education, no beneficial speculations, no open door for work upon return.

Finally, in the midst of the global financial crisis, Moroccan migrant confront the troubling prospect of losing their employments abroad and returning home jobless and frequently broke.

When we go back to the biographies, we find that life after migration for the women migrants implied considerably harder work and pressure to support and keep up their families. All the talked with return migrants, communicated that business was their primary worry upon coming back to the country. This clarifies their engagement in different types of independent businesses or income creating

activities. Like sustenance distributing, vegetable offering, groceries, and variety store and other private venture. They kept up a more prominent part in accommodating their families than that of the male relatives.

At last, I argue that culture of migration is to a limited extent a sign of a profound crisis including a crisis of a tormented country, a failure of the government unable to provide real substitute option of self-development for the social and economic development “*one that rests on a secure sense of identity and cultural integrity, on a system of meanings to which one can give enthusiastic allegiance*”³⁰⁸ crisis requires “*the removal of major sources of unfreedom: poverty as well as tyranny, poor economic opportunities as well as systematic social deprivation, neglect of public facilities.*”³⁰⁹

In the last chapter I will try to uncover the situation of women return migrants through the analysis of the collected data from a gender point of view. In order to try as much as possible to scrutinize the social and the economic situation of women returnees before and after migration and based on the three levels of analysis: micro, meso, and macro.

³⁰⁸ de Haas & Van Rooij 2010

³⁰⁹ *ibid*

Chapter 6: Questionnaire Analysis

In this chapter a summary of the field work is given based on the questionnaires analysis. The analysis will be divided into three parts, by taking into consideration the three scales of analysis the micro, meso and macro scales. This division will cover the three components of the migration experience of Moroccan female migrant's worker; starting with the conditions that pushed to migration, the lived experience of migration, and the return phase as well as the return factors and after return life.

6.1 Situation Before Migration

6.1.1 Social Situation

Social situation can be a very important factor that pushes women to work abroad since most of the questionnaire's answers, hands in hand with the interview indicate that 79% of labor female migrants consider themselves as being poor or vulnerable. This finding can confirm the economic theory of migration concerning the importance of economic factors in migration aims, however according to the questionnaires a very important number of returnees and their families considered as having an average social situation the facts that make us consider the already mentioned hypothesis concerning the existence of other factors that can lead to migration such as escaping from a troublesome relationship.

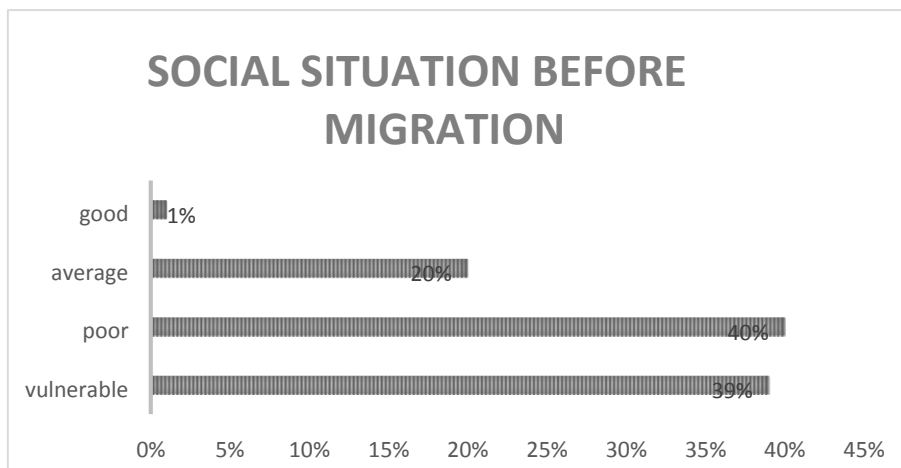


Figure 42: Social situation before migration

6.1.1.1 Women's Employment Before Migration

A big majority of migrant women were unemployed before migration, which means that joblessness, and financial assertiveness can be factors leading to women migration. However, this finding infer that a big number of migrant women were unskilled, and without any job experience before their migration. Furthermore, 20% of them had a regular job, yet they opted for migration, migration then is considered in this case as it was hypothesized by the economic theory of migration as a standard of life enhancer.

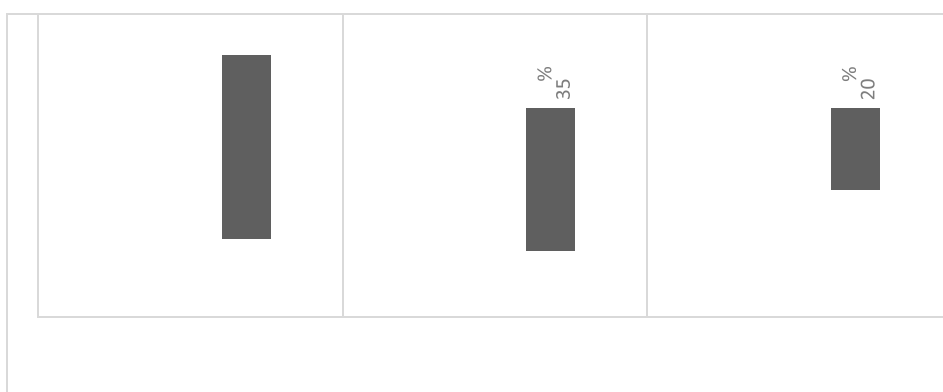




Figure 43: Employment before migration

6.1.1.2 Educational Level

Education plays an important role in both, life in Morocco, and abroad. In a sense that illiteracy can be synonymous of joblessness in Morocco, as well in explaining the nature of job illiterate people can take while abroad (domestic jobs). From the following chart the large majority are either illiterate or having only the primary school level. Whereas a tiny proportion are university graduates.

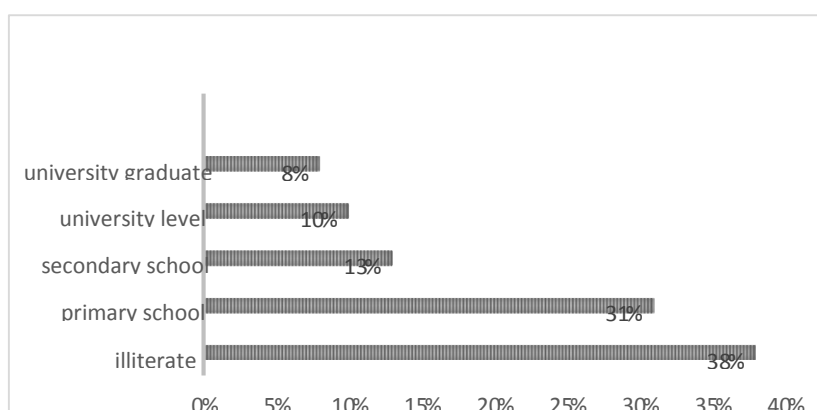


Figure 44: Educational level

6.1.1.3 Marital Status

In order to have an inclusive idea about migration of women and their return, one must consider the marital status as being of very importance in analyzing gender relations, and roles after migration. In fact, most of the returnees stated that they live alone, either divorced, widowed, or single. Yet a noticeable proportion of them (21%), declared that they are married, this will push one to reconsider the gendered relation of some Moroccan families, and the constructed social expectations of men as breadwinners, and women as carers and nurturers. This finding drives us to question the marital relations of these married women.

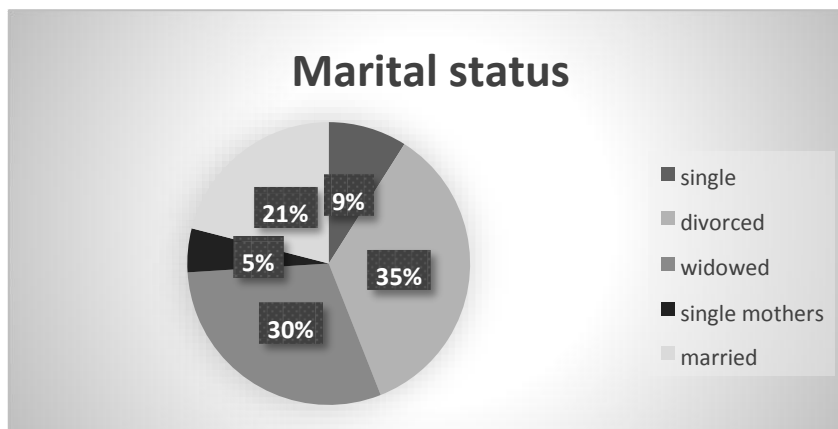


Figure 45: Marital status

6.1.1.4 Husband's Employment

In order to analyze the factors that lead married Moroccan women to take up the husband 's role, and migrate to become the provider of the family, it was

primordial to find out the financial situation of the husband in order to determine these factors. From the findings the majority of the husbands were either unemployed or having irregular jobs. However, a very important percentage (20%) were regularly employed. These findings are gendered itself, in a sense that, make us raise two very important questions: bearing in mind that 31% were unemployed, who was then the main breadwinners, before the women departure? Also, if 20% of husband had regular jobs, so what are the factors that urged the woman to scarify her family, and go abroad?

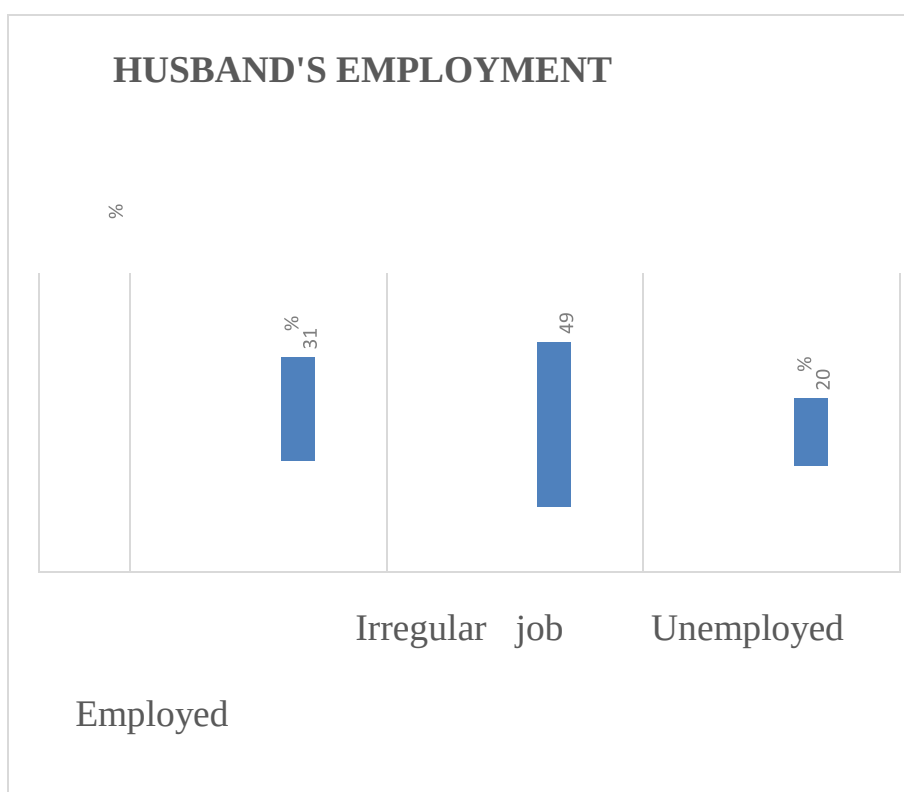


Figure 46: Husband employment

6.1.2 Gender roles, and marital relationship

To answer these questions, it was imperative to both find the main provider of the family, to check the degree of the husband responsibility, as well as the marital relation and atmosphere before migration.

6.1.2.1 *The Main Provider of the Family*

From figure 47 below one can easily notice that in only 36% of the cases husbands are the only provider of the family. We can then assume that the sharing of financial roles had already started before departure. Furthermore, in 28% of cases, women were the main family provider, which implies that the imaginary ideal family with defined gender roles distributed to each one of the genders must be questioned.

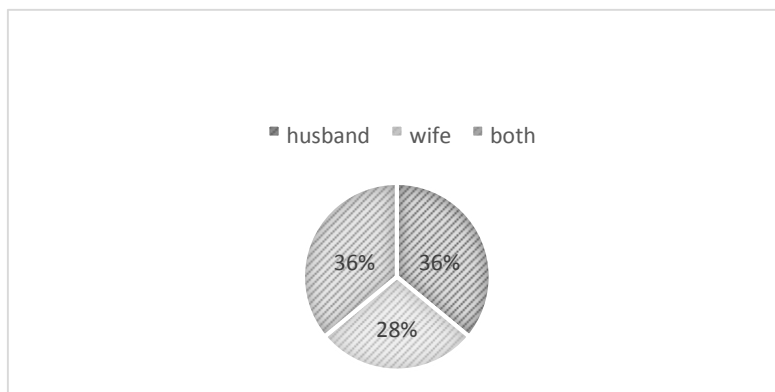


Figure 47: The main provider of the family

6.1.2.2 Marital Relationship

The already mentioned hypothesis that assumed that one has to consider other factors that may lead to migration, such as social problems. the findings of the field work confirm this hypothesis, in the sense that only 5% considered their husbands as nice and caring persons, the other majority (73%) saw them as irresponsible, or even violent. This connotes that escaping from a violent relationship, or taking the role of an irresponsible husband can be primordial factors leading to the migration of married women.

Husbands' attitude

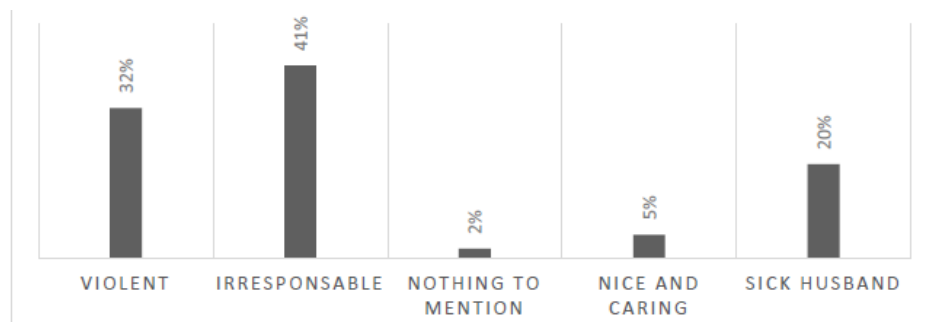


Figure 48: Marital relationship

6.1.2.3 Household Tasks' Sharing

Unsurprisingly, these findings backboned the findings of the previous question related to the husband attitude towards the family, and shows that more than 70% of husband are totally indifferent to the family's needs and tasks. All the above elements were used in order to try to determine the hypothesis concerning the marital relationship and its impact on the choice of migration.

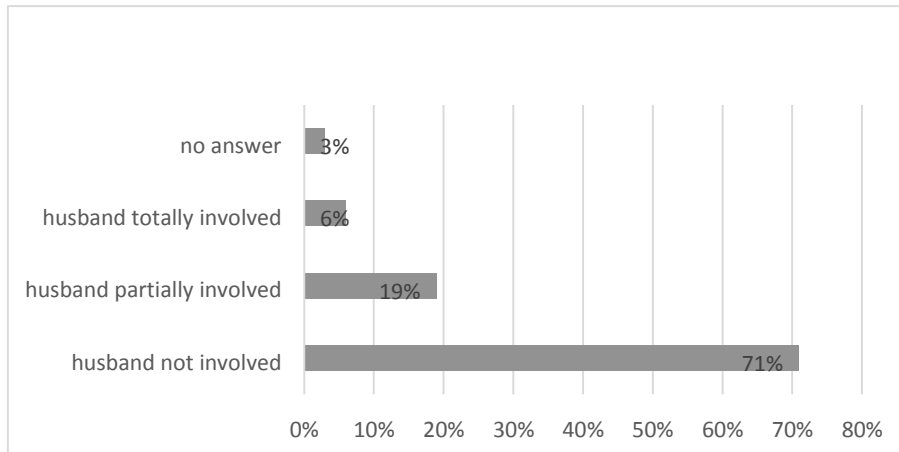


Figure 49: Household tasks' sharing

6.1.3 Reasons Behind Migration

From the chart below one can see that financial factors are important factors for migration choice, yet there are other social factors that are of importance, such as escaping difficult relationship, and experiencing a new life, as it was assumed in hypothesis. Notwithstanding, that 20% of the respondents considered all the elements while deciding to migrate.

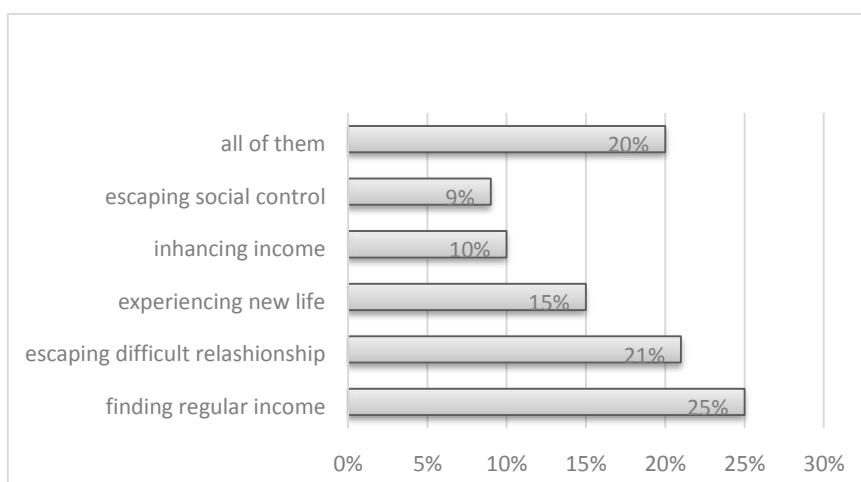


Figure 50: Reasons behind migration

To conclude, the findings of the first part of the field work analysis related to life before migration enabled us to conclude the following:

- The majority of female migrants are single, divorced, widowed, or single mother, which explain their will to provide for the family.

- Those who are married choose to take their husband's role (in a mainly patriarchal society) due to either his sickness, his being irresponsible, violent, or just because he is unable to find a job.

- Also some of the married women were either the main providers of the family, or sharing the financial responsibilities with their husbands before migration.

- Many women in this field work were jobless, then their migration experience was based on their will to access the job market and have a regular income. The majority, were uneducated, and unskilled This explains the nature of the job while abroad

6.2 During Migration Conditions

Questions related to life abroad are raised in order to comprehend the whole migration process, and to enable the analysis of the conditions under which the migrants had lived. As it was clear in the hypothesis that the female migrants develop a sense of identity, and agency during their migration experience and

that the harsh working conditions, feeling of loneliness in another country, meeting new people, being away from family, husband, or/and kids, in addition to their feeling of independent, and being far away from the social control; can affect female migrants. Length of stay, type of work, relationship with employees, among others are the question that were raised in order to enable for a global insight on the life abroad.

6.2.1 Length of Migration

The length of migration is also considered as a very important indicator of the degree of adaptation of the migrants and the families, and the migrants' objectives. According to the field work the majority of returnees have spent an average of 5 to 15 years, very few spent less than 5 and more than 25 years. These findings will push us to ask question related to the adaptation methods and objectives, as being factors behind the long period of stay.

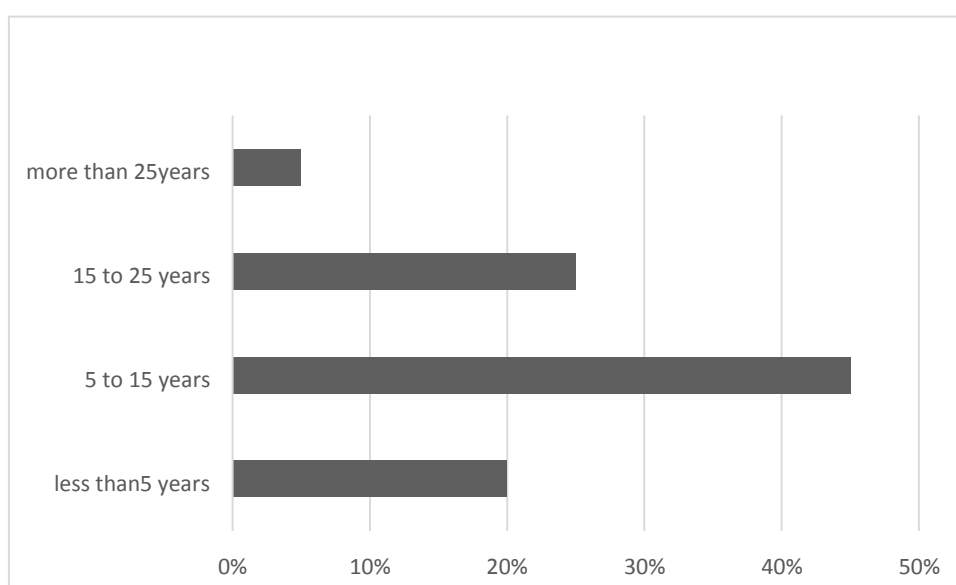


Figure 51: Length of migration

6.2.2 Job Conditions

In order to investigate the job conditions, many questions must be asked related to:

1. Type of work
2. Relationship with the employer
3. Working hours
4. Work contract
5. The respect of work contract

6.2.2.1 Type of Work

Type of work abroad is a very important factor that allows us to have an insight on the work conditions. From the figure 52 below we can see that the predominant category of workers, work as domestic help, followed by babysitters, which is not surprising since most of them were unskilled uneducated women.

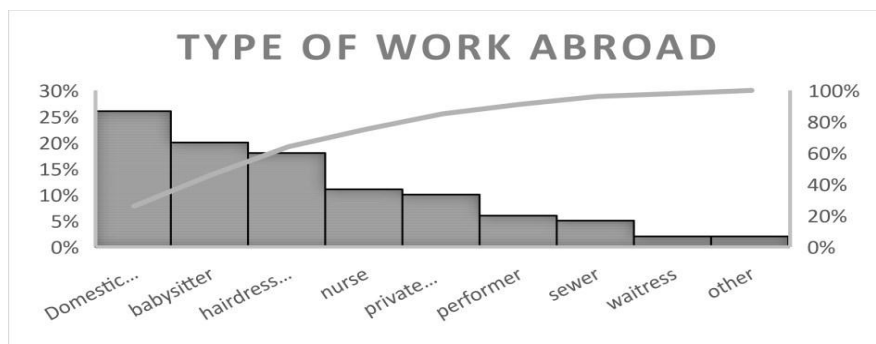


Figure 52: Type of work

6.2.2.2. Relationship with Employers

Nearly half of the respondent stated that their relationship with their employers was oppressive, this finding is explained by the previous question's finding related to the confined world of the domestic help, that escapes the legal control, and juridical framework.

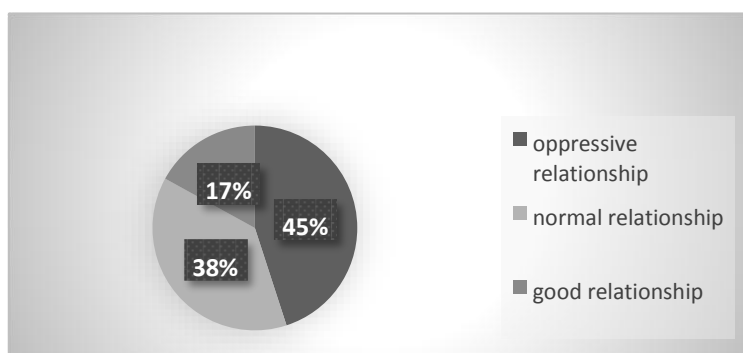


Figure 53: Relationship with employers

6.2.2.3 Working Hours

Most of the respondents stated that they used to work for 8 to 10 hours. However, a big proportion stated that they used to work for 10 hours and more, this long working hours can also be explained by the confined work of domestic

help. Only 10 % of the respondents stated that they used to work for less than 8 hours. In fact, this long working hours are a serious indicator of the unhealthy working conditions.

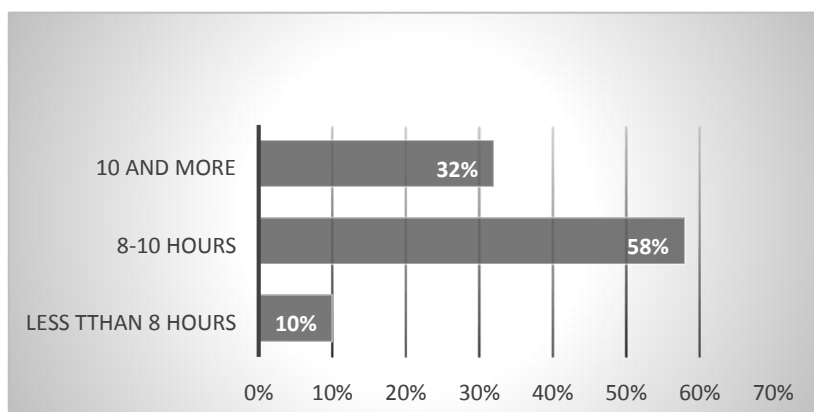


Figure 54: Working hours

6.2.2.4 Work Contract

As an answer to this question about the existence of a work contract, the majority of 64% answered affirmatively, 27% negatively, and strikingly 9% didn't even know if there is a contract or no. furthermore as an answer to the question related to the respect of the contract, nearly the majority responded negatively, as opposed to 26% who answered positively. From this finding one can infer that even if there was a work contract the employers in most of the time don't respect them, then the migrant was put under the mercy of his employer.

Figure 55: **Was there any work contract?**

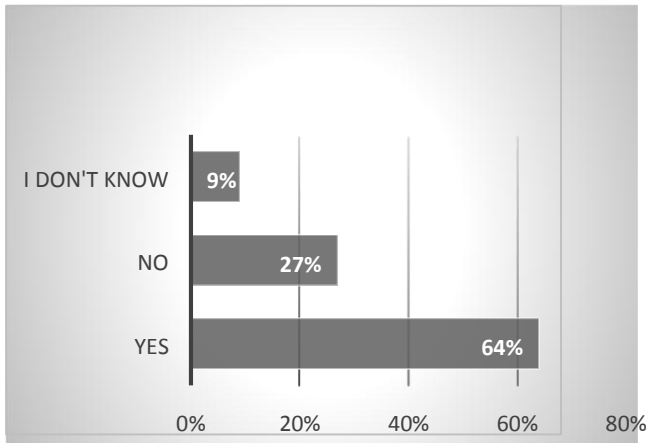
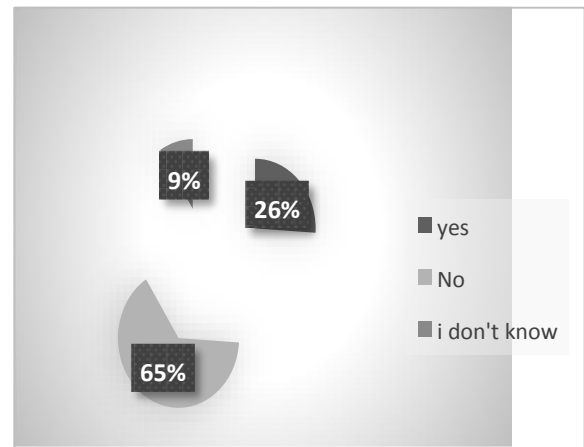


Figure 56: **Was the contract respected?**



These findings, in fact, highlight the harsh working conditions starting from the long working hours, and then the oppressive relationship. These conditions show that maybe the financial rewards worth it, and that the migrants could develop strategies of adaptation that enabled them to survive their migration journey.

6.3 Financial Rewards

In this section I will try to highlight the financial rewards gained from this migration journey, to analyze this assumption, I asked questions related to the financial advantages that they could win from their long years of migration by asking questions related to remittances, savings, and property acquisition.

6.3.1 Remittances

Do you remit? and to whom? These were the questions that enabled to analyze remittances. To detect the dependent parties who were taking advantages from the migration journey. As being a family centered community, the largest majority of the migrant women send money to their family members, as opposed to only 21% who do not. There are also some respondent who stated that they don't send money regularly, only in some occasions. In addition, sending money to children is the most common type of remittances, followed by the mother. Strikingly a noticeable percentage (14%) of respondent send money to their husbands, this leads to the questioning of gender roles.

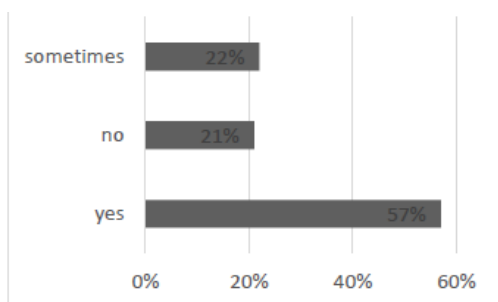


Figure 57: Do you remit?

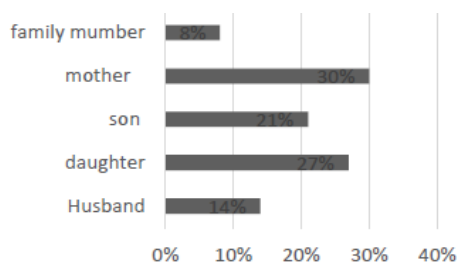


Figure 58: To whom?

6.3.2 Money Savings

Money saving can be socially seen as an important indicator of the migration evaluation. The more important the saved money is, the more successful is the migration experience. From the field work one can easily notice that nearly half of the respondent stated that they saved more than 100.000 MAD, however 10% of the respondent didn't answer this question, due to the fact that this issue is seen by many as a private topic.

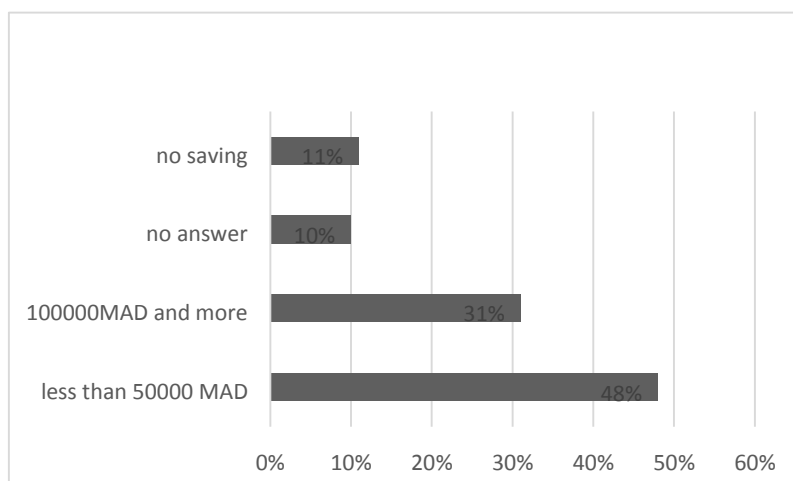


Figure 59: Was there any savings?

6.3.3 Property Acquisition

Another important indicator of the success of the migration experience is the property acquisition, especially houses, that was considered by many interviewees and respondents as the most important investment, that can be acquired through migration. This finding goes hands in hands with the finding of many researches done by scholars about migration and economy in Morocco.

House acquisition is followed directly by Business acquisition. Many of the respondent also stated that they have acquired both, since others stated other (which can be understood as land) as it was found through the interviews.

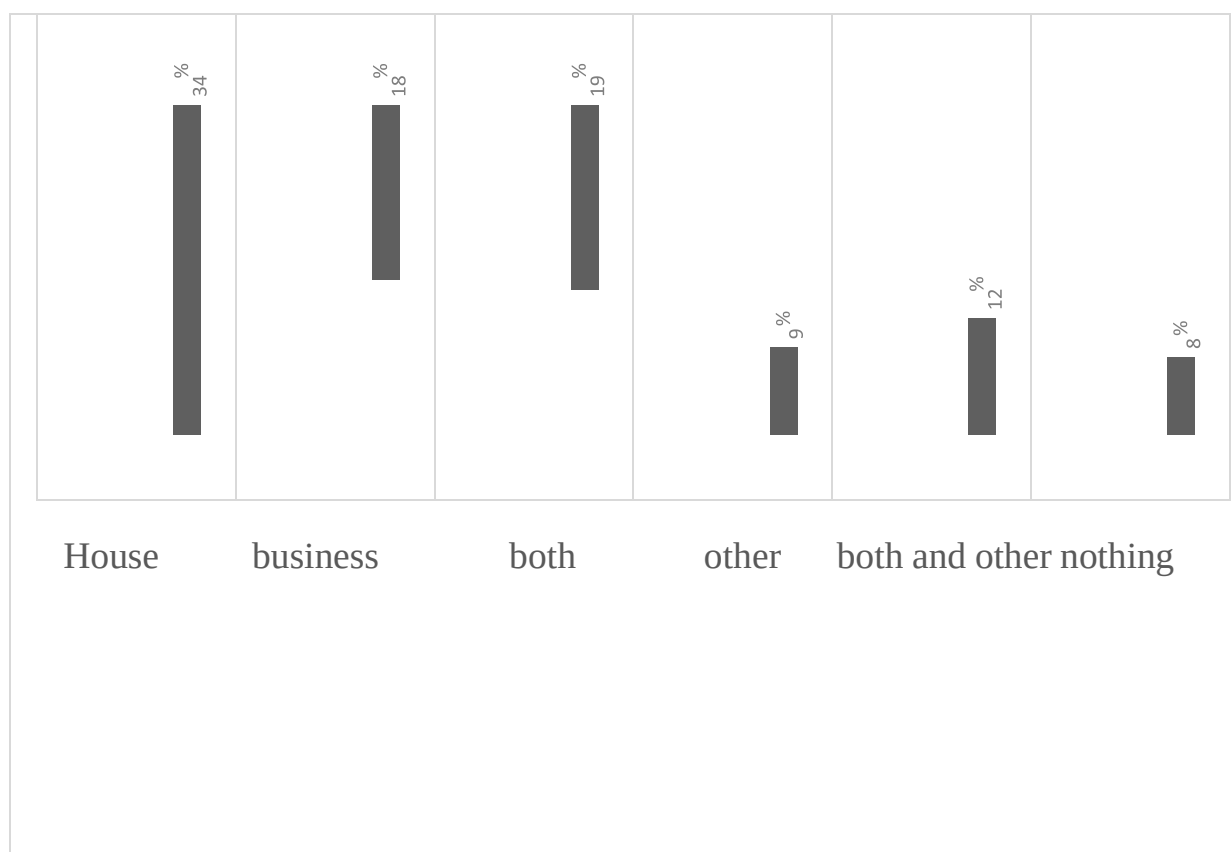


Figure 60: Did you acquire any property?

6.4 Children's Guardianship

In the Moroccan culture the tasks of children care and nurturing are closely linked, both by the society and women themselves, to the mothers. After migration these kids' responsibility is then given to other family members, either the mothers, relatives especially sisters and aunts, or to the husbands. The biggest part of children's guardianship is taken by mother (32%) followed by the

female relatives, and a noticeable percentage (24%) of husbands take this responsibility too, equally to female relatives.

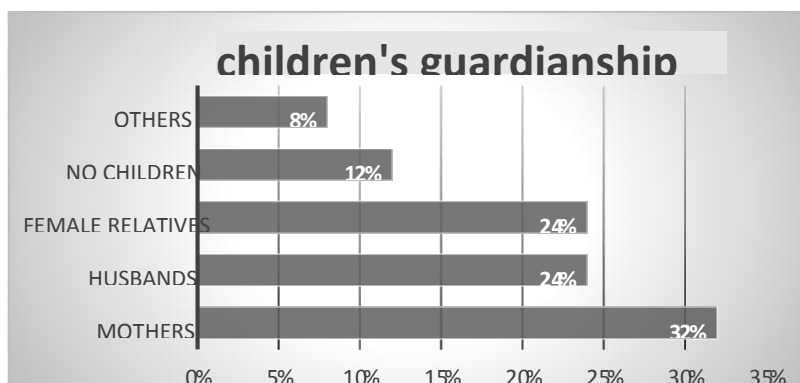


Figure 61: Children's guardianship

6.5 Visits to Morocco

From the figure 63 below 100% of married women or mothers return once a year to visit Morocco, in comparison to not married category, that may include divorced, widowed and singles. For no kids' category that may include married with no kids 69% of them have only sporadic visits to Morocco. These findings highlight that the migrants link to Morocco is mostly based on her nuclear family, the existence of which pushes them to visit at least once a year.

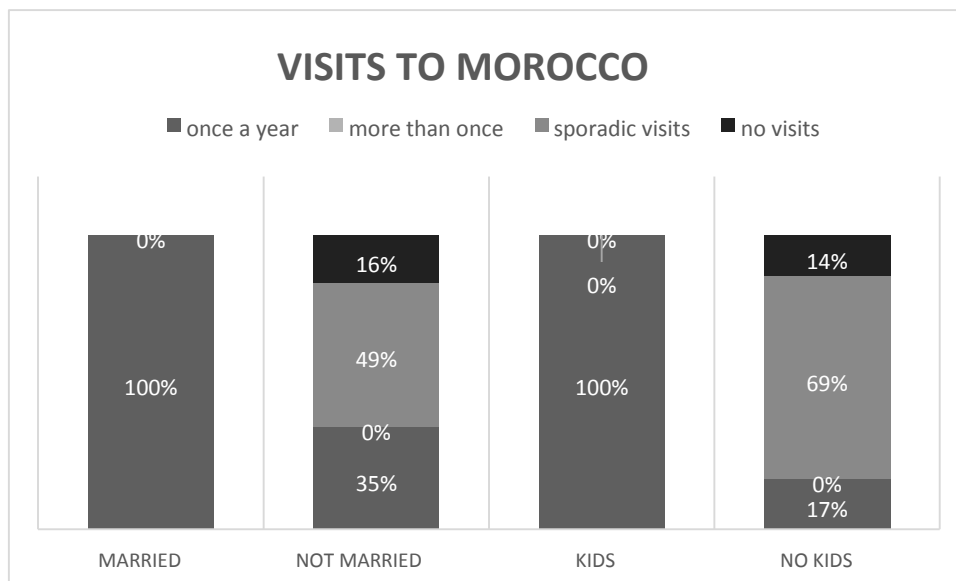


Figure 62: Visits to Morocco

From these finding one can deduce that:

Most of returnees spent from 5 to 15 years abroad in very harsh work conditions. The financial rewards were worth it, since the biggest category used to send remittances to their families back in Morocco, made some savings, and acquired a property. In the coming part I will try to analyze return conditions and life after.

6.6 Return Analysis

6.6.1 The Age of Returnees

The age of the return of the migrants 'women, refers to their age when they returned, and from the figure 64 below one can infer that the average age of return is between 45 to 55 years old, followed by 35 to 45 years old. Rarely can

found those who return before 35, or after 55 years old. This finding will push us question the reasons for return.

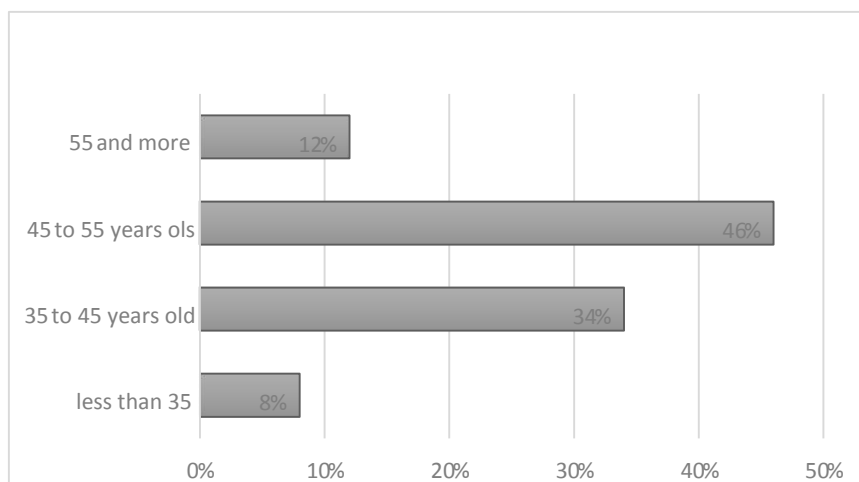


Figure 63: The age of returnees

6.6.2 Reasons Behind Return

Return decision as we have seen from the interviews, can be a hard step to take, due to many factors in the home country. Many Moroccan in fact, consider return as a madness, they cannot understand why someone would return back, since they consider migration as being a permanent occasion that one has to take without return.

These ideas among others pushes the migrant to think seriously before making the final decision. From the following Figure 65 one can easily deduce that there are external factors that may push the migrants to return, these external factors can range from end of contract, problems abroad, personal problems, and adaptation problems. These findings confirm the hypothesis concerning the

binary division (voluntary, and involuntary return) as I have already mentioned there is a blurred line between these two types of return, since only 19% stated that they have attained their objectives, the others in contrast were somehow obliged to return due to some external, out of control factors that pushed them to return. How can we depict their return as voluntary?

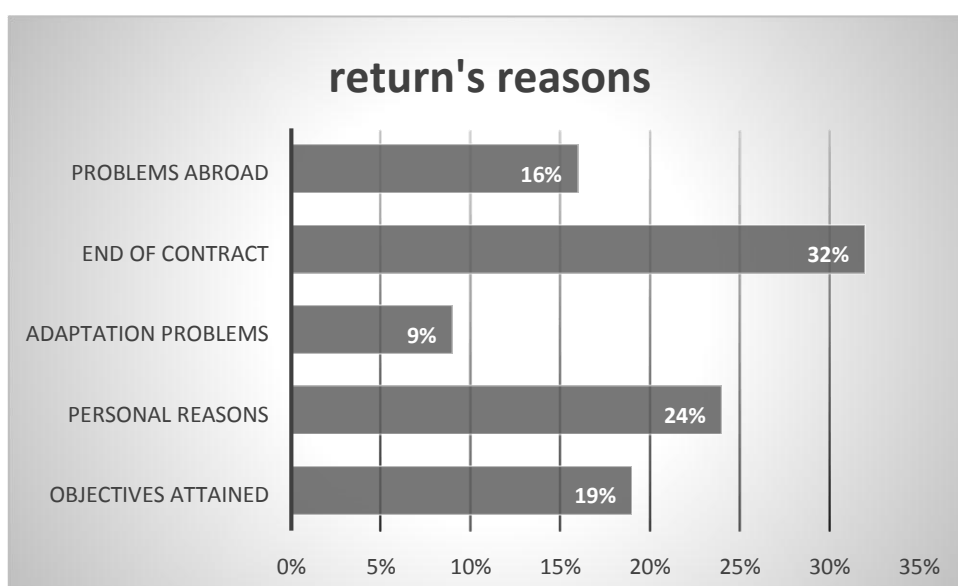


Figure 64: Return's reason

6.6.3 Financial Situation after Return

Return has a great impact on the social level of returnees and their families. Many of the interviewees had seen their financial situation weakened after return, many of them could no more use their electronic devices due to unpaid electricity bill, and many of their kids could no longer go to private schools. Return was for them synonymous of return to poverty, and neediness.

This is clearly explained by the importance of the financial role of the female migrant (mother, daughter, sister, or wife). In fact, from the following (figure 66) 51% of returnees considered that their social level has weakened after return, in comparison to only 17% who claimed that their financial level was better, and 32% who claimed that it didn't change.

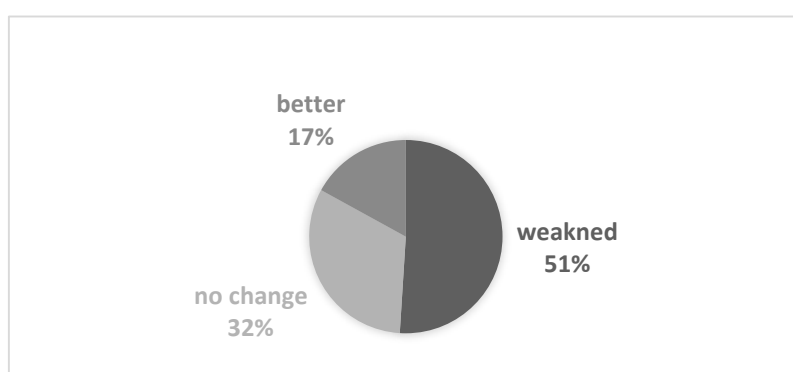


Figure 65: Financial situation after return

6.6.4 Financial responsibilities after return

Many of the interviewees stated that the role of breadwinning extended even after return, and that after return they found that they have more financial responsibilities than before migration. This finding is also confirmed by the questionnaires 'respondents, through which 61% stated that they have more responsibilities after return. Opposed to 31% who stated that they have less responsibilities, and only 8% who have no responsibilities. This finding will push us understand the gender roles distribution after return.

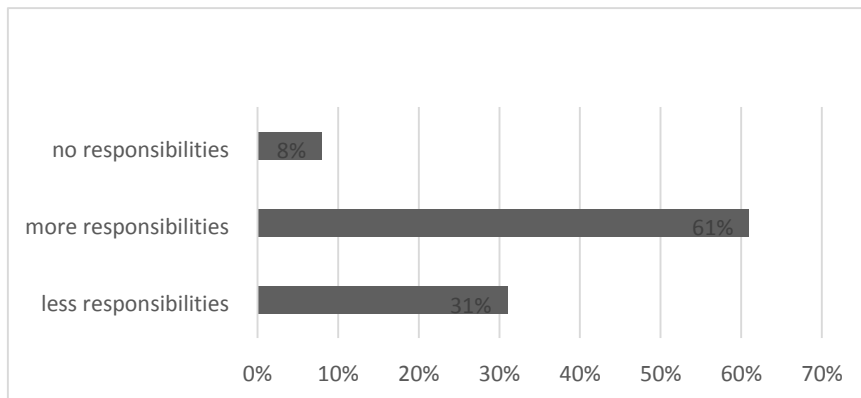


Figure 66: Financial responsibilities after return

6.6.5 Gender Roles

Since the breadwinning role is taken by the female returnees, what about the caring and nurturing roles? are they added to the financial roles, or they continue to be the husband's roles even after return? are we swishing gender roles or women end up with having a double burden?

Form the field work the findings are striking, in fact even though, many women continue to have the traditional roles of household tasks, caring and nurturing, men also are taking their parts either through sharing or through totally of partially taking the other gender roles. As one can clearly see 38% and 29% are taking respectively caring and nurturing roles and household tasks, as opposed to 20% and 21% who shared these tasks with their wives.

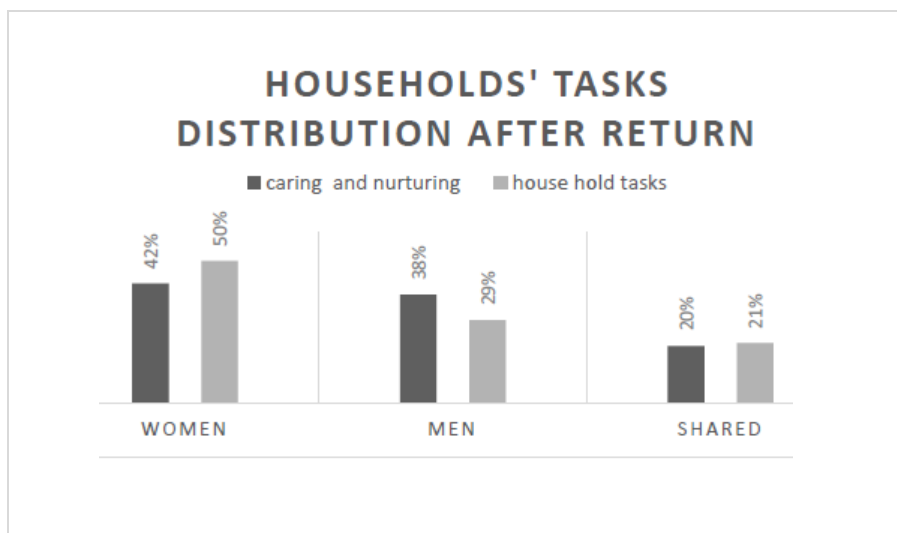


Figure 67: Household tasks after return

6.6.6 Women Empowerment and Agency Development

Responsibility is a feeling that develops through time, and experiences; which implies that these women sense of identity is due to many ingredients that have affected her personality. Facing the unknown alone; being far from one's country, and family; harsh working conditions, being independent financially, being the breadwinner (in some cases), meeting new people, and visiting new places.

These elements among others can be the ingredients for the migrant's development of a new agency and identity that is reflected on many personality traits such as self-reliance, assertiveness, sense of leadership, and decision making. The majority of the respondents as the case of the returnees stated that they have felt a change of their personality traits after their migration, 34% stated that their self-reliance, assertiveness, sense of leadership, and decision making

abilities, had known a change after they migrated.as opposed to only 8% who stated that there was no change in their personalities.

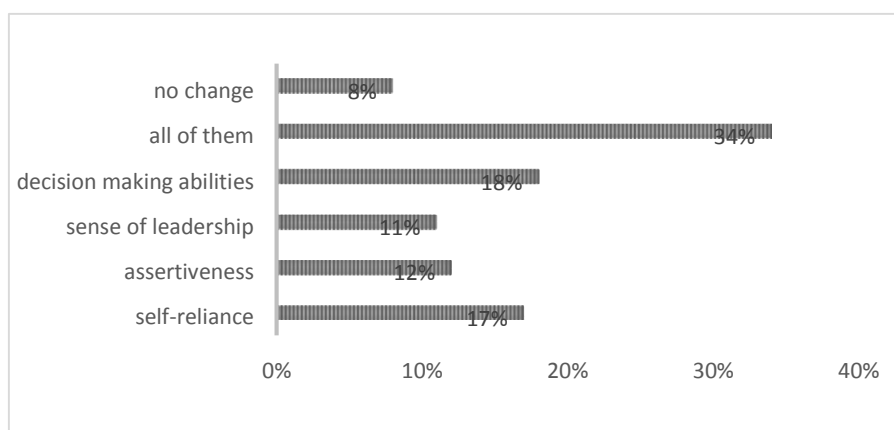


Figure 68: Women empowerment after return

6.6.7 The Status of the Migrant woman within the Family after Return

This new agency and identity also affect the perception of the other, the way their families see them. The status in the family has then known a huge development, as it was clearly pointed out by many interviewees, who declared that after their migration they felt that the others take more seriously their opinions, and even they are taken into consideration. They are also considered as capable in taking decisions and control the household. From figure 70 only 6% who stated that there was no change in their status in the family as opposed to 36% whose status have known change in all the element (opinion consideration, household control, and decision making).

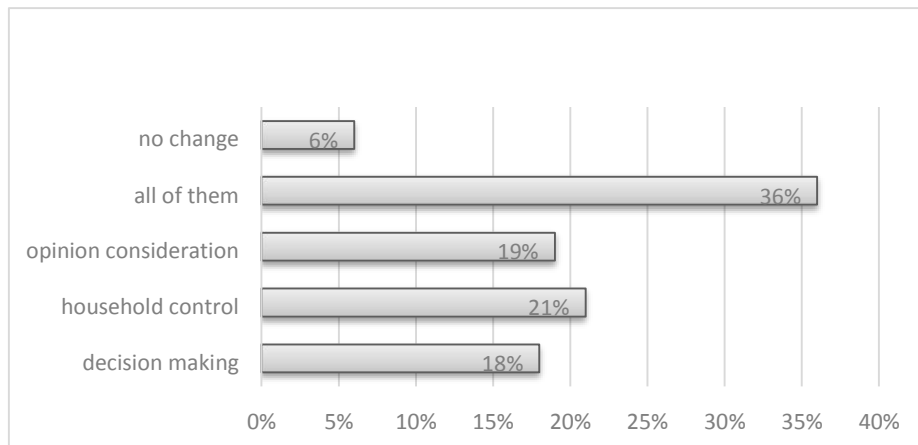


Figure 69: The status of the migrant woman within the family after return

6.6.8 Family and Community Consideration of Migration

As it was mentioned in the hypothesis a culture of migration has spread in Morocco, to the extent that migration is sometimes seen as the only way out of poverty, and joblessness. To check this assumption, interviewees and respondents were asked the following question: how do you and your family consider migration? Most of their answers ranged as the following:

- a way out of poverty
- an opportunity that one has not to let go
- a new life experiences
- a bad idea

Most of the respondent considered migration as all of them, however 25% saw it as a once in life opportunity and that it shouldn't be underestimated, compared to only 11% who saw it as a bad idea.

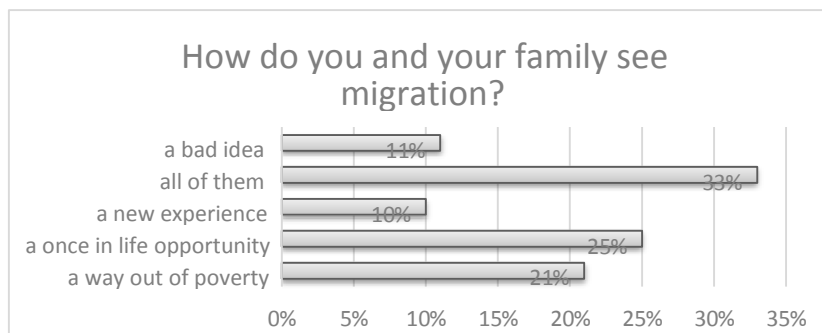


Figure 70: Migration perception within the family and community

When I asked about their will to migrate again, most of the respondents stated that they will, or that they maybe will migrate again.

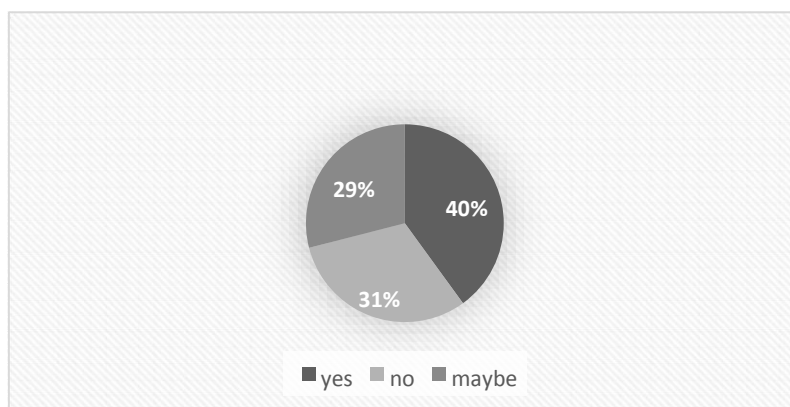


Figure 71: The idea of migrating again

Conclusion

To sum up, return was mostly due to external factors, most of returnees were aged between 45 to 55 years old. Most of returnees found that their financial situation weakened after return, and most importantly, female migrants' financial responsibilities extended after return, and happily there is more sharing of household and caring and nurturing responsibilities with the husband.

In addition, returnees had known a huge change in their personality and agency, which made them more self-confident, and assertive, these qualities made their surrounding pay more importance to their opinions, and see them as capable to take decision and control the households. Concerning the culture of migration, we have found that many Moroccan people see migration as an opportunity to don't miss, in order to get out of poverty. Thus, most of the respondent think about migrating again.

Conclusion

This study seeks to bring to the center the debate on the social consequences of the prolonged migration of women in particular, and the dependence on migration in general, for employment and well-being at the individual, the familial, and the wider societal level.

The key argument underlying This study is that the continued and prolonged dependence on migration by the Moroccan people to address unemployment on the one hand, and by Moroccan families, on the other hand, as seemingly the only source to secure employment and a better life, has been leading to social change, in terms of promoting women's agency and empowerment, the restructuring of households and redefinition of families and gender relations, as well as the rise of a culture of migration.

Such a culture is characterized among other things by an increasing dependence on women's migration to work mainly in gender-segregated occupations with low status and low value, subjecting women migrants to vulnerabilities, to abuse and exploitation, and at times, a deskilling for the educated and skilled women taking on such jobs.

The culture of migration has bred feminized migration denigrating women's labor but this same labor has sustained the productive and reproductive tasks and roles of families both in the migrants' countries of work and in their own countries.

In order to understand the social changes occurring in Morocco arising from women's migration, the return phase approach has been used to study migration. Studying return allows us to reflect on the extent migration goals have been achieved or not, the conditions under which return takes place for a migrant woman worker and the macro forces which help explain the circumstances of return and life after return.

Specifically, this research raised the following questions:

- What does the return of women migrants demonstrate with regard to migration motivations, goals, and outcomes?

- What are the gendered meanings of the return of women migrants in terms of the effects of migration experience on their positions and roles, and their identity, sense of agency and empowerment?

- What is the impact of the women's migration experience on their families and households?

- What are the gendered outcomes of long-term migration and return of women migrants on Moroccan society as a whole?

A multi-level approach to the study of migration: the micro (migrant woman worker), the meso (the families) and the macro (the society or the country of the

migrant woman worker) is essential in understanding the changes and consequences brought about by migration and how one level affects the other.

Analysis of the return phase of migration was contextualized within the entire process of migration starting with the decision to migrate, the conditions of work and the place of work and the migrants' ways of coping, keeping in mind their eventual return to the home country.

As rightly pointed out by the integrative theories of migration, the motivations for migration are often those that respond to the needs of families and households which at the same time also takes account of the individuals' desires and aspirations. In this study, migration was mainly pursued both as an individual and family strategy to overcome poverty, to acquire a regular source of income, not necessarily to earn higher wages as argued by economic theories of migration; to ensure children's education and to build one's own home.

Women's migration journeys were also motivated by non-economic factors such as escaping from unhappy marriages or abusive husbands, seeking change from a dreary and harsh rural life, or simply trying out some adventure and excitement in life.

The neo-classical economic theories of migration emphasizing push and pull factors, and economic rationality do not capture specific motivations, circumstances and situations of people who move. For one thing, for the majority

of the women, the decision to leave their country and work overseas was hardly a voluntary act. To a great extent, their movement was forced by the circumstances of their lives: single parents who had to bear the responsibility for raising and caring for their children and married women with spouses without regular jobs; households with hardly any assets, except for a few with small piece of land mainly for subsistence.

The meanings and transformations in the women's lives associated the migration experience with a range of positive experiences: a way out of a difficult life for women working in the informal sector or being unpaid agricultural workers or small landowners; a means of providing some sense of security for women formally employed in the home country but with low wages and without tenure; a change in status from that of unpaid housewife to being a breadwinner coupled with the ability to support not only immediate family but extended family or kin; and an escape from unfaithful and abusive husbands.

Eleonore Kofman³¹⁰ has argued that “it is time migration theories are able to capture the multiple dimensions of women's lives”. Much of the literature on women migrants describes their victim status and their identities as dutiful and self-sacrificing daughters and mothers³¹¹ and not much emphasis is given to their ways of surviving and the psycho-social dimensions entailed.

³¹⁰ Eleonore Kofman (1999:289)

³¹¹ Carling 2005

In this study, ways of coping and forging multiple identities to sustain the women in their migration journey and eventual return home were demonstrated by the women migrants themselves: adjusting to new culture and tradition, meeting the heavy demands of their work, specifically domestic work, and coping with the prolonged absence from home and the control and discipline imposed on them by their employers and the society as a whole.

The women too displayed acts of resistance in their day-to-day struggles in Scott's (1985) formulation, ranging from covert and at times mundane forms, to overt forms of protest and in extreme case of violence inflicted on them such as rape and sexual abuse, this was confronted with equal violence.

Transforming meanings and identities in their places of work characterize the migration experience of the women migrants. In turn, these new identities such as social service worker, and devoted and efficient worker, sustained the women in their migration journey.

Return is gendered as much as the entire migration process itself is gendered. Motivations for working abroad mainly for economic reasons reflect the family pressure exerted on women particularly single parents. Overseas work provided security of income for most households where husbands had irregular jobs. Women had better job opportunities than their husbands because of the labor market demand for certain types of work like those in-service occupations such as domestic work, nurses or caregivers in which women are cast as more suitable

than men. For some women, the experience of violence in their families was a determining factor in leaving and working outside the country.

While in the country of employment, economic goals were paramount for the migrant women but in time, migration goals began to encompass non-economic goals such as the need to sustain autonomy and enhanced status in the migrants' families and communities, thereby, influencing the decision to return home. Returning home was compelled by both the pressure and desire to assume the traditional gendered roles of caring and nurturing the family. Returning home was also forced by circumstances and social and political forces clearly beyond the control of the migrant women such as restrictive labor policies and civil unrest and conflict.

Return migration is influenced by the interplay of structural, cultural, economic and social factors. According to Bimal Ghosh (2000), at the policy level specifically, insufficient attention has been given to the personal circumstances of returnees, their duration of stay in the receiving country and the varying motivations of their return. Some literature on return maintain that at the individual level, most return takes place for personal and social reasons rather than economic or political ones ³¹².

³¹² King 2000

From the influence of the above structural limitations, one concludes that the return of the women migrants was largely involuntary when they encountered problems with employment as in non-existent jobs or illegal recruitment, falsified documents, premature termination of contracts, non-payment of wages, and running away from abusive employers. Outbreak of war or civil unrest has made some women's return forced or involuntary negating in the process the benefits that international labor migration brings. The above findings came into view in the questionnaires and in the life stories of the migrant women workers. Studying return allows us, therefore, to comprehend the particular human consequences of the larger forces impacting on everyday lives and actions of the migrant workers.

In the main literature, return is categorized as either voluntary or forced ³¹³ but as it was argued , the distinction between the two is blurred, particularly as it applies to migrant women on temporary migration and occupying work categorized as unskilled. Voluntary return of some women migrants in the study was precipitated by such factors as when conditions of work were no longer deemed satisfactory, when their goals for migrating had been achieved, or the psychological need to return after prolonged absence from home.

For some women, illness in the family, problems with husbands and children, sense of guilt for being away for a long period of time and in the process

³¹³ Cassarino 2004, Black et al. 2004

transferring their care-giving role to other members of the family, were compelling reasons for them to return home. The deeply ingrained notion of a devoted and self-sacrificing mother and wife as well as society's expectations that the woman should be at home caring and nurturing, clearly explain the circumstances of this return. Women's reasons for return also reflect men's inability to cope with reversed roles as they are left behind with their families. While the migration of women migrants mainly to provide for their families is clearly a crossing of boundary, of transgressing the traditional norm of femininity and feminine roles, men left behind in this study, were generally not able to cross the boundary of traditional male roles. Hence, the persistence of gender regime and gender order ³¹⁴.

Ambivalence figured prominently in the decision of the women migrants to return for good, meaning, permanently. Existing studies point to ambivalence as caused by the desire to continue to pursue economic goals in keeping with the identity of filial piety, a devoted and self-sacrificing mother, wife or daughter; in contrast to the desire to maintain the sense of independence and personal freedom, and new personhood as well as the pleasures associated with the country of work ³¹⁵.

³¹⁴ Connell 1987

³¹⁵ Constable 2004; Yeoh and Huang 2000

While this research supports these findings, it has brought to the fore a more nuanced understanding of ambivalence in terms of identifying other factors contributing to the ambivalence of return. The status and economic power that stem from being a provider for the family were difficult to give up.

The freedom and autonomy associated with the capacity to earn also made return distant. The goals set by the women themselves and the needs, demands and expectations of families left behind kept multiplying, making the return more distant, more ambivalent.

For one to be able to meet increasing and widening material needs, and considering the level of wages of a domestic worker (which varies from country to country), the migrant woman worker had to work and complete not one or two contracts but several and in the process, became separated from her family for 10, 15 or 20 years.

For women whose relationships with spouses had broken down, returning home was fraught with deep anxieties. But for most of the women, ambivalence was brought about by the apprehension of not being able to sustain their standard of living due to lack of secure income earning opportunities in the home country, lack of adequate savings or lack of productive investments.

Remittances from the women migrants who mostly took up domestic work or factory work were mainly utilized for day-to-day expenses of families, for

education and for some consumer goods. For women who had spent several years working abroad, savings were invested in constructing new homes, an important symbol of success in their migration journey.

Summing up, the period of return and the ambivalence about return are influenced by economic and psycho-social factors. While economic goals are the predominant goals maintained at the beginning of the migration process, in time the goals are transformed to encompass other motivations and dimensions— the desire to maintain the high status accorded by families and the Moroccan society to a migrant breadwinner, an economic provider; the need to sustain the psychological and financial security that a regular monthly income brings; and the satisfaction of carving other meaningful identities outside that of a domestic worker in a foreign land.

The economic environment in the home country also affects the timing of return. To many women migrants in this study, return has been delayed because of the lack of viable alternatives to overseas migration. Unemployment persists in the home country. Quality basic social services are difficult to access. Education and health care remain expensive in view of their continuing privatization and commercialization.

The recovery and interpretation of women's lives is pivotal to feminist scholarship, to the feminist reconstruction of our understanding of the world.

Feminist theory is grounded in women's lives and aims to analyze the role and meaning in those lives in society (The Personal Narratives).

Migration theories are in the main economic in formulation and concerned with why people move and where people move and are, therefore, unable to seize the depth and richness of the lives of women migrants. They do not deal with questions like, what happens to families and to societies when people move and more so when women move. Part 3 of this study (through the use of interviews and questionnaires) examined the consequences of return migration on the home and family left behind by the migrant women workers. It also analyzed how migration has affected the women migrants' sense of agency and empowerment and what life after migration meant for the women and their families.

Findings

- **At the Micro level**

Life after migration varied among the returned migrant women workers: from being lifted out of poverty level to having a slightly better life compared to life before migration. Most of the women had to undertake different types of income-generating activities to sustain their families. A culture of dependence on women working has set in after years of the families' reliance on monthly remittances which in turn has bred complacency and lack of resourcefulness on families.

Moreover, the women too had become used to being a breadwinner, if not the primary breadwinner, a carry-over of their role as overseas migrants.

For women with college degrees and wanting to secure government jobs, it proved difficult because of the endemic patronage system in the government. Other qualified women no longer felt confident to seek jobs for which they were trained because deskilling had occurred and age had also caught up with them.

For other women, life became harder after migration because of the continued financial dependence of their children and grandchildren. To still others, life was the same as before migration in terms of the source of livelihood. No assets were accumulated. No savings were generated.

For those women who were able to accumulate some assets, their life style and living standard during migration was no longer sustainable. Fitting back into homes and communities meant for many coping with the psychological insecurity of not having a regular income.

The question that persistently confronts social science scholars is whether women's participation in the labor force and their income earning ability eventually bring independence and social equality with men. Hence, in migration studies, does women's mobility to work, earn income and provide for their family enhance women's status and empower them? Studies (Ghosh, 2009; Koggel 2003; Parrado and Flippen 2005; Tienda and Booth 1991) refer to mixed

outcomes based on the influence of various factors which range from marital and family status, class status, legal status, to gender hierarchies in the labor market and access to adequate income.

This research points to the material gains from migration as well as non-material rewards for the migrant women. Women became empowered although they worked under difficult circumstances such as prolonged absence from families, demands and pressures of domestic work, and low status accorded to them by the society in countries where they worked. Women attained a high status in their communities and greater respect from spouses and other members of the families and households by being economic providers.

The study contends that several factors had come into play in the process of attaining empowerment by the women migrants. The migration journey itself was difficult physically, socially and psychologically. The women migrants in the life stories were away for long years, from 6 to 23 years and to have been able to overcome the difficulties of their journeys definitely instilled in them a strong sense of confidence, autonomy and self-esteem.

Though regarded lowly in the countries where they worked mainly as domestic helpers, the women acquired skills of being efficient, good organizers, able to assert themselves, put forward their views and make decisions on small and large matters.

They developed strong character borne out in their ability and courage to face life's challenges and vicissitudes. In other words, the power within ³¹⁶ which is a vital element in empowerment emerged from the women. The women challenged gender norms and tilted the balance of power on their side by sending remittances to their children rather than to unfaithful and irresponsible husbands and by ensuring that properties acquired during their migration were in the children's name rather than the husband's. Upon return, they demanded equal sharing in household work though still maintaining the burden of earning income for the family.

Marital separation was sought from unfaithful husbands but for other women in a similar situation, it proved difficult mainly because of societal constraints and gendered norms and expectations of women's role to keep a family intact at least in structure.

A key question raised with regards to empowerment is whether this is sustained. Power relationships within the households have been reconfigured. Women played a key role in decision-making. This study shows that it has been sustained based on the interactions and observations (over a period of about 18 months and several years with two migrant women) of the women's confidence, self-esteem and the prodigious effort to create changes in their own lives and in their communities. At the collective level of empowerment, some women have

³¹⁶ Kabeer 1995; Rowlands 1998

organized themselves into a formal federation of returning migrant workers and families and in the process provide assistance and support for resettling and reintegration, continuing education and leadership development and advocacy for greater protection and welfare of migrants and for the government's creation of viable alternatives to migration.

Despite the above indicators of empowerment, the study maintains however, that empowerment is still limited and bounded and remains an on-going process for women and for women migrants in particular. Empowerment necessitates transformative social and political action in societal institutions. It also means power in setting discussion, discourse and agenda³¹⁷.

Housework, household responsibilities of caring and nurturing need to be recognized by the Moroccan society as men's work and responsibility as well. The study contends that the contribution of women migrant workers should be duly valued and recognized by both sending and receiving countries in the entire migration process by bringing domestic work within the ambit of local employment acts, providing regulation of work, protection of workers and social security and providing opportunities for social mobility.

Valuing and recognizing the contribution of women migrant workers to their families and to the Moroccan Kingdom, in general, would mean the government

³¹⁷ Kabeer 1995; Parpart 2002

putting in place structures and resources to assist in the return of migrant women workers and their re-settling in the home country with community support structures in place; creating job opportunities for those who are still able to work and for those who have returned as senior citizens; providing social security benefits. Women migrants would need to make these claims to the Moroccan government not only as a matter of rights but as entitlements.

Finally, collective empowerment of women migrant workers will come about when the structural roots and causes of their migration are addressed adequately and when migration becomes a genuine choice.

- **At the Meso level**

The home that the migrant woman worker returned to has changed in literal and figurative senses. A distinct mark of having a successful migration experience is a house. In the life stories, four women constructed new homes, one purchased a new house, another three made improvements to their existing home while the rest either went back to their original homes or left for another place of abode in the case of those whose marital relationships had deteriorated. The women migrants returned to homes where children had grown into adults and were leading their own lives.

Women returned with the realization that significant phases in the growing up of their children were missed because of their prolonged migration. Women

returned to homes where emotional bonding needed to be re-established and psychological distance bridged.

The consequences of women's migration on children are captured in Chapter 6. Children were affected physically, mentally and emotionally and materially. As shown in similar studies on children left behind, parents' migration, particularly that of women, affected the emotional development, social relations and school performance of the children.

Migration of women in the families compelled some children to assume adult roles and responsibilities, mainly because of the inadequacy of fathers left behind to take over the mothers' role. It was not necessarily the female child who bore the burden of these roles as normally assumed. Factors such as the children's perceived level of intellect and sense of responsibility and age structure also influenced the burden carrier.

Children and relatives benefited from the earnings of the migrant women. They went to private schools, participated in extra-curricular activities in school, wore good clothes, and lived in homes equipped with modern amenities and appliances. They learned to be self-reliant and independent. They valued the hard work of their mother although at the same time they felt emotionally deprived of their mothers' physical presence and comfort.

Just as there was ambivalence in the migrant woman's decision to return, there too was ambivalence in the children's reception of their mother's return because to the children, it meant financial insecurity, no longer having enough resources to support their schooling through tertiary level or to maintain the same standard of living they had when the mother was abroad working.

- **At the Macro level**

The first part has analyzed how the culture of migration has been ingrained in the Moroccan family and in the government itself and the Moroccan society as a whole. Such a culture has created a dependency by both the families and the government on migration as a vehicle to provide opportunities for employment that generates decent income vital to families' welfare and well-being. The value placed on Migration by Moroccan society is now deeply entrenched. The government promotes and facilitates migration.

The culture of migration has thrived on feminized labor, a labor that is persistently gender-segregated relegating women to work in areas considered extensions of their reproductive roles, and which is undervalued, under paid and inadequately protected.

The culture of migration has meant years of absence of Moroccan women from their families. The prolonged absence has led to heavy emotional and psychological costs especially on the children left behind. Husbands left behind have been unable to adequately assume the nurturing and caring roles of migrant wives thus causing tensions, fragmentation and destabilization in the families.

Original contribution

Russell King's (2000) article on generalizations from the history of return migration contends that the literature on return migration is empirical or descriptive in nature and that theorizing has been made difficult partly due to the different types of return and hence of migration itself. He ends his article with a plea that 'studies of return not be isolated around the return decision or event, but be built around a more holistic and theoretically informed appreciation of the nature of migration and mobility in this globalized era'³¹⁸.

This research focused on gender, migration and social change and the analysis of the return phase of migration was situated within the overall process of migration rendering an integrated and holistic view of the phenomenon. It has examined to what extent dominant theories of migration within which return theories are subsumed are applicable to the migration and return experiences of migrant women workers from Morocco, using mainly a gendered and feminist approach.

This research dwelt on the return phase of temporary labor migration, a type of migration where return is inevitable ('forced' in some sense) because one works on contract, for a stipulated period after which one has to return to her country of origin, the sending country. This study has shown that the term, temporary migration is misleading (women migrants in this study worked abroad

³¹⁸ King 2000:45

for as long as 15, 20, 23 years). It is a category misused to box and bracket certain groups of migrant workers, groups which perform vital social roles (by being domestic workers and caregivers) and yet are not afforded the conditions of employment that go with living a socially just and humane life mainly due to inherent structural limitations of a temporary type of migration in jobs classified as unskilled.

The empirical findings of this study have contributed in some ways towards a nuanced understanding of the return phase of migration, an under- researched and under- theorized phenomenon— the reasons for return particularly for a temporary migrant woman worker and the forces affecting this return. By adopting a gender framework in this study, It was able to uncover the psycho-social dimensions of return, dimensions which do not emerge in the classical and neo-classical migration theories.

The study on return was situated within the larger context of the entire migration process— the decision to migrate, the experience during migration, the decision to return and the situation after the return. Stephen Castles (2000) has called for an interdisciplinary approach to view the dynamic whole of the migration process and this I have sought to achieve in this study. As a research methodology, the life stories powerfully elicited the migrant women's web of feelings, attitudes and values that gave meaning to their migration experience. It allowed the women to reflect on these meanings and to assess for themselves how the migration experience affected their sense of self and well- being and

that of their families. The complexity of women's migration and the attendant interplay of political, economic, socio-cultural and psychological factors can only be captured by engaging in a holistic and a multi-level approach of study. This is, therefore, the approach that I have adopted in this research.

An area worthy of future studies includes the return migration of women (and men) and whether they achieved a more egalitarian division of labor, whether close familial relationships developed between parents and children after prolonged periods of separation and to see the end result of the sacrifices of migrant families.

The study has addressed these questions and concerns and found that relationships were greatly affected: children felt deprived of the physical and emotional closeness of their mothers; some felt abandoned; and others faced the burden of assuming adult roles.

Some children grew up strong and independent but they greatly missed their parents on important events in their lives. Migrant mothers felt a strong sense of achievement for being good providers but they also expressed guilt at being away for a long period of time from their families. Greater sharing of household tasks between men and women has taken place.

This study focused on women migrants with skills, but were considered unskilled because their jobs in the receiving country were categorized as unskilled, in the main, domestic work, yet domestic work itself constitutes tasks that require certain skills, physical, emotional, organizational, and others.

Definitely, the women migrants in the study returned home with skills, social skills mainly, new ideas, new ways of doing things, of perceiving relationships, and others. They returned home with developed confidence, self-esteem and assertiveness borne from the challenges of working overseas. They returned home imbued with the consciousness that the prolonged absence of women and men from their families spawns deep and wide-ranging social consequences.

The literature on return describes returns of success, of failure, of innovation and categorized as voluntary and forced. This research has shown that such distinctions cannot be neatly applied to the experiences of the women migrant workers.

The circumstances and conditions of their movement and return are much too complex because of the confluence of factors such as changes in their personhood, sense of autonomy, aspirations in life, gender ideologies and regimes, gendered roles and relationships, gendered state policies and macro forces beyond the control of the migrant women.

Finally, the third level of analysis, the impact of gendered migration and return on the societal level, has enabled to broaden and deepen the conceptualization of the phenomenon of culture of migration, bringing other elements in the analysis and examining the gendered consequences of the phenomenon. The existing literature describes the phenomenon as placing a material and symbolic value on migration itself, how it has become a norm for society's aspiration for upward mobility and perceiving migration as a rite of passage itself. In the

process, the family plays a central role as the generator and reflector of such culture). Social networks also play an important role in perpetuating migration.

This exploration highlights return of impermanent work migration, a sort of migration where return is unavoidable ('constrained' in some sense) since one works abroad by a time limited contract, for an agreed upon period after which one needs to come back to her country of origin, the sending country. The investigation has demonstrated that the term, impermanent migration is deluding (some migrant women in the field work, worked abroad for 15, 20, 23 years).

From data analysis one could deduce that return was due mostly to external factors, and most of returnees were aged between 45 to 55 years old. Most of returnees found that their financial situation weakened after return. Most importantly, female migrants' financial responsibilities extended after return, and happily there is more sharing of household and caring and nurturing responsibilities with the husband. In addition, returnees had known a huge change in their identity and agency, which made them more self-confident, and assertive.

These qualities made their surrounding pay more importance to their opinions, and see them as capable to take decision and control the households. Concerning the culture of migration, we have found that many Moroccan people see migration as an opportunity to don't miss, in order to get out of poverty. Thus

most of the respondent think about migrating again. The findings in fact confirm most of The already mentioned hypotheses.

The experimental discoveries of this investigation have contributed somehow towards a nuanced comprehension of the return period of migration, an under-examined and undertheorizes issue. The purposes behind return especially for an impermanent migrant woman and the powers influencing this return. By using a gender framework in this investigation, it could reveal the psycho-social implications of return, implications that are not considered by the existing theories.

Limitations

This examination has tended to these inquiries and concerns and found that connections were significantly influenced: children felt denied of the physical and emotional closeness of their moms; some felt surrendered; and others confronted the weight of accepting grownup parts. A few kids grew up solid and free however they significantly missed their mothers on essential occasions in their lives. Migrant moms felt a solid feeling of accomplishment for being great suppliers, however, they additionally communicated blame at being away from their families. More prominent sharing of family tasks amongst men and women has occurred.

The training in the Ministry have allowed me just to meet some category of returnees, vulnerable, unskilled, and with little education if not uneducated. This fact is due to many reasons among them, only this category of women who would come and ask for help in the gender office. It is believed that there are other categories of returnees who are skilled, and highly graduated, and who would not ask for social help from the office, whom could not be reached. Furthermore, more studies must be done about the migration of male, and the women left behind, whom I guess need to be talked about.

Other limitation that was faced is the scarcity of the gender segregated statistic, mostly all the realized, or in progress studies are concerned with migrants' investment, without taking into consideration that they can be subject to return. Actually, according to *HCP (Haut Commissariat au Plan)* it is very difficult to assess the number of returnees, because of the lack of statistics in both host and origin countries. although some host countries give some data on the outputs of Moroccan from their territories, yet, none of them precise their destination.

In fact, till now we have only 6 sources of information: 1982 and 1994 census; 1986 Country Demographic Survey; INSEA investigation done in 2000; an investigation done on return migration of Moroccan living abroad by CERED in 2003 in the big Casablanca, Souss-Massa-Draa; as well as 2004 census, Hand in

hand with some studies done by CARIM, OMI, MIREM, as well as a study done by HCP by Mohamed MGHARI, HCP, Les Cahiers du Plan N° 29.

Further Research

This study focused on women migrants with skills, but were considered unskilled because their jobs in the receiving country were categorized as unskilled, in the main, domestic work, yet domestic work itself constitutes tasks that require certain skills, physical, emotional, organizational, and others. Definitely, the women migrants in this study returned home with skills, social skills mainly, new ideas, new ways of doing things, of perceiving relationships, and others.

They returned home with developed confidence, self-esteem and assertiveness borne from the challenges of working overseas. They returned home imbued with the consciousness that the prolonged absence of women and men from their families spawns deep and wide-ranging social consequences.

A zone deserving of future examination incorporates the return migration of women (and men) and whether they accomplished a more libertarian division of work, regardless of whether close familial connections created amongst parents and children after long times of absence and to see the outcomes of the sacrifices of migrant's families.

Finally, the third level of analysis, the impact of gendered migration and return on the societal level, has enabled me to broaden and deepen the conceptualization of the phenomenon of culture of migration, bringing other elements in the analysis and examining the gendered consequences of the phenomenon.

The existing literature describes the phenomenon as placing a material and symbolic value on migration itself, how it has become a norm for society's aspiration for upward mobility and perceiving migration as a rite of passage itself. In the process, the family plays a central role as the generator and reflector of such culture).

Social networks also play an important role in perpetuating migration. this study has shown that the state itself, the government from the migrants' country of origin, plays a major role in developing the culture of migration, and at the same time the stigma that fellows women migrants in the Middle East in particular, with all the loads of images and stereotypes, make the task of return and even of migration harder and harder.

In doing so, distortions and ambivalence in policy-making have taken place mainly due to the competing and at times contradictory demands of promoting overseas migration on the one hand, for its economic benefits, and placing emphasis on migrants' welfare and protection to reduce social consequences, on the other hand.

There is now a growing number of skilled Moroccan women migrants like those in the information and communications technology sector, visual media experts, and teachers. The situation and condition of these women deserve to be studied on their own and for comparative purposes, with the women occupying unskilled work.

There is a need to investigate the situation of professional migrant women occupying skilled work - factors which motivate their migration, barriers they face in accessing work and advancing their career in various types of employment such as health and social sector, information, communications and

technology, science. One also has to study the situation of qualified and educated women who take up jobs that render them deskilled particularly for migrating spouses, majority of whom are women. The pre- and post-migration comparisons are essential in looking at migrants' occupational mobility and equal opportunity in the work force.

There are several issues and concerns facing the children left behind. What are the long-term socio-psychological impacts of migration, of both men and women? When the children grow up, do they also leave to go abroad? When

male spouses are left behind, are they able to cope, to manage gender roles and shifts in gender relations? What are the implications for a society where caregivers are grandparents of children left behind by migrant parents?

At the macro level If the educational system continues to produce skilled individuals to support the needs of other countries, in the long-term, what happens to the home country's human resource development agenda? Who will be left behind to serve the needs and requirements of the country? What kind of skilled individuals will remain?

All these questions among others can be raised in order to comprehend these complex and multifaceted issue.

Recommendations

At one level, there is an urgent need for policies and programs to address the concerns of returning migrant workers and their families. Since the return entails various dimensions, economic and socio-psychological support will need to be in place.

At another level, a serious rethinking of the Moroccan migration policy will have to take place periodically to assess its impact on the Moroccan society as a whole especially the social consequences of the migration of women workers in both unskilled and skilled sectors.

At a higher level, a global forum tying up migration with macro concerns and issues such trade, aid, debt and development goals on one hand, and the social consequences of the feminization of international labor migration, on the other, will be most useful.

In all of the above action and intervention, the combined effort, knowledge and experience of the activist and the feminist researcher are important. To reiterate, feminist research is an integral part of the process of discovery and understanding and encompasses the responsibility for creating change and I add, change for the betterment of human lives.

Appendixes

Appendix I: Guide questions for the life stories

1. socio-economic background
2. **Life before migration**
3. Reasons/motives for working abroad
4. Decision-making for working abroad
5. **During migration:** work experiences, relationships with employers, Moroccan and host country/society point of view, adjustments made, coping mechanisms, significant experiences
6. **Return migration:** Why and when did you decide to return to the home country? (question also used in the focus group discussions)
7. What does the expression, 'coming home for good' means to you?
8. What is the home that you returned to?
9. Was this the same home you had earlier left behind?
10. Did you prepare for your return? In which way?

11. Looking back to your experience overseas, what do you mostly remember? What do you value most?
12. What lessons have you learned from your experience of working abroad?
13. Did you gain any new knowledge or skills? Any changes in yourself? In your outlook in life? In your relationships?
14. How were your earnings utilized?
15. What changes have you observed in your family, community and society upon return?
16. Discuss life after migration (questions also used in questionnaire)
17. What adjustments did you have to make after return?
18. What were your most pressing needs after return? How did you cope or manage?
19. What did you expect from the government in terms of support or assistance for resettling after migration?
20. Describe your relationships with spouse and children or with other members of family and with your community.
21. Describe your overall standard of living after migration.

Appendix 2 : questionnaire

استبيان حول عودة المرأة المغربية المهاجرة وتأثيره على النوع والمجتمع

هذا الاستبيان هو دراسة في اطار بحث لنيل شهادة الدكتوراه، يطمح الى دراسة هجرة و عودة المرأة المغربية في اطار هجرة العمالة الى دول الخليج التي لا تخول لبعض الفئات المحودة الدخل امكانية التجمع العائلي، في هذا الاستبان سأطرح مجموعة من الاسئلة منقسمة الى ثلاث فئات قبل الهجرة، في بلد المهجر، و بعد الهجرة. الاستبيان موجه للمرأة المهاجرة العائدة . اشركم مسبقا على المساعدة و ملأ الفراغات حسب تجربتكم الخاصة.

قبل الهجرة

1. الوضعية الاجتماعية قبل الهجرة

هشة ☐ ضعيفة ☐ متوسطة ☐ جيدة ☐

2. نوع العمل قبل الهجرة بدون عمل ☐ مياومة ☐ عمل منتظم ☐ عمل غير منتظم ☐

3. المستوى التعليمي للمهاجرة

بدون ☐ مستوى الابتدائي ☐ المستوى الثانوي ☐ المستوى الجامعي ☐

خريجة جامعة ☐

4. الحالة الاجتماعية

عازبة ☐ متزوجة ☐ مطلقة ☐ ارملة ☐ أم عازبة ☐

5. نوع عمل الزوج قبل الهجرة ☐ بدون عمل ☐ مياوم ☐ عمل منتظم ☐ عمل غير منتظم ☐

6. من كان قبل الهجرة المسؤول ماديا عن المنزل ☐ الزوج ☐ الزوجة ☐ معا ☐

7. هل كان زوجي عنيف ☐ مريض ☐ غير مسؤول ☐ طيب و متعاون ☐ لاشيء ☐ يذكر ☐

8. هل كان زوجي متعاون معي في الاشغال المنزلية وتربية الاطفال؟ متعاون جدا ☐ متعاون ☐ جزئيا ☐ غير متعاون ☐

9. سبب الهجرة ☐

البحث عن عمل قار ☐ الهروب من الرقابة الاجتماعية ☐ الهروب من علاقة صعبة ☐ البحث عن تجارب جديدة ☐ لزيادة الدخل ☐ كل ما ذكر ☐

أوضحى.....

في بلد المهجر

10. كم عدد سنوات الهجرة أقل من 5 سنوات ☐ من 5 الى 15 سنة ☐ من 15 الى 25 سنة ☐ أكثر من 25 سنة ☐

11. ما نوع العمل الذي كنتي تقومين به؟.....

12. كيف كنت علاقتي بمشغلتي؟

علاقة استغلالية ☐ علاقة عادية ☐ علاقة جيدة ☐

13. كم عدد ساعات العمل؟

أقل من 8 ساعات ☐ 8 الى 10 ساعات ☐ أكثر من عشر ساعات ☐

14. هل كان عملي مقنن بعقد عمل؟ ☐ نعم ☐ لا ☐ لا أعلم ☐
15. اذا كان الجواب بنعم، فهل كان مشغلي يحترم بنود العقد؟ نعم اذا كان الجواب بنعم، فهل كان مشغلي يحترم بنود العقد؟ ☐ نعم ☐ لا ☐ لا أعلم ☐
- اذا كان الجواب بلا فأوضحني.....
16. هل كنتي ترسلين اموالك للمغرب؟ نعم ☐ في بعض الأحيان ☐ لا ☐
17. اذا كان الجواب بنعم فلمن ☐
18. ما الشيء الذي اكتسبتي من خلال مدة الهجرة ☐ منزل ☐ متجر ☐ لاشيء ☐ هما معا ☐
19. في حال وجود الاولاد من كان يرعاهم خلال الهجرة الأم ☐ الزوج ☐
- أنتي من العائلة ☐ بدون أولاً ☐ شخص آخر ☐ أوضحني ☐
-
20. هل ادخرتي بعض الأموال خلال الهجرة؟ لا ☐ أكثر من 100.000 د.م ☐ أقل من 50.000 د.م ☐
21. كم عدد زياراتك للمغرب خلال مدة الهجرة؟ زيارات قليلة ☐ أكثر من زيارة في السنة ☐
- زيارة في السنة ☐ لا زيارات ☐
22. السن عند العودة أقل من 35 ☐ من 35 الى 45 ☐ من 45 الى 55 ☐ أكثر من 55 ☐
23. ما سبب قرار العودة مشاكل في بلد المهرج ☐ نهاية العقد ☐ عدم الاندماج ☐ مشاكل خاصة ☐ الوصول الى الهدف ☐

24. هل تحسنت وضعيت عائلتك المالية عند هجرتك؟ نعم جدا ☐ نوعا ما ☐ لا ☐

25. ماذا عن مسؤولية الاسرة المادية بعد عودتك؟ ☐ مسؤولية أكثر ☐ مسؤولية أقل

☐ غير مسؤولة

26. من يقوب بالاشغال المنزلية ورعاية الاطفال بعد العودة؟

الأشغال المنزلية أنا ☐ زوجي ☐ نحن معا ☐

رعاية الأطفال أنا ☐ زوجي ☐ نحن معا ☐

27. هل تشعرين بتغيير داخلي في شخصيتك بعد الهجرة؟ لا تغيير ☐ ثقة في النفس ☐

أكثر قدرة في اتخاذ القرارات

☐ الاعتماد على الذات ☐ القدرة على التسيير ☐ كل ما ذكر ☐

28. هل حدث تغيير في معاملة الاسرة لك بعد العودة؟ ☐الاتخاذ بالرأي ☐ اتخاذ القرارات ☐

القدرة على التسيير ☐ لا تغيير ☐ كل ما ذكر ☐

.....

29. ما تقييمك أنت و أسرتك لتجربة الهجرة؟

تجربة جديدة ☐ فرصة العمر ☐ مخرج من الفقر ☐ كل ما ذكر ☐ فكرة سيئة ☐

30. هل تودين الهجرة مجددا؟ نعم ☐ لا ☐ ممكن ☐

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