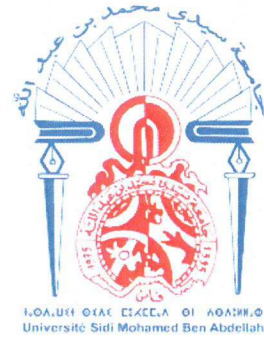


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CEDoc: Esthétique et Science de l'Homme

Langage et Formes Symboliques

Langue, Littérature, Communication, et Didactique

Gender and Migration: Transit Sub-Saharan Migrants to/in Morocco

*A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment for the Requirements for
the National Doctoral Degree*

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Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my beloved parents, Mme Fatiha Bouaa and Mr. Mohamed EL Amri, whose prayers have accompanied me throughout my entire life. A special feeling of gratitude for their constant encouragement and support throughout writing this thesis.

I also dedicate this dissertation to my dear sister, Bouchra, who has been my best friend and cheerleader, my dear brother Ismail, and my brother-in-law Jamal.

I also dedicate this dissertation to my lovely wonderful little nieces, Aya and Asma. Both of whom bring so much joy to my entire family.

Finally, I dedicate this work and give special thanks to all my family members and friends for their encouragement.

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Abstract

The majority of reports and studies on irregular 'transit' sub-Saharan migration in Morocco have tackled this controversial and intricate topic from a gender-blind perspective, producing the assumption that sub-Saharan men and women share the exact same migratory experience. As a response to this generalization, this study argues that gender, as a constitutive factor of power division, societal roles, and expectations, produces differential and unequal opportunities and outcomes for sub-Saharan women and men along the entire process of irregular migration. The investigation seeks to capture sub-Saharan migrants' lived experiences, men and women, through the entire process of migration, starting from the living conditions in the home country until the living conditions within Morocco. Since gender cannot be detached from other social constructs, it is crucially important to address how race, religion, and gender intersect and how this intersectionality is demonstrated during migrants' experiences.

At the methodological level, the study is using an eclectic approach to address and to gain insights from multiple dimensions. It juxtaposes socio-economic, political, and historical approaches to build up a comprehensive understanding of the factors that affect sub-Saharans' migration. Gender approach, however, remains the main theoretical framework within the entire analysis. This thesis presents a comparative study, which develops a critical and analytical discussion of sub-Saharan men's and women's experience of irregular 'transit' migration in Morocco. The objective is to uncover the manifestation of gender disparities during irregular migration. The investigation relies on a mixed-methods approach that consists of qualitative and quantitative methods. The qualitative method consists of observations, interviews and some secondary sources such as reports, news, and documentaries. The interviews were carried out in Fés with eight sub-Saharan migrants (four women and four men). The quantitative method consists primarily of a survey conducted in Tangier and Fes. The target sample was irregular

transit sub-Saharan migrants. I have distributed 125 questionnaires, but the total number of valid questionnaires reached 112. The findings of the investigation, regardless of the assumption of matriarchy in the sub-Saharan region, reveal significant gender discrepancies in private and public social life, which affect differentially sub-Saharans' opportunities and propensity to migrate. The results also demonstrate an ambivalent impact of gendered factors on both women and men that lead them to adopt different survival strategies during the venture to and migratory experience in Morocco.

Keywords: Gender, Irregular 'Transit' Migration, Feminization of Migration, Sub-Saharan Migrants.

مقتضب

تتجلى أهمية هذه الدراسة في كونها ستعمل على تجاوز بعض الدراسات والتقارير التي غيّبت مسألة مقارنة النوع الاجتماعي في معالجتها لظاهرة الهجرة غير النظامية في المغرب، أو تلك التي اكتفت بالقول إن المهاجرات والمهاجرين يتقاسمان نفس تجربة الهجرة بكل حيثياتها وذلك بالعمل على إظهار أهمية وتأثير النوع الاجتماعي على جميع مراحل الهجرة. تستهدف هذه الدراسة، معاينة تشكّل التظاهرات الجنسية داخل محيط المهاجرين غير النظاميين القادمين من دول جنوب الصحراء، الذين اختاروا المغرب كنقطة عبور نحو الضفة الأوروبية، من خلال الكشف عن حجم التأثير الذي طرأ على البنى الثقافية للمرأة المهاجرة والرجل المهاجر على السواء أثناء تجربة الهجرة.

كما تسعى هذه الدراسة إلى تسليط الضوء على تجارب هؤلاء المهاجرين، رجالا ونساء، بدء من ظروف عيشهم في البلد الأم، مروراً بالتحويلات الثقافية التي حصلت لهم بعد تواجدهم بالمغرب، ووصولاً إلى محاولة فهم التفاعل الحاصل بين ثلوث العرق والديانة ومقاربة النوع، وإسقاط مظاهر هذا التداخل على تجربة الهجرة، انطلاقاً من وجهة نظر المهاجرات والمهاجرين بشكل أساسي.

وحتى أتمكن من استقصاء المعطيات المتعلقة بهذه الدراسة، وترجمتها إلى مخرجات تسهم في فهم جيد ودقيق لمقاربة النوع داخل أوساط المهاجرين غير النظاميين، وبالتالي تقديم الإضافة العلمية للدراسات البحثية المتعلقة بمجال مقارنة النوع، اعتمدت على منهج متعدد الأساليب، يتكون من طرق كمية ونوعية، أما الطريقة النوعية فتتجلى في الملاحظات والمقابلات، بالإضافة إلى بعض المصادر الثانوية مثل التقارير والأخبار والأفلام الوثائقية. أجريت المقابلات في فاس مع ثمانية مهاجرين من جنوب الصحراء الكبرى (أربع نساء وأربعة رجال). في حين تتكون الطريقة الكمية، من نظام الاستمارة الذي أجرته في كل من مدينتي فاس وطنجة. وشملت العينة المستهدفة في هذه الدراسة المهاجرين غير النظاميين المنحدرين

من جنوب الصحراء. لقد قمت بتوزيع 125 استبياناً، ولكن بلغ إجمالي عدد الاستبيانات الصحيحة 112 .

تظهر معطيات ونتائج هذه الدراسة أن النوع الاجتماعي، يشكل عاملاً أساسياً في تحديد الأدوار المجتمعية في دول جنوب الصحراء، وبالتالي حدوث تباينات في صنع وبناء القرار، نتج عنه في الأخير فرص غير متكافئة ونتائج متفاوتة بين الجنسين خلال عملية الهجرة غير النظامية بأكملها. كما تبين ازدواجية هذا التأثير في العديد من المواقف وأن الرجال والنساء المهاجرين يعتمدون استراتيجيات بقاء مختلفة خلال رحلة الهجرة.

كلمات مفاتيح:

مقاربة النوع- الهجرة غير النظامية- مهاجري جنوب الصحراء الكبرى- تأنيث الهجرة.

List of Tables

Table 1: Respondents' age categories.....	159
Table 2: Migrants' marital status.....	160
Table 3: Migrants' countries of origin.....	161
Table 4: Migrants' educational level.....	163
Table 5: The attained degree by migrants.....	163
Table 6: Gender and age categories.....	166
Table 7: Gender and marital status	167
Table 8: Gender and migrants' country of origin.....	169
Table 9: Gender and educational level.....	172
Table 10: Gender and migrants' degree.....	174
Table 11: Gender and migrants' employment in the home country.....	184
Table 12: women's autonomy to migrate from gender perspective.....	189
Table 13: Women's restrictions to migrate from gender perspective.....	191
Table 14: migrants' motivations from a gender perspective.....	193
Table 15: Gender and travel cost strategies.....	198
Table 16: migrants and their families' support.....	200
Table 17: migrants' supporting family member.....	202
Table 18: migrants and smugglers.....	204
Table 19: means of transportation to Morocco.....	206
Table 20: Journey's length.....	209
Table 21: The journey's risks.....	215
Table 22: Migrants with their children in Morocco.....	225
Table 23: Migrants' left children in the home country.....	226
Table 24: Migrants' legal status.....	234
Table 25: Migrants' spent Period in Morocco.....	237
Table 26: Residency permit.....	238
Table 27: Migrant's intention to apply for residency permit.....	238
Table 28: The impact of irregular status on migrants' living conditions	241
Table 29: Migrants' financial activities.....	244
Table 30: Working conditions	245
Table 31: Forms of discrimination.....	247
Table 32: Places of discriminatory attitudes.....	249

Table 33: Drivers of discrimination according to the migrants	250
Table 34: The way immigrants are perceived by Moroccans.....	252
Table 35: The ways Moroccans are perceived	264
Table 36: Attempts to cross the borders.	266
Table 37: Future plans.....	267

List of Figures

Figure 1: The major host countries of refugees	26
Figure 2: Number of international migrants (millions) by region of destination, 2000 and 2017.	32
Figure 3: Different forms of causal analysis of the gender dimensions of migration	82
Figure 4: Percentage female among international migrants worldwide and by income group of the country or area of destination, 2000 and 2015	85
Figure 5: Transit sub-Saharan migrants: Gender and living areas	129
Figure 6: The age of transit sub-Saharan migrants from a gender perspective	130
Figure 7: Immigrants' level of education	134
Figure 8: Immigrants' marital status	135
Figure 9: Immigrants' entering documents	136
Figure 10: The gender of this study's respondents	158
Figure 11: The gender of migrants within each age category.....	166
Figure 12: The marital status of female and male migrants	168
Figure 13: The gender of migrants within the countries of origin.....	171
Figure 14: The gender of migrants within the educational level	173
Figure 15: Gender ratio in attained degrees by migrants	174
Figure 16: The gender of migrants' occupation in the home country	184
Figure 17: Women's autonomy to migrate from the migrants' perspective	190
Figure 18: Migrants' strategy for managing travel cost	198
Figure 19: Migrants and family support	200
Figure 20: Map of Main routes of present-day Trans-Saharan migration	208
Figure 21: Levels of insecurities encountered by female and male migrants	217

Abbreviations

AMERM : Association Marocaine d'Études et de Recherches sur les Migrations
CCME: Council of the Moroccan Community Abroad
CNDH: National Human Rights Council
CPR: The Convention for the Protection of Refugees
EMN: European Migration Network
EFA: Education For All
DMBS: Directorate of Migration and Border Surveillance
DTM: Displacement Tracking Matrix
IASFM: The International Association for the Study of Forced Migration
IDPs: Internally Displaced Persons
ILO: International Labour Organisation
IOM: International Organization for Migrants
IPPR: Institute for Public Policy Research
OAU: The Organization of African Unity
OECD: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
UDHR: The Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UNESCO: The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UN/ECE: The United Nations Economic Commission for Europe
UNHCR: The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNRA: United Nation Refugee Agency
UNRISD: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development
UNSD: United Nations Statistics Division

Table of Contents

Dedication.....	<i>i</i>
Acknowledgements.....	<i>ii</i>
Abstract.....	<i>iii</i>
List of Tables.....	<i>v</i>
List of Figures	<i>vii</i>
Abbreviations.....	<i>viii</i>
Introduction.....	1
Part One: Migration, Gender, and Sub-Saharan Migration to Morocco.....	10
1. Terminology of ‘Migration’.....	10
1.1. Definition of Migration.....	10
1.1.1. Key Words of Migration.....	11
1.1.2. Transit Migration.....	25
1.2. Types of Migration.....	37
1.2.1. Temporary vs Permanent.....	38
1.2.2. Legal vs Illegal.....	43
1.2.3. Voluntary vs Forced.....	47
2. Gendering Migration.....	56
2.1. Emergence of ‘Gender’	56
2.1.1. Definition of ‘Gender’.....	57
2.1.2. Socialization Processes.....	65
2.2. Feminist Critical Views of Early Migration Literature.....	74
2.2.1. Gender and International Migration Theories.....	74
2.2.2. Incorporating Gender in Migration Studies.....	79

2.3. Feminization of Migration.....	84
2.3.1. Gender's Impact on Migration.....	87
2.3.2. Migration's Impact on Gender.....	93
3. Historical Legacies of Trans-Saharan Migration in Morocco.....	100
3.1. Trans-Saharan Migration in Morocco.....	100
3.1.1. Facts about Slavery in Morocco.....	100
3.1.2. Gender and Enslavement.....	104
3.2. Origins of Blackness' Inferiority.....	113
3.2.1. Blackness and the Hamitic Curse.....	113
3.2.2. Black is the 'Other'.....	120

Part Two: Transit Sub-Saharan Migrants in Morocco as a Case of Study.....127

4. Introducing the Case Study.....	127
4.1. Contextualizing the study.....	127
4.1.1. Evaluation of Previous Studies.....	127
4.1.2. Socio- and Political Context.....	137
4.2. Methodology.....	148
4.2.1. Methods and Tools.....	148
4.2.2. Migrants' General Socio-Demographic Profiles.....	157
5. Gender and the Pre-Stage of Migration.....	164
5.1. Gendering Migrants' Socio-Demographic Profiles.....	165
5.1.1. Migrants' Age and Marital Status.....	165
5.1.2. Represented Countries of Origin.....	169
5.1.3. Gender and Migrants' Education.....	172
5.2. Gender and the Propensity to Migrate.....	175

5.2.1.	Matriarchy vs Patriarchy Assumption.....	176
5.2.2.	Gender Inequalities in Sub-Saharan Countries.....	181
5.2.3.	Restrictions and Motivations.....	189
6.	Gender and the Journey to Morocco.....	196
6.1.	Gendered Plans and Strategies for the Journey.....	196
6.1.1.	Journey's Financial Costs.....	197
6.1.2.	Migrants' Social Networks.....	199
6.1.3.	Migrants' Entry Methods to Morocco.....	206
6.2.	Gendering the Journey's Impediments and Jeopardies.....	207
6.2.1.	Migratory Routes to Morocco.....	207
6.2.2.	Overland Route and its Insecurities.....	211
6.2.3.	Significance of 'Female body' throughout the Journey.....	216
7.	Irregular Transit Sub-Saharan Migrants' Experience in Morocco	
	from a Gender Perspective.....	223
7.1.	Migrants' Living Conditions.....	224
7.1.1.	Gender and Reproduction in Migration.....	224
7.1.2.	Legal Status and Access to Basic Needs.....	234
7.1.3.	Making a Living in Morocco.....	242
7.2.	Sub-Saharan Migrants' Interaction with Moroccans.....	246
7.2.1.	Aspects of Discrimination.....	247
7.2.2.	'Black' Identity in Gendered Migration Discourse.....	252
7.2.3.	Migrants' Aspirations.....	265
	Conclusion.....	271
	Bibliography.....	277
	Appendices.....	296

Appendix 1: Tables.....	296
Appendix 2: Questions of the Interviews.....	297
Appendix 3 : Questionnaires.....	301

**Part One: Migration, Gender, and Sub-Saharan
Migration to Morocco**

Introduction

Migration is a phenomenon as old as human existence. However, research on migration with scientific principles has been recently introduced. Geographically and with the establishment of states and geopolitical borders, migration can be either internal or international. While internal migration involves mobility within the same geopolitical entity and is free of crossing regulations, international migration is a lot more complicated because it requires the movement across the states' borders. Studies on migration patterns usually approach the phenomenon through traditional dichotomies such as emigration vs immigration, forced vs voluntary, regular vs irregular, and sending vs receiving countries. Several researchers, using empirical studies, argue that these previously divided dichotomies do overlap. A migrant, for example, driven by a set of mixed incentives, may combine legal and illegal strategies to reach a potential final destination country.

The topic of irregular Sub-Saharan migration in Morocco had been previously addressed in some considerable and informative reports and studies. Yet, as far as I know, the relationship between gender and migration is rarely acknowledged, and the importance of gender intricacies during migration experiences still remain equivocal and unrevealed. So far, researchers, addressing migration-related issues within the context of irregular Sub-Saharan migration in Morocco, either presented the phenomenon as a male-dominated phenomenon or occasionally tackled women's migration. In clearer words, women's participation within the changing patterns of migration has remained under-explored. As an attempt to fill in this gap and to counter these gender-neutral assumptions, I argue in this study that gender, as a constitutive factor of power division, societal roles, and expectations, produces multiple differentials and unequal opportunities and outcomes for Sub-Saharan women and men along the entire process of migration. Therefore, my objective is to make out of this research a contribution to migration

studies by enhancing our understanding of gender in several aspects of irregular migration. Since gender cannot be detached from other social constructs, it is crucial to address how race, religion, and gender intersect and how this intersectionality is demonstrated in Sub-Saharan African women's and men's experience of irregular 'transit' migration in Morocco. These indicators are believed to produce different aspects of relationships and responsibilities. This research aims as well at examining the impact of migration on the socially constructed patriarchal gender roles as irregular transit migration entails a set of processes. The study is going to examine migrants' experience starting from making the decision to migrate until the living conditions in what is considered as the potential final transit country, Morocco.

The pivotal research questions that this study seeks to answer are: How does gender affect and is being affected by migration? Does migration deconstruct the patriarchal gender roles and empower women migrants throughout the process of migration or does it barely perpetuate and reshape them? What are the manifestations of gender and race intersectionality within the context of irregular Sub-Saharan migration in Morocco? How do migrants' legal status and Morocco's migratory new law affect Sub-Saharan migrants' living conditions and their aspirations?

International migration-related topics nowadays make headlines worldwide in everyday news because of the geopolitical and human intricacies it encompasses. It involves multiple sensitive issues that usually revolve around individuals' security and the state's sovereignty, which very often conflict. These issues are very likely to trigger inflamed controversies among activists, politicians, and researchers on different platforms. While some politicians include migration-related issues as one of the primary controversial problems in their election campaigns, activists remain faithful to human rights causes, whereas researchers focus on examining migration patterns and dynamics. To pave the way towards better understanding and

management of the phenomenon, scientific studies have addressed challenging migration-related topics such as integration, displacement, safe migration, and border management. Factors incentivizing migration are countless, relating to economic prosperity, inequality, demography, violence and conflicts, and environmental change. Migration has helped millions of people to enhance their living conditions in both origin and destination countries and has offered enormous opportunities to forge safe and prosperous lives abroad. As a result, migration is a significant process that realigns individuals' aspirations and living conditions from several dimensions. Castle, for example, points out that "*the experience of migration embraces every dimension of human existence*"¹.

The concept of gender, since the seventies, became the center of social debates. The emergence of gender schools of thought has illuminated the prevalent perception of social structures, which were entrenched and taken for granted for a long time. In feminist theory, gender is seen as a "*matrix of identities, behaviors, and power relationships*" that are culturally established in accordance with sex then disseminated and perpetuated within a particular society. This means that the principles of gender, which involve the ideals, expectations, and behaviors or expressions of masculinity and femininity, regardless of similarities, will vary from one society to another.² Feminist scholars have strived to explicate the hierarchical social structures including the economic, cultural, and political inequalities between men and women. They have relentlessly sought to hammer down gender stereotypes and biases in different aspects of everyday life. Therefore, the social, economic, and political performances of both

¹ Castle, S. "Twenty-First-Century Migration as a challenge to sociology", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* Vol. 33, No. 3, April 2007, pp. 351-371. P: 3.

² Boyd, M. and Elizabeth, G. "Women and migration: incorporating gender into international migration theory", *Migration Policy Institute*, 2003, P: 2. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/women-and-migration-incorporating-gender-international-migration-theory>

women and men have been highly influenced by the societal and cultural perceptions of femininity and masculinity.

Gender has become a critical and challenging instrument used in different fields of research for the aim of analyzing gendered socially constructed inequalities. The fundamental objective is to improve individuals' status and enhance longer-term development outcomes for all individuals. Migration studies domain is one of the research areas that were primarily viewed as a male-centered phenomenon. Early scholarly research on migration focused for a very long time on discussing migration-related issues without highlighting the significant implications of women's experiences and gender differentials. The invisibility of women or the gender-biased assumptions in migration research resulted, initially, in an excessive focus mainly on women's migration. However, either by focusing mainly on women or by adopting the approach of 'add and stir'¹, researchers were able to bring to light women's experiences of mobility. Yet, these approaches are still inadequate to explore and investigate the impact of gender principles on individuals' lived experiences of migration. Later on, several researchers acknowledged the crucial importance of gender in migration processes. Along the same lines, this study's essential objective revolves around the examination of irregular 'transit' migration from a gender perspective. Although sub-Saharan migration to Morocco is not a new phenomenon, the presence of migrants from sub-Saharan Africa became more noticeable in the last fifteen years, particularly in big cities. Hence, the aim of this research is to explore the migratory experience of irregular 'transit' sub-Saharan migrants in Morocco from a gender perspective.

In recent years, the number of irregular migrants detected on the Western Mediterranean route, stretching across the sea between Spain and Morocco, has increased significantly. While in 2014 the detected cases reached 7243, in 2018 the number increased remarkably to 57034

¹ Stages of incorporating gender in migration studies will be elaborated more in the theoretical part.

detections.¹ On the other hand, the Central Mediterranean route, which stretches between North Africa and Italy has been used by hundreds of thousands of migrants in recent years, although it saw a major fall in the number of detections of irregular migrants since the summer of 2017. In 2018, the Central Mediterranean route experienced the biggest drop in the number of irregular migrants. The total number of irregular border crossings plunged (80%) on this route to 23 485 compared to 170664 detected migrants in 2014 but it was in 2016 when the number reached a peak with 181376 detections.² Almost 37,000 people had emigrated using irregular methods via the western Mediterranean migration route in 2018.³ As a result, Morocco became the first country of departure for migrants from Africa in 2018, while Spain became the most important gateway to Europe. This drastic growth in the number of detections and migrants' shift of routes reflect the constantly changing patterns of irregular migration.

Morocco plays a significant political, economic and migratory bridge-role between sub-Saharan countries and the European Union. In addition to Moroccans, a flow of sub-Saharan migrants considers Morocco as a passage to European territory. Due to the geographical coastal proximity to Europe and the Spanish enclaves, Ceuta and Melilla, Morocco became the busiest transit country in North Africa in 2018. The classical destination countries tend to intensify migration regulations and border control strategies, which compel migrants to cross the borders using 'illegal' means and methods. For Papadopoulou (2005) transit migration is *"a consequence of restrictive migration policies and the "containment" trend in the neighboring states: the more restrictive the classic destination countries, the more likely are migrants to*

¹ <https://frontex.europa.eu/along-eu-borders/migratory-routes/western-mediterranean-route/>, accessed on 10/11/2019.

² Ibid.

³ Lahlou, M. "Migration dynamics in play in Morocco: trafficking and political relationships and their implications at the regional level", Middle East and North Africa Regional Architecture (MENARA): Mapping Geopolitical Shifts, Regional Order and Domestic Transformations, Working papers, No. 26, 2018, P: 4.

“get stuck” in the buffer zone.”¹ Therefore, transit migration is the result of first, the complicated and restrictive migration policies and procedures; and second, these same countries exert so much pressure on transit countries to intensify their border controls. Eventually, a great number of sub-Saharan migrants, whose prior aim is the European Eldorado, end up trapped for months or even years waiting in Morocco and looking forward to finding the right opportunity to cross the borders.

Methodologically, the study is using an eclectic approach to address and to gain insights from multiple dimensions. It juxtaposes socio-economic, political, and historical approaches to build up a comprehensive understanding of the factors that affect sub-Saharan migrants' migration. Gender, however, remains the most important factor throughout the entire analysis. Additionally, this thesis presents as well a comparative study, which builds up a critical and analytical discussion of sub-Saharan men's and women's experience of irregular 'transit' migration in Morocco. It is worth emphasizing that the essential objective is to explore irregular 'transit' migration processes from the perspective of migrants themselves. The analysis is based on social theory, which is most appropriate to understand better the way socialization produces gender inequalities during the entire migratory processes. Regarding the research method in this investigation, I relied on a multi-methods approach. The use of only one research method would result in detecting gaps within the findings. Mixing multiple methods, however, is a valuable strategy to “counterbalance” and to overcome both methods' shortcomings, which will make achieving comprehensive empirical documentation possible.²

The qualitative method consists of observations that aim at analyzing spontaneous behaviors. The observations had helped to construct a vision on the target population, such as

¹ Papadopoulou, A. “Exploring the asylum-migration nexus: a case study of transit migrants in Europe”. *Global Migration Perspective No. 23*. Geneva. Global Commission on International Migration, 2005. P: 5.

² Axinn, G. W. and L. D. Pearce. *Mixed Method Data Collection Strategies*, Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006. P: 58.

providing information about their common location. It also prepared the ground for developing the questions for the survey and the interviews as well. Interviews are also a very important research tool in this study. The interviews consist of semi-structured narrative techniques, as this type of interview enables free narration and provides the interviewees enough space to express their lived experiences and stories. The semi-structured interviews, in addition, promote free interaction between the researcher and the interviewee.¹ On the analytical level, the interviews pave the way towards exploring and diving deeper into the migrants' lived experiences. The interviews were conducted in April 2019 with eight sub-Saharan migrants (four women and four men) and took place in Fés. Finally, some reports, news and documentary videos will be included since they provide further information that may not be accessible to me.

In order to have diverse findings, data collection in this study relied as well on the quantitative method. Questionnaires, unlike interviews, consist of structured questions (multiple choice and yes/no questions). At the outset of the fieldwork, I collected 74 questionnaires in Tangier between May and June in 2018. Then, during a period that lasted from January to February 2019, I gathered 38 questionnaires in Fés. The questionnaire is divided into three stages: the pre-stage, the journey and the potential transit-stage. The pre-stage fundamentally exposes cultural aspects and gender roles in the country of origin, which heavily influence making the decision to migrate. In other words, before being migrants, patriarchal social and cultural norms are crucial factors that affect robustly an individual's propensity to migrate or not to migrate. Furthermore, motivations and individuals' roles in the origin country are undoubtedly affected by micro and macro factors (public and private spaces), and the culturally constructed mindsets and ideologies. The second stage tracks the migrants' journey to Morocco, including planning, threats and obstacles that both women and men migrants undergo. The aim is to unfold the way the hardships and jeopardies are gendered. No one can

¹ Shulamit, R. *Feminist Methods in Social Research*, Oxford University Press: New York, 1992, P: 18.

deny that irregular transit migration is highly characterized by serious risks and they are life-threatening in many cases. Hence, the fact that men and women act restrictively upon a set of norms leads us to wonder to what extent these risks are also gendered. The last stage in my research paper, surely not in the migration process, is the potential 'transit' phase. The significance of examining this migratory phase through the lens of gender pertains to a deeper analysis of the way gender influences the staying period in the transit country, and it seeks to question whether migration is adequate to deconstruct and reconstruct the structure of gender relations.

The structure of this paper is designed into two parts. The first part consists of three chapters. The first chapter is devoted to defining migration-related key concepts. It provides an extensive review of how each type of migration is conceptualized by examining prominent scholarly studies, reports, and international conventions. The objective is to identify the international principles and criteria that characterize and distinguish each category of migrants. On the other hand, the second chapter's fundamental aim is to discuss the incorporation of gender in migration studies. The chapter starts by tracing the evolution of 'gender' and discussing the socialization process in patriarchal societies. First, it is important to understand the impact of gendered power-division on women's and men's opportunities and roles. Having discussed the development of the concept of gender, the following step is to scrutinize the incorporation of gender in migration research. The discussion is initiated by a review of feminist researchers' critiques of migration theories, and then it is followed by tracing the stages of incorporating gender in migration studies. The last sub-chapter sheds light on manifestations of the 'feminization' of migration. The third chapter in the first part provides a historical overview of sub-Saharan migration patterns to/in Morocco.

The second part consists of four chapters. The first chapter provides, at the outset, two forms of contextualization. The first objective is to contextualize this study within the existing

studies and reports on sub-Saharan migration in Morocco and then to evaluate their strengths and their shortcomings. The second objective is to contextualize this study within the current socio-political relations that affect migration policies. After that, the chapter introduces the adopted methodology and methods for this study. It will then present migrants' socio-demographic profiles without using gendered analysis in order to demonstrate the importance of gender. The second chapter analyses and discusses in detail the data of migrants' socio-demographic profiles from a gender perspective. The aim is to highlight the cultural specificities of the sub-Saharan region since they play a very significant role in determining the propensity to migrate. The following chapter addresses the gendered aspects of the migratory journey from their country of origin until arriving in Morocco. Finally, the last chapter of this thesis will be devoted to exploring migrants' living conditions in Morocco as well as their impression of their interaction with the local population. It focuses as well on examining the intricacies that characterize the intersectionality of gender, race, religion, and migration. Then, at last, the chapter addresses migrants' aspirations and plans for the future.

1. Terminology of 'Migration'

Migration is as old as human existence but its patterns have changed with human, economic, industrial and social developments. This development has produced new patterns and forms of human mobility. This first chapter is going to engage in discussing the development of migration-related key concepts to identify the specificities of each form of movement. This discussion would help in building a deeper understanding of the phenomenon and the employed concepts in migration discourse.

1.1. Definition of Migration

Migration is a phenomenon is conceptualized by Skeldon (2008) as one expression of mobility that refers to fundamental forms of movements: internal and international migrations. A great number of people worldwide cross the borders of their home countries and become international migrants. However, they still represent a tiny proportion in the world's population and in comparison to the total number of all migrants.¹ From a statistical perspective, the majority of migrants are those who move within their own countries; they are referred to as internal migrants. In other words, internal migration is quantitatively a more significant form of migration but academically received less attention.² Although internal migration is commonly perceived as a rural-urban movement, Skeldon (2001) illustrated that rural-rural types of migration are also of higher significance in the context of developing countries.³ King and Skeldon (2010) argue that internal and international migrations share close linkages and are caused by similar forces, despite the fact that internal and international migrations are

¹ Skeldon, R. "International Migration as a Tool in Development Policy: A Passing Phase?" *Population and Development Review*. 34/1, 2008. 1-18. P: 6/7.

² Ibid, P: 6.

³ Skeldon, R. *Migration and Development: A Global Perspective*. Harlow: Addison Longman Limited. 2001. Cited in Aksakal, M. and Verkerk, S.K. "Conceptual Framework on Temporary Migration: Transnational Migration in Transition: Transformative Characteristics of temporary Mobility of people (EURA-NET)". University of Tampere. P: 2.

divergent. They are addressed from different conceptual frameworks, studied using different theoretical and methodological academic instruments, written by researchers from different disciplinary backgrounds, and influenced by multiple research and policy agendas.¹ Therefore, despite the distinctive way each of internal and international migrations is addressed within the framework of migration research, they are linked in terms of forms. Moreover, the outcomes of internal migration remain restricted within the state, while international migration has wider inter-related effects and consequences that inevitably involve many states.² In the following part, I will discuss several suggested definitions of migration and some other keywords from different perspectives.

1.1.1. Key Words of Migration

International migration has become one of the crucial issues of our time and characterized by several intricacies from different dimensions. The term ‘migration’ is very difficult to define and cannot have one single static and simple definition. It has been defined differently and accordingly to the field of study. From an economic perspective, migration is defined as *“a form of human capital — an investment made today for benefits received tomorrow and into the future. Benefits in the form of higher wages, more stable employment prospective, or any location-specific factor. From our analytical perspective, internal migration and international migration are the same but the costs and benefits may differ”*.³ The only incentive for migration from an economic perspective is improving the individual’s financial living conditions. For the economic definition, migration is essentially an investment that focuses on financial costs and gains afterward. This goal can be achieved mainly by

¹ King R. and R. Skeldon “‘Mind the Gap!’ Integrating Approaches to Internal and International Migration”. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. 36/10, 2010. 1619-1646. P: 1620/1622.DOI: 10.1080/1369183x.2010.489380

² Skeldon, R. “International Migration as a Tool in Development Policy: A Passing Phase?” *Population and Development Review*. 34/1, 2008. 1-18. P: 8.

³ Walker, J. R. “Migration and Immigration: Lecture 1.” *Economics* 623, 2012. P: 1. <https://www.ssc.wisc.edu/~walker/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/E623mig1.pdf> Accessed on 17/03/2018.

getting higher-paid jobs. In other words, an individual invests in migration and moves primarily for the sake of enhancing his/her economic living situation. All the other many motives are disregarded in this definition.

From a geographical perspective, migration is defined as “*a change of the usual place of residence and includes, residential mobility, internal migration and international migration.*”¹ The geographical definition focuses mainly on the action of moving from one place to another. Thus, changing the usual space and location of residence determines the type of this mobility. The Oxford dictionary defines migration as “*the movement of people to a new area or country in order to find work or better living conditions*”. The term also refers, according to the same source, to “*a seasonal movement of animals from one region to another*”². Based on the dictionary definition, it can be deduced that when discussing migration in relation to animals, it refers to an instinct necessity, which is related to seasonal and climate change; whereas the decision of migration for people is determined by their living conditions.

At the global organizational level, The Universal Declaration of Human Rights states in Article 13 that “*everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state*” and “*everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country*”.³ This freedom, however, is restricted worldwide by geographical, political, cultural and economic factors. The International Organization of Migration similarly considers migration as:

the movement of a person or a group of persons, either across **an international border or within a State**. It is a population movement, encompassing any kind of

¹ Newbold, K. B. *Population Geography: tools and Issues*. Plymouth (UK): Rowman and Littlefield, 2010. P: 126.

² <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/migration>. retrieved on 12/10/2014 at 10:30.

³ United Nations. *Universal Declaration of Human Rights (version of 2015)*. P: 28.
http://www.un.org/en/udhrbook/pdf/udhr_booklet_en_web.pdf Accessed on 04/05/2016.

movement of people, **whatever its length, composition and causes**;¹ it includes migration of refugees, displaced persons, economic migrants, and persons moving for other purposes, including family reunification.²

IOM provides a comprehensive view of migration with some defining characteristics. However, despite the IOM's attempt to conceptualize an inclusive definition of migration that involves several aspects, it is still a quite simplistic definition of a very complicated global issue. Clarke J. I. (1965) stresses the fact that "*there is no unanimity over the meaning of migration*"³. The antecedent definitions of the term migration trigger a fundamental and crucial question: does migration encompass any form of mobility from one place to another without taking into consideration distance and time dimensions?

Kok (1999) highlighted the existence of a consensus among migration researchers that migration is characterized by two significant dimensions: "distance" and "time".⁴ Trewartha, G.T. (1969) underscores that most commonly migration involves a movement of some distance, which results in a change in permanent residence.⁵ The "spatial boundary", which obviously refers to the "distance" dimension, and "time" dimensions define migration but not all migration analysts have the same definition. The first component, which is going to be discussed, is the "spatial boundary" dimension since the term migration refers generally to a movement from one place to another.

¹ Highlighting those expressions is just an emphasis on the defining characteristics of migration identified by IOM.

² <http://www.iom.int/cms/en/sites/iom/home/about-migration/key-migration-terms-1.html#Migration>. 04/11/2014 at 10:20.

³ Clarke, J. I. *Population Geography*. Pergamon Press: Oxford, 1965. P: 123. Cited in Sinha. B. R. K. "Human migration: concepts and approaches". *Foldrajzi Ertesito*. 3-4, 2005. 03-414. P: 405.

⁴ Kok, P. "The definition of Migration and its Application: Making sense of Recent South African Census and Survey Data". *Southern African Journal of Demography*. 7/1, 1999. 19-30. P : 19. DOI : 10.2307/20853242

⁵ Trewartha, G. T. *A Geography of Population: World Pattern*. John Wiley & Sons: New York, 1969. P: 136. Cited in Sinha. B. R. K. "Human migration: concepts and approaches". *Foldrajzi Ertesito*. 3-4, 2005. 03-414. P: 404.

The concept “spatial boundary” refers to the borders of a “*migrating-defining area*”.¹ In order to migrate and for an individual to be considered as a migrant, the borders of the “*migrating-defining area*” should be crossed. For many researchers, the term “*migrating-defining area*” is characterized by the notion of distance. The crossed distance has a vital role in distinguishing migration from local moves, which are referred to by the term “residential mobility” in the literature on migration.² According to the United Nations’ manual on internal migration, moving from one apartment to another in the same building, from one house to another in the same neighborhood or town are considered forms of residential mobility.³ Therefore, the concept of distance is not a key element in migration as much as it is of mobility. Migration is not determined based simply on a set of crossed kilometers; it refers instead to changing geographical spaces such as from rural to urban areas and incorporates certain economic and social factors fluctuating accordingly with the context.⁴

Another notion that characterizes the concept of migration is the “Time” dimension. There are multiple different types of time – social time, characterized by the rhythm of social life, astronomical time, chronological time, biological time, disciplinary times, and cyclical and structural time.⁵ According to many researchers, time defines whether the movement is migration or not and identifies the type of migration. Sinha, B. R. K. (2005), professor of geography, discusses a number of scholars’ points of view on the notion of time in migration studies. Ghosh, B. N. (1987) views migration as a change of place of residence for “*almost a long, stable period*”. He also mentions implicitly the fact of crossing some political boundaries, from the demographic point of view, when people leave one place and go to a new

¹ Kok, P. “The definition of Migration and its Application: Making sense of Recent South African Census and Survey Data”. *Southern African Journal of Demography*. 7/1, 1999. 19-30. P: 20. DOI : 10.2307/20853242

² Ibid, P: 20.

³ Ibid, P: 20

⁴ Ibid, P: 20.

⁵ Adam, B. “Perceptions of time”. In *Companion Encyclopedia of Anthropology: Humanity, Culture and Social Life*. (Ed.) T. Ingold. London and New York: Routledge, 1994. 503–526. P: 507.

place for a temporary period of time with no intention of stability, it is not considered as migration. He also considers migration as a process of shifting *home*, a concept that refers to social and cultural aspects, rather than the *house*, which refers precisely to the building of residence.¹ Although Ghosh confirmed the fact that migration is marked by a period, he did not identify any particular useful and applicable period of time. He stated that this period should be characterized by length and stability. However, using the term “almost” opens wider space for discussion. While Ghosh (1987) does not specify the period of time of settlement and describes it as long and stable, Rubenstein and Bacon (1990) on the other hand, define migration as a permanent move from the place of residence to a new location. This new location is supposed to be where one sleeps and stores possessions, and that place might be either another country or another place within the same country. They also added that all trips for the purpose of working, shopping or schooling are not actually forms of migration; these are forms of mobility and considered as “periodic or cyclical” movement instead². It is plain to deduce that Rubenstein and Bacon have specified, to some extent, and limited migration time into a move or a change of residence place that is characterized by permanence. Nevertheless, Rubenstein and Bacon similarly to Ghosh, by narrowing the residence time of migration into permanence, ended up excluding students and workers, who move to another place regardless of being within the country or another country, since the condition of stability is not fulfilled.

From the foregoing discussion, one can elicit that Gosh, Rubenstein and Bacon believe that permanence and stability are two inevitable features that must characterize a movement in order to call it migration, which eventually leads to an inevitable exclusion of transit

¹ Ghosh, B. N. *Fundamentals of Population Geography*, Sterling Publishers: New Delhi. 1987. P: 34. cited in Sinha. B. R. K. “Human migration: concepts and approaches”. *Foldrajzi Ertesito*. 3-4, 2005. 03-414. P: 406.

² Rubenstein, J. M. and Bacon R. S. *The Cultural Landscape: An Introduction to Human Geography*. Prentice Hall of India: New Delhi. 1990, P: 75. Cited in Sinha. B. R. K. “Human migration: concepts and approaches”. *Foldrajzi Ertesito*. 3-4, 2005. 03-414. P: 407.

migration. However, Chandna (1989) states that migration is a movement that involves a permanent or semi-permanent change in residence from a place of settlement to a migrating area. For Sinha (2005), Chandna's definition deals mainly with residential change and physical distance. It does not explain the criteria upon which the status of permanent or semi-permanent change in residence can be precisely defined.¹

Based on the previously discussed authors' perspectives on migration, it becomes obvious to conclude that none of them explained how time dimension would determine the conceptualization of migration. According to Newman and Matzke (1984) "*most definitions focus on the notion of a permanent or a semi-permanent change of residence in order to distinguish migration from circulation*".² Both migration and circulation are included under the broader population mobility".³ In addition, the suggested definitions above have excluded the temporal dimension. Pieter Kok (1999) explains that this exclusion is because of "*its limited utility in distinguishing migration from other forms of mobility*".⁴ He, on the contrary, does not share the same point of view with the previous discussed authors' perspectives. Kok (1999) suggested not to take "time" component as a criteria in the definition of migration because there is no "*underlying logic for restricting migration to a minimum period which is probably best reflected in the different intended or actual minimum lengths of stay required for being counted as a migrant in the Scandinavian population registers*".⁵ Therefore, the

¹ Chandna, R. C. *Population*. Kayani Publishers: New Delhi, 1989. P: 86. cited in Sinha. B. R. K. "Human migration: concepts and approaches". *Foldrajzi Ertesito*. 3-4, 2005. 03-414. P: 406.

² Circulation is a movement that does not involve a change in *usual* place of residence, but may involve a change of residence like visiting home for a period of time, or going back to place of employment after a period of stay, shopping trips and tourist trips.

³ Newman, J. L. and Matzke G. E. *Population: Pattern, Dynamics and prospects*. Englewood Cliffs: New Jersey, 1984. P: 159-162. cited in Sinha. B. R. K. "Human migration: concepts and approaches". *Foldrajzi Ertesito*. 3-4, 2005. 03-414. P: 405.

⁴ Kok, P. "The definition of Migration and its Application: Making sense of Recent South African Census and Survey Data". *Southern African Journal of Demography*. 7/1, 1999. 19-30. P : 21 DOI : 10.2307/20853242

⁵ Ibid.

difficulty of determining a specific time in migration lies in the fact that it varies respectively to each migrant's intention and objectives.

Having discussed distance and time dimensions in migration, one can deduce that there is a consensus between almost all authors that migration is characterized by moving from the permanent place of residence to a new permanent or semi-permanent migrating area. This movement necessitates an action of crossing a distance, which differentiates international migration from internal migration. From now onwards, the focus in this discussion will be mainly on international migration.

International migration, based on what we have seen before, refers to changing the place of residence from one country to another country. According to UNESCO "*international migration is a territorial relocation of people between nation-state.*"¹ Therefore, international migration requires crossing a country's or a state's boundaries/borders. Johnston and Smith (1994) underscore that crossing some sort of boundary and spending a certain length of time over that boundary in the migrating area of residence is another aspect of migration.² Thus, the need for an area's boundary to be crossed raises the question of how is it preserve and combine the notion of an area's boundary and the notion of an individual's freedom to move? This question is triggered because of the complicated visas procedures and the very serious and chaining restrictions over international migration, which makes the notion of 'freedom' obviously contradictory to the notion of 'boundary'. The United Nations acknowledges in its definition of migration the right to freely emigrate and immigrate while the existing reality is inevitably different from this delusive definition. The freedom of moving can happen when

¹ UNESCO, "Glossary: Migrants and migration". 2015. Available in http://www.unesco.org/most/migration/glossary_migrants.htm Accessed on 11/01/2015.

² Johnston, R. J. (et al.) (eds). *The Dictionary of Human Geography* (3rd ed). Blackwell Publishers: Oxford, UK. 1994. P: 380. Cited in Sinha, B. R. K. "Human migration: concepts and approaches". *Foldrajzi Ertesito*. 3-4, 2005. 403-414. P: 407.

talking about internal migration like migrating from one city to another, from rural to urban areas or vice versa. International migration, on the other hand, is a set of much more complicated processes that require crossing boundaries/borders/frontiers. The term “boundary” refers to that which divides one territory or political unit from another. Boundary most often is a line on a map; it may be a physical feature, such as a river. ‘Border’, on the other hand, refers to a political or geographic dividing line; it may also refer to the region adjoining the actual line. Whereas ‘frontier’ refers particularly to a border between two countries or the region adjoining this border.¹ Therefore, the term boundary refers to a country’s or state’s borders or frontiers. These borders do not have only a political and geographical function but also a restrictive function in front of migration flows.

Before shifting to discuss irregular transit migration, I would like to highlight the general drivers of migration. De Haas (2010) in his article “*Migration Transitions*” attempted to discuss the drivers of the migration process and he argued that the processes of migration are left un-theorized.² Surprisingly, despite the increasing interest and amount of research conducted on the theoretical literature on migration-related topics -- such as immigrant integration, transnational migration and remittances -- less focus was on theorizing the nature and drivers of migration processes.³ Ravenstein (1885) is considered the first scholar who attempted to theorize on migration issues and the founder of migration laws. Throughout his examination of migration, he concluded that migrants are driven by the incentive of moving from low income and remote areas to high income and industrial areas.⁴ De Hass (2010)

¹ Random House Kernerman Webster's College Dictionary, © 2010 K Dictionaries Ltd. Copyright 2005, 1997, 1991 by Random House, Inc. All rights reserved. <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/boundary>. Accessed on 24/12/2014

² De Hass, H. “Migration transitions: a theoretical and empirical inquiry into the developmental drivers of international migration”. *DEMIG project paper no. 1*. International Migration Institute: Oxford University, 2010. P: 1

³ Ibid, P: 1.

⁴ Ravenstein, E. G., “The Laws of migration”. *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*. Vol. 48/2, PP:167-235. 1885. P: 43.

pointed out that this perspective has remained dominant in migration studies since Ravenstein.¹ According to Lee's (1966) revision of Ravenstein's "the laws of migration", migration decisions are determined fundamentally by what he calls 'plus' and 'minus' factors in areas of origin and destination. However, obstacles (such as distance, physical barriers, immigration laws, and so on) in addition to personal factors may intervene during the process.² Some scholars commonly refer to his analytical framework as the 'push-pull' model. De Hass (2010), on the other hand, refuses to attribute the development of the 'push-pull' approach to Lee. He assumed that the use of push-pull terminology goes back to the early twentieth century. Push-pull models usually identify various economic, environmental, and demographic factors that are assumed to push migrants out of places of origin and lure them into destination places.³

The development of migration studies and the urge to examine migration complexities prompted researchers to come up with another theory. Borjas (1989) assumes that individuals, based on Neo-classical economic theory, select the country of residence where they can better their financial well-being to the maximum.⁴ Migration according to Neo-classical economic theory is an outcome of geographic differentials in relation to labor as well as wages. In this respect, Bauer and Zimmerman (1998) argue that migration:

mainly takes place because of geographical differences in demand and supply on labor markets. Regions with a shortage of labor relative to capital have a high equilibrium wage, whereas regions with a large supply of labor relative to

¹ De Hass, H. "Migration transitions: a theoretical and empirical inquiry into the developmental drivers of international migration". *DEMIG project paper no. 1*. International Migration Institute: Oxford University, 2010. P: 4.

² Lee, E. S. "A Theory of migration", *Demography*. 3/ 1, 1966. 47-57. P: 50.

³ De Hass, H. "Migration transitions: a theoretical and empirical inquiry into the developmental drivers of international migration". *DEMIG project paper no. 1*. International Migration Institute: Oxford University, 2010. P: 4.

⁴ Borjas J. G. "Economic theory and international migration". *International Migration Review*, 23/ 3, 1989. 457-485. P: 460. DOI: 10.1177/019791838902300304

the endowment of capital are faced with low equilibrium wages. This wage differential causes a migration flow from low-wage to high-wage regions.¹

Drawing on the quote above, at the international level, countries of origin provide a surplus of labour but with low-wage, which pushes people to move to destination countries where they can earn a better wage. However, getting a job is too hard to find because labour opportunities are scarce over there. Todaro (1969), in his rigorous attempt to explain rural-urban migration's implications, argues that the explanation of migration as the movement of individuals from a low productivity rural region to a high industrial urban region is an implausible simple view of the migration process. He instead identified another fundamental variable, which is the probability of obtaining a highly paid urban job and the rural migrants' potentials.² Bauer and Zimmerman (1998) added in this respect that the risks and the costs of migration are not restricted exclusively to financial costs but also psychological outcomes that stem from family and friends separation.³ Borjas (1989) went further and added that, in addition to 'income-maximization' and economic living conditions, there are other based-selective living criteria that are taken into consideration by migrants such as, the culture, the security, the weather, and the crime rate. However, their choice and decision are compelled to abide by several constraints including emigration and immigration regulations.⁴

It becomes obvious to conclude that the neo-classical theory, similarly to push-pull model theory, focuses on the economic perspective and assumes that all migrants have one

¹ Bauer, T. and K. Zimmermann "Causes of International Migration: A Survey". In *Crossing Borders: Regional and Urban Perspectives on International Migration*. Ed. P. Gorter, P. Nijkamp, and J. Poot. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998. 95-127. P: 96.

² Todaro, M. P. "A model of labor migration and urban unemployment in less-developed countries". *The American Economic Review*. 59/ 1, 1969. 138-148. P: 139/140.

³ Bauer, T. and K. Zimmermann "Causes of International Migration: A Survey". In *Crossing Borders: Regional and Urban Perspectives on International Migration*. Ed. P. Gorter, P. Nijkamp, and J. Poot. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998. P: 97.

⁴ Borjas J. G. "Economic theory and international migration". *International Migration Review*, 23/ 3, 1989. 457-485. P: 461/462. DOI: 10.1177/019791838902300304

driving incentive, which revolves mainly around improving the economic aspects of their lives. This theory also suggests that there are wage differentials between regions (region of origin offers a surplus labours but with low wage in comparison to destination region where labour are rare yet with high wage), which shapes people's movement without taking into consideration the living-cost in each region and the currency differentials in case of international migration. Furthermore, all 'Spatio-temporal' migration theories share a similar explanation of the migration concept. From their perspective, migration refers to a contributing part in the world system transformations and it usually occurs in parallel with other forms of transformation, such as modernization, capitalist economic development, urbanization and demographic transitions.¹

For De Haas (2010), migration refers to "*a strongly patterned process because people's individual choices are constrained by structural factors such as social stratification, market access, power inequalities as well as cultural repertoires affecting preferences.*"² He strongly emphasizes in this quote that migration consists of a process featured by patterns and migrants' choices and decisions, which are regulated by structural factors. These factors including, social stratification, market access, the unequal division of power and cultural beliefs, affect migrants' choice of how to plan and where to move. However, in some cases making a choice or a preference is not an option. Zelinsky (1971), whose study revolved around internal migration, assumed the continuation of rural-urban migration but at a reduced scale. On the other hand, he observed the significant increase in residential mobility, urban-urban migration and circular movements.³ Zelinsky (1971) argued further that developing countries transform from being net labour-exporting to labour-importing countries. He illustrated his argument with the case of

¹De Haas, H. "Migration transitions: a theoretical and empirical inquiry into the developmental drivers of international migration". *DEMIG project paper no. 1*. International Migration Institute: Oxford University, 2010. P: 6.

² Ibid, P: 5.

³ Zelinsky, Z. "The Hypothesis of the Mobility Transition". *Geographical Review*. 61/2, 1971. 219-249. P: 236.

“Northwestern Europe and in Japan, which overtook the earlier net outward movement of emigrants to foreign lands by a significant, if moderate, importation of unskilled workers from less advanced countries.”¹ In other words, several developing countries, which were an important source of emigrants, have become destination countries for a significant number of immigrants. They have consequently transformed from emigration to immigration countries and that is the case of Morocco and other developing countries. The Moroccan National Human Rights Council announced that Morocco has changed from a sending country of emigrants since the first wave of the First World War to a country of immigration and settlement.² For example, in 2014 Moroccan census report, 86,206 legal foreigners live in Morocco in comparison to 32 566 foreigners reported in the 2004 Moroccan Census.³ The number is very likely to be higher after introducing a new law of regularization in 2014 (this point is going to be discussed in the upcoming chapters).

In retrospect, the least developing and developing countries are usually regarded as sending countries, whereas, the developed countries are assumed to be the only destination and receiving countries. This point of view is driven basically on economic analysis and division. Skeldon (1997), on the other hand, moved from mainly focusing on traditional demographic and economic transitions and triggered the essential role of nation-state formation in shaping ‘inter-spatial’ social, economic and political connections between the ex-colonies and colonized countries. The latter contributes to reinforcing migration tendencies.⁴

Based on Skeldon’s (1997) perspective of nation-state formation De Haas (2010) stated:

¹ Zelinsky, Z. “The Hypothesis of the Mobility Transition”. *Geographical Review*. 61/2, 1971. 219-249. P: 245.

² NHRC. “Foreigners and human rights in Morocco: for a radically asylum and migration policy”. The *Délégation interministérielle aux droits de l’Homme*, the National Human Rights Council and Rabat Office of the International Organization for Migration, Rational of a regional seminar on “Migration governance and human rights”, Rabat, July 15, 2013. P: 2.

³ Moroccan Ministry. “2014 Moroccan Census of legal population in Morocco”. N° 6354. April, 2015.

⁴ Skeldon, R. Migration and development: A global perspective. Essex: Longman. 1997. Cited in De Haas, H. “Migration transitions: a theoretical and empirical inquiry into the developmental drivers of international migration”. *DEMIG project paper no. 1*. International Migration Institute: Oxford University, 2010. P: 7.

It is difficult to understand current global migration patterns without taking into account the process of nation-state formation in Europe and elsewhere, in which processes of colonisation and decolonisation played a preponderant role in forging cultural and linguistic links as well as structural interdependencies and inequalities which have strongly encouraged migration along particular spatial pathways or clusters. The Francophone/Anglophone divide of African migration to Europe (i.e., the UK and France) is a case in point.¹

According to the foregoing quote, the processes of colonization and decolonization produce cultural, linguistic, economic dependency, and eventually lead to multiple dimensions of inequality. As a result, these factual processes play a vital role in shaping an individual's preference for a destination. The example of the Francophone/Anglophone legacies is a crystal clear reflection of the relationship between ex-colonized and ex-colonizer countries, such as Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Sénégal to France; Egypt and some other sub-Saharan countries including Nigeria, Sudan, and Kenya to the UK.

Countries are classified into a hierarchical structure: developed countries reside on the top of the hierarchy; then developing countries, and last the so-called least developed countries that reside in the bottom of the hierarchy (as defined by the United Nations Statistics Division)². This classification, probably unintentionally³, contributes to establishing numerous related stigmatizations to these countries, which are disseminated and entrenched by different means. Wallerstein (1974, 1980) views these capitalist interconnected categories from the perspective of world-systems theory. He made a clear distinction between “*the capitalist ‘core’ nations*,

¹ De Hass, H. “Migration transitions: a theoretical and empirical inquiry into the developmental drivers of international migration”. *DEMIG project paper no. 1*. International Migration Institute: Oxford University, 2010. P: 7.

² <https://unstats.un.org/unsd/methodology/m49/overview/> accessed on 19/06/2018

³ According to United Nations “the assignment of countries or areas to specific groupings is for statistical convenience and does not imply any assumption regarding political or other affiliation of countries or territories by the United Nations.”

*followed by the 'semi-peripheral', 'peripheral', and, finally, isolated nations in the 'external' area, which were not (yet) included in the capitalist system."*¹ As a result, this capitalist hierarchical structure of the world, obviously, interfere to shape the migrants' living conditions in the host country. Being an immigrant from the least developed countries or developing countries is different from being an immigrant from developed countries. Marx, in this respect, articulated his standpoint that *"individuals are dealt with only in so far as they are the personifications of economic categories, embodiments of particular class-relations and class-interests."*² Marx's statement is very relevant and applicable to the migration discourse. Migrants from developing or least developed countries are very likely to be stereotyped. They are perceived as being poor, less qualified, with no skills, and in a need for work. On the contrary, migrants from a developed country are believed to be a source of fortune, highly-skilled and so welcomed in the host countries. For example, the life of a migrant from Belgium or France in Morocco is different from the life of a migrant from Niger or Soudan to Morocco. In fact, the use of the term 'expatriate' to refer to immigrants from developed countries reflects these national and economic discrepancies. Therefore, this capitalist classification does not only affect the country's political and economic position within the world, but it also affects the migrant's status before and after migration. At the outset, it determines the entry procedures (a long and complicated visa application) for the migrant and then it shapes the living conditions of the migrant after migration. (More illustrations will be demonstrated when I will be discussing sub-Saharan migration in Morocco).

¹ Wallerstein, I. *The Modern World System I, Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in the Sixteenth Century*. New York: Academic Press. 1974. And Wallerstein, I. *The Modern World System II, Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World-Economy, 1600-1750*. New York: Academic Press. 1980. Cited in De Hass, H. "Migration transitions: a theoretical and empirical inquiry into the developmental drivers of international migration". *DEMIG project paper no. 1*. International Migration Institute: Oxford University, 2010. P: 10.

² Marx, Karl. *Capital*, Vol. 1, 1867, trans. By Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling. New York: Modern Library, 1906. Cited in Barrow, W. C. *Critical Theories of the State: Marxist, Neo-Marxist, Post-Marxist*. Wisconsin University Press, 1993. P: 51.

1.1.2. Transit Migration

Based on the UNSD structural classification of countries, some researchers and politicians assume that the common migrants' target and desirable destination is developed countries where more opportunities for a better life are available in comparison to their origin country. Being aware of that, developed countries, year after year, attempt to legislate more restrictive policies and highly selective international migration procedures. For developed countries, not all migrants represent a threat to the state's security. They constantly set regulations that select appropriate migrants based on their skills and educational levels. High-skilled migrant workers are more likely to be given the freedom to circulate on the contrary to other migrants, who do not belong to this "elite" category of migrants. The latter are considered as less skilled and eventually have less access to migration opportunities.¹ This selective process is what causes 'Brain Drain' in developing countries. Therefore, developed countries' filtering migratory regulations adopt a selective approach of migrants' potentials and qualifications. Destination countries consider this category of migrants as beneficial to their development. As a result, less-skilled migrants shift toward irregular migration to cross the borders and breach these obstructive migratory regulations, using all means.

As a response to the flows of migrants, destination countries have established different methods and strategies that enhance their borders' surveillance to alleviate migration effects. However, according to the UN Refugee Agency, at the end of 2017, countries in developing regions continue to host the majority of the world's refugees. Approximately 85 percent of all refugees were under the protection within the territories of developing countries.² It is important to bear in mind that this percentage includes mainly refugees and excludes other

¹ Pécoud, A. and P. Guchteneire "International Migration, Border Controls and Human Rights: Assessing the Relevance of a Right to Mobility". *Journal of Borderlands Studies*. 21/1, 2006. 69-86. P: 69 DOI: 10.1080/08865655.2006.9695652

² UNHCR. "Global trends refugees: displacement in 2017". 2018. P: 15.

categories within irregular migration. Therefore, contrary to the prevailing assumption, the most affected countries by migration flows are developing countries and not developed countries. The graph below shows 2017 and 2016 migratory data that demonstrate the major hosting countries of refugees.

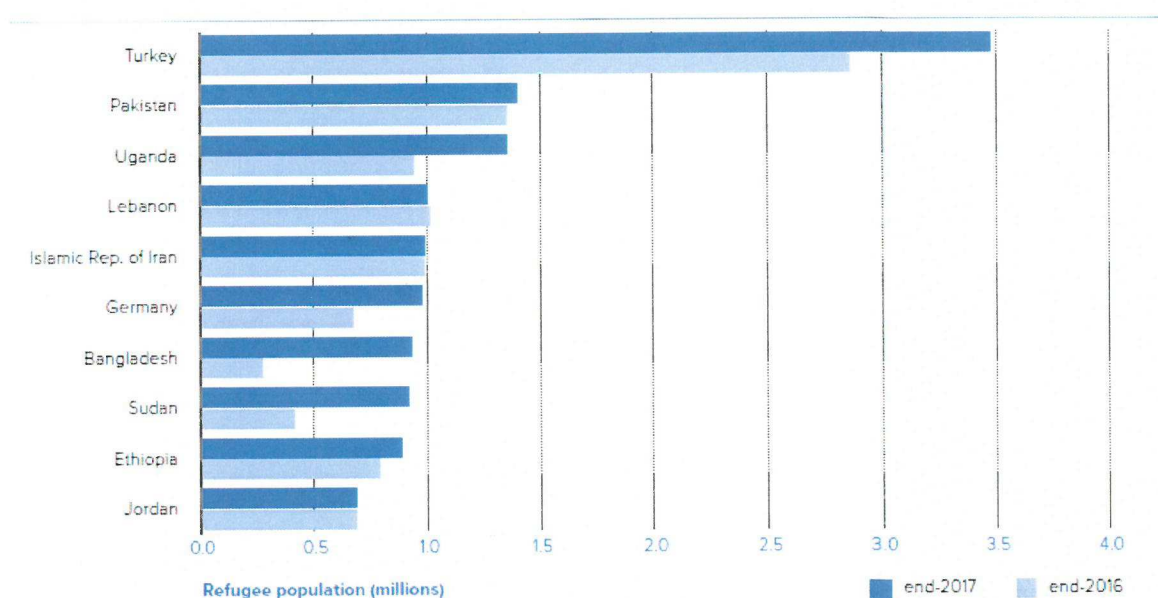


Figure 1: The major host countries of refugees¹

Turkey continues to be the country hosting the world's largest number of refugees, with a 21 percent increase in its refugee population, from 2.9 million at the beginning of the year to 3.5 million. The total refugee population hosted in Turkey comprised Syrians (3,424,200), along with Iraqis (37,300), Iranians (8,300), and Afghans (5,600).² North Africa, on the contrary to developed countries, is very often presented as a transit zone, a waiting room, or a springboard for flows of migrants travelling from Sub-Saharan countries and newly from Syria and who are willing to cross the borders to Europe.³ However, empirical studies and data revealed that many migrants consider North Africa as their primary destination such as Libya,

¹ UNHCR. "Global trends refugees: displacement in 2017". 2018. P: 17.

² Ibid, P: 17.

³ De Haas, H. "The myth of Invasion: The inconvenient realities of African migration to Europe". *Third World Quarterly*. 29/7, 2008. 1305-1322. P: 5. DOI: 10.1080/01436590802386435

Morocco, and Algeria. A considerable proportion of migrants, who failed to step on the European border, prefer to stay in North Africa as a second destination option instead of going back to their home countries.¹

Media broadcasts on daily basis a number of migrants, who desperately attempt to cross the borders from North Africa to Europe, using the term 'transit-migration' randomly and describing it as a new phenomenon without focusing on the nature of the concept. Sylvie Bredeloup (2010), a scholar interested in historical perspectives of transit migration from the Second World War onwards, expressed her explicit disagreement with the fact that transit migration is a new phenomenon and indicated that "*the real novelty is that it is perceived or presented as new by experts*".² Papadopoulou (2008) pointed out in his book, *Transit Migration: The Missing Link between, Emigration and Settlement* that until now there is still no standard definition of transit migration.³ However, some scholars undertook the responsibility of theorizing on transit migration and providing a comprehensive definition that includes its nature, dimensions and drivers from different perspectives. In this part, I will endeavor to examine migration-specified scholars' attempts to conceptualize the term transit migration from multiple dimensions.

Düvell (2010), determined to trace back the emergence and contextualize the construction of the concept 'transit' migration, argued that this concept is actually '*blurred*' and '*politicized*' in the sense that the use of the term within the international discourse is very often driven by political motivations. The concept also became prevalent since the early 1990s when the Southern EU countries launched the intensification of border controls and shifted towards

¹ De Haas, H. "The myth of Invasion: The inconvenient realities of African migration to Europe". *Third World Quarterly*. 29/7, 2008. 1305-1322. P: 5. DOI: 10.1080/01436590802386435

² Bredeloup, S. "Sahara transit: times, spaces, people". *Population, Space and Place*, 18/ 4. 2012. 457-467. P: 1. DOI: 10.1002/psp.634

³ Papadopoulou, K. A. *Transit Migration: The Missing Link between Emigration and Settlement*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008. P : 3.

Southern and Eastern non-EU countries, which are considered as transit countries.¹ Organizations also used repetitively the term in their agenda to describe the phenomenon, but still, no definition is globally adopted.² The UN/ECE (1993), for example, defines 'transit' migration as "*migration in one country with the intention of seeking the possibility there to emigrate to another country as the country of final destination, by means that are partially, if not fully, illegal.*"³ According to Içduygu (1995), who conducted a study on transit migration in Turkey, the term refers to "*the people who come to a country of destination with the intention of going and staying in another country*"⁴. The International Organization for Migration shares a similar perspective on the meaning of 'transit' migration. From these initial brief definitions, one can elicit some constitutive terms of 'transit' migration concept: migration, intention, and final destination. In other words, transit migration must encompass the existence of country of origin, country of transit (or maybe countries), and final destination. The migrant's intention plays a determinant role in the entire process of 'transit' migration.

Bredeloup (2010) emphasized the idea that contemporary migration holds a transitory nature. The common use of the term 'transit' projects an aspect of uncertainty in migration patterns, via which states tend to associate "*social marginalization with precarious impermanence and illegality with criminality and transit, in order to provide an argument to eliminate.*"⁵ Therefore, the term 'transit migrants' denotes a socially marginalized and destitute category of people and because they are also 'illegal' then they are criminal. As a result, this

¹ Duvell, F. "Transit migration: a blurred and politicised concept". *Population, Space and Place*, 18/4, 2010. 415-427. P: 1/2. DOI: 10.1002/psp.631

² Papadopoulou, K. A. "Exploring the asylum-migration nexus: a case study of transit migrants in Europe" *Global Migration Perspectives No. 23*, Global Commission on International Migration: Switzerland, 2005. P: 3.

³ UN/ECE. *International Migration Bulletin*, No3. 1993, P: 7. Cited in Duvell, F. "Transit migration: a blurred and politicised concept". *Population, Space and Place*, 18/4, 2010. 415-427. P: 3. DOI: 10.1002/psp.631

⁴ Içduygu A., "Transit migrants and Turkey", *Bogazici Journal, Review of Social, Economic and Administrative Studies*, Vol. 10/ 1-2, pp.127-142. 1995, P: 127 cited in Papadopoulou, K. A. "Exploring the asylum-migration nexus: a case study of transit migrants in Europe" *Global Migration Perspectives No. 23*, Global Commission on International Migration: Switzerland, 2005. P: 4.

⁵ Bredeloup, S. "Sahara transit: times, spaces, people". *Population, Space and Place*, 18/ 4. 2012. 457-467. P: 1. DOI: 10.1002/psp.634

interpretation of the term 'transit' permeates the states, with full validity, to legislate and stratify stringent regulations and border control strategies for the aim of protecting their borders with ALL means. In the United States, for example, among the measures taken to intensify border controls, is to consolidate the presence of Border Patrol agents and establishing lightening boundary fences.¹ The enforcement of more border control measures will be discussed in the upcoming section.

The use of the term 'transit' migration implies other hidden truths. Collyer and his colleagues (2010) explain the fact that 'transit migration' beyond its use as a type of migration, it is meanwhile used to refer to certain migrants, forms of migration or the countries are willing to cross. Collyer and his colleagues (2010) went further and argued that the problem of 'transit' migration:

as well as a type of migration it is commonly used to describe certain migrants, forms of migration and even the countries they are deemed to traverse. The term can be seen as an attempt to group a heterogeneous array of migration processes, migrants, potential migrants and countries around a limited series of largely undefined commonalities involving illegality, high risk, lack of control and above all an assumed desire to reach European territory. All this is on the basis that the migrants involved have 'transited' or may 'transit' somewhere, passing through to a further destination that is assumed to be the EU.²

The foregoing quote recognizes three components of 'transit' migration. First, it refers to 'certain migrants'. These migrants are particularly coming from developing or least developed countries; they are 'illegally' crossing the borders; and it may include economic migrants,

¹ Nevins, J. *Operation Gatekeeper. The Rise of the "Illegal Alien" and the Making of the U.S.-Mexico Boundary*. New York: Routledge, 2002. P: 58.

² Collyer, M. (et al.) "Critical approaches to Transit Migration." *Population, Space and Place*, 18/ 4, 2012. 457-467. P: 5. DOI: 10.1002/psp.630

refugees and asylum seekers. The second component is 'forms of migration' and it includes the process through which these migrants undergo. Forms of migration are most often characterized by sequences and a series of strategies as well as careful steps and high risks such as exploitation, trafficking, and robbery of financial resources and in many times tragic deaths. The last component is the countries that this type of migrants endeavors to traverse to get to their final destination. These countries are stereotypically believed to be less developed than destination countries and are mainly used as a crossing country to reach the EU countries. Therefore, the only common feature between these migrants is the 'transit' plan/intention.

Papadopoulou (2005) argued that some migrants suddenly find themselves as transit migrants, "*in the sense that even though they had no previous intention of re-migrating, they do so for economic reasons.*"¹ In other words, when a migrant moves from the country of origin to another country with no intention to move to the third country and then suddenly changes the host country (the first final destination) to a new one, then that person is also considered as a transit migrant. This is what Papadopoulou (2005) refers to as "*sudden transit migration*".² However, this understanding of transit migration cancels 'intention' as a determinant feature.³ He listed a number of varieties of reasons that result in this unplanned and unintended movement. It initially and fundamentally occurs because migrants could not achieve their antecedent objectives or their expectations in the first host country. He points out "*in the case of economic migrants, the first host country does not provide opportunities for sustainable employment and good living conditions; in the case of refugees, the first asylum country does not provide effective refugee protection and durable solutions.*"⁴ As a result, the first host

¹ Papadopoulou, K. A. "Exploring the asylum-migration nexus: a case study of transit migrants in Europe" Global Migration Perspectives No. 23, Global Commission on International Migration: Switzerland, 2005. P: 4.

² Ibid, P: 4.

³ Ibid, P: 4.

⁴ Ibid, P: 4/5.

countries' inability to meet the migrants' needs, expectations and motivations drive them to plan for unexpected transit migration.

Eleonora Castagnone (2011) identified four features to define the meaning of transit migration. The first feature consists of essentially one successful departure from a 'departure country' to a destination country. The second feature is the prevailing idea that Europe is generally the target destination for the majority of migrants. The third one is that this type of migration is characterized by a permanent settlement. Finally, it is characterized as well by almost no willingness to return from Europe to origin country.¹ These foregoing stated features sound more related to irregular migration than that of transit migration. That is why a detailed discussion of each feature is required.

Transit migration as we have previously discussed consists of a process that entails more than one departure country and more than one destination country in the case of 'sudden transit migration'. In other words, there is a transitory movement between at least three countries to reach the intended destination country: departure country, one transit country or more, then destination country. This destination country is stereotypically generalized to be Europe as it has been mentioned in the foregoing discussion. However, there are other disregarded destination countries like the USA, Gulf countries, and African countries. Libya during the ruling of Qadafi, for example, became since the 1960s (the discovery of oil and hydrocarbon) a destination country for a large number of migrants. The majority of immigrants were coming from neighboring Arab countries and with a larger number from sub-Saharan countries since 1992

¹ Castagnone, E. "Transit migration: a piece of the complex mobility puzzle. The case of Senegalese Migration Cahiers de l'Urmis, 13 | 2011, mis en ligne le 13 octobre 2011, consulté le 29 octobre 2015 : <http://urmis.revues.org/927>. P: 2.

and onward.¹ The following graph displays the regions of destination with the highest number of immigrants:

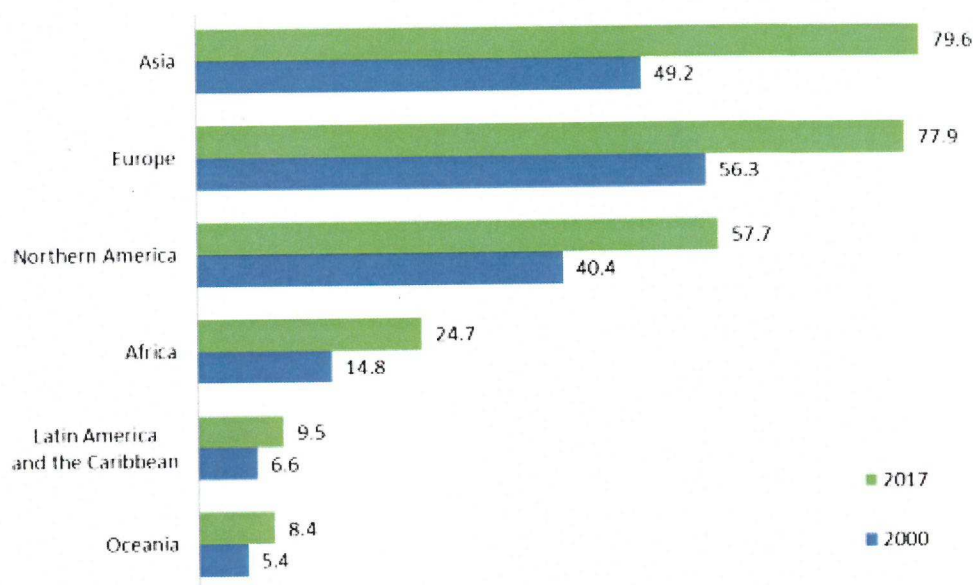


Figure 2: Number of international migrants (millions) by region of destination, 2000 and 2017.²

Papadopoulou (2005) emphasized that “*transit migration is not a different type of migration, nor is it a status – it is a process and a contingency*”.³ Transit migration then involves a continuous movement until reaching the destination country, and it might continue even thereafter under certain circumstances. In other words, transit migration does not end by reaching a destination country; it is rather firmly embedded into a migrant’s intention and living conditions in that country. It is true that very few migrants willingly return to home countries, but certainly, they do for visiting once they become documented migrants and depending on

¹ Bartolomeo, D. A. (et al.) “CARIM migration profile: Libya”. Robert Shuman Centre for Advance Studies: European Union Institute, 2011. P: 1.

² United Nations. “International migration report 2017: Highlights”. United Nations: New York. 2017. P: 5. http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/publications/migrationreport/docs/MigrationReport2017_Highlights.pdf. Accessed on 10/05/2018

³ Papadopoulou, K. A. “Exploring the asylum-migration nexus: a case study of transit migrants in Europe” Global Migration Perspectives No. 23, Global Commission on International Migration: Switzerland, 2005. P: 4.

their home country's safety conditions.¹ Consequently, for other scholars, transit migration refers to a process instead of a migration status. It is a phase that cuts across various migrant categories. It may include irregular as well as regular migrants, voluntary as well as forced migrants, workers as well as students, etc.² Castagnone (2011) affirms the fact that temporariness is a significant characteristic of transit migration instead of permanence. For her, the notion of 'temporariness' embodied within the concept of 'transit' is conceptually very difficult to define, specify and fix. There is no fixed time based on which a movement can be interpreted as transit migration. Transits, in fact, may last for considerable periods of waiting varying from weeks to several months and, in some cases, years.³ In other words, the period of stay during the trajectory process of transit migration varies according to the migrants' intentions and opportunities. It might take weeks, months, or even years.

Another critical element that determines a migrant as transit is 'self-definition'. The latter is linked intimately to the migrant's intention. 'Self-definition' element refers to the subjective intention based on which the migrant identifies herself/himself as a transit migrant.⁴ The question to be evoked here is how far is the migrant aware of the meaning of the term 'transit migrant' and of the characteristics that distinguish it from other types of movement? Being influenced by common beliefs and stereotypes propagated by Media, self-definition might be distorted and confusing. Nonetheless, it is only a '*posteriori*' that transit can be defined as such, as "*a situation that may or may not develop into further migration*".⁵ Castagnone

¹ Castagnone, E. "Transit migration: a piece of the complex mobility puzzle. The case of Senegalese Migration Cahiers de l'Urmis, 13 | 2011, mis en ligne le 13 octobre 2011, consulté le 29 octobre 2015 : <http://urmis.revues.org/927>. P: 2.

² Cassarino, J.P., Fargues P. "Policy responses in MENA countries of Transit for migrants: an analytical framework for policy making", in NYBERG SØRENSEN N., Mediterranean transit migration, DIIS, Danish Institute for International Studies, 2006. Cited in Castagnone, E. "Transit migration: a piece of the complex mobility puzzle. The case of Senegalese Migration Cahiers de l'Urmis, 13 | 2011, mis en ligne le 13 octobre 2011, consulté le 29 octobre 2015 : <http://urmis.revues.org/927>. P: 3.

³ Ibid, P: 3.

⁴ Ibid, P: 7.

⁵ Papadopolou, K. A. *Transit Migration: The Missing Link between Emigration and Settlement*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008. P: 5.

(2011) suggested, “*the application of transit definition to a certain migration phenomenon would probably vary according to when the question is asked and would change over time, through the filter of the progressive experienced migration outcomes.*”¹ Therefore, the ‘self-definition’ element is changeable, coping with the time a migrant is asked and the progress of migration plans and results.

‘Transit’ irregular migrants are usually stereotypically depicted as destitute or desperate or victims of remorseless traffickers and smugglers. Migrants are rather often relatively well educated and from a reasonably well-off background because of the cost of the journey they have to afford. Furthermore the vast majority of migrants, according to empirical evidence, willingly migrate and on their own initiative.² However, this may not be the case for all migrants. Despite the fact of being well educated, some migrants are obliged to work in transit countries under inhumane working conditions in order to pay the costs of their next journey, taking into consideration that the journey of transit migration consists of several journeys and may include several transit countries. Transit irregular migrants are described as well according to the means they use to cross the borders. In addition to the pejorative term “*boat people*”, Ronald Reagan, a politician who served as the 40th President of the United States from 1981 to 1989, explicitly warned against the arrival of ‘feet people’ in the US from countries in Central America.³ Transit migrants thus are likely to be a subject of labelling and stereotypes. Such labelling sometimes emphasizes primarily the means they undertake to cross borders and eventually migrants are dramatically stripped off humanistic features and life stories. On the other hand, states and international organizations classify migrants into 3 categories that involve

¹ Castagnone, E. “Transit migration: a piece of the complex mobility puzzle. The case of Senegalese Migration Cahiers de l’Urmis, 13 | 2011, mis en ligne le 13 octobre 2011, consulté le 29 octobre 2015 : <http://urmis.revues.org/927>. P: 7.

² De Haas, H. “The myth of Invasion: The inconvenient realities of African migration to Europe”. *Third World Quarterly*. 29/7, 2008. 1305-1322. P: 4. DOI: 10.1080/01436590802386435

³ Nevins, J. *Operation Gatekeeper. The Rise of the “Illegal Alien” and the Making of the U.S.-Mexico Boundary*. New York: Routledge, 2002. P: 56.

temporary, irregular and transit immigrants to distinguish refugees and asylum seekers for whom states, which signed the 1951 Convention, owe protection and other legally defined obligations. According to the 1951 Convention on the Status of Refugees states, which signed the convention, are definitely not allowed to impose penalties on refugees, who are 'unlawfully resident' (UNHCR 1951).¹ However, individuals, who are seeking protection, are frequently classified or re-branded as 'illegal' transit migrants.² Such misleading re-classification of refugees and asylum seekers reveals the fact that these states tend to avoid their conventional obligations and authorize themselves to deport them back to home countries or transit countries, or to disallow simply their entry or their presence within their territory. For example, when the war has broken out in the Middle East, particularly in Syria, a flow of refugees attempted to cross the borders towards western and central European countries, which was confronted by an intensive and sometimes even violent interception exerted by some Eastern European countries. This fact reveals also that transit migration is plainly an internationally unwelcome phenomenon. The convention itself specified which category of transit migrants should be 'protected'. Therefore, the other categories of migrants encounter the state's exemption from protection and they become vulnerable to deportation, states' penalties and probably other forms of expulsion.

The classic destination countries tend to continuously intensify migration regulations and create new border control strategies that compel migrants, who become stuck in the buffer zone, to take the risks of crossing the borders using 'illegal' means and methods. For Papadopoulou (2005) transit migration is an outcome of *"restrictive migration policies and the "containment" trend in the neighboring states: the more restrictive the classic destination*

¹ UNHCR, the Convention on the Status of refugees. 1951, Article 13.

² Collyer, M. (et al.) "Critical approaches to Transit Migration." *Population, Space and Place*, 18/ 4, 2012. 457-467. P: 4. DOI: 10.1002/psp.630

*countries, the more likely are migrants to “get stuck” in the buffer zone.”*¹ He also (2005) argues that transit migration is the result of “*gaps in legislation and administrative procedures, porous borders and insufficient control capability, incomplete migration policy developments and established informality in the first host country’s labour market.*” Papadopoulou (2005) went on with that argument and highlighted that family reunification is another reason for transit migration. According to her transit migrants have this tendency to be reunited with other family members. Therefore, the permanence of their stay and settlement occur only when they join their close family members in other destination countries.²

Migration policies are another element that affects the specific origins, destinations choice, itineraries and methods adopted by migrants. They determine whether the migration process would occur through recruitment, work visas or smuggling.³ More migration analysts emphasize that the continuous closure of international borders that parallels the constant restrictive conditions of the entry procedure and along with the enforcing of border control measures embody a causal impact on the increasing phenomenon of transit migration.⁴ As an outcome of these migratory conditions, migrants have developed, what Bredeloup and Pliez, 2005 called ‘*a step-by-step migration*’. It is characterized by a sequent fragmentation of the journey and progressive migration strategies.⁵ However, De Haas (2010) shares a common assumption that these policies have a limited influence on the overall levels and long-term directions of immigration and emigration. He suggests as an example that “*most highly*

¹ Collyer, M. (et al.) “Critical approaches to Transit Migration.” *Population, Space and Place*, 18/ 4, 2012. 457-467. P: 5. DOI: 10.1002/psp.630

² Papadopoulou, K. A. “Exploring the asylum-migration nexus: a case study of transit migrants in Europe” *Global Migration Perspectives No. 23*, Global Commission on International Migration: Switzerland, 2005. P: 4/5.

³ De Haas, H. “Migration transitions: a theoretical and empirical inquiry into the developmental drivers of international migration”. *DEMIG project paper no. 1*. International Migration Institute: Oxford University, 2010. P: 2.

⁴ Castagnone, E. “Transit migration: a piece of the complex mobility puzzle. The case of Senegalese Migration *Cahiers de l’Urmis*, 13 | 2011, mis en ligne le 13 octobre 2011, consulté le 29 octobre 2015 : <http://urmis.revues.org/927>. P: 4.

⁵ Bredeloup, S. and Pliez O. (eds.) *Migrations entre les Deux Rives du Sahara*, Autrepart, n° 36, IRD/ Armand Colin, Paris, 2005. P: 15.

developed countries are net immigration countries, irrespective of their specific migration policies, notwithstanding the relative levels of migration and migrants' origins and profiles vary hugely."¹ Therefore, irregular transit migration has been demonized by the states. It is an unwanted phenomenon in most destination countries. Governments believe that in order to curb these unwelcome flows of migrants and 'fight' and 'combat' this phenomenon they have to intensify border controls and in the meanwhile to 'crackdown' on trafficking and smuggling networks.² In the following section, I am willing to discuss the types of migration in the common dichotomous categorization.

1.2. Types of Migration

Based on the previous discussion, migration is a very general term that involves other arguable sub-categories. Scholars in migration studies, as well as conventions regulating migration and governments' migratory laws, have established different features that distinguish each category of migrants. This section is going to discuss these categories, their implications, scholars' conceptualizations, and states' policies. These categories are classified into three antonym terms based on their independent meaning. The word 'migration' covers a wide range of different types of mobility. A classification based on the duration of migration can be taken into consideration through a simple dichotomy like permanent versus temporary, for the duration is an essential criterion to identify some movements and whether a person should be classified as migrant or not.³

¹ De Haas, H. "Migration transitions: a theoretical and empirical inquiry into the developmental drivers of international migration". *DEMIG project paper no. 1*. International Migration Institute: Oxford University, 2010. P: 2.

² De Haas, H. "The myth of Invasion: The inconvenient realities of African migration to Europe". *Third World Quarterly*. 29/7, 2008. 1305-1322. P: 2. DOI: 10.1080/01436590802386435

³ Bruijn, M.E. (et al.) *Mobile Africa: Changing Patterns of Movement in Africa and Beyond*. Boston: Brill Leiden, 2001. P: 12.

1.2.1. Temporary vs Permanent

The word temporary refers to something lasting for only a period of time. It is usually defined by its opposite 'permanent'. By adding the term 'temporary' to 'migration', the definition becomes as "*migration for a specific motivation and/or purpose with the intention that, afterwards, there will be a return to country of origin or onward movement.*"¹ The EMN Glossary also defines temporary migration as "*a repetition of legal migration by the same person between two or more countries.*"² According to these two definitions, temporary migration refers to a movement that encompasses three characteristics: legality of the movement's means, temporariness, and return to the home country.

'Temporary mobility' is defined broadly and effortlessly as 'the complement' of permanent migration. In other words, it is a spatial movement, which is not characterized by a permanent or lasting change of usual residence, is considered automatically as a temporary movement.³ Bell and Ward (2000), as an attempt to situate tourism within the large-scale framework of temporary and permanent mobilities, suggest that temporary migration can be defined based on three criteria: duration, frequency, and seasonality. Each criterion firmly entitles the type of temporary moves.⁴ When a temporary move encompasses counting presences, even for a limited period of time, and absences from a place of residence last days, weeks or even months with no regular basis, it is called seasonal travel. On the one hand, circulatory movements involve regular cyclic schedules. Whereas movements that occur at

¹ European Migration Network. "Temporary and Circular Migration: empirical evidence, current policy practice and future options in EU Member States". Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2011. P: 14.

² Ibid, P: 14.

³ Bell, M. and G. Ward "Comparing Temporary Mobility to Permanent Migration". *Tourism Geographies*. 2/1, 2000. 97-107. P: 1/2. DOI: 10.1080/146166800363466

⁴ Ibid.

irregular intervals -- such as occasional weekend excursions and annual holiday travel, business trips and conferences -- are included within the category of tourism.¹

From an economic perspective, Dustman (2000) considers temporary migration as exclusively economically motivated and temporary migrants are perceived from the perspective of the host country. In other words, the temporariness of the migrants' stays is understood as limited in time in the host country, despite leaving the country of origin with permanent migration intentions.² Therefore, temporary migration is defined accordingly with the host country migration policies, in the sense that the host country determines the staying period of a migrant within its territories that varies depending on several conditions. The European Migration Network (EMN) regards temporary migration as a process that "*involves a one-time only temporary stay and eventual return which closes the migration cycle*".³ On the other hand, the UN connects temporariness to labour migration and defines temporary labour migrants as "*people who migrate for a limited period of time in order to take up employment and send money home*" (UNESCO, 2015a).⁴ On the contrary, the EMN limits temporary migration in a one-time movement, which ends up by a permanent return without specifying the staying period.

From a legal perspective, temporary migration is defined accordingly with each state's migration policies. For the EU policy framework, temporary migration as a type of movement lasts between three months and five years. Stays of less than three months are considered as

¹ Bell, M. and G. Ward "Comparing Temporary Mobility to Permanent Migration". *Tourism Geographies*. 2/1, 2000. 97-107. P: 2. DOI: 10.1080/146166800363466

² Dustmann, C. Temporary migration and economic assimilation. Swedish economic policy review, 7, 2000. 213-244. Cited in Aksakal, Mustafa and Kerstin Schmidt-Verkerk. "Conceptual Framework on Temporary Migration Transnational Migration in Transition: Transformative Characteristics of temporary Mobility of people (EURA-NET) – Internal Report on Conceptual Clarifications", 2015. P: 5. https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/8d04/9b6838138c95abec92ec06d0914585b9f934.pdf?_ga=2.249171589.342158967.1574979621-1320141771.1574979621 Accessed on 05/04/2017.

³ European Migration Network. "Temporary and Circular Migration: empirical evidence, current policy practice and future options in EU Member States". Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2011. P: 21.

⁴ UNESCO. "Glossary: Migrants and migration". 2015. Available in http://www.unesco.org/most/migration/glossary_migrants.htm Accessed on 11/01/2015.

tourism and do not require a resident permit, whereas persons staying longer than five years are regarded as long-term residents.¹ Despite the fact that temporary migration has been limited within a specific period of time, the process might shift from temporary to permanent and vice versa. This potential shift to permanent stays and vice versa reveals the fact that migrants' personal intentions and decisions determine the length of stay, which is influenced significantly by external factors in the course of the migration process.² These factors consist of politico-legal, socio-cultural and socio-economic conditions. The politico-legal factors refer for example to high skilled migrants who use the Blue Card scheme given by the EU and which is limited to a maximum period of stay of four years to enter EU states. These immigrants represent officially temporary migrants. However, if these migrants receive substantial legal support by the host country to obtain a permanent residence permit after the authorized period of four years expires (the case of Germany), the migrant's intentions and plans may change during the migration journey, which would end up either with a permanent stay or a circular migration.³ Therefore, the host country's immigration policies play a fundamental key role in remolding immigrants' intentions and changing the decision from a temporary mobility to a permanent stay. Another significant influential aspect is the socio-cultural factors. These factors may encompass high-skilled migrants who have been granted the right to permanent residence after the expiration of the four years Blue Card scheme, as well as asylum seekers who similarly received more permanent residence permit. Due to being unable to adapt to or integrate into the

¹ Aksakal, Mustafa and Kerstin Schmidt-Verkerk. "Conceptual Framework on Temporary Migration Transnational Migration in Transition: Transformative Characteristics of temporary Mobility of people (EURA-NET) – Internal Report on Conceptual Clarifications", 2015. P: 5.
https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/8d04/9b6838138c95abec92ec06d0914585b9f934.pdf?_ga=2.249171589.342158967.1574979621-1320141771.1574979621 Accessed on 05/04/2017.

² Ibid, P: 10.

³ Ibid, P: 10.

new cultural environment of the host country, these migrants have the right to use the exit option and return to the home country or move on to a third country.¹

The last crucial element that exerts its powerful influence on migrants' intentions lies in the socio-economic factors. Being able to have access to adequate employment opportunities, sustainable incomes and good working conditions that meet personal expectations of career development can play an important role in shifting personal intentions and initial plans. In this case, international students can be a relevant example. The international students' primary intention is to migrate to a particular host country for a specific objective which is exclusively summarized in the pursuit of high education. In the cases of Germany and the Netherlands, for example, graduate students are granted the opportunity to stay after finalizing their studies in order to seek an appropriate job in the host country.²

Anne Thormann and Anne Koch (2011) proclaim their disagreement with the previously provided definition. They rather view it as a broad definition that does not involve any accurate or specific political or legal criteria. This broadness resides in the fact that the period of stay is indeterminate, which leads to an ambiguous understanding of the term "temporary migration". Moreover, return or temporariness of stay can only be determined as "ex-post". Therefore, definitions of temporary migration based on intentions to return, whether from the migrant's or the state's perspective, are not suitable from Koch's and Thormann's point of view.³ Koch and Thormann (2011) also do not concur with Agunias and Newland (2007) whose definition of

¹ Aksakal, Mustafa and Kerstin Schmidt-Verkerk. "Conceptual Framework on Temporary Migration Transnational Migration in Transition: Transformative Characteristics of temporary Mobility of people (EURA-NET) – Internal Report on Conceptual Clarifications", 2015. P: 10.
https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/8d04/9b6838138c95abec92ec06d0914585b9f934.pdf?_ga=2.249171589.342158967.1574979621-1320141771.1574979621 Accessed on 05/04/2017.

² Pitkänen, P. and S. Carrera "Transnational Migration in Transition: State Of The Art Report on Temporary Migration", *Collected Working Papers from the EURA-NET project*, 2014.
http://www.uta.edu/en/research/projects/aura-net/publications/State-of-the-art_EURANET. Accessed on 05/02/2015.

³ Thormann, A. and A. Koch "Circular and temporary migration". *European Migration Network*. Luxembourg, 2011. P: 18.

permanent migration does not consist only of “*migrants with permanent residency or citizenship in the adopted country, but also include those who are holding what are essentially transitional visas: temporary visas but with definite pathways to permanent residency or citizenship*”¹. Ruhs (2005) argues instead that a temporary work permit, which allows residence and employment, does not pave the way necessarily and definitely towards the entitlement to stay permanently in the host country. Consequently, migrants, whose employment permit period expired, are expected to return to their home country or to travel elsewhere legally. In the meanwhile, Ruhs’ argument does not exclude the possibility.² Koch and Thormann (2011), on the other hand, define temporary migrants as “*all foreign-born third-country nationals a) who currently have a temporary residence permit (autorisation de séjour temporaire) and/or b) who are not eligible for long-term residence status (statut de résident de longue durée)*.”³

Si-Ming Li and Yat Ming-siu (1997), based on their research project that took place in China, introduced another perspective on temporary migration. First, they consider temporary migration as a component of circular migration and a synthesis of permanent and temporary migration result in significant effects on population distribution and development policies.⁴ Their study was based on internal temporary migration in China. They used household registration as a criterion for migrants’ classification. For them, permanent migration can only be called so if the migrant officially changed his current residence to a new one and through household registration. Temporary migration, on the contrary, refers to an unofficial place of

¹ Agunias, D. R. and K. Newland “Circular Migration and Development: Trends, Policy Routes, and Ways Forward”. *Policy Brief April 2007*, Washington D.C.: Migration Policy Institute, 2007. P: 3. http://www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/MigDevPB_041807.pdf. Accessed on 01/04/2017.

² Ruhs, M. “The potential of temporary migration programmes in future international migration policy”, Paper prepared for the Policy Analysis and Research Programme of the Global Commission on International Migration, 2005. P: 2. https://www.iom.int/jahia/webdav/site/myjahiasite/shared/shared/mainsite/policy_and_research/gcim/tp/TP3.pdf accessed on 01/04/2017.

³ Thormann, A. and A. Koch “Circular and temporary migration”. *European Migration Network*. Luxembourg, 2011. P: 19.

⁴ Si-Ming, L. and S. Yat-Ming, “A Comparative Study of Permanent and Temporary Migration in China: the Case of Dongguan and Meizhou, Guangdong Province”. *International Journal of Population Geography*, 3/1, 1997. 63–82. P: 63. [https://doi.org/10.1002/\(SICI\)1099-1220\(199703\)3:1<63::AID-IJPG53>3.0.CO;2-A](https://doi.org/10.1002/(SICI)1099-1220(199703)3:1<63::AID-IJPG53>3.0.CO;2-A)

residence no matter how the length is.¹ Having addressed the multiple factors that identify the temporariness or permanence of migration, the following section discusses another dichotomous type of migration, which illegal vs legal migration.

1.2.2. Legal vs Illegal

Politicians, authors and activists use readily different terms like ‘illegal’, ‘irregular’, ‘undocumented’, ‘unauthorized’, to describe a certain category of migrants. Several scholars and NGOs firmly do not concur with the use of the term ‘illegal’ to describe and categorize migrants. Migrants can never be illegal themselves, only their activities can be regarded as such.² Therefore, the term ‘illegal’ connotes a criminal stigma. Some scholars suggest replacing the biased term ‘illegal’ by using ‘undocumented’, ‘unauthorised’ or ‘irregular’. These alternative terms are as problematic and controversial as the term ‘illegal’. The term ‘undocumented’ encompasses an equivocal meaning. The term encompasses migrants, who have not been documented, and migrants without documents and undocumented migrants, who apply for asylum, but these two categories are not necessarily illegal. On the other hand, the term ‘unauthorized’ is understood as ungiven permission to enter a state’s territory. In other words, not all illegal migrants are unauthorized.³ Some migrants, for example, migrate with authorization but in case they stay beyond the period of their visas, they become illegal. Furthermore, the term ‘irregular’ is also ambiguous, as it does not clarify the implied rules or regulations. The term is used to describe “*migration that takes place at irregular time intervals*,

¹ Si-Ming, L. and S. Yat-Ming, “A Comparative Study of Permanent and Temporary Migration in China: the Case of Dongguan and Meizhou, Guangdong Province”. *International Journal of Population Geography*, 3/1, 1997. 63–82. P: 65. [https://doi.org/10.1002/\(SICI\)1099-1220\(199703\)3:1<63::AID-IJPG53>3.0.CO;2-A](https://doi.org/10.1002/(SICI)1099-1220(199703)3:1<63::AID-IJPG53>3.0.CO;2-A)

² Schrover, M. et al. (eds). *Illegal Migration and Gender in a Global and Historical Perspective*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam UP, 2008. P : 9.

³ Ibid, P: 9.

*as opposed to regular (seasonal) migration. The term can also be understood to mean disorderly, which again has a criminal association.”*¹

By examining other alternatives of the term ‘illegal’, it becomes evident that any new term will reflect similar negative and ambiguous implications when approaching this topic. However, despite the puzzling and negativity of the term ‘illegal’, it is useful when describing the way migrants’ comprehension of what is legal and what is not.² Jandl (2007) argues that the illegal exit and entry of migrants are conducted by various ways of illegal acts such as forged or falsified identity cards, passports, driving licenses, diplomats, residence permits and other documents.³ Besides, using the term ‘illegal’ assume implicitly that making one illegal activity will lead to another one, which will eventually result in disorder. From the authors’ perspective, the definition of illegal migration should be restricted to exit, entry, and residence without including any other conducts or activities.⁴ The concept of illegal migration is also endorsed differently from one state to another and shifts across time depending on migration flows fluctuation. Besides that, it is viewed as the result of states’ enforcement of border control over human mobility.⁵ According to Heckman (2004), illegal migration is very likely to occur in three forms:

the first one is when individuals cross borders (exit or enter a country) illegally or by clandestine methods; the second form consists of crossing of a border in a seemingly legal way, either by using falsified documents, using legal documents one is not entitled to, or by using legal documents for illegal purposes; whereas the

¹ Schrover, M. et al. (eds). *Illegal Migration and Gender in a Global and Historical Perspective*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam UP, 2008. P: 10.

² Samers, M., ““Here to work”: Undocumented immigration in the United States and Europe”, *SAIS review*, 21/1 Winter-Spring, 2001. 131-145. P: 142. DOI: 10.1353/sais.2001.0022

³ Jandl, M. “Irregular migration, human smuggling, and the Eastern enlargement of the European Union”, *International Migration Review*. 41/ 2, 2007. 291-315. P: 307. DOI: 10.1111/j.1747-7379.2007.00069.

⁴ Schrover, M. et al (eds). *Illegal Migration and Gender in a Global and Historical Perspective*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam UP. 2008. P:10.

⁵ Ibid, P :10.

third form is concerned with staying in a country after one's legal status has expired.¹

Hence, the illegality of migration is reflected in three aspects during the course of migration processes: the exit and entry to a country, the adopted means and methods by migrants, and the legal status while staying within a country. However, the latter is often perceived and linked to transit migration, the entry procedure, and the used methods. Migrating illegally also touches sensitively and tacitly the state's border control ability. Being able to trespass the state's borders with no authorization despite the fact of being highly restrictive, brings into discussion the legitimacy of the state by questioning its ability to control and protect its territory. Some states are regarded as fragile or "failed state" in terms of their ability to control their people and territory, which consequently makes them perceived as a threat by other countries.² Destination countries as a reaction tend to restrictively control its borders and exert much political and economic pressure on transit countries to alleviate the influx of irregular migrants.

Another term that has been introduced in the framework of migration and used interchangeably with 'undocumented migrant' and 'illegal migrant' in some studies to refer to 'irregular' migrants is 'illegal alien'.³ The 'illegal alien' term is another alternative that is used to describe 'illegal' migrants but it denotes some derogatory interpretations. Even if scholars and researchers hold no clear-cut consensus in the migration literature on the use of one precise label for this category of migrants, some researchers suggest, "*a person who enters without documents and intends to stay only a short time and then return home might best be called an undocumented migrant. A long-term resident who enters as a visitor and then stays permanently*

¹ Heckmann, F. "Illegal Migration: What Can We Know and What Can We Explain? The Case of Germany" *International Migration Review*. 38 /3, 2004. 1103-1125. P: 1106. DOI: 10.1111/j.1747-7379.2004.tb00230.x

² Abraham, I. and W. Van Schendel, "Introduction: The making of illicitness". In *Illicit flows and criminal things. States, borders and the other side of globalization*. (Eds.) W. Van Schendel and I. Abraham. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 2005. 1-37. P: 21.

³ Bean, D. F. et al (eds). *Undocumented Migration to the United States: IRCA and the Experience of the 1980s*. Washington D. C.: The Urban Institute Press, 1990. P: 11.

*might best be called an illegal immigrant.*¹ The term ‘illegal alien’ in the United States is used to refer to a particular category of immigrants, which is defined as:

someone who is physically present in the United States and who either entered the country illegally and has not regularized his or her immigration status, or has violated his or her terms of entry. This definition includes those who enter without documents or with false documents, as well as several categories of individuals who entered the country legally but subsequently came to reside in the United States in an illegal immigration status.²

Therefore, the term ‘illegal alien’ is very much biased and does not imply a single humanistic feature. Migrants, in such a situation, are deemed as unwelcome aliens and not even humans. This is actually when the picture of aliens’ invasion, portrayed in several American movies, crosses one’s mind once the term is triggered. The United States government also made more efforts to identify two other distinctive terms: the “EWIs” and the “visa overstayers”. The first one is an abbreviation of “they enter without inspection”; it is used to refer to individuals who enter the US territory without any sort of legal visa. On the other hand, there is the category of individuals who enter with legal visas but remain in the state beyond the authorized time limit and these are “visa overstayers”.³ However, the EU, regardless of the many pioneering policy actors’ and civil society activists’ criticism of the term ‘illegal immigration’ due to its association with criminal and law-breaking actions, emphasizes its use within its official migration agenda and framework. Nevertheless, the International Labour Organization (ILO)

¹ Bean, D. F. et al (eds). *Undocumented Migration to the United States: IRCA and the Experience of the 1980s*. Washington D. C.: The Urban Institute Press, 1990, P: 11.

² Ibid, P: 12.

³ Ibid, P : 3.

and the International Organization for Migration (IOM) now prefer using another term, which is considered to be “slightly less pejorative” such as ‘irregular migration’.¹

Abraham and Van Schendel (2005) approached the concept of illegality from two angles: the state and the participants. Within the framework of transnational mobility of people, commodities as well as ideas, the state and the people have a different perception of the concept of legitimacy. While the state considers some transnational movements as illegitimate “illegal” because they violate the states’ sovereignty, the involved people in the meanwhile view these transactions as legitimate “licit”.² The legal conditions of migrants are changeable in time and irregular conditions can occur at different moments. Castagnone (2011) assumes that most irregular migrants enter destination countries legally, but subsequently overstay their visas, or engage in prohibited work, through which their status becomes irregular. On the other hand, migrants entering or residing illegally in a country can acquire legal residency through obtaining work, marriage or regularization.³ After a thorough examination of the terms illegal vs legal migration, the following section will tackle voluntary vs forced migrations, which are other intricate forms of migration.

1.2.3. Voluntary vs Forced

Voluntary migration and forced migration evoke disputable standpoints among scholars and politicians because of the overlapping factors that identify each of them. The term ‘voluntary’, generally, refers to something done willingly with no pressure as opposed to the term ‘forced’, which refers to something imposed on someone to do or to accept. These views,

¹ Gabriel, C. and H. Pellern *Governing International Labour Migration: Current Issues, Challenges and Delimmas*. London and New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2008. P: 50.

² Abraham, I. and W. Van Schendel, “Introduction: The making of illicitness”. In *Illicit flows and criminal things. States, borders and the other side of globalization*. (Eds.) W. Van Schendel and I. Abraham. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 2005. 1-37. P: 4.

³ Castagnone, E. “Transit migration: a piece of the complex mobility puzzle. The case of Senegalese Migration Cahiers de l’Urmis, 13 | 2011, mis en ligne le 13 octobre 2011, consulté le 29 octobre 2015 : <http://urmis.revues.org/927>. P: 7.

however, are very simplistic. When the terms, voluntary and forced, become involved in the migration paradigm, the conceptualization becomes more intricate and perplexing. The term 'forced migration' is usually employed as an antonym of 'voluntary migration' and treated as a synonym of 'involuntary migration' but 'voluntary migration' implies the meaning of 'unforced migration'. Nevertheless, the terms 'unforced' and 'involuntary' migration are not commonly used in migration discourse. This is the terminology used by Van Hear (1998), for example, in his representation of the continuum. When digging into the meaning of these terms, it becomes obvious that the antonym of 'voluntary' is 'compulsory' instead of 'involuntary'. Attending a class or a lecture can be either described as voluntary or compulsory but certainly not involuntary. The term involuntary is also used, for example, when an act is done unconsciously and without thinking as when letting out a cry of pain after dropping something on my foot.¹

In the framework of migration, the term 'involuntary' cannot describe human beings' movement because the decision to migrate implies at least some degree of autonomy and willingness. Willingness, however, is not applicable in the case of displaced people. In other words, it is plausible to say to 'displace' someone while it does not make sense to say to 'migrate' someone. Compulsory migration, on the other hand, similarly to the term 'involuntary', implies a lack of choice as well as a lack of any alternative; the African slave trade can fit in this context as an example of compulsory movement.² However, the term 'forced migrant' is probably the best available and commonly used.³ Therefore, migrants, who fall in the category of 'voluntary' migration, are perceived as autonomous beings who ought to assume the responsibility of their decisions as well as their actions.

¹ Van Hear, N. *New Diasporas*, UCL Press, London. 1998. Cited in Turton, D. "Conceptualizing Forced Migration". *RSC Working Paper No. 12*. Queen Elizabeth House. University of Oxford, 2003. P:10/11

² Turton, D. "Conceptualizing Forced Migration". *RSC Working Paper No. 12*. Queen Elizabeth House. University of Oxford, 2003. P: 11

³ Ibid, P:11

Forced migration is a phenomenon of increasing significance in today's world and it reveals striking economic disparities. The poor community, which constitutes the majority in the globe, is fearlessly willing to go through massive risks to flee the “*the discomforts of localized existence*”.¹ Those ‘discomforts’ vary across the countries and among migrants. They may consist of anything from threats to life and liberty to lack of education and scarcity of employment opportunities.² While conventions and several researchers consider these incentives “discomforts”, others assume that although individuals' autonomous decision to leave their home communities might seem partly a personal choice “voluntary”, they are driven by a set of structural factors, which leave them in front of limited options for personal and family survival.³ Forced migrants, however, are the only category that “*enjoys*” the protection of the receiving state and the international community's backup, for being regarded as victims. Voluntary migrants in the meanwhile are punished for ‘willingly’ crossing the borders.⁴

Castle (2005) emphasizes the difficulty of providing rigorous data on forced migration, and also the fact that the number of individuals, who are regarded as forced migrants, is mainly estimated. He claimed that figures used in his article involve people displaced by violence and persecution without including those displaced by development, environmental change or disasters.⁵ As a result, there is no international standard legal definition of “forced migration.” Several scholars attempted to approach the concept and to provide a practical comprehensive

¹ Bauman, Z. *Globalization: The Human Consequences*, Polity Press: Cambridge. 1998. P: 2. Cited in Turton, D. “Conceptualizing Forced Migration.” *RSC Working Paper No. 12*. Queen Elizabeth House University of Oxford, 2003. P:8

² Turton, D. “Conceptualizing Forced Migration.” *RSC Working Paper No. 12*. Queen Elizabeth House University of Oxford, 2003. P:8

³ Gzesh, S. “Redefining Forced Migration by Human Rights”. 2008. P: 99.
<http://visitas.reduaz.mx/revista/rev10ing/e5.pdf>. Accessed on 04/01/2016.

⁴ Ibid, P: 99.

⁵ Castle, S. “Global Perspectives on Forced Migration”. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, 15/1, 2006. P: 5.
DOI: 10.1177/011719680601500102

definition that embraces human rights concepts for broader protection norms. Goodwin-Gill and Newman (2003) also confirm the absence of a unified definition. They point out:

Notwithstanding its attraction as an encompassing shorthand, “forced migration” is not yet a term of art in international law. There is no category of “forced migrant” known to international law, whose status determines rights and obligations, or engages the protection responsibilities of an international agency.¹

The working definition that social researchers consensually rely on is The International Association for the Study of Forced Migration’s (IASFM) of forced migration. It is considered as “a general term that refers to the movements of refugees and internally displaced people (those displaced by conflicts), as well as people displaced by natural or environmental disasters, chemical or nuclear disasters, famine, or development projects.”² International human rights identify easily refugees within the category of “forced migrants” with obvious normative recognition of their rights as well as their classification standards. This category includes persons with a “well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, national origin, religion, or membership in a particular social group”. According to the Convention for the Protection of Refugees ratified in 1951, the receiving states assume the responsibility of protecting persons who had undergone persecution in their country of nationality.³ A UNHCR document, quoted by Soguk (1999), appears to go even further:

¹ Goodwin-Gill, G. and Newland, K. “Forced Migration and International Law,” 2003. In Aleinikoff and Chetail (eds), *Migration and international legal norms*, The Hague: T.M.C. Asser, pp. 123-136. Cited in Gzesh, S. “Redefining Forced Migration by Human Rights”. 2008. P: 100. <http://visitas.reduaz.mx/revista/rev10ing/e5.pdf>. Accessed on 04/01/2016.

² It is a quote adopted and mentioned in Forced Migration Online. (Forced Migration Online (FMO) is home to a collection of free resources relating to refugees and forced migration. FMO is designed for use by students, academics, practitioners, policy makers, the media, forced migrants or anyone else interested in the field of forced migration.) <http://www.forcedmigration.org/about/whatisfm>. Accessed on 04/05/2016.

³ Gzesh, S. “Redefining Forced Migration by Human Rights”. 2008. P: 102. <http://visitas.reduaz.mx/revista/rev10ing/e5.pdf>. Accessed on 04/01/2016

Behind the phenomena of moving lie deeper and often interrelated patterns of political, economic, ethnic, environmental, or human rights pressures which are further complicated by the interplay between domestic and international factors....there are as many reasons for moving as there are migrants. (UNHCR, 1993, p. 13)¹

The category of forced migration does not include only refugees and asylum seekers; it rather involves other forms of migration, which are instigated by violence, persecution, development projects, natural disasters or man-made catastrophes.² Castle (2006) stresses the fact that the term forced migration includes several migrants, who, even if they belong to different legal and political categories, have been forced to seek refuge in other countries but they are commonly called 'refugees'. The term 'refugees' refers instead to a narrower category of migrants from an international refugee law according to which many other forced migrants are not included. Castles (2006) also asserts strongly that the arbitrary categorization of migrants does not necessarily reflect their situations and they usually do not fit into these categories. They are rather the result of political negotiations and decisions taken by states and international organizations for administrative purposes and political goals as an attempt to meet their needs.³ All types of forced migration have been existing since human history and they have always occurred in the aftermath of war, conquest, economic change, and political conflict. In order to understand these movements, one needs to find out the causes of conflicts and displacement from a broader angle.⁴ Stein (1981), in his article entitled "*The refugee experience: defining the parameters of a field of study*", argued that the refugee experiences multiple stages of migratory processes. He included in the list "*perception of a threat; decision to flee; the period of extreme*

¹ Soguk, N. *States and Strangers: Refugees and Displacements of Statecraft*, Univ. of Minnesota Press. 1999. Cited in Turton, D. "Conceptualizing Forced Migration." *RSC Working Paper No. 12*. Queen Elizabeth House University of Oxford, 2003. P:7.

² Castle, S. "Global Perspectives on Forced Migration". *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, 15/1, 2006. P: 1 DOI: 10.1177/011719680601500102

³ Ibid, P: 1.

⁴ Ibid, P: 14.

danger and flight; reaching safety; camp behavior; repatriation, settlement or resettlement; the early and late stages of resettlement; adjustment and acculturation; and residual states and changes in behavior caused by the refugee experience."¹ Turton (2003), commenting on Stein's argument, emphasizes that forced migrants' distinctive experience, as well as needs, are acknowledged. This, however, has led to restricting this category by establishing solely refugee studies. Furthermore, forced migrants are very likely to be deemed as a homogeneous, passive and needy category of people, who share the same experience of migration with all its patterns. Therefore, he concurs with the idea of multiple experiences of refugees instead of the one exclusive 'Refugee Experience'.² Soguk (1999) also points out in this respect that:

...there is no intrinsic paradigmatic refugee figure to be at once recognized and registered regardless of historical contingencies. Instead, there are a thousand multifarious refugee experiences and a thousand refugee figures whose meanings and identities are negotiated in the process of displacement in time and place.³

The term refugee is used loosely in everyday speech to refer to anyone who has been forced to leave his or her home. However, this term is compelled to abide by the identified standards provided in the 1951 convention relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 protocol. This legal definition provides two main criteria: Persecution and 'alienage'. The term 'refugee' refers only to a narrow-scale category of diverse types of forced migration.⁴ The 1969 OAU convention and the 1984 Cartagena Declaration for the Central American Region have broadened the definition as well as the causes of refugee to include '*external aggression,*

¹ Stein, B. N. "The refugee experience: defining the parameters of a field of study". *International Migration Review: Refugees Today*. 15/1, 2, 1981. 320-330. P: 1.

² Turton, D. "Conceptualizing Forced Migration." *RSC Working Paper No. 12*. Queen Elizabeth House University of Oxford, 2003. P: 7.

³ Soguk, N. *States and Strangers: Refugees and Displacements of Statecraft*, Univ. of Minnesota Press. P: 4. Cited in Turton, D. "Conceptualizing Forced Migration." *RSC Working Paper No. 12*. Queen Elizabeth House University of Oxford, 2003. P: 7.

⁴ Turton, D. "Conceptualizing Forced Migration." *RSC Working Paper No. 12*. Queen Elizabeth House University of Oxford, 2003. P: 13.

occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order...' (OAU Convention)¹ and '*generalized violence, foreign aggression, internal conflicts, massive violation of human rights or other circumstances which have seriously disturbed public order...*' (Cartagena declaration).² According to the 1951 United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees:

owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.³

The notion of temporary protection was introduced in the 1990s, which refers to limiting the receiving state's protection of refugees fleeing war to a fixed period or for the duration of the conflict. Refugees then should return home when the war is over and sometimes they might even be enforced to leave.⁴ Refugees, who have gained official recognition by the state, unlike other forced migrants, usually have clear legal rights and enjoy the protection of UNHCR.⁵ Nevertheless, forced migration is commonly understood to refer to refugees but this category includes actually other forms of migration that are characterized by compulsion and coercion. While refugees enjoy clear legal rights, asylum seekers are less fortunate. The term first refers

¹ Organization of African Unity (OAU), *Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa* ("OAU Convention"), 10 September 1969, 1001 U.N.T.S. 45, P: 2. Available at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b36018.html> Accessed 16/ 06/ 2017.

² UNHCR (the UN Refugee Agency). *Cartagena Declaration on Refugees*. Adopted by the Colloquium on the International Protection of Refugees in Central America, Mexico and Panama. Columbia, 22 November 1984. P: 36. Available at <http://www.asylumlawdatabase.eu/en/content/en-cartagena-declaration-refugees> Accessed on 09/08/2017.

³ UNHCR (the UN Refugee Agency). *Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees*. Article 1, 1951. P: 14. Available at: <http://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10> accessed on 09/08/2017.

⁴ Castle, S. "Global Perspectives on Forced Migration". *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, 15/1, 2006. P: 2. DOI: 10.1177/011719680601500102

⁵ Ibid, P: 2

to the migrants, who have crossed international borders, but their officially legal refugee status is still under treatment of the state. The procedure, then, may take many years to determine their status. During their waiting period, asylum seekers in some countries are not allowed to work and end up seeking shelter into the informal economy. In some cases, such as when they have no passports, they are not even accepted by their country of origin if the receiving country decides to deport them.¹

Castles (2007) views forced migration and economic migration as indistinguishable. He suggests in his analysis of the previous studies that forced migration is in the aftermath of global economic and societal inequalities between North-South, which necessitates the theorization of forced migration and establishing linkage to economic migration.² However, economic migrants, on the contrary to forced migrants, do not have the right to request the receiving state's protection or the international community's intervention. Nevertheless, a challenge that bureaucracies may encounter is when migrants' motivations combine forced and economic drivers. The term 'the migration-asylum nexus' is used to address the complexity of making a distinction between economic and forced migration and when the meaning of the two concepts is blurred.³

Another form of forced migration is the so-called internally displaced persons (IDPs). It refers to "*persons who, as a result of persecution, armed conflict or violence, have been forced to abandon their homes and leave their usual place of residence, and who remain within the borders of their own country*".⁴ Although they outnumber refugees and are included within

¹ Castle, S. "Global Perspectives on Forced Migration". *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, 15/1, 2006. P: 2/3. DOI: 10.1177/011719680601500102

² Castle, S. "Towards a Sociology of Forced Migration and Social Transformation," *Sociology*, 37/ 1. 2003. P: 17. DOI: 10.1177/0038038503037001384

³ Castle, S. "Global Perspectives on Forced Migration". *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, 15/1, 2006. P: 1. DOI: 10.1177/011719680601500102

⁴ UNHCR. *The State of World's Refugees: A Humanitarian Agenda*. Oxford University Press: Oxford. 1997, P: 99.

general human rights conventions, IDPs receive very little assistance and protection from international institutions. According to international law, internally displaced persons ought to be protected by their own government, which is ironically responsible for their persecution and displacement.¹ Environmental displacement is also listed as another type of forced migration. This category usually affects a great number of people, who are coercively displaced due to environmental change (ex; desertification, deforestation, land degradation, water pollution or inundation), by natural disasters (industrial accidents, radioactivity).²

Trafficking of people across international borders is another intricate form of forced migration. Trafficking of people is characterized by drastic inhumane specificities and bondage features. Migrants become compulsorily enslaved and exploited by trafficking gangs; women and children constitute the majority of trafficked people and they are very often exploited in the sex industry all over the world.³ According to United Nations report on trafficking in persons, data collected during 2012-2014 period reveals that (57%) of all victims of trafficking are actually trafficked transnationally by crossing at least one international border compared to (43%) of victims, who are trafficked domestically -- within the borders of the same country.⁴ The percentage is very likely to be higher with the recent (2018) circulated videos on social media, showing a large number of sub-Saharan transit migrants in Libya who have been enslaved and trafficked by active gangs.

Having discussed the concept of migration, transit migration and the predominant types of migration, the term I will be using throughout this thesis is irregular 'transit' migration. This term reflects more relevance to the category of migrants in this study and their experiences. In the meanwhile, it does not classify the migrants based on their motives as much as it does

¹ Castle, S. "Global Perspectives on Forced Migration". *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, 15/1, 2006. P: 1. DOI: 10.1177/011719680601500102

² Ibid, P: 4.

³ Ibid, P: 5.

⁴ United Nations. "Global Report on Trafficking in Persons 2016". 2016, P: 40.

actually classify them based on their intentions as well as their migratory experience. The following chapter is going to address the question: how are migration and gender incorporated in migration literature and in the prior empirical studies?

2. Gendering Migration

Early researchers in migration studies, as in many other fields of research, viewed migration as a male-dominated phenomenon. They focused on studying migration patterns from the perspective of male migrants. These researchers ended up producing numerous generalized findings and theories, which later on employed to explicate both men's and women's experiences of migration. Therefore, it has become necessary to study migration from a gender perspective to puzzle out the gendered complexities in the migratory experience of women and to highlight the differences of women's experience from that of men. Before addressing how gender became incorporated in migration studies, I will initiate this chapter by tracing back, first, the development of the concept of gender and then discuss how socialization function in shaping men's and women's roles.

2.1. Emergence of 'Gender'

The term 'gender' is the product of feminism, a political and social movement that emerged for the first time in the 18th century. The focal objective of this movement is to advocate women's rights and hammer down social, political and economic discrepancies based on sex differences. Each movement encompasses distinctive but connected specificities and crucial objectives.¹ Explaining, analyzing and changing patriarchal constructs were the main objective of feminist scholars. Holmes (2007) emphasizes that the emergence of gender in

¹ Mangan, L. *The Feminism Book: Big Ideas Simply Explained*. London: Dorling Kindersley, 2019. P: 1.

sociological studies aims at addressing inequalities between women and men.¹ Then, what does the concept 'gender' mean exactly?

2.1.1. Definition of 'Gender'

The term 'gender' was used for the first time in the 1970s by sociologists to establish clear concepts and understanding of socially constructed differences between being feminine and being masculine and the biological differences between males and females, which are referred to as 'sex'.² More specifically, the term 'sex' describes the anatomical and other physical differences. Sociologists incorporated the term 'gender' in research paradigms to address and discuss forms of femininity and masculinity as socially produced ways of acting.³

Western scientists of the period before 1700 believed that women and men represent two variations of the same sex instead of being anatomically different. Women, according to this scientific version of 'one-sex/one-flesh' model, are reconsidered as the 'imperfect' versions of men. Laqueur (1990) argued that biologists viewed the male's and female's bodies, regardless of being '*similar*', are naturally unequal. Women's reproductive organs were viewed as being the same as men's, not on the surface but from the inside instead. The ovaries were seen as internal testes while the shaft of the vagina tipped by the clitoris was considered as another form of the penis.⁴ As a result, women and men share the same reproductive organs but they are located in the wrong place for women. Besides, the fact that woman's genitalia '*do not open*', is the reason for her natural deficiency and incompleteness in comparison to man's

¹ Holmes, M. W., What is Gender? : Sociological Approaches. London: SAGE, 2007. P : 2.

² Ibid, P: 2.

³ Ibid, P: 18.

⁴ Laqueur, T. W. *Making Sex: Body and Gender: From the Greeks to Freud*. Boston: Harvard UP, 1990. P: 26.

naturally determined perfection.¹ Therefore, a woman was deemed as a reflection of man's imperfections.

From the Eighteenth Century onward, the physical differences between women and men played a key role in determining what kinds of lives they will perform in their society. The 'one-sex' model shifted, subsequently, to the 'two-sex' model, which became dominantly employed to understand sex differences.² Aristotle strongly emphasized the existence of two '*different and distinct sexes*'. However, he also endorsed the idea of women's natural passivity and men's natural activity. These inconvertible facts, for him, preordain their roles within society.³ The introduction and dominance of functionalist thought within sociology in the 1950s and early 1960s played a key role in explaining sociologically the differences between women and men as socially constructed. At the outset of its development, mid-century functionalists referred to the differences between women and men as 'sex-role differences'. Robert Stoller (1968), a social psychologist and a professor of psychiatry, was among the very few early scholars who used the term 'gender' in their empirical and experimental studies. In his book entitled *Sex and Gender: the development of masculinity and femininity*, he argued that sex and gender are not necessarily synonymous and can actually be addressed as independent realms. Nevertheless, these controversial terms are interconnected. Stoller (1968) also used the term 'sex' to refer to biological and physiological features that identify male and female. On the other hand, the term 'gender' is used to refer to masculinity and femininity in relation to some psychological phenomena including, behavior, feelings, thoughts and fantasies.⁴

¹ Laqueur, T. W. *Making Sex: Body and Gender: From the Greeks to Freud*. Boston: Harvard UP, 1990. P: 27/28.

² Holmes, M. W., *What is Gender? : Sociological Approaches*. London: SAGE, 2007. P: 22/23.

³ Laqueur, T. W. *Making Sex: Body and Gender: From the Greeks to Freud*. Boston: Harvard UP, 1990. P: 28/29.

⁴ Stoller, R. J. *Sex and Gender: the Development of Masculinity and Femininity*. London: Karnak Books, 1968. P: vii

It is only in the 1970s when the concept of 'gender' came into sociological usage. Functionalists generally linked the continuity of sex-role differences to social stability.¹ Durkheim is a pioneering voice in this respect. For him, the fear of social disorder and chaos because of the prevailing industrialism and tendencies towards individualism necessitated an urgent solution to preserve social solidarity. The solution lies in the development of the division of labour; he clearly expressed that "*the division of labor is the source, if not unique, at least principal, of social solidarity.*"² In order to achieve effective enforcement of labour division structure, a number of legal sanctions are legislated, which individuals are supposed to abide and to match society's moral principles.³ The institution of family (wife, husband and children) is deemed as a very important element that ensures social stability. Therefore, the labour division between the sexes within the society, in general, and within the family, in particular, besieges the negative consequences of modernity and reinforces the continuity of social solidarity and stability.⁴ Man and woman, consequently, are assigned two distinctive differentiated roles, which, for Durkheim, are based on and matched with biological, physiological and psychological differences. He emphasized that "*one of the sexes takes care of the affective functions and the other of intellectual functions.*" Women's role, therefore, has been determined to be restricted to internal, private, affective tasks, and men undertake the external, public, instrumental tasks.⁵

From the foregoing discussion on Durkheim's standpoint, one can deduce that occupational role differences, which are believed to match physiological and psychological differences, were viewed as the method regulated by several social and legal sanctions and that

¹ Holmes, M., *What is Gender? : Sociological Approaches*. London: SAGE, 2007. P : 4.

² Sydie, R. A. *Natural Women, Cultured Men: A Feminist Perspective on Sociological Theory*. Vancouver: British Columbia UP, 1994. P: 14.

³ Durkheim's examination of these regulations is concluded with the identification of two categories: repressive and restitutive sanctions.

⁴ Ibid, P: 19.

⁵ Ibid, P: 23/24.

effectively functions to promote social stability. Durkheim's argument of labour division and social solidarity triggers an important question: does the society recognize an equal value of men's and women's contribution in reinforcing and maintaining 'social solidarity'? Sydie (1994), commenting on Durkheim's examination, explained that "*the essential role of the family was actually maintained at the expense of women, especially when they had no means to escape the relationship.*"¹ Therefore, the strength of the society and its solidarity depended upon maintaining the inequalities between women and men, and particularly the subordination of women to men. Weber, similarly to Durkheim, believed that women's subordinate social role is naturally determined. However, Weber focused in his analysis on concepts of patriarchy and power. Patriarchy, for Weber, is a form of domination exerted over members of the household group. Patriarchalism means "*the authority of the father, the husband, the senior of the house, the sib elder over the members of the household and sib . . .*"² The power is, therefore, held by the eldest male figure within the household, excluding of course women and children. He went further and justified his argument that:

the woman is dependent because of the normal superiority of the physical and intellectual energies of the male, and the child because of his objective helplessness, the grown-up because of habituation, the persistent influence of education and the effect of firmly rooted memories from childhood and adolescence, and the servant because from childhood on the facts of life have taught him that he lacks protection outside the master's sphere and that he must submit to him to gain that protection.³

According to Weber's statement, women, children as well as slaves are dictated to obey the male master in the household group but their inferiority to men is justified with different

¹ Sydie, R. A. *Natural Women, Cultured Men: A Feminist Perspective on Sociological Theory*. Vancouver: British Columbia UP, 1994. P: 24

² Ibid, P: 56.

³ Ibid, P: 59.

reasons. For women, subordination and inferiority are biologically determined; the children's helplessness enforces them to depend on the adult male master; whereas, slaves' and servants' submissiveness is attained through fear and the feeling of insecurity. Therefore, patriarchy is a structural system that not only strongly reinforces the subordination of women in relation to men but also justifies it as the result of the biological and physiological differentials. Children and slaves, on the other hand, unlike women, learn their position within this household structure either willingly or by force. Sydie (1994), hence, ended up with the conclusion that "*the differentiation among the members is through nature for women and children, but through nurture or socialization and experience for others.*"¹

Despite the successive attempts to explicate the prevalent differentials between women and men, a great debate over what makes people the way they still exists. Most people share a similar standpoint that individuals are shaped by natural and social factors, but some still assume that the natural elements are more important; while others, including most sociologists, argue that social factors are the most influential in making individuals who they are.² These gender differences are likely to be understood as a product of the patriarchal social system that legitimizes the dominance of men in relation to and over women.³ The inequalities between women and men were not only socially produced but also scholarly embraced, confirmed and entrenched. Marx, for example, seems more neutral to these gender inequalities. Regardless of the fact that he recognized inequality between the sexes as a problem, this problem is of secondary importance in comparison to the capitalist exploitation of workers.⁴ For him, therefore, gender hierarchy is less significant compared to economic hierarchy.

¹ Sydie, R. A. *Natural Women, Cultured Men: A Feminist Perspective on Sociological Theory*. Vancouver: British Columbia UP, 1994. P: 59.

² Holmes, M. *What is Gender? : Sociological Approaches*. London: SAGE, 2007. P: 18.

³ Sydie, R. A. *Natural Women, Cultured Men: A Feminist Perspective on Sociological Theory*. Vancouver: British Columbia UP, 1994.

⁴ Holmes, M. *What is Gender? : Sociological Approaches*. London: SAGE, 2007. P: 4.

In the early 1970s, Oakley (1985) in her intriguing and rigorous work, *Sex, Gender and Society*, started using the term 'gender' to make a distinction from 'sex' the biological term. For her “‘sex’ is a word that refers to the biological differences between male and female: the visible difference in genitalia, the related difference in procreative function. ‘Gender’ however is a matter of culture: it refers to the social classification into ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’.”¹ Oakley (1985), throughout her exhaustive examination of these two contentious concepts, clearly distinguished the term ‘sex’, which is a biological term, from the term ‘gender’, which, on the other hand, refers to psychological and cultural traits that include “*dressing code, gesture, occupation, social network and personality*.”² From a psychological perspective, ‘sex-differences’ were not useful since they failed to identify any really significant differences between how women and men use their minds.³ Psychoanalysts generally presume that men are ‘normal’ and women are ‘lacking’. Feminists criticized vehemently Freud’s theory where he assumed that ideas about the penis are predominant not only to male identity but also to female identity.⁴

Delphy (2002) problematizes the continuity of thinking of gender as an outcome of sex. She counters the idea of viewing gender as a ‘social dichotomy’ determined by a ‘natural dichotomy’. For her, gender represents ‘the content’ and sex represents ‘the container’. While ‘gender’ is considered as a variable and fluctuating, sex, being part of nature, is viewed as the container that is fixed and unchanging because nature ‘does not change’.⁵ Delphy (2002) questions the possibility of recognizing the independence of gender from sex. She argues that “*sex comes first, chronologically and hence logically – although it is never explained why this should be so. ... Suggesting or admitting the precedence of sex, even implicitly, leads to one*

¹ Oakley, A. *Sex, Gender and Society*. England: Gower House, 1985. P: 16.

² Ibid, P: 158.

³ Holmes, M. *What is Gender? : Sociological Approaches*. London: SAGE, 2007. P: 30.

⁴ Ibid, P: 33.

⁵ Delphy, C. “Rethinking Sex and Gender” in In Stevi, Jackson and Sue Scott. *Gender: a Sociological Reader*. London: Routledge Taylor & Francis, 2002. P: 52.

being located, objectively, in a theory where sex causes, or explains, gender.”¹ Oakley (1985), however, stress strongly that the relation between sex and gender is inevitably a cultural construct.²

De Beauvoir (1949) in her philosophy-based work, *The Second Sex*, which has established the grounds for most subsequent efforts to understand gender inequalities, she revolutionarily and eloquently stated, “one is not born, but rather becomes, a woman”.³ This statement plainly acknowledges that women and men are socially or culturally but certainly not naturally made what they are. De Beauvoir also strongly emphasizes in the following quote that “no biological, psychological, or economic fate determines the figure that the human female presents in society; it is civilization as a whole that produces this creature, intermediate between male and eunuch, which is described as feminine.”⁴ She, therefore, countered any other interference apart from that of the cultural influence during the socializing processes. For her, cultural norms are the one and only determinants of constructing femininity and masculinity traits and roles. De Beauvoir (1956) is actually a prominent feminist scholar who also critically approached the otherness of ‘woman’ within patriarchal societies in her book *The Second Sex*. She stoutly interrogated the essentialism of ‘man’ and rejected the identification of ‘woman’ as ‘not being a man’.⁵

West and Zimmerman (1987) argued in their widely known article on ‘doing gender’ that gender is best understood as a routine we must work at in everyday interaction. This routine

¹ Delphy, C. “Rethinking Sex and Gender” in In Stevi, Jackson and Sue Scott. *Gender: a Sociological Reader*. London: Routledge Taylor & Francis, 2002. P: 52.

² Oakley, A. *Sex, Gender and Society*. England: Gower House, 1985. P: 158.

³ De Beauvoir, S., *The Second Sex*, 1949. trans. and edi. Parshley, H. M., London: Johanathan Cape. 1956. P: 273.

⁴ Ibid. P: 273.

⁵ No one can deny that Simone de Beauvoir established revolutionary criticism of misogynistic existentialist and essentialist visions. However, de Beauvoir discussed the situation of women as she belongs to white, educated, high/middle class category. In other words, de Beauvoir attempts to struggle for her right within a patriarchal society as a white, educated and high class woman. She disregarded the fact that not all women belong to the same category. They are not all homogenous, nor white, nor educated, nor high or middle class. This has been the most crucial criticized pitfall of her generalized and universalized theory.

involves acting as feminine or masculine. Their argument revolves around the necessity to distinguish the term 'gender' from 'sex' as well as from 'sex category'. 'Sex' should be a reference mainly to biological criteria, such as chromosomes and genes, used to identify who is male and who is female. This scientific explanation is not absorbed by ordinary people; that is why the term 'sex category' is necessary to address the classification of someone's sex based on simple observation of their appearance. For example, do they have a beard to help classify them as male? 'Gender' refers, then, to the methods people adopt that would enable them to classify someone into a sex category, 'male' or 'female'.¹ They went further in their argument and state that doing gender is a constant process that requires individuals to engage with socially embedded and prevailing ideas, which induce women and men to look and act in different and particular ways that acknowledge their 'sex category'. It is, therefore, an ongoing activity entrenched by the society in everyday social interaction.² It is true that each culture has its own specificities but processes like colonization, globalization and migration contribute to disseminating ideas about femininity and masculinity from one culture to another.³ Despite the differences between cultures, the circulation of ideas around the globe has become very easy especially with the emergence of new forms of media. This cultural influence means that researchers, for a better and comprehensive understanding, are supposed to question the taken-for-granted beliefs and practices of femininity and masculinity in different societies.⁴ Such investigation will certainly pave the way to reveal facts about the differences and commonalities between women and men across the globe. In other words, exploring and examining the social character of both women in different societies will promote explaining the way processes of socialization function to shape the social expectations of individuals' roles within society. The following section will discuss the multiple ways processes of socialization function to make

¹ West, C. and Zimmerman, D. H., "Doing gender". *Gender and Society*, 1/ 2, 1987. 125-151. P: 127.

² Ibid, P: 130.

³ Holmes, M., *What is Gender? : Sociological Approaches*. London: SAGE, 2007. P: 20.

⁴ Ibid, P: 20.

individuals who they are. The examination will also include highlighting some gender roles, imbalances as well as stereotypes within different societies.

2.1.2. Socialization Processes

Talcott Parsons (1956), a major American functionalist within the twentieth century, argued that 'sex-role differences' between women and men are 'complementary roles'. This statement played a key role within functionalism to establish gender. He clearly described how and why women and men are socialized into these 'sex roles'. Parson, first, on the contrary to other sociologists, explained these differences from a sociological point of view instead of biological. He argued that the nature of modern social life necessitates someone to stay home and care for children and the other to be a breadwinner. The emotional 'expressive' role, which is very important in the early stage of socialization processes, is assigned to women; while the rational and economic role is assigned to men.¹

Holmes (2007), however, views Parson's argument as "*a description of current gender expectations than an explication of the inequalities accompanying the differing sex roles.*"² Indeed, Parson saw 'sex-role differences' as complementary and very important for social stability but he disregarded to explicate the fact these roles are differentially valued. Women's 'emotional role' is usually underestimated and belittled in comparison to the 'paid work role' of men. Regardless of the prevailing social beliefs and impediments at that time, women strived for their rights and were able to enter the labour market. They have made an important contribution to economic and social development. These changes, however, introduced other forms of inequalities between men and women. Women, for example, were stigmatized for being unable to perform certain jobs. The society perceived women as unqualified intellectually

¹Parsons, T. and Bales, R.F. *Family Socialization and Interaction Process*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1956. P: 4.

² Holmes, M., *What is Gender? : Sociological Approaches*, London: SAGE. 2007. P : 5.

and physically to participate effectively in some particular job positions; there were jobs thought of as 'only' for women and others 'only' for men. At the outset, Sociologists referred to this division of works, which assumed the existence of men's jobs and women's jobs, as the sexual division of labour. This term has been changed recently into the gendered division of labor.¹ However, the ongoing social changes has not stopped the continuity of inequalities in labour market. Although women work on an equal basis to their men co-workers, they receive unequal payment. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the figures revealed that women earn around 60 per cent of the male average worldwide.²

Mead (1967), throughout a detailed examination of the variations in different cultures, in her book, *Male and Female*, pointed out whatever men do is always culturally valued more than what the women do.³ She focused on providing a profound examination of the life cycle and the interaction of girls and boys in relation to women and men within the family and the community (society or tribe). In many rural African cultures, for example, although women undertake the burden of the majority of heavy carrying and agricultural hard works, socially this is less important than the lighter tasks men typically perform like crafts and other activities that bring in a cash income.⁴ As a result, women's work no matter how hard or heavy is culturally unrecognized and undervalued. Another aspect of inequality between men and women is reflected in poverty. The United Nations evoked the term 'the feminization of poverty' to express their solicitude and to shed more light on the constantly growing number of women who live in poverty; they overwhelmingly outnumber men in this area.⁵

¹ Holmes, M., *What is Gender? : Sociological Approaches*, London: SAGE, 2007. P : 8.

² Connell, R.W., *Gender*. Cambridge: Polity, 2002. P: 2. Cite in Holmes, M., *What is Gender? : Sociological Approaches*, London: SAGE, 2007. P: 8/9.

³ Mead, M., *Male and Female: a Study of the Sexes in a Changing World*, New York: William Morrow and Company, 1967. P: 81.

⁴ Oakley, A., *Sex, Gender and Society*. England: Gower House, 1985. P: 141.

⁵ Holmes, M., *What is Gender? : Sociological Approaches*. London: SAGE, 2007. P : 9.

Most sociologists have concurred and emphasized on the idea that gender is something we become; being feminine or masculine is the construction of powerful social structures that is beyond an individual's control. Nevertheless, some other sociologists suggest and focus more on individuals' ability to make choices about how they behave and shape others' lives.¹ Therefore, men and women possess a certain share of the capability to make a decision about how they do gender, but these choices are made with regard to other variations and particular time and places. Holmes (2007) for example considers "*socialization theories to be lacking because they overemphasize the power of social structures in shaping individuals' gender. The extent to which individuals are able to exercise some agency, or play a part, in how they become gendered is often under-recognized.*"² She (2007) went further and stated that socialization as:

processes by which we learn what it means to be an adult human being within our society. Socialization operates through social institutions such as families, school, work, the media, and generally through social interaction. Children learn to see themselves and what they do in relation to the people around them.³

Drawing on this quote, Holmes considers socialization as a set of mechanisms that prepare individuals to embody the meaning of adults in the society where they live. These mechanisms operates through social agents, which ingrain, entrench and disseminate cultural ideologies and standards. The learning process starts from childhood through daily interaction with these social agents and institutions. However, she emphasized the very essential and active role that individuals play during this process. Researchers usually do not acknowledge this role and view individuals as passive recipients with no agency.

¹ Holmes, M., *What is Gender? : Sociological Approaches*. London: SAGE, 2007. P: 40.

² Ibid, P: 47.

³ Ibid, P: 41.

Skeggs (1997) argued that femininity is expressed in different ways by each class-category of women, which however differentially valued by society. Working-class women's femininity is expressed in different ways to middle-class women, whose femininity is regarded as the ideal. As a result, working-class women will acknowledge that middle-class styles of femininity are more highly respected within society than their own ways of dressing and conducting.¹ The right to education was one of the early fundamental objectives of feminist activists. Girls and women were not allowed to go to schools. Delamont (1978) underscored that although compulsory primary education was introduced in most western nations in the late nineteenth century, wealthy women usually had fewer chances in comparison to their brothers to be educated. Wealthy women at least had limited chances but for middle and working-class women, education was perceived either as a threat to or as a distraction from preparing them to their natural duties as wives and mothers.²

Oakley (1972) was among the first sociologists to extend ideas about socialization as an attempt to understand both processes of learning gender and the social construction of femininity and masculinity. She, similarly to other sociologists, suggested the probability of the fact that women and men were only as different as a society made them.³ However, Holmes (2007) views that Oakley disregarded the family institution to consider 'non-parental' processes such as school textbooks and the mass media that play a very influential role in reinforcing gender differences.⁴ In this respect, Stanley and Wise (2002) define socialization as a process that aims at transforming children into social beings who embody particular social norms and values and consequently embrace the characteristics of roles the society expects them to perform. Socialization for most feminists is a sort of "*self-fulfilling prophecy*", which refers to

¹ Skeggs, B., *Formations of Class and Gender*. London: Sage Publications, 1997. P: 99.

² Delamont, S. "The domestic ideology and women's education", in S. Delamont and L. Duffin (eds), *The Nineteenth Century Woman*. London: Croom Helm, 1978, pp 134–87. Cited in Holmes, M., *What is Gender? : Sociological Approaches*. London: SAGE, 2007. P: 45.

³ Oakley, A., *Sex, Gender and Society*. England: Gower House, 1985. P: 12.

⁴ Holmes, M., *What is Gender? : Sociological Approaches*. London: SAGE, 2007. P: 47.

“a self-perpetuating system” that transmits from generation to generation.”¹ They expressed that feminists are primarily concerned about sex role socialization. For them, however, “sex role, or gender role, socialization is that bit of the process by which children come to be not only social beings, but either ‘feminine’ or ‘masculine’ ones.”²

Individuals are supposed to learn from the attributes and roles assigned to them from different sources and throughout stages in the life cycle. Childhood is a very important stage in socialization. Parents play a very significant role in transmitting gender to their offspring. Stanley and Wise (1983) in another reference have pointed out that the focus of many socialization theories is not just on families, or even parents, but also on the role of mothers.³ Children also learn at an early age from another institution that involves comparing their parents to others. Schools and education are very powerful and systematic institutions that shape and entrench gender differences. Weitzman (1972) argues that pre-schooling, the very early stage of posterior stages of education, has initiated the learning process of ‘sex-role identification’ and ‘sex-role expectations’.⁴ The children’s books mirrors the prevailing values and norms of the culture that consequently has ingrained gender disparities and inequalities. Aspects of these inequalities within the classroom have included the gendering of subjects that disadvantage girls, the absence of role models, sexist resources, and the way classroom interaction operates to favour boys.⁵ Not only schooling institutions contributed to ingraining gender differences, but also the absence of women in highly regarded powerful social positions projected the roles that girls are supposed to play and contributed to entrenching that those leading roles are only

¹ Stanley, L., and Wise, S., “What’s wrong with socialization?” In Stevi, Jackson and Sue Scott. *Gender: a Sociological Reader*. London: Routledge Taylor & Francis, 2002. P: 273.

² Ibid, P: 273.

³ Stanley, L. and Wise, S., *Breaking Out: Feminist Consciousness and Feminist Research*. London: Routledge. 1983 cited in Holmes, M., *What is Gender? : Sociological Approaches*. London: SAGE, 2007P: 44.

⁴Weitzman, L. (et al.) “Sex-role socialization in picture books for preschool children” *American Journal of Sociology*. 77/ 6, 1972. 1125-1150. P: 1125.

⁵ Ibid, P: 1126.

appropriate for men.¹ Furthermore, textbooks and readers were among the socializing instruments that were criticized in the 1970s for negatively reinforcing gender differences. Learning resources and textbooks displayed less often women and portrayed boys and girls in stereotyped ways.² For example, boys in early readers were often portrayed as active and in powerful leading roles, while girls were mainly shown as inferior beings involved with nurturing or doing domestic work.³ The children, therefore, through the process of assimilation, acquire from textbooks the roles they are supposed to identify with and to perform as a child and adult as well. Hartley (1972) had, in fact, another point of view. She suggested in her work that during childhood boys learn their specified roles from symbolic sources and peer groups and by trial and error and indirection because of the absence of fathers who are supposed to be the breadwinners. On the contrary, girls learn femininity attitudes and their roles directly from adult female models such as mothers and teachers.⁴ In her study, which was based on interviewing a sample of schoolgirls, Sharpe (1976) revealed that the working-class girls expressed their desire to rush out into marriage and /or to the workforce because they feel bored in the school. These findings have been explained as being 'schooled' into them and limited their ability to shape a less 'narrow' life. She also accuses the society in general and the schools in particular for 'brainwashing' the girls' ways of thinking.⁵

It has become possible to deduce from what has been discussed previously that most scholars consider gender something is imposed on individuals via a set of social ideologies. Walby (1990) argued that gender is determined and gender inequalities are entrenched through

¹ Holmes, M., *What is Gender? : Sociological Approaches*. SAGE: London. 2007. P: 45.

² Lobban, G. "Sex-roles in reading schemes". *Educational Review*. 27/ 3, 1975. 202–10. P: 204. DOI: 10.1080/0013191750270305

³ Ibid. P: 204.

⁴ Hartley, R. E. "Sex-role Pressures and the Socialization of the Male Child", *Psychological Reports*, Vol. 5, 1959. 457-468. P: 458/459. DOI. 10.2466/pr0.1959.5.h.457

⁵ Sharpe, S., *'Just Like a Girl': How Girls Learn to be Women*. Harmondsworth: Penguin. 1976. Cited in Holmes, M. *What is Gender? : Sociological Approaches*. London: Sage Publication, 2007. P: 48.

six structures: paid work, household production, culture, sexuality, violence, and the state.¹ Alternatively, Connell (2002) expressed that gender regime is done to us (and by us) via four main dimensions of social structures: the relations of power, production, emotions and the symbolic.² Connell (1995) also asserted in his book, *Masculinities*, the requirement of considering things as ‘production and consumption, institutions, and social struggle’ for a better understanding of gender. He explains, “*masculinity is constructed in relation to what it is not, and that means especially, but not only, femininity. We understand what ‘masculine’ means by contrasting it to things we think of as ‘not masculine’*”.³ Therefore, femininity embodies everything masculinity is not.

Stanley (2002) declared the absence of causal correlation between biological and social differences between men and women. She identifies three types of variations to justify this absence. The first variations are between cultures. Stanley (2002) argues that sex globally forms a universal categorization that “*involves a hierarchy in which it is men and men’s activities and attributes which are the more highly valued.*”⁴ She goes on with her argument and considers ‘gender’ as variously constructed and understanding the ‘same’ behaviors may differ throughout different cultures.⁵ The examination of gender from an anthropological perspective is very important. Cultural comparisons contribute to the identification of specificities and peculiarities of individuals’ life within their and other social environments. The main objective of this process is to demonstrate that what may be considered as axiomatic and naturally made is, in fact, the product of history and culture.⁶ Giddens (1986) emphasized that “*sociological*

¹ Walby, S. *Theorizing Patriarchy*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990. P: 1.

² Connell, R.W. *Gender*. Cambridge: Polity. 2002. Cited in Holmes, M. *What is Gender? : Sociological Approaches*. London: Sage Publication, 2007. P: 50/ 51.

³ Connell, R.W. *Masculinities (2nd ed)*. University California Press: Berkley and Los Angeles. 2005, P:

⁴ Stanley, L. “Should ‘sex’ really be ‘gender’- ‘gender’ really be ‘sex’?” in Stevi, Jackson and Sue Scott. *Gender: a Sociological Reader*. London: Routledge Taylor & Francis, 2002. P: 32.

⁵ Ibid, P: 32/33.

⁶ Giddens, A. *Sociology: A Brief but Critical Introduction*. Basingstoke: MacMillan. 1986. P: 13.

analysis can play an emancipatory role in human society".¹ Therefore, to explain and understand gender, a sociological comparison from an anthropological perspective is very necessary. This process demonstrates that different social environment has inevitably different significance of being born a woman (or a man).

The second evidence is variations in one culture over time. Stanley (2002) suggests looking at one culture from a historical approach to figure out aspects of changes within the same culture over time.² Mills (1959) also emphasized that understanding the history of a particular society paves the way towards understanding the life of a woman or man within that society. Changes in the perception of sex differences over time help to illustrate the centrality of the social circumstances in determining what it means to be a woman or a man.³ Stanley (2002) argues that Capitalism, for example, has brought very significant changes in the economic and social roles of women and men.⁴ Rowbotham (1973) attempted in *Hidden from History* to reveal the hidden history of women because of the fact that women's lives were not considered as either significant or interesting to be studied within the mainstream history. Her work focused on highlighting and examining the changes brought about not only by capitalist development but also by developments within capitalism.⁵ Macfarlane (1979), on the other hand, throughout his rigorous examination of the history of individuals' ownership in England, strongly claimed that in the 'pre-capitalist' period (from 1350 to 1750) women were controlled and the subject of several forms of discrimination, but also that they had the right of ownership of lands and properties. They also by the Common Law could and did inherit and run their own

¹ Giddens, A. *Sociology: A Brief but Critical Introduction*. Basingstoke: MacMillan. 1986. P: 13.

² Stanley, L. "Should 'sex' really be 'gender' - 'gender' really be 'sex'?" in Stevi, Jackson and Sue Scott. *Gender: a Sociological Reader*. London: Routledge Taylor & Francis, 2002. P: 32.

³ Mills, W. C. *The Sociological Imagination*. New York: Oxford UP, 2000. P: 144/145.

⁴ Stanley, L., "Should 'sex' really be 'gender' - 'gender' really be 'sex'?" in Stevi, Jackson and Sue Scott. *Gender: a Sociological Reader*. London: Routledge Taylor & Francis, 2002. P: 33.

⁵ Rowbotham, S. *Hidden from History: 300 Years of Women's Oppression and the Fight against it*. Pluto Press: London, 1973. Cited in Stanley, L. "Should 'sex' really be 'gender' - 'gender' really be 'sex'?" in Stevi, Jackson and Sue Scott. *Gender: a Sociological Reader*. London: Routledge Taylor & Francis, 2002. P: 33.

businesses.¹ Oakley (1985) added in this respect that in the period from 1540 to 1640, women were definitely struggling for their rights in society but the problem “*was maintaining these rights rather than obtaining them*”.² The last evidence, that Stanley (2002) highlights, revolves around the variations in one culture at one point in time. She provides the example of intersexuality in this case. She indicates that there are at least fifteen different forms of intersexuality. The very common forms are probably ‘Klinefelter’s syndrome’ and ‘Turner’s syndrome.’³

Most feminists concurred that gender traits and roles are assigned to children (babies) according to the appearance of their genitals. Mothers instill gender by differentiating between children of different sexes throughout behaving differently towards them.⁴ Within the process of socialization, norms, values and behaviors, children are seen as the ‘content’ that is derived from the demands and requirements of the ‘system’, which encompasses patriarchy and capitalism. The needs and requirements of the system are translated through the ideology of family life.⁵ Stanley and Wise (2002), based on feminist descriptions of the processes involved in ‘learning gender’, identify three sub-processes that include ‘imitation’, ‘identification’ and ‘internalization’. Children tend to imitate the behaviors of those people they identify with. Those people they first identify with are usually their parents particularly their fathers. Girls, on the other hand, are presumed to sexually identify later through the internalization of outside pressures.⁶

¹ Macfarlane, A. *The Origins of English Individualism: the Family, Property and Social Transition*. New York: Cambridge UP, 1979. P: 81.

² Oakley, A., *Sex, Gender and Society*. England: Gower House, 1985. P : 9.

³ Stanley, L. “Should ‘sex’ really be ‘gender’- ‘gender’ really be ‘sex’?” in Stevi, Jackson and Sue Scott. *Gender: a Sociological Reader*. London: Routledge Taylor & Francis, 2002. P: 37.

⁴ Stanley, L., and Wise, S. “What’s wrong with socialization?” In Stevi, Jackson and Sue Scott. *Gender: a Sociological Reader*. London: Routledge Taylor & Francis, 2002. P: 274.

⁵ Ibid, P: 273.

⁶ Ibid, P: 274.

According to Weinreich's (2003) suggestions socialization involves "the 'transmission' of behaviors, roles, attributes and beliefs to the next generation and has three key facets. The first focuses on internalization through direct prescription, example and expectation. The second emphasizes the part played by 'socializing agents' (primarily but not exclusively the family), who hold stereotypical beliefs about the sex-appropriate characteristics and which are reflected in their socialization practices. The third is that many aspects of socialization are particularly concerned with sex roles. The latter are mainly cultural in origin although 'undoubtedly', Weinreich feels that some are based on biological elements.¹

2.2. Feminist Critical Views of Early Migration Literature

Early researchers in migration studies viewed migration as a male-dominated phenomenon. Having examined socializing processes from multiple dimensions and highlighted the many factors that overlap and function to mold individuals' roles, this sub-chapter is going to shed light on how feminist sociologists evaluated and criticized early migration studies and the generalizations they produced. The discussion will then move to explore the way gender has become incorporated in migration studies and its importance.

2.2.1. Gender and International Migration Theories

During the 1980s and early 1990s scholars in sociology, particularly feminists, extensively criticized the inattentiveness of researchers within migration studies to the significantly growing number of international women migrants. Their migration experience was not even acknowledged as different from that of men.² Feminist scholars tended to extensively and intensively examine the previous migration studies and aspects of gender-blindness. For

¹ Weinreich, P. "Identity structure analysis" in Weinreich P. and A. Saunderson, *Analysing Identity: Cross-Cultural, Societal and Clinical Contexts*. New York: Routledge, 2003. P: 11/31.

² Grieco, E. and M. Boyd. "Women and migration: incorporating gender into international migration theory" Working Paper Series WPS 98-139 ISSN 0740-909. Tallahassee, Florida: Center for the Study of Population, Florida State University. 1998. P: 1.

Grieco and Boyd (2003) the first aspect of inattention of female migrants is in equating 'men=general' and 'female=specific'. The use of the term 'migrant' in early migration research on male migration referred to 'male migrant' but without using the term 'male' or 'man'. On the contrary, studies conducted on female migration the term 'female' or 'woman' was included to 'migrant.'¹ Based on this statement, one can facilely deduce that women were tackled in research as a specific group, or better to say as a minority that does not worth to be recognized and studied.

Schrover and Moloney (2013) agree with Grieco and Boyd (2003) that the focus of early examination on migration was either exclusively on men migrants or addressed migrants in '*genderless*' terms. Consequently, migration decisions and experiences of both men and women were, based on the one and only (heterosexual) male experience, were presumed to be affected by similar motives and circumstances.² As a result, the early studies on migration produced a number of homogenous and gender-insensitive theories and researchers applied them to explicate and understand the patterns of both male and female migration. In other words, early researchers regarded male migration as the norm and presented the female migration as the exception.

Grieco and Boyd (2003) go on to argue that the absence of gender-sensitive theories resulted in a plain failure to explain better gender differences in migration. They robustly criticized migration research for not only disregarding and stereotyping migrant women but also for the predominant use of gender-blind conceptual models that clearly fail to explicate comprehensively the reciprocal influence between gender and migration. For them, "*gender insensitivity occurs when researchers merely add sex as a variable or sub-population in*

¹ Grieco, E. and M. Boyd. "Women and migration: incorporating gender into international migration theory" Working Paper Series WPS 98-139 ISSN 0740-909. Tallahassee, Florida: Center for the Study of Population, Florida State University. 1998. P : 1.

² Schrover, M. and Moloney, M. D. (Eds) *Gender, Migration and Categorization: Making Distinctions between Migrants in Western Countries 1945-2010*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam UP, 2013. P: 12.

*analyses without either reassessing the latent conceptual framework or developing new models to explicate gender differences.”*¹ Despite the growing attention to the constantly increasing number of migrant women, researchers conducted very little systematic research to explain the mechanism and the patterns of international female migration. The vast majority of studies either depended on a descriptive approach without any regard to systematic comparisons or focused more on theoretical assumptions instead of empirical evidence.²

Gender analyses were first introduced in migration research within human geography in the mid-1980s. According to Skeldon (1995), “*migration research using biographical approach was primarily a "male" perspective until the second half of the 1980s.*”³ Chant and Radcliffe (1992) also argue that despite highlighting gender disparities in developing countries, very few migration studies focused on examining systematically gender differences and inequalities.⁴ They (1992) described contemporary theories and frameworks as “female-aware” rather than “gender-aware”.⁵ Therefore, early studies on migration focused extensively on women migrants instead of adopting a gender approach that may best explain gender differences within migration patterns.

Grieco and Boyd (2003) argue that gender, be it a social construction, is deeply embedded in other processes that seem gender-neutral. They called for a profound examination of the way gender is implicated in the seemingly gender-neutral migratory process by using a

¹ Grieco, E. and M. Boyd. “Women and migration: incorporating gender into international migration theory” Working Paper Series WPS 98-139 ISSN 0740-909. Tallahassee, Florida: Center for the Study of Population, Florida State University. 1998.. P: 2.

² Oishi, N. “Gender and Migration: An Integrative Approach”. Working paper 49. The Center for Comparative Immigration Studies: University of California, San Diego. 2000. P: 3.

³ Skeldon, R., “The challenge facing migration research: a case for greater awareness”. *Progress in Human Geography*. 19/1, 1995. 91-96. P: 3.

⁴ Chant, S. and S. Radcliffe “migration and development: the importance of gender”. In *Gender and Migration in Developing Countries*. Ed. S. Chant. London and New York: Bellhaven Press, 1992. 1- 29. Cited in Altamirano, A. T. “Feminist Theories and Migration Research-Making Sense in the Data Feast?”. *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees*. 16/4, 1997. 4-8. P: 5/6. <https://refuge.journals.yorku.ca/index.php/refuge/article/view/21928> Accessed on 13/05/2018.

⁵ Ibid, P: 2.

gender-sensitive approach.¹ The micro-level and functionalist approaches like push-pull and neo-classical theories, which focused on human capital attributes and were dominant during the pre-1970s, were criticized by Lee (1996) for “*regarding migrants as a homogenous group, ignoring the way attributes such as ethnicity, gender and class stratify migrant laborers in both migration flows and labor markets.*”²

The previous discussion reveals that women were not excluded entirely from the migration discipline. There are some considerable attempts to examine female migration and bring out the forgotten into the platform of discussion. However, these studies produced stereotypical and biased explanations of female migration. Women migrants were often presented as dependents, focusing on their roles as mothers and wives and viewed as lacking the qualifications for the labor market. Dhar (2007) emphasized the fact that “*lack of importance given to women in migration is due to the societal context, where women’s roles and positions in the family and the community emphasize their dependence on men. Their movements to overseas destinations are believed to be limited and often associated with men’s emigration.*”³ As a result, women either were made invisible or were attached restrictively to their culturally constructed patriarchal roles, considered as dependents and lacking the autonomy to make the decision to migrate.

The majority of studies conducted in the past two decades on female migration in developing countries viewed the latter as the aftermath of poverty, ignoring the fact that many low-income women in some poor countries do not emigrate abroad. A profound investigation in the causal mechanism of female migration necessitates looking beyond economic factors,

¹ Grieco, E. and M. Boyd. “Women and migration: incorporating gender into international migration theory” Working Paper Series WPS 98-139 ISSN 0740-909. Tallahassee, Florida: Center for the Study of Population, Florida State University. 1998. P: 2/3.

² Lee, S. “Issues in research on women, international migration and labour.” *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, 5/1, 1996. 5-26. P : 5. DOI: 10.1177/011719689600500102

³ Dhar, R. Women and International Migration: A Cross-Cultural Analysis. Centre for Research on Nationalism, Ethnicity and Multiculturalism (CRONEM). University of Surrey Guildford, UK. 2007. P : 4.

especially poverty-related explanations.¹ Lee (1996) encouraged the researchers to adopt the alternative of structuralist approaches instead of functionalist approaches since they shed light on the significant role of social constructs such as race, gender, and class in molding individuals' experiences of migration.² Oishi (2000) also pointed out that although the majority of women migrants fall in the category of "*unskilled laborers*", they are not necessarily uneducated. He provided the example of Filipino migrants in Hong Kong and Singapore, who work in unskilled occupations such as housemaids and care workers even though one-third of them declared to have some college education.³

As an attempt to prove that economic indicators do not convincingly explain international migration of Asian women, in his study on gender and migration in some Asian countries Oishi (2000) found out that even though in Sri Lanka, the rate of unemployed men is higher than women's, women still comprise 79% of total out-migrants. On the other hand, in Pakistan, the rate of unemployed women is much higher than that of men, and yet, women account for only 1% of the out-migrants.⁴ These findings, therefore, have sufficiently refuted the explanation, based on neoclassical theory, that both men's and women's migration as a result of labor supply without taking into account gender differences. This reflects the reason why feminist researchers criticized neoclassical human capital approaches for being gender-neutral.

¹ Oishi, N. "Gender and Migration: An Integrative Approach". Working paper 49. The center for Comparative Immigration Studies: University of California, San Diego. 2000. P: 4.

² Lee, S. "Issues in research on women, international migration and labour." *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, 5/1, 1996. 5-26. P : 5. DOI: 10.1177/011719689600500102

³ Oishi, N. "Gender and Migration: An Integrative Approach". Working paper 49. The center for Comparative Immigration Studies: University of California, San Diego. 2000. P: 3.

⁴ Ibid, P: 4/ 5.

2.2.2. Incorporating Gender in Migration Studies

Feminists and academic scholars criticized vehemently traditional migration studies and classical theories for two essential points: first, for adopting a gender-blind approach when addressing migration-related issues; and second, for producing the biased assumption that women play a passive role in the process of migration. This increased awareness has paved the way for a research agenda that focuses more on specificities of female migration and integration experiences (Mahieu et al., 2009).¹ To remedy the prior exclusion of women migrants from migration studies, feminist scholars attempted to theorize women's migration. Gender incorporation in migration discipline went through three developmental stages.

The first stage is what Hondagneu-sotled (2003) calls as "*women and migration*" and it is characterized by adopting later "add and stir" approach. Based on this approach, researchers added and examined women migrants' performance with regard to education and labor market participation and then simply compared to migrant men's participation.² One can elicit that the first stage is inspired by the first phase of feminist movement's rudiments. For Schrover and Moloney (2013) women were 'added' to the literature on migration but without setting gender as the center of analysis, which eventually resulted in an absence of a systematic explanation of differences between women migrants and men migrants.³

The second stage is called "*women only*". Researchers in this stage shifted to examining exclusively and separately examination of female migration. The historian Gabacia (1992) mentioned, "*the number of volumes exploring immigrant women separately from men now*

¹ Mahieu, R. et al., "Gender-sensitive migration research: theory, concepts and methods". In Timmerman, C. et al. (Eds), *New Dynamics in Female Migration and Integration*. New York: Routledge, 2015. P: 10.

² Hondagneu-Sotled P. "Gender and Immigration: A Retrospective and Introduction" in Pierrette Hondagneu-sotled (ed.). *Gender and US Immigration: Contemporary Trends*. California: California UP, 2003. P : 5.

³ Schrover, M. and M. D. Moloney (eds) *Gender, Migration and Categorization: Making Distinctions between Migrants in Western Countries 1945-2010*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam UP, 2013. P: 12/13.

exceeds the volumes that successfully integrate women into general accounts."¹ The excessive focus of research on women, which is meant to be on gender and migration, becomes a form of restitution for the absence of women in early studies. Nevertheless, no one can deny the contribution of these studies to understanding the gendered nature of migration. Yet, the usefulness of a particular approach that focuses on comparing men to women is widely acknowledged because as Lenz (et al. 2002) clearly emphasize, "*gender is interwoven with migration and gendered migration is on the move.*"² Hence, 'women only' approach paradoxically furthered the marginalization of immigrant women into a segregated subfield, away from the major dynamics of immigration. Therefore, the intensive focus on addressing distinctively female migration contributed to the continuous seclusion of women in the periphery instead of bringing it out to the center of migration research.

The subsequent stage shifted from focusing mainly on women to addressing "gender and migration". The core objective of this phase is "*the gendering of migration patterns and how migration reconfigures new systems of gender inequality for women and men.*"³ The integrative approaches fundamentally explain migrant's decision of migration with the focus on family, household or migrant network.⁴ Feminist scholars, therefore, have shifted from dealing with gender as a constitutive element of gender relations within the frame of family and households to a broader understanding of gender and race that shape other patterns of men's and women's daily practices, beliefs and institutions.

¹ Gabaccia, D., "Introduction". In D. Gabaccia (Ed.), *Seeking common ground: Multidisciplinary studies of immigrant women in the United States* (pp. xi-xxvi). Westport, CT: Greenwood. 1992, P: xv. Cited in Hondagneu-Sotled P. "Gender and Immigration: A Retrospective and Introduction" in Pierrette Hondagneu-sotled (ed.). *Gender and US Immigration: Contemporary Trends*. California: California UP, 2003. P : 6.

² Lenz, I. (et al.) Eds, *Crossing borders and shifting boundaries, vol. ii: Gender, identities and networks*. Opladen: Carfax Publishing, 2002. P: 7.

³ Hondagneu-Sotled P. "Gender and Immigration: A Retrospective and Introduction" in Pierrette Hondagneu-sotled (ed.). *Gender and US Immigration: Contemporary Trends*. California: California UP, 2003. P : 7.

⁴ Grieco, E. M. and M. Boyd "Women and migration: incorporating gender into international migration theory." Working Paper, Florida State University College of Social Sciences, 2003. P: 4.

The more recent ethnographic literature has enriched migration discipline by broadening the lens of gender as a constitutive concept within migration theories beyond the realm of family and household to the market, civil society, and state institutions.¹ Piper (2006), for effective incorporation of gender in migration studies, suggests “*gender analysis should not be limited to statistics broken down by sex, but raise awareness about broader social factors that influence women's and men's roles, and their access to resources, facilities, and services.*”² International reports, however, did not pay ample attention to gender issues in migration. In 2003 the Commission on Human Security and in 2004 the World Commission Social Dimension of Globalization published two global reports where they unwaveringly included migration issues among their recommendations for global policy agenda. Gender issues were not the focus of either report though. In a subsequent report, “*Gender Equality: Striving for Justice in an Unequal World*”, published in 2005 by the UNRISD and the United Nations’ World Survey (2004), which focused on issues related to “women and international migration”, gender became the center of analysis and data and a great number of feminist studies on migration was compiled.³ Carling (2005), in this respect, developed a model as an attempt to establish and comprehend the relationship between gender and migration.

¹ Curran, S. R. et al. “Mapping gender and migration in sociological scholarship: Is it segregation or integration?” *International Migration Review: Gender and Migration*. 40/1, 2006. 199-223. P: 203 DOI: 10.1111/j.1747-7379.2006.00008.x

² Piper, N. “Gendering the Politics of Migration”. *International Migration Review*. 40/ 1, *Gender and Migration Revisited*. New York: The center for Migration Studies, 2006. 133-164. P: 140

³ Ibid, P: 140

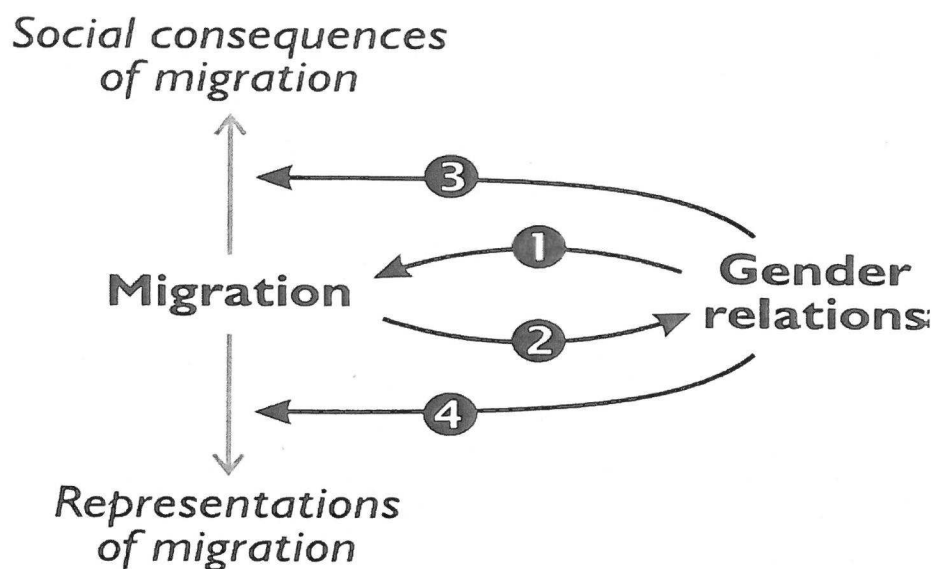


Figure 3: Different forms of causal analysis of the gender dimensions of migration. ¹

Carling's model (2005) is very useful to identify the reciprocal impact of gender and migration. He identifies four different causal relations between gender and migration. The first arrow refers to gender's effects on migration. For example, gender influences the degree of choice in deciding to migrate. In many cases, men make autonomous decisions while women migrate as part of family strategies where they are not fully in control.² The second arrow refers to migration's effects on gender. For example, women might experience increased autonomy both as independent migrants and as de facto heads of the household while their husbands are working abroad.³ Dhar (2007) also mentioned, "*there is also evidence that women's ability to earn and send home remittances has increased their social status.*"⁴ However, migration does not always certainly empower female migrants. In some cases, migration disempowers women

¹ Carling, J. "Global Migration Perspectives: Gender Dimensions in International Migration." No.35. Global Commission on International Migration: Switzerland, 2005. P: 5.

² Boyd, M. "Family and personal networks in international migration: Recent developments and new agendas", *International Migration Review*, 23/3. 1989. 638-670. P: 656. DOI: 10.1177/019791838902300313

³ Vasquez, N., "Economic and social impact of labor migration", in Battistella, G. and Paganoni, A. (eds) *Philippine labor migration*. Quezon City, Philippines: Scalabrini Migration Center. 1992. Cited in Carling, J. "Global Migration Perspectives: Gender Dimensions in International Migration." No.35. Global Commission on International Migration: Switzerland, 2005. P: 6/7.

⁴ Dhar, R. *Women and International Migration: A Cross-Cultural Analysis*. Centre for Research on Nationalism, Ethnicity and Multiculturalism (CRONEM). University of Surrey Guildford: UK. 2007. P: 6.

instead, like the case of human trafficking or being exploited by smugglers (this facet of migration will be addressed in further discussion).

The third arrow highlights gender relations' effects on the social consequences of migration. For example, Intra-family gender relations affect the different propensity of male and female migrants to remit their earnings.¹ When many studies find that women send a larger share of their earnings to their families, this must be the result of socially constructed gender roles.² Finally, the fourth Arrow indicates the way gender relations determine the representations of migration by academics, policymakers, the media and migrants themselves. For example, when Zlotnik (1995) argued that "*the majority of women who migrate internationally do not do so for work purposes*".³ This is simply because many women migrate under the regulations of asylum and family reunification, which reproduces the same stereotypical idea of women's dependence and conceals their subsequent employment status.⁴ Based on Carling's model Mahieu (et al. 2015) categorized these four relations into two groups: The first is the influence of gender on migration and it consists of arrows 1, 3 and 4; then the influence of migration on gender that includes only arrow 2.⁵

The attempt of scholars to approach migration from a gender perspective has been prompted by many observed differences in the migratory experience of migrant women and men. These differences are manifested in numerous aspects throughout the migration process, including, for example, the trajectories that migrants choose and follow, the selected networks

¹ Carling, J. "Global Migration Perspectives: Gender Dimensions in International Migration." No.35. Global Commission on International Migration: Switzerland, 2005. P: 7.

² Boyd, M. "Family and personal networks in international migration: Recent developments and new agendas", *International Migration Review*, 23/3. 1989. 638-670. P: 657. DOI: 10.1177/019791838902300313

³ Zlotnik, H. "The South-to North migration of women". *The International Migration Review*. 29/1, Special Issue: *Diversity and Comparability: International Migrants in Host Countries on Four Continents*, 1995. 229-254. P: 230. DOI: 10.1007/978-1-349-26258-8_2

⁴ Phizacklea, A., "Migration and globalization: A feminist perspective", in Koser, K. and Lutz, H. (eds) *The new migration in Europe*. Basingstoke: Macmillan. 21-38, 1998. P: 29.

⁵ Mahieu, R. et al., "Gender-sensitive migration research: theory, concepts and methods" in C. Timmerman et al. (Eds), *New Dynamics in Female Migration and Integration*. New York: Routledge, 2015. P: 13.

they use, the relations they build and maintain, employment opportunities, and constraints they confront during the entire journey. The divergence of these differences led to the development of multi-angled theories on gender and migration that aim to explain all these differences.¹ Schrover and Moloney (2013) identified some comprehensive conclusions from the literature on gender and migration and acknowledge that most studies on gender and migration focus more on women and migration instead of comparing women's and men's experiences of migration. They also added that the target has been women's roles and femininity and little attention was directed towards men's roles and masculinity. In addition, they criticized the ample use of the phrase 'feminisation of migration', which is usually dealt with as a new phenomenon without putting much effort to provide proof or clarification. Some other literature addresses differences between migrant men and women regarding migration patterns, networks, and transnational ties, while others focus on gender, citizenship and residency status.² The question that can be triggered in this respect is: what does the phrase 'feminisation of migration' exactly mean?

2.3. Feminization of Migration

The term 'feminization of migration' is related to the globally growing number of women's participation in migration across the globe. The United Nations declares that women comprise almost half of all international migrants. Female migrants' rate dropped from 49 per cent in 2000 to 48 per cent in 2015. However, the rate is unequally distributed from one continent to another. In Europe and Northern America, female migrants outnumber male

¹ Schrover, M. and Moloney, M. D. (eds), *Gender, Migration and Categorization: Making Distinctions between Migrants in Western Countries 1945-2010*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam UP, 2013. P: 10.

² Ibid, P: 11.

migrants compared to Africa and Asia, particularly Western Asia, where migrants are predominantly men.¹

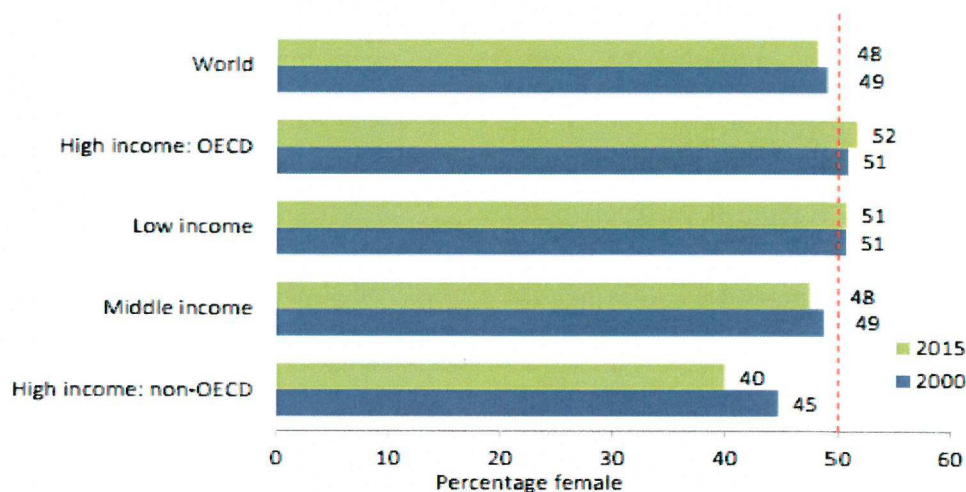


Figure 4: Percentage female among international migrants worldwide and by income group of the country or area of destination, 2000 and 2015.²

Globally, the proportion of women among all international migrants increased considerably since 2000 in all major areas except Africa and Asia. In Europe, women are more strongly represented among migrants than elsewhere in the world. The proportion of female migrants in Europe rose from 51.6 % in 2000 to 52.4 % in 2015. In Northern America similarly, the share of female migrants rose from 50.5% to 51.2% during the same period. The United Nations viewed the increasing number of female migrants in those major areas as *“the outcome of the aging in place of migrants who had arrived decades earlier and the fact that females, including female migrants, tend to have longer life expectancies compared to males.”*³ Boyd

¹United Nations. “International Migration Report 2015: Highlights”. New York, 2016. P: 1.

² Ibid, P: 10.

OECD refers to Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. It is dedicated to economic development and it nowadays includes many of the world’s most advanced countries but also emerging countries. These countries are as the following: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Chile, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Israël, Italy, Japan, Korea, Latvia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, and United States.

³ Ibid, P: 10/11.

(2006), on the other hand, explained the feminization of migration in association with the “feminization of poverty.”¹ Nevertheless, the proportion of women migrants in Asia dropped from 45.6% in 2000 to 42 per cent in 2015 on the contrary to the male migrant’s rate that increased. This increase was fundamentally related to the strong demand for male migrant workers in the oil-producing countries of Western Asia. Africa also experienced a more significant increase in male migrants (42 per cent) during the period 2000-2015 compared to female migrants (37 per cent).²

The term ‘feminization’ does not only refer to the quantitative presence of women in migration, but also to the growing number of female migrant laborers in particular. During the period from 60s to 70s women migrants were predominantly assumed to be followers of their previously migrated husbands. Recently, there are more significant trends in female migration motives. Women tend to migrate more and more independently as labor migrants, students or refugees.³ Therefore, the use of the term feminization of migration reflects the growing proportion of economic-driven women migrants and their participation in the development. It also refers to the changing patterns and dynamics of female migration. On the other hand, the feminization of migration indicates the fact that women, after a long-term inattention, have become more visible in migration studies. Despite the fact that the geographer Ravenstein plainly stated in 1885 that “*females are more migratory than males*”, women remained marginalized in most migration studies during the twentieth century until it had been revived and recognized afresh in the 1980s.⁴

¹ Boyd, M. (submitted) “Women in international migration: the context of exit and entry for empowerment and exploitation”. Presented in High-level panel on *The Gender Dimensions of International Migration*. University of Toronto: Canada. Fiftieth session 27 February – 10 March. Commission on the Status of Women: New York, 2006. P: 3.

² United Nations. “International Migration Report 2015: Highlights”. New York, 2016. P: 10/11.

³ Kofman, E. (et al.), *Gender and International Migration in Europe: Employment, Welfare and Politics*. London and New York: Routledge, 2000. P: 49.

⁴ Lutz, H., “Gender in the Migratory Process,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36/10, 2010. 1647-1663. P: 1647. DOI: 10.1080/1369183X.2010.489373

Migration and gender, as it has been discussed in the previous sections, are two crucial forces that shape and realign the individuals' life. However, each of these forces affects the other. In other words, gender as socially constructed roles, expectations, and stereotypes affect significantly phases and patterns of migration. Likewise, migration, as a form of movement from one culture to another, has a life-changing impact on individuals' life. In the following section, my endeavor is to provide a global overview of the way gender influences migration patterns including the decision of migration and the journey.

2.3.1. Gender's Impact on Migration

Based on the foregoing data provided by the United Nations, the percentage of female migrants in Africa and Asia is characterized by a recession in comparison to Europe and America. The objective in this section is to explain the obvious differentials between continents and to provide some global facts for the aim of illustrating these differences without forgetting to display the way gender influences migration processes and vice versa.

Boyd (2006) similarly to other researchers suggests that the growing number of female migrants is fundamentally the result of poverty.¹ Poverty is very often considered the main incentive of female migration. Sassen (2000) argued that previous studies suggest that the growing number of female migrants is the result of the so-called phenomenon "the feminization of survival". This phenomenon refers to the growing reliance of governments, households, and individuals on women's labor, particularly low-income and those who are often considered as a burden, to overtake the increasing financial insecurities and make a significant profit.²

¹ Boyd, M. (submitted) "Women in international migration: the context of exit and entry for empowerment and exploitation". Presented in High-level panel on *The Gender Dimensions of International Migration*. University of Toronto: Canada. Fiftieth session 27 February – 10 March. Commission on the Status of Women: New York, 2006. P:3.

² Sassen, S. "Women's Burden: Counter-geographies of Globalization and the Feminization of Survival." *Nordic Journal of International Law*. 71/2, 255–274. P: 258. 2002. DOI: 10.1163/157181002761931378

Women, according to global statistics are more vulnerable to poverty and in fact even poorer than men. If the causal linkage between the growing numbers of women migrants with the feminization of poverty is taken into consideration, then why do women tend less likely than men to migrate?

The fact that gender discrepancies do not only exist in social relations between individuals but also entrenched in other societal institutions including family, education, the economy, law, and politics leads inevitably to gender inequalities in the context of access to resources, social and economic status, and more vulnerabilities as well as less life-changing and empowering opportunities. These gender asymmetries impel women to migrate for better living conditions.¹ Paradoxically, these same motives can also be constraints. The subordinate status of women vis-à-vis men handicap women's mobility. This interference can take several forms and shapes. In this respect, Grieco and Boyd (1998) identified the impact of gender inequalities and women's status on their propensity to migrate at three different levels: the society, the family and the individual.² The societal level includes several aspects such as the society's institutions as well as policies. Boyd (2006) goes on and points out that "*gender-specific propensities to migrate reflect access to information, access to resources, and societal beliefs about appropriate behaviors of women and men.*"³ Hence, from the foregoing argument, we can comprehend that women's inclination to migrate, at the society level, is determined and restrained by the predominant societal beliefs about the appropriate behaviors of women and men. In other words, the prevailing socio-cultural ideologies have a determinant impact on

¹ Boyd, M. (submitted) "Women in international migration: the context of exit and entry for empowerment and exploitation". Presented in High-level panel on *The Gender Dimensions of International Migration*. University of Toronto: Canada. Fiftieth session 27 February – 10 March. Commission on the Status of Women: New York, 2006. P: 2.

² Grieco, E. and M. Boyd. "Women and Migration: Incorporating Gender into International Migration Theory" Working Paper Series WPS 98-139 ISSN 0740-909. Tallahassee, Florida: Center for the Study of Population, Florida State University. 1998. P:

³ Boyd, M. (submitted) "Women in international migration: the context of exit and entry for empowerment and exploitation". Presented in High-level panel on *The Gender Dimensions of International Migration*. University of Toronto: Canada. Fiftieth session 27 February – 10 March. Commission on the Status of Women: New York, 2006. P: 3.

women's mobility overseas. The ability to make an independent decision to migrate is strongly influenced by patriarchal social constraints at different levels. These beliefs, as a result, influence differentially women's and men's access to information and resources. The fact that men migrants comparatively outnumber women migrants is also a reflection of men's control over decision-making and their greater access to information and resources. Therefore, men are more likely to migrate than women because of the predominant patriarchal beliefs and practices.

Policies and structural restrictions are deemed by many researchers to be implicitly sex-selective and tend to limit women migrants' mobility. They function as institutionalized obstacles to women's migration. They are also a reflection of a society's common beliefs about women's appropriate behavior in origin countries while they often comply with destination countries' gender-specific labor demands. Single women, for example, are more likely to be deterred to migrate without family members because of the assumptions that sexualize them.¹ Asian women are, generally, considered as active migrants in comparison to women from other continents. The main target destination countries for a great number of migrants from the Philippines, Indonesia, Sri Lanka and Thailand have been the Gulf Cooperation Council States, in particular, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, as well as Hong Kong, Japan, Taiwan, Singapore, Malaysia and Brunei. However, the disparity between Middle Eastern countries and the other Asian countries as a destination does exist. More Filipino women emigrants, for example, tend to opt to select Asian destinations in comparison to men emigrants. They are accounted for less than a third of Filipinos going on contract work to the Middle and 12 to 1 for Asian countries (Lim, 1994).² These disparities are explained in relation to the liberal ideologies in Southeast

¹ Boyd, M. (submitted) "Women in international migration: the context of exit and entry for empowerment and exploitation". Presented in High-level panel on *The Gender Dimensions of International Migration*. University of Toronto: Canada. Fiftieth session 27 February – 10 March. Commission on the Status of Women: New York, 2006. P: 4.

² Lim, L.L. "International labour migration in Asia: patterns, implications and policies." In United Nations Economic Commission for Europe and United Nations Population Fund, *International Migration: Regional Processes and Responses*. Economic Studies No.7. United Nations, New York and Geneva. 1994. P: 130. Cited

Asian countries like Sri Lanka. Women, even young and unmarried have more freedom to travel overseas and to seek job opportunities when they live in countries characterized by liberal socio-cultural beliefs and relatively high levels of education in comparison to other countries where the status and mobility of women is highly controlled by religious beliefs and practices.¹ The governments of sending countries in the case of Asian women play an active role in promoting their mobility as laborers. A great number of recruitment agencies, overseas employment promoters, manpower suppliers and other legal and illegal intermediaries contributed to motivating as well as facilitating women's migration. However, these same mediators, who made it possible for many Asian women to work overseas, become in many cases the cause of their vulnerability.² Bangladesh and Pakistan, on the other hand, are among the countries where women's freedom, including their participation in the labour force, is chained by social norms as well as formal restrictions for the aim to compel them and eventually remain at home.³

The family is another crucial determinant that intervenes to influence gender propensities to migrate. Family and household is the first social institution where gender roles are differentially determined, entrenched and practiced. The existing hierarchical gender roles within the family enable men to have greater access to resources and greater freedom to make independent decisions. The family, moreover, plays a very important key role in motivating and supporting throughout migration processes.⁴

in Lim, L. L. and Oishi, N. "International labour migration of Asian women: distinctive characteristics and policy concerns". International Labour Office: Geneva, 1996. P:2.

¹ Lim, L. L. and Oishi, N. "International labour migration of Asian women: distinctive characteristics and policy concerns". International Labour Office: Geneva, 1996. P:3.

² Ibid, P: 4.

³ Abella, M.I., "Sex selectivity of migration regulations governing international migration in Southern and South-eastern Asia." In United Nations, *International Migration Policies and the Status of Female Migrants*. Proceedings of the United Nations Expert Group Meeting on International Migration Policies and the Status of Female Migrants San Miniato, Italy, 28-31 March 1990, ST/ESA/SER.R/126. Department for Economic and Social Information and Policy Analysis Population Division, New York. 1995. P: 242. Cited in Lim, L. L. and Oishi, N. "International labour migration of Asian women: distinctive characteristics and policy concerns". International Labour Office: Geneva, 1996. P: 3.

⁴ Boyd, M. (submitted) "Women in international migration: the context of exit and entry for empowerment and exploitation". Presented in High-level panel on *The Gender Dimensions of International Migration*. University

Finally, Boyd identified at the individual level several demographic characteristics that have an impact on gender migration propensities. These demographic characteristics include “age, birth order, race/ethnicity, urban/rural origins, marital status (single, married, divorced, widowed), reproductive status (children or no children), role in the family (wife, daughter, mother), position in family (authoritative or subordinate), educational status, occupational skills/training, labor force experience, and class position”.¹ Many of these characteristics cannot be detached from the family and societal beliefs about women’s roles vis-a-vis men’s roles. In other words, the societal, family, as well as individual levels, are all interconnected and lead to unequal gender migration propensities. In patriarchal societies, which are obviously characterized by hierarchical division of roles either within the large society or within an enclosed environment like households, generally speaking, women are less likely to have all the necessary requirements to feel induced to migrate overseas.

Having discussed the factors that determine gender propensities of migration, women’s migration during the entire migratory processes, on the other hand, is characterized by other crucial aspects that reflect gender inequalities and stereotypes. The next step is to provide a brief overview of some of these characteristics since the analytic part will involve a detailed discussion and comparison. In a study on Asian women migrants conducted by Oishi and Lim (1996), the results show that female migrants are more likely than male migrants to use chain migration. They tend to rely on relatives in their movement, such as sisters, who already work overseas with a contract. Informal social networks, like family and friends, have been found to

of Toronto: Canada. Fiftieth session 27 February – 10 March. Commission on the Status of Women: New York, 2006. P: 4.

¹ Tienda, M. and K. Booth. "Gender, migration and social change." *International Sociology*. 6/1, 1991. 51-72. P: 54/55. DOI: 10.1177/026858091006001004.

be the most significant source of information during a tracer study of Filipino domestic workers in Hong Kong.¹

Women migrants predominantly participate in some prevalent “feminized sectors”. The growing demand for female workers is actually the result of changing economic patterns in many countries, which have led to a shift from manufacturing to service industries. Consequently, migration policies and formal restrictions directed women migrants towards gender-specific jobs or female-dominated sectors.² Education, health, and social work are the main domains where skilled women migrants tend to involve. The fact that nursing comprises 90% of skilled women migrants, makes it the most female-dominated sector.³ Domestic or care work and “entertaining” domains are reserved for most unskilled women, whereas few of them tend to work in agriculture and manufacturing where male migrants are often part of higher management positions and women concentrated at low working positions.⁴ Marriage is also another used strategy by a group of women either to migrate and find a job or to get a secure residential status. This aspect is not as simple as it might seem. Marriage in migration discourse is a complicated issue that involves unexpected implications. Different significant types of marriages, which are interconnected with migration, have been tackled by researchers in the context of Asian women’s experience of migration under the titles: “*picture brides*”, “*war brides*”, and “*mail-order brides*”.⁵

¹ Lim, L. L. and Oishi, N. “International labour migration of Asian women: distinctive characteristics and policy concerns”. International Labour Office: Geneva, 1996. P: 4.

² Piper, N., “Feminisation of Migration and the Social Dimensions of Development: the Asian case”, *Third World Quarterly*, 29/7, 2008. 1287-1303. P: 143. DOI: 10.1080/01436590802386427

³ Buchan, J., and L. Caiman, *The Global Shortage of Registered Nurses: An Overview of Issues and Actions*. Geneva: International Council of Nurses, 2004. Cited in Piper, N. “Gendering the Politics of Migration”. *International Migration Review*, Vol. 40/No. 1, Gender and Migration Revisited. The center for Migration Studies: New York, pp. 133-164. Spring, 2006. P: 143.

⁴ Dias, M., and L. Wanasundera, “Sri Lankan Migrant Garment Factory Workers: Mauritius and Sultanate of Oman”. Study Series No. 27. Colombo, Sri Lanka: Centre for Women's Research (CENWOR). 2002. Cited in Piper, N. “Gendering the Politics of Migration”. *International Migration Review*, 40/1, *Gender and Migration Revisited*. New York: The center for Migration Studies, 2006. 133-164. P: 143.

⁵ Piper, N. and M. Roces, (Eds). *Wife or Worker? Asian Women and Migration*. Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003. P: 2.

2.3.2. Migration's Impact on Gender

Having discussed gender's impact on migration, migration also influences the manifestation of gender patterns and roles. This impact can either be positive and empowering or negative and disadvantageous. Migration's impact on gender occurs particularly within destination countries. In other words, the destination countries' migration policies, living conditions, and women's status vis-à-vis men inevitably affect women's migration experience. Nevertheless, it is impossible to neglect blindly migration's influence on women's status and roles within and relationships with family members. Researchers in the field of international migration in general and from a gender perspective, in particular, have been interested to examine the way female mobility is handled by the state in the light of the global political and economic transformations.¹ Stratification of differential rights based on skill level, ethnicity and other dynamics between migrant women has been demonstrated to be the outcome of destination countries' policies.²

The previous section has demonstrated that the existing gender inequality in sending countries can be a strong incentive for women to migrate hoping for better societal living conditions. In such case, migration would be an escape towards empowerment since it enables women as well as men to gain greater independence including making important and life-changing decisions.³ In other cases, women are more motivated and receive more support from their families to migrate when they are considered to be more reliable than men in providing

¹ Silvey, R., "Transnational Domestication: State Power and Indonesian Migrant Women in Saudi Arabia." *Political Geography*, 23/3, 2004. 245-264. P: 248.

² Kofman, E. "The invisibility of skilled female migrants and gender relations in studies of skilled migration in Europe." *International journal of Population Geography*. 6/1, 2000. 45-59. P: 45/46. DOI: [https://doi.org/10.1002/\(SICI\)1099-1220\(200001/02\)6:1<45::AID-IJPG169>3.0.CO;2-B](https://doi.org/10.1002/(SICI)1099-1220(200001/02)6:1<45::AID-IJPG169>3.0.CO;2-B)

³ Boyd, M. (submitted) "Women in international migration: the context of exit and entry for empowerment and exploitation". Presented in High-level panel on *The Gender Dimensions of International Migration*. University of Toronto: Canada. Fiftieth session 27 February – 10 March. Commission on the Status of Women: New York, 2006. P: 5.

help and sending remittances to left behind family members.¹ Migration then can have a positive impact on gender inequalities in countries of origin. Although sending remittances might seem like a burden, it enables women migrants to gain economic independence that eventually leads to economic and social empowerment within the family and society in general. However, this result is only conditioned with the existing state immigration as well as gender policies in the receiving country. These policies, according to Boyd (2006), contain “*capacities to facilitate gender equality or perpetuate gender inequalities*”.² Aspects of gender equality or inequalities can be detected at different levels of integration within the receiving countries including immigration policies, employment conditions, and social beliefs and practices.

Piper (2006), drawing on Abrera-Mangahas’ article, views the feminization of labor migration as a form of violation of women’s rights. This violation takes the form of oppressive migration laws or policies exerted by the state upon women migrant workers preventing them from options to find alternative employment.³ Female migrant workers, particularly in the domestic domain, are also not taken seriously and worthy of protection because the state views their services among the least “*important*” category of national development.⁴ Women migrant workers involved low wage jobs, which are very often characterized by what Chin (2003) calls “*a variety of 3D (dirty, dangerous, and degrading/difficult)*” is disturbingly growing.⁵ Moreover, the category of “female migrant” is divided into other sub-categories for the aim of

¹ Boyd, M. (submitted) “Women in international migration: the context of exit and entry for empowerment and exploitation”. Presented in High-level panel on *The Gender Dimensions of International Migration*. University of Toronto: Canada. Fiftieth session 27 February – 10 March. Commission on the Status of Women: New York, 2006. P: 5.

² Ibid, P: 7.

³ Abrera-Mangahas, M. A., “Violence against Women Migrant Workers: The Philippine Experience.” In *Filipino Workers on the Move: Trends, Dilemmas and Policy Options*, Ed. B. V. Cariño. Manila: PMRN. 21-35. 1998. Cited in Piper, N. “Gendering the Politics of Migration”. *International Migration Review*. 40/ 1, *Gender and Migration Revisited*. New York: The center for Migration Studies, 2006. 133-164. P: 151.

⁴ Chin, C. B. N. “Visible Bodies, Invisible Work: State Practices toward Migrant Women Domestic Workers in Malaysia.” *Asia Pacific Migration Journal*. 12/1-2, 2003. 49-73. P: 59. DOI: 10.1177/011719680301200103.

⁵ Ibid, P: 50.

highlighting the differences and then to differentiate between skilled and unskilled migrant women, refugee women, and migrating wives.¹

It is often assumed that women domestic workers have either none or low level of education. A study conducted on Filipino women, who are willing to emigrate for the purpose of being employed as domestic workers, demonstrated that 36 per cent were either college graduates or undergraduates.² These women, thus, are desperately ready to give up on their social status and educational achievement in their home country for the sake of better income and lower social status abroad. However, according to the receiving states' immigration regulations, like Hong Kong, foreign domestic workers are denied the right to change employment in the first two years to more skilled jobs that are more appropriate to their qualifications. Once the employment contract is expired, they can stay in Hong Kong only for two weeks thereafter and no more than that.³ Therefore, such iniquitous law is an obvious violation of women migrants' rights through which the receiving country's government endeavors to hinder their integration as well as the improvement of their careers and living conditions.

Women domestic workers are very likely to undergo several forms of rights violations such as low salaries -- in some cases delayed or deducted -- insufficient food, deprived of day-off and medical benefits, unsafe and disadvantageous accommodations, and controlled freedom of mobility. Many other women reported maltreatment, sexual harassment and abuses, excessive workload, and working for an extra household (Imson, 1992).⁴ Therefore, being not

¹ Piper, N. "Gendering the Politics of Migration". *International Migration Review*. 40/ 1, *Gender and Migration Revisited*. New York: The center for Migration Studies, 2006. 133-164. P: 140.

² Stalker, P., *The Work of Strangers: A Survey of International Labour Migration*. International Labour Office, Geneva, 1994. P: 109.

³ Lim, L. L. and Oishi, N. "International labour migration of Asian women: distinctive characteristics and policy concerns". *International Labour Office*: Geneva, 1996. P: 9.

⁴ Imson, M.G., "Domestic helper employment: a concern for policy", *Overseas Employment Info Series*, Vol.5/2, December. Philippines Overseas Employment Administration, Manila. 1992, P: 15. Cited in Lim, L. L. and

included within the host country's labour codes or social security provisions unfolds the fact that the nature of the occupation is the most significant source of women domestic workers' vulnerability instead of their migration status. This form of vulnerability, however, exists in the majority of countries including their home countries.¹ Another example of aspects of oppression exerted by the receiving state is the case of Malaysia where migrant women are not allowed getting pregnant by the state. They are obliged to go through a pregnancy test every six months and cannot marry a local citizen. In the case of having positive test results for sexually transmitted diseases or pregnancy, women migrants will undergo straightaway deportation back to their home countries.² It is widely known that the common working conditions of the domestic service industry are usually in the majority of countries below the average and do not maintain workers' rights and human dignity. Sharing this information about the inappropriateness of the working environment between women workers with other women in their home country might likely instigate a sense of hesitation and eventually dishearten their tendency to migrate.

Domestic service is not the only feminized work domain where vulnerability is very likely to occur. The entertainment industry and baby-sitting have also been demonstrated to be very vulnerable domains for women workers. These work environments are characterized by greater isolation from society. Contradictorily to male-dominated jobs that include groups work in construction sites or plantations, the working environment of the entertainment industry and domestic work makes establishing networks of information very difficult.³ Women migrant workers with temporary visas remain very much attached to or controlled by their employers

Oishi, N. "International labour migration of Asian women: distinctive characteristics and policy concerns". *International Labour Office*: Geneva, 1996. P: 6.

¹ Lim, L. L. and Oishi, N. "International labour migration of Asian women: distinctive characteristics and policy concerns". *International Labour Office*: Geneva, 1996. P: 6.

² Chin, C. B. N. "Visible Bodies, Invisible Work: State Practices toward Migrant Women Domestic Workers in Malaysia." *Asia Pacific Migration Journal*. 12/1-2, 2003. 49-73. P: 57. DOI: 10.1177/011719680301200103.

³ Lim, L. L. and Oishi, N. "International labour migration of Asian women: distinctive characteristics and policy concerns". *International Labour Office*: Geneva, 1996. P: 6.

and feel incapable to report abuse because they fear retaliation, blacklisting or loss of a job for which they paid exorbitant fees.¹ Lim and Oishi (1996) emphasized that the exploitation of women workers is not related to skill level but rather to inappropriate work conditions associated with some particular occupations. They state in their own words that “*no matter how well babysitters or domestic workers are trained and considered as "skilled workers," poor working conditions and exploitation are not likely to disappear.*”² Boyd (2006) disagrees to some extent with Lim and Oishi and highlights the importance of migrant women’s entry status in relation to the vulnerability of women migrant workers in the receiving countries. For her, women migrants, who enter illegally, experience a permanent fear of expulsion and have got very few or almost none rights at all. In the case of trafficking, women experience multiple forms of vulnerabilities including exploitation, criminalization along expulsion.³

Previous examined studies have demonstrated that migration, as a powerful force, can either improve women’s status towards empowerment or in other cases maintain the continuity of gender inequalities. The latter may also occur either when women migrate as wives and keeping too much dependency over their husbands or when they are regarded as an embodiment of the culture left behind, which consequently reinforces the inherited gender roles. Nevertheless, in many other cases, migration is a source of empowerment to women as it boosts social mobility and enables them to achieve more economic independence.⁴

¹ “Women in Migration Network: Women in Migration”. Version for input in the third thematic consultations on the Global Compact on Migration. Geneva, 19th and 20th June, 2017.

https://refugeesmigrants.un.org/sites/default/files/women_in_migration_ts3.pdf. P: 6.

² Lim, L. L. and Oishi, N. “International labour migration of Asian women: distinctive characteristics and policy concerns”. *International Labour Office*: Geneva, 1996. P: 7.

³ Boyd, M. (submitted) “Women in international migration: the context of exit and entry for empowerment and exploitation”. Presented in High-level panel on *The Gender Dimensions of International Migration*. University of Toronto: Canada. Fiftieth session 27 February – 10 March. Commission on the Status of Women: New York, 2006. P: 8.

⁴ Zentgraf, K. M. “Immigration and Women’s Empowerment: Salvadorians in Los Angeles”. *Gender and Society*. 15/5, 2002. 625-646. P: 632/633. DOI: 10.2307/3081952

Migration consists of a number of processes that many studies consider as gender-neutral including exit, entry, and experiences. However, these processes are gendered by producing gendered propensities for migration and differential migratory outcomes for women and men.¹ In many receiving countries including European countries the implementation of entry regulations, although not explicitly, “*was often influenced by stereotypical images of the roles men and women play in the societies of origin or destination, images that reinforced gender inequality and resulted in differential migration outcomes by sex.*”² From an administrative perspective, regulations of entry do explicitly distinguish between women and men applicants for domestic workers, entertainers and nurses but the nature of these occupations, which are gender-specific, would lead to female-selectivity.³ Boyd (2006) robustly emphasized the fact that “*gendered outcomes for migrants are produced through gendered conditions of entry and re-enforced by existing gender inequalities in the destination countries.*”⁴ The prior discussion highlighted several forms of obstacles and hardships that regular migrant women may confront, such as gendered bans on migration and gender-based discriminatory regulations for residence. However, irregular channels of migration make women migrants experience greater violations of human rights in transit and destination countries.⁵ Migrants of different genders in transit are very likely to face life-risking conditions at the international borders but women and gender non-conforming people experience a higher

¹ Boyd, M. 2004. “Gender Equality and Migrating Women.” Unpublished paper prepared for the United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women. Cited in Boyd, M. (submitted) “Women in international migration: the context of exit and entry for empowerment and exploitation”. Presented in High-level panel on *The Gender Dimensions of International Migration*. University of Toronto: Canada. Fiftieth session 27 February – 10 March. Commission on the Status of Women: New York, 2006. P : 2.

² Lim, L. L. and Oishi, N. “International labour migration of Asian women: distinctive characteristics and policy concerns”. *International Labour Office*: Geneva, 1996. P: 8.

³ Ibid, P: 9.

⁴ Boyd, M. (submitted) “Women in international migration: the context of exit and entry for empowerment and exploitation”. Presented in High-level panel on *The Gender Dimensions of International Migration*. University of Toronto: Canada. Fiftieth session 27 February – 10 March. Commission on the Status of Women: New York, 2006. P: 9.

⁵ “Women in Migration Network: Women in Migration”. Version for input in the third thematic consultations on the Global Compact on Migration. Geneva, 19th and 20th June, 2017. P: 3.
https://refugeesmigrants.un.org/sites/default/files/women_in_migration_ts3.pdf.

rate of mortality in comparison to men.¹ As a result, irregular women migrants experience more inevitable human rights violations in transit and destination countries throughout the entire process of migration due to their migratory entry channels as well as their gender. The critical situation of undocumented women migrants makes them an easy target to several forms of exploitation and violence without being able to report cases of abuse because of their fear of deportation in transit or receiving countries.

Another form of vulnerability that women are likely to confront, in addition to the triggered oppression by gender and migration status, is racial/ethnic discrimination. Migrant women, who can be easily distinguished from other women because of their appearance, risk being the least privileged in comparison to men, women nationals, and migrant women from legally or culturally privileged countries.² Indeed, this is exactly the argument of my published article entitled, “*The multiplicity of Otherness of female sub-Saharan migrants*”. Based on a critical reading of literature from different disciplines, the aim was to address the multi-layers of otherness and vulnerabilities that female sub-Saharan migrants are likely to experience during migration processes. This idea will be further elaborated in the upcoming part. The following chapter will provide historical aspects and facts about sub-Saharan migration in Morocco. Highlighting the history of sub-Saharan migration to Morocco will be a prelude to a comprehensive examination of the current irregular ‘transit’ migration experience of sub-Saharan migrants and the intricacies of gendered aspects within this experience.

¹ “Women in Migration Network: Women in Migration”. Version for input in the third thematic consultations on the Global Compact on Migration. Geneva, 19th and 20th June, 2017. P: 4.
https://refugeemigrants.un.org/sites/default/files/women_in_migration_ts3.pdf.

² Boyd, M. (submitted) “Women in international migration: the context of exit and entry for empowerment and exploitation”. Presented in High-level panel on *The Gender Dimensions of International Migration*. University of Toronto: Canada. Fiftieth session 27 February – 10 March. Commission on the Status of Women: New York, 2006. P: 9.

3. Historical Legacies of Trans-Saharan Migration in Morocco

Human nature is characterized by constant mobility and for some folks, such as nomads, migration is part of their life. Sub-Saharans' migration to the North of Africa is not a new phenomenon or has emerged just recently. For purposes of trade, adventure or politics Sub-Saharans and Moroccans crossed the Sahara and moved across the territories. The fundamental objective of this chapter is to trace succinctly the history of Sub-Saharans' migration to Morocco and to highlight the most significant facts. The second objective is to investigate the origins of racial differentiation and the inferiority of the 'black' race. I argue that understanding the historical manifestations of trans-Saharan migration and race would lead to a better understanding of nowadays apartheid.

3.1. Trans-Saharan Migration in Morocco

The current Sub-Saharan migration, to my knowledge, is rarely addressed using a historical approach. If so, it is usually examined in a separate study. My objective in this chapter is to establish a linkage between the patterns of the current Sub-Saharan migration and the inherited perception of trans-Saharan migration in Morocco throughout history.

3.1.1. Facts about Slavery in Morocco

Trans-Saharan migration has been a common mobility for sub-Saharans but the historical aspects of this mobility reveal some disturbing disregarded facts about slavery in Morocco. In fact, the issue of slavery in Morocco is unspoken about because it is not a pleasant part of the history to display and of which to be proud. For El Hamel (2013), based on Moroccan Arabic sources, the origins of all black people in northwest Africa were slaves during a particular era and they had been manumitted under different circumstances.¹ According to

¹ El Hamel, C. *Black Morocco: a History of Slavery, Race, and Islam*. New York: Cambridge UP, 2013. P: 109.

Ennaji's (1998) estimation, the number of slaves imported to North Africa reached on average 20,000 per year, originally coming from Sudan.¹

Two groups in Morocco have been identified as the descendants of enslaved black people. Becker (2002) in her article "We are Real Slaves, Real Ismkhan': Memories of the Trans-Saharan Slave Trade in the Tafilalet of South-Eastern Morocco" examines the customs, dress, music and healing rituals of *Ismkhan*. The term *Ismkhan* (plural) is used by a group of people to distinguish and recognize their origins as descendants of slaves. The term is derived from the Tamazight word 'ismkh' (singular) which refers to 'slave'.² On the other hand, the French anthropologist Denise Jacques-Meunié asserted that *Haratin* also is a group of black people whose ancestors inhabited the Draa valley (in the south of Morocco) since time immemorial.³ The Moroccan scholar Ennaji concurred with Jacques-Meunié's argument and reported that "[the Haratin] claim precedence as the valley's first inhabitants and say that the whites, originally nomads, came later to abuse their hospitality and treat them as slaves."⁴

It is argued that the existence of black people in Morocco is the legacy of slavery throughout several ruling dynasties since the eleventh century. A great number of black people were bought and enslaved to serve in royal armies during the Islamic era, starting from the Almoravids ruling dynasty, which was the first one to initiate this practice. Almoravids and many other subsequent powerful dynasties relied majorly on black soldiers to establish a solid

¹ Ennaji M., *Serving the Master: Slavery and Society in Nineteenth Century Morocco*, trans. Seth Graebner (New York: St Martin's Press 1998) p.2. Cited in Becker, C. "'We are real slaves, real Ismkhan': memories of the trans-Saharan slave trade in the Tafilalet of South-Eastern Morocco". *The Journal of North African Studies*. 7/4, 2002. 97-121. P: 97. DOI: 10.1080/13629380208718485.

² Becker, C. "'We are real slaves, real Ismkhan': memories of the trans-Saharan slave trade in the Tafilalet of South-Eastern Morocco". *The Journal of North African Studies*. 7/4, 2002. 97-121. P: 97. DOI: 10.1080/13629380208718485.

³ Denise Jacques-Meunié, *Le Maroc saharien des origines à 1670*. Paris: Librairie Klincksick, tome I, 180-181. 1982, Cited in El Hamel, C. *Black Morocco: a History of Slavery, Race, and Islam*. New York: Cambridge UP, 2013. P: 109.

⁴ Ennaji, M., *Serving the Master: Slavery and Society in Nineteenth-Century Morocco*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999. P: 62. Cited in El Hamel, C. *Black Morocco: a History of Slavery, Race, and Islam*. New York: Cambridge UP, 2013. P: 112.

army to guarantee the continuity of their power as well as ruling. The black slaves' foremost task was to protect and enforce the authority of the sultan.¹ The ultimate obedience of the sultan's orders, therefore, was the fundamental task of these slaves. Almohad dynasty is another ruling regime that relied on a large number of black slaves to build their army. Abu Bakr al-Baydhaq, a historian during the twelfth-century, assumed in his book, which was about the beginnings of the Almohad dynasty, that black slaves who were captured during the raids Tazagurt (or Zagora, a town in the south of Morocco) were given the name of 'Abid al-Makhzan,' -- servants to the government—for the first time by the sultan Ibn Tumart.²

During the ruling era of Alawids, the sultan Mawlay Isma'il commanded his officials to gather coercively and enslave all black people within the country including those who were free and the *Haratin*. The sultan appointed Pasha 'Alilish as his official representative to undertake this mission. Within one single year, 'Alilish was able to collect three thousand blacks in the area of Marrakesh whether they were slaves, free blacks, or *Haratin*, married with a family or single.³ Despite the fact that blacks were compelled to serve in the army as slaves, El Hamel (2013) argued that Mawlay Isma'il did not treat them as slaves, but rather as conscripts. However, it is very obvious that the choice of these people to be enslaved, bought or become "conscripts" was fundamentally based on their skin color regardless of their long integration in Moroccan society or religion.⁴ El Hamel (2013) went on and explained that the sultan Mawlay Isma'il avoided the discussion about black people's current religious status – whether they were Muslims or not -- at that time and justified his decision by going back to their past enslavement. He emphasized that these black people have slave origins since they first came to Morocco

¹ El Hamel, C. *Black Morocco: a History of Slavery, Race, and Islam*. New York: Cambridge UP, 2013. P: 121/122.

² Ali as-Sinhaji al-Baydhaq, *Akhbar al-Mahdi Ibn Tumart wa-Bidayat Dawlat al-Muwahhidin*, edited by 'Abd al-Wahhab b. Mansur (Rabat: al-Mataba'a al-Malakiyya, 2004), P: 38. Cited in El Hamel, C. *Black Morocco: a History of Slavery, Race, and Islam*. New York: Cambridge UP, 2013. P: 124.

³ El Hamel, C. *Black Morocco: a History of Slavery, Race, and Islam*. New York: Cambridge UP, 2013. P: 160-162.

⁴ Ibid, P: 163.

through the slave trade from sub-Saharan Africa.¹ According to Jany al-Azhar wa Nur al-Abhar, which is an official document, the total number of black slaves gathered in Morocco reached 221,320 slaves and it included male and female, old and young, child and infant.² However, the number of slaves is very likely to be more than what has been mentioned because of the fact that this document was written in 1705 while the process of collecting slaves was still ongoing. This process, in fact, took about thirty years to complete it since around 1673. Furthermore, this document did not include an important register, entitled ‘*Abid al-Manatiq ash-Shamaliya*, of enslaved black people in the Northern region of Morocco as it was completed in 1710.³

Facts on the existence of slavery in Morocco were not denied but some assumed that slavery in Morocco was lenient in comparison to slavery in America or Europe. Oscar Lenz a traveller who visited Morocco during in 1882 reported that:

One should not give to the term ‘slave’ a meaning close to that of the more or less extreme accounts of slaves in America. In Morocco, they are well fed and well treated servants who often hold very important positions in the household. Women slaves are treated extremely gently, the more so because of the polygamic habits in Morocco; and often they are one of the master's favourites, even his first wife.⁴

In the same respect, A. Marcet, a French traveller in Morocco during the spring of 1882, also pointed out that slaves were not unhappy there. Ennaji (1997) robustly disagrees with this ‘idyllic’ picture of slavery in Morocco. He argued in his article, “*Young slaves and servants in*

¹ El Hamel, C. *Black Morocco: a History of Slavery, Race, and Islam*. New York: Cambridge UP, 2013. P: 171.

² Unknown author, *Jany al-Azhar*, P: 8 and 18–19. Cited in El Hamel, C. *Black Morocco: a History of Slavery, Race, and Islam*. New York: Cambridge UP, 2013. P: 188.

³ Dawuud, *Tarikh Titwan*, vol. 2, P: 36–38. Cited in El Hamel, C. *Black Morocco: a History of Slavery, Race, and Islam*. New York: Cambridge UP, 2013. P: 188.

⁴ Marcet, A., *Le Maroc, voyage d'une mission Francaise à la cour du sultan*. Paris: eÂd. Plon, 1886. P : 210; Oscar Lenz, *Tombouctou, voyage au Maroc, au Sahara et au Sudan*. Paris: eÂd. Hachette, 1886, P : 228. Cited in Ennaji, M. “Young slaves and servants in nineteenth century Morocco”. *Critical Quarterly*. 39/3, 1997. 59-68. Pub in Wiley Online Library. P: 59. DOI: 10.1111/1467-8705.00108

nineteenth-century Morocco”, that slavery in Morocco was not as humanely as it was depicted in literature. It underlies dreadful facts and contradicts completely the religious teachings that all people are equal regardless who they are or what their skin color is. Only faith and righteousness are the ultimate criteria for one’s superiority.¹ The following sub-section will be devoted to examining several aspects of racial as well as gender differentiation, which will consequently hammer down the romanticized picture of slavery in Morocco.

3.1.2. Gender and Enslavement

Slavery is another gendered phenomenon that received less attention. Very little literature on slavery, from a gender perspective in North Africa, has been undertaken. It is assumed that there was much demand for female slaves in comparison to male slaves in North Africa. Ibn Battuta recorded in 1353 that during his trip across the Sahara from Takadda through Touat, he travelled on a large caravan carrying 600 enslaved women that eventually ended at Sijilmasa (758-1055 located in the East of Morocco).²

Before going deeper into the examination of the ways gender is demonstrated, it is worth clarifying that slavery is definitely a practice that violates the fundamental right of a human being, be it a woman or a man, which is freedom. It is unacceptable to address an inhumane practice and describe it as humane or idyllic. All faces and aspects of slavery, no matter how they are presented or pictured, are an infringement of human rights. It is inadequate to judge practices of slavery mainly on the facets of living conditions of slaves. Slavery is a continuum

¹ Ennaji, M. “Young slaves and servants in nineteenth century Morocco”. *Critical Quarterly*. 39/3, 1997. 59-68. Pub in Wiley Online Library. P: 60. DOI: 10.1111/1467-8705.00108

² S. Hamdun and N. King, Ibn Battuta in Black Africa (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers 1975) pp.73-4. Cited in Becker, C. “‘We are real slaves, real Ismkan’: memories of the trans-Saharan slave trade in the Tafilalet of South-Eastern Morocco”. *The Journal of North African Studies*. 7/4, 2002. 97-121. P: 99. DOI: 10.1080/13629380208718485.

set of coercive processes, which an individual was subjected to experience. Hence, it is worth discussing the processes through which these people are obtained, sold, and enslaved.

Slavery was a trade and like any other trade, it consists of objects or items, sellers and buyers. The difference is that slavery you have to own a human being to sell to merchants or owners. The kidnapping was the first process that numerous enslaved individuals underwent. Ennaji, based on his interviews, said that:

There were in fact organised gangs working for profit, protected by the local powers. Their victims were mostly those children who were the easiest to kidnap. The kidnappers would first attack the women, beating them in order to abduct their children. The victims of the operation were chained to the packsaddle. Nobody would be able to free those children in a surprise attack. Sometimes the children were hidden in sacks lined with wool or palm leaves, on the backs of camels. One of the criminals made sure he could be heard by children while yelling: 'What are you carrying there?' And the victims' cries for help were answered with savage beatings: a dissuasive tactic, the effects of which were guaranteed.¹

The trade of slavery, therefore, is initiated with committing the first crime, which is kidnapping against either free or already enslaved people, mostly children from their families. What is more shocking is the fact the gangs, who abducted these children, were protected by members representing the local authority. Caids, who were one of the representatives of authority, encouraged this crime by "*setting no limits on the amount of force used to get them*".² The children underwent traumatizing experiences in the aftermath of the horrifying separation from

¹This is an oral communication of al-Haÿj Bouzid. These facts are related today by an old man of the Oulad Bousba tribe, originating from the Sahara. Cited in Ennaji, M. "Young slaves and servants in nineteenth century Morocco". *Critical Quarterly*. 39/3, 1997. 59-68. Pub in Wiley Online Library. P: 64. DOI: 10.1111/1467-8705.00108

² Anouar Mohammed's letter to Mawlaÿy 'Abd'al'Aziz (23.6.1319/7.10.1900) (document 17), Fonds Moulay Abdalaziz, BH. Cited in Ennaji, M. "Young slaves and servants in nineteenth century Morocco". *Critical Quarterly*. 39/3, 1997. 59-68. Pub in Wiley Online Library. P: 64. DOI: 10.1111/1467-8705.00108

their families and their living environment at a very young age. The girls, in addition, sustained a continuum circulation from one market to another changing the masters according to each one's needs. Consequently, they kept no link to be traced to their families.¹ These enslaved children were, furthermore, compelled to serve and obey a new master each time they are sold. Ennaji stated that these children, being uprooted completely, were enforced to replace the natural child-family bonds with the "*slave-master bond*".²

The tasks designated to slaves depended on the peculiarities of areas as well as their gender. In rural areas of southern Morocco, enslaved people often fagged in agricultural fields, shepherded sheep, camels, and goats, walked for long distance to fetch water and to gather firewood. Women, who were enslaved in urban areas, were given domestic tasks or became concubines for rich families because not any person could afford to have slaves.³ Young girls were particularly preferred because they were used for multiple tasks that involved house chores as well as reproduction.⁴ The brothers Jérôme and Jean Tharaud provided further details in their description of the different roles of black women in Morocco. They recounted that:

in Morocco, there is the bedchamber negress, who is more inclined to admire her master; **what the Fassi (inhabitant of Fez) likes about his négresses is that their skin is supposed to be warmer than that of white women. And for a Moroccan, every ailment comes from the cold, whereas all healing is the result of heat.**

Next to the bedchamber négresses is a category of slave known as the *dada* or wet-nurse, a person of great importance, a despot even. Finally, there is the dowry slave-

¹ Ennaji, M. "Young slaves and servants in nineteenth century Morocco". *Critical Quarterly*. 39/3, 1997. 59-68. Pub in Wiley Online Library. P: 62. DOI: 10.1111/1467-8705.00108

² Ibid, P: 62.

³ Ennaji, M., *Serving the Master: Slavery and Society in Nineteenth Century Morocco*, trans. Seth Graebner. New York: St Martin's Press 1998, P: 2. cited in Becker, C. "'We are real slaves, real Ismkhan': memories of the trans-Saharan slave trade in the Tafilalet of South-Eastern Morocco". *The Journal of North African Studies*. 7/4, 2002. 97-121. P: 97/ 98. DOI: 10.1080/13629380208718485.

⁴ Anouar Mohammed's letter to Mawla'ÿ 'Abd'al'Aziz (23.6.1319/7.10.1900) (document 17), Fonds Moulay Abdalaziz, BH. Cited in Ennaji, M. "Young slaves and servants in nineteenth century Morocco". *Critical Quarterly*. 39/3, 1997. 59-68. Pub in Wiley Online Library. P: 64. DOI: 10.1111/1467-8705.00108

girl; when a girl marries, her husband has to give her a slave, who is her mistress's go-between for messages or gifts.¹

The quote shows the mythical stigma attached to black women's bodies, whose roles were restricted to house chores, nursing, and sexuality. Gender played an important role in the labor division of enslaved people. While in Morocco, female slaves remained in the Harem and male slaves took charge of tasks in the public space, in the American context the exploitation of black African slaves' productive energy -- men, women, and children -- was attained fully. They all worked in the fields under the same brutal working conditions. Lewis Clarke (1848) recalled bitter memories when he said, "*the bell rings at four o'clock in the morning and they have half an hour to get ready. Men and women start together, and the women must work as steadily as the men and perform the same tasks as the men.*"² Therefore, in addition to house chores and sexual exploitation, black women slaves were entirely involved in the exhaustive productive process side by side with men. They underwent gender-specific brutal practices in comparison to the ones their male counterparts experienced. Similarly to nowadays' gender division of labour, subjugation and enslavement of blacks implied gendered aspects. Black women and men slaves were designated different occupations based on their gender in accordance with the society's patriarchal norms and the peculiarities of each culture. The previous discussion uncovered some disturbing practices and facts on slavery. It also highlighted the significant role that gender played in molding the distribution of tasks on female and male slaves. From now on, the discussion is going to shed light on a specific intriguing era in Morocco.

¹ Jérôme and Jean Tharaud, *Fès ou les Bourgeois de l'Islam*. Cited in UNESCO. *The general History of Africa studies and documents 2: The African Slave Trade from the Fifteenth to the Nineteenth century*. USA, 1979. P: 170.

² Clarke, L., *Narrative of the Sufferings of Lewis and Milton Clarke, Sons of a Soldier of the Revolution*, Boston: 1848, p. 127 [Quoted by E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro Family in the United States*]. Cited in Davis, A. "Reflections on The black woman's role in the community of slaves". *The black scholar*. 3/ 4, 1971. 2-15. P: 6. DOI: 10.2307/41203704

During the ruling era of the sultan Mawlay Ismail's, the sultan ordered to collect and gather all black people -- free or slave -- in Morocco. His orders encompassed ten years old or older children of slaves, who were supposed to be taken to his palace.¹ Girls, on one hand, were kept in the palace so they learn literature and the etiquettes of service followed in the palace in addition to all other domestic tasks.² Boys, on the other hand, went through several trainings every year. During the first year, boys were supposed to learn trades from craftsmen like masons, carpenters, and how to mount donkeys. Later on, within the same year, they were asked to drive the mules loaded with goods. After another year working in construction sites, they were sent to the army to start using weapons and training for military service. The following year, they were taught the required skills to master riding horses and finally war techniques and strategies. After six years of training, they were sent to join the army.³

Mawlay Ismail arranged marriages as well among female and male slaves, particularly soldiers, who must abide by the rules. He contributed financially in the ceremonies of these marriages by giving each man ten mithqals as a dowry for his wife, and five mithqals for each woman to prepare her wardrobe.⁴ The objective behind this strategy is to reproduce another generation of obedient slaves.⁵ Such a forcible practice was also common within the American slavery system. This strategy availed avaricious and profit-seeking slaveholders. John Henrik Clarke, an ex-slave, recounting how his master arranged coercive marriages between women and men slaves, expressed:

¹ An-Nasiri, *al-Istiqsa'*, vol. 7, P: 71. Cited in El Hamel, C. *Black Morocco: a History of Slavery, Race, and Islam*. New York: Cambridge UP, 2013. P: 185.

² Ibn Zaydan, *al-Manza' al-Latif*, 131. Cited in El Hamel, C. *Black Morocco: a History of Slavery, Race, and Islam*. New York: Cambridge UP, 2013. P : 186

³ An-Nasiri, *al-Istiqsa'*, vol. 7, P: 71. Cited in El Hamel, C. *Black Morocco: a History of Slavery, Race, and Islam*. New York: Cambridge UP, 2013. P: 185.

⁴ Ibid, P: 185.

⁵ Ibn Zaydan, *al-Manza' al-Latif*, 132. El Hamel, C., *Black Morocco: a History of Slavery, Race, and Islam*. Cambridge University Press. New York, 2013. 186.

The family as a functional entity was outlawed and permitted to exist only when it benefited the slave-master. Maintenance of the slave family as a family unit benefited the slave owners only when, and to the extent that such unions created new slaves who could be exploited.¹

Therefore, men and women slaves were not allowed to establish a family unless this would bring more profits by having new slaves for exploitation. Despite the education and the facilities provided by Mawlay Ismai'l to his black female and male slaves, the aim was to establish a strong and loyal army extended for generations. In other words, collecting and training black children then arranging marriages among men and women was a systematic strategy that ensured the upbringing of submissive and loyal servants. The fact that the offspring of these slaves were also the ownership of the sultan cemented his power by reproducing other generations of obedient slaves and so on and so forth. On the other hand, not all female slaves were reserved for male soldiers. The palaces contained hundreds of concubines; the majority consisted of blacks, for the sultan's enjoyment. In this respect, Pellow (2013) described the palace as:

a very large spacious building (as indeed are all the Emperor's houses), and certainly prodigious strong, the walls twelve feet thick, and five stories high, built only of fine earth and hot lime, mixed and well incorporated by a vast number of slaves kept for that purpose; for it is thrown, as I may say, into a mould, being first boarded up on each side, so that being very well rammed together, it becomes, in a very little time, harder and more durable than stone. It is covered on the top with blue tiles, ceiled in the inside, and finely painted, and hath in it several hundred separate apartments for his concubines and eunuchs, besides those set apart for his favourite queen and her retinue. All his other wives (in number no less than four

¹ Clarke, J. H., "The Black Woman: A Figure in World History "Part III, *Essence*, New York: July, 1971. Cited in Davis, A., "The black woman's role in the community of slaves". *The black scholar*, New York, 1971. P:3.

thousand) being closely shut up in several other sumptuous houses allotted for them; though all, as I may say adjacent, and all within the same enclosure.¹

The man in Islam is believed to be allowed to marry up to four wives. However, according to interpretations of some Quranic verses, a man also can possess as many concubines as he wishes. Concubines were female slaves bought and forced to fulfill the sexual desire of their master. The subjugation of female slaves was not a practice restricted solely for the sultan; wealthy men and prestigious families used to possess female slaves and concubines too. In other words, it was a practice open for whoever can afford it. Concubines had two functions: domestic tasks like cooking, cleaning, etc, and serving the master's sexual pleasure. An example given by Ennaji of an anonymous man, willing to buy experienced cooks slaves, stated overtly to the broker that he wants these cooks to be "*very young and suitable for sex*".² In another case, Hassan Ben Mbarek, a highly notable man, wrote to his friend Mohammed Ben Housayn, who was in charge of all trade with West Africa in 1900 from his fortress in the Moroccan foothills of the Atlas Mountains, and expressed his wish for "*two women slaves, of superior quality, whose beauty would be perfect, and in early puberty, virgins showing the stamp of the Creator*".³ El Hamel considers female slaves as the "tragic hero" of slavery because they underwent forcibly double exploitation, which underlies not only racial differentiation but also the prevailing patriarchal principles at that time.⁴ The sultan had hundreds of concubines in his palaces in addition to female servants. The Sultan also received young beautiful female slaves as gifts from governors of the provinces. He used to send as well "*some of his concubines in*

¹ Pellow, *The Adventures*, P: 59. Cited in El Hamel, C. *Black Morocco: a History of Slavery, Race, and Islam*. New York: Cambridge UP, 2013. P: 192.

² (Letter of Hassan Ben Mbark (Hegirian calendar 6.5.1319; Gregorian calendar 1.9.1900). Unpublished manuscript. Dates are given first according to the Muslim calendar, then according to the Gregorian one). Cited in Ennaji, M. "Young slaves and servants in nineteenth century Morocco". *Critical Quarterly*. 39/3, 1997. 59-68. Pub in Wiley Online Library. P: 60/61. DOI: 10.1111/1467-8705.00108

³ Ibid, P: 60.

⁴ El Hamel, C. "Surviving slavery: sexuality and female agency in late nineteenth and early twentieth-Century Morocco". *Historical Reflections / Réflexions Historiques*, 34/1, Emotional Latitudes: The Ambiguities of Colonial and Post-Colonial Sentiment, 2008. 73-88. P : 73.

marriage to pashas (governors of provinces) and crucial officers in his government on the condition that they did not have any children.” The majority of these female slaves were dark-skinned because they were continuously available in local markets thanks to trans-Saharan slave trade. In few cases, concubines were sometimes free women chosen by the sultan. For some people, sending daughters to be part of the harem was deemed as an honor.¹

Concubines learned how to develop some survival strategies to adapt to their reality and deal with it from another perspective. The only method to guarantee a better position in the harem for concubines was to bear children from their masters because their offspring would inherit the father’s legal status. Therefore, they were obliged to exchange sexual pleasures for social status.² EL Hamel (2008) also argued robustly in his article entitled, “*Surviving Slavery: Sexuality and Female Agency in Late Nineteenth and Early*”, that enslaved women were not docile as many historians assumed. Being unwillingly in a subordinate position as slaves, they tended to develop “*survival skills*.” They used their sexuality and spurious emotional bonds towards their masters in order to negotiate for survival and better living conditions within the constraints of their status as slaves. He named this method as “*emotional refuge*”.³ The fact that Mawlay Isma’il had palaces full of undetermined number of wives and concubines, because of the seclusion of the harem, allowed him to father several hundred children boys and girls.⁴

Being compelled to have sexual intercourse with different masters, female slaves were extremely vulnerable to undergo other forms of human rights violation. Ennaji, based on a collection of answers by the jurist Al-Majjañsi to his contemporaries’ questions, told the story

¹ De La Véronne and de León, *Vie de Moulay Isma’il*, 28 of the French translation and 100 of the Spanish text. Cited in El Hamel, C. *Black Morocco: a History of Slavery, Race, and Islam*. New York: Cambridge UP, 2013. P: 195/196.

² Ibid, P: 196.

³ El Hamel, C. “Surviving slavery: sexuality and female agency in late nineteenth and early twentieth-Century Morocco”. *Historical Reflections / Réflexions Historiques*, 34/1, Emotional Latitudes: The Ambiguities of Colonial and Post-Colonial Sentiment, 2008. 73-88. P: 76.

⁴ Busnot, *Histoire du règne de Mouley Ismael*, 1714, 50. Cited in El Hamel, C. *Black Morocco: a History of Slavery, Race, and Islam*. New York: Cambridge UP, 2013. P: 196.

between blackness and slavery established? What are the origins of the black race inferiority? What stereotypes does also 'blackness' underlie?

3.2. Origins of Blackness' Inferiority

The black race community had undergone numerous forms of human rights violations for a very long time. These violations encompassed two major social structures: slavery and racism. Both of these exploitive and degrading systems were established based on the assumption of the inferiority of the black race. This subchapter seeks to uncover the real roots behind this assumed inferiority.

3.2.1. Blackness and the Hamitic Curse

The notion of 'blackness' and the concept of 'slavery' are deeply embedded in each other. This very old and ongoing correlation is the result of an entrenched religious explanation of Hamitic myth. El Hamel (2013) argues that the Hamitic myth played a key role that led either to the stigmatization or to "othering" of blacks.¹ According to the Hamitic theory, Hamites are Negroes (blacks). The word "Ham", which is the name of the son of Noah, was first mentioned in Genesis chapter five.² The story revolves around Noah cursing his youngest son Ham and his progeny for committing a sin. It is said in the bible:

[Noah] drank of the wine, and became drunk, and lay uncovered in his tent.

And Ham, the father of Canaan, saw the nakedness of his father, and told his two brothers outside. Then Shem and Japheth took a garment, laid it upon both their shoulders, and walked backward and covered the nakedness of their father; their faces were turned away, and they did not see their father's nakedness. When Noah

¹ El Hamel, C. *Black Morocco: a History of Slavery, Race, and Islam*. New York: Cambridge UP, 2013. P: 60.

² Sanders, R. E. "The Hamitic hypothesis; its origin and functions in time perspective". *The Journal of African History*. 10/4, 1969. 521-532. P: 522. DOI: 10.2307/179896

awoke from his wine and knew what his youngest son had done to him, he said,
“Cursed be Canaan; a slave of slaves shall he be to his brothers.” He also said,
“Blessed by the LORD my God be Shem; and let Canaan be his slave. God enlarge
Japheth, and let him dwell in the tents of Shem; and let Canaan be his slave.”¹

From this biblical passage, Sanders (1969) emphasizes that racial differences among the offspring of mankind are not the production of the bible. Indeed, although Noah strongly condemns Canaan for the offense of his father, there is no reference to the race of children of Ham, to dark skin, to any skin color, or to Africa. For her the stigmatization of black skin color and the creation of racial differentiation were produced by the Babylonian Talmud, a collection of oral traditions of the Jews that appeared in the sixth century A.D.; it states:

Now I cannot beget the fourth son whose children I would have ordered to serve you and your brothers! Therefore it must be Canaan, your firstborn, whom they enslave. And since you have disabled me... doing ugly things in blackness of night, Canaan's children shall be borne ugly and black! Moreover, because you twisted your head around to see my nakedness, your grandchildren's hair shall be twisted into kinks, and their eyes red; again because your lips jested at my misfortune, theirs shall swell; and because you neglected my nakedness, they shall go naked, and their male members shall be shamefully elongated! Men of this race are called Negroes, their forefather Canaan commanded them to love theft and fornication, to be banded together in hatred of their masters and never to tell the truth.²

According to Scholars, who were interested in studying the Hebrew myths of Genesis, the purpose behind creating these oral traditions is to justify the Israelites' subjugation of

¹ Bible, Revised Standard Version, Genesis 9: 21–29. Cited in El Hamel, C. *Black Morocco: a History of Slavery, Race, and Islam*. New York: Cambridge UP, 2013. P: 66.

² Robert Graves and Raphael Patai, *Hebrew Myths; the Book of Genesis* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1964), P: 121. Cited in Sanders, R. E. “The Hamitic hypothesis; its origin and functions in time perspective”. *The Journal of African History*. 10/4, 1969. 521-532. P: 523. DOI: 10.2307/179896

Canaan, a historical fact validated by the myth of Noah's curse.¹ The interpretation of the Genesis account of Noah cursing his grandson Canaan was not limited to Canaan or Canaan's children; it rather became the ideological cornerstone to legitimize enslaving black Africans thousands of years afterward. Interestingly, the Arab culture had also adopted the Hamitic myth and its interpretation of race and slavery. El Hamel (2013) argued that the acceptance of the Hamitic myth within Arab culture can be linked to two factors. First, the early Muslim scholars, who overtly accepted the Hamitic myth in their work; and second, the fact that the majority – not all – of slaves in Arabia belonged to black Ethiopians and whose enslavement is attributed to the negative stereotypes related to blackness and to being the descendants of Ham.² One of these Muslim writers who addressed the issue of race and slavery is Abu 'Abd Allah Wahb b. Munabbih.³ Ibn Qutayba (d. 889) of Baghdad reported that Wahb b. Munabbih believed “*that Ham b. Nuh²⁹ was a white man having a beautiful face and form. But Allah (to Him belongs glory and power) changed his colour and the colour of his descendants because of his father's curse. Ham went off, followed by his children [. . .]. They are the Sudan.*”⁴ Wahb b. Munabbih's belief of the Hamitic curse could be explained as a legacy of his previous religious background. However, what is striking is when a highly influential Muslim scholar like At-Tabari (d.923) relies on the Torah and oral cultural traditions to stratify human races. At-Tabari describes that:

¹ Sanders, R. E. “The Hamitic hypothesis; its origin and functions in time perspective”. *The Journal of African History*. 10/4, 1969. 521-532. P: 523. DOI: 10.2307/179896

² El Hamel, C. *Black Morocco: a History of Slavery, Race, and Islam*. New York: Cambridge UP, 2013. P : 67.

³ Wahb b. Munabbih (d. 728 or 732) is a scholar versed in Judeo-Christian traditions of Persian origin from Yemen and who, according Ibn an-Nadim converted to Islam. In Raif Georges Khoury, “Wahb b. Munabbih” in *The Encyclopedia of Islam*; Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte Der Arabischen Litteratur*, second edition (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1943), vol. 1, 64 and Suppl., I, 101; and Ibn al-Nadim, *The Fihrist of Al-Nadim; a Tenth-Century Survey of Muslim Culture*, edited and translated by Bayard Dodge (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), vol. 1, 42. Cited in El Hamel, C. *Black Morocco: a History of Slavery, Race, and Islam*. New York: Cambridge UP, 2013. P : 67.

⁴ Abu Muhammad 'Abd Allah Ibn Qutayba al-Dinawari in J. F. P. Hopkins and Nehemia Levtzion (eds.), *Corpus of Early Arabic Sources for West African History* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 15. Cited in El Hamel, C. *Black Morocco: a History of Slavery, Race, and Islam*. New York: Cambridge UP, 2013. P : 67.

Ham begat all those who are black and curly-haired, while Japheth begat all those who are full-faced with small eyes, and Shem begat everyone who is handsome of face with beautiful hair. Noah prayed that the hair of Ham's descendants would not grow beyond their ears, and that wherever his descendants met the children of Shem, the latter would enslave them.¹

Throughout all of these passages and comments, the Hamitic curse is the source of not only subjugation of blacks, but also of numerous inherited and commonly believed prejudices and stereotypes. There is also an emphasis on the beauty of whiteness and the ugliness of blackness. At-Tabari's description extended to reach a geographical distribution of Noah's descendants. He stated:

According to 'Imran b. Bakkar al-Kala'i-Abu al-Yaman- **Ismail** b. 'Ayyash-Yahya b. Said: I heard Said b. al-Musayyib saying, "Noah begat three, each one of whom begat three: Shem, Ham, and Japheth. Shem begat the Arabs, Persians, and Byzantines, in all of whom there is good. Japheth begat the Turks, Slavs, Gog, and Magog, in none of whom there is good. Ham begat the Copts, Sudanese, and Berbers."²

Therefore, physical attributes, geographical distribution and human prosperity are all determined in Jewish oral traditions. The Hamitic curse interpretation contributed with a great part in generating racial differences. In fact, it is a solid cornerstone that had been entrenched throughout successive generations for hundred years until it became craved within taken for granted ideologies. These inherited and unquestioned beliefs had been used to justify one of the unforgotten crimes against humanity in the history that is slavery. Americans were among the

¹ Al-Tabari, *The History of al-Tabari: Prophets and Patriarchs*, translated and annotated by William M. Brinner (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1986), 2/ 21. The Arabic text: Muhammad at-Tabari, *Tarikh at-Tabari*, vol. 1. P: 69.

² Ibid.

first who adopted and persistently used the Hamitic curse against blacks as sanctified evidence to legitimize racial slavery.¹ The Arab culture and Muslim scholars similarly adopted the Hamitic story and all its racial implications that paved the way towards the subjugation of blacks and the entrenchment of numerous stereotypes related to them. Conversely to what had been prevalent in pre-Islamic Arab culture, among Islam's highly emphasized teachings is the value of the person that is only measured by his/her righteous deeds. No difference or differentiation between races or ethnicities is indicated in the Quran, which is the original and ultimate source for Islam's teachings. People are created equal regardless of their complexion or to what ethnicity they belong. Many verses in the Quran emphasize the equality of people and plainly reject racial differentiation and contempt. Some of these verses will be cited to demonstrate this fact; Allah says in Surat Al-Hujurat:

اَيُّهَا النَّاسُ اِنَّا خَلَقْنٰكُمْ مِنْ ذَكَرٍ وَاُنْثٰى وَجَعَلْنٰكُمْ شُعُوْبًا وَّقَبَاۗئِلَ لِتَعَارَفُوْۤا اِنَّ اَكْرَمَكُمْ عِنْدَ اللّٰهِ اَتْقٰىكُمْ اِنَّ اللّٰهَ عَلِيْمٌ خَبِيْرٌ

O people, We have created you male and female and made you into nations and tribes that you may know one another. Verily, the most noble of you to Allah is the most righteous of you. Verily, Allah is knowing and aware.²

This verse displays that Allah created women and men from different races and tribes and the purpose is that they would get to know and learn from each other. Ethnic diversity is part of the divine plan, it reflects beauty and enrichment. In this respect, Allah also says in Surat Al-Rum in the Holly Quran:

وَمِنْ اٰيٰتِهٖ خَلْقُ السَّمٰوٰتِ وَاَلْاَرْضِ وَاِخْتِلَافُ اَللّٰسِنَتِكُمْ وَاَلْوَانِكُمْ ۚ اِنَّ فِيْ ذٰلِكَ لَاٰيٰتٍ لِّلْعٰلَمِيْنَ

¹ Fredrickson, G. M. *Rasizmus – stručná historie* (Racism: A Short History), p. 45. Cited in Hrabovsky, M. "The concept of "blackness" in theories of race". *Asian and African Studies*, 22/1, 2013. 65-88. P: 66. Available at https://www.sav.sk/journals/uploads/112415234_Hrabovsky.pdf Accessed on 11/08/2019.

² Quran. Surat al-Hujurat, 49: 13.

Among His signs is the creation of the heavens and the earth and the diversity of your languages and your colors. Verily, in that are signs for people of knowledge.¹

This verse similarly underscores the creation of people with different skin colors and speaking different languages is an absolute sign of Allah's creative power. There is no single word or expression that denotes the superiority of one race or ethnicity over the other. The second primary source of Islamic teachings is the prophet Muhammed (pbuh). His sayings and deeds are reported by those who lived with him and collected into Hadiths. The prophet also rejects any racial differentiation and asserts that preference is based mainly on righteousness. As an example, Abu Nadrah reported: The Messenger of Allah, peace and blessings be upon him, said in the final days of the pilgrimage:

يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ أَلَا إِنَّ رَبَّكُمْ وَاحِدٌ وَإِنَّ أَبَاكُمْ وَاحِدٌ أَلَا لَا فَضْلَ لِعَرَبِيٍّ عَلَى أَعْجَمِيٍّ وَلَا لِعَجَمِيٍّ عَلَى عَرَبِيٍّ وَلَا لِأَحْمَرَ عَلَى أَسْوَدَ وَلَا أَسْوَدَ عَلَى أَحْمَرَ إِلَّا بِالتَّقْوَى أَلْبَغْتُ

O people, your Lord is one and your father Adam is one. There is no favor of an Arab over a foreigner, nor a foreigner over an Arab, and neither white skin over black skin, nor black skin over white skin, except by righteousness. Have I not delivered the message?²

In another story reported by Abu Umamah that Abu Dharr reproached Bilal about his mother, saying, "O son of a black woman!" Bilal went to the Messenger of Allah, peace and blessings be upon him, and he told him what he said. The Prophet became angry and then Abu Dharr came, although he was unaware of what Bilal told him. The Prophet turned away from him and Abu Dharr asked, "O Messenger of Allah, have you turned away because of something you have been told?" The Prophet said:

¹ Quran. Surat al-Rum. 30: 22.

² Musnad Ahmad 22978, Grade: Sahih

أَنْتَ الَّذِي تُعَيِّرُ بِلَالًا بِأُمِّهِ وَالَّذِي أَنْزَلَ الْكِتَابَ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ مَا لَأَخَذَ عَلَيَّ فَضْلًا إِلَّا بَعْمَلٍ إِنْ أَنْتُمْ إِلَّا
كَطَفِ الصَّاعِ

Have you reproached Bilal about his mother? By the one who revealed the Book to Muhammad, none is more virtuous over another except by righteous deeds. You have none but an insignificant amount.¹

Notwithstanding all of these texts that plainly rebut racial differentiation, several Muslim scholars adopted the Hamitic story and adapted it to Arabic culture. Therefore, Muslim scholars, who were the source of knowledge and jurisprudence, produced interpretations of texts that molded public opinion and consequently justified the subjugation of blacks. Slavery is not, in fact, a new practice in Arab culture; during the pre-Islamic period enslavement of blacks and also non-blacks was very common in the Arab culture. Islam, on the other hand, emphasizes the equality of all people and induces the manumission of current slaves at that time. However, some Quranic verses had been interpreted and used to authorize the continuity of slavery. El Hamel based on all the sources that he scrutinized concluded that:

No single verse in the Qur'an calls for the acceptance of slavery as a normal social practice. The Qur'an contains no word on the treatment of slaves to indicate that it condones slavery's existence and continuity. The Qur'an does not speak in the future tense (prior to enslavement) regarding slavery, that is, "what to do when someone acquires a slave," but it provides recommendations for the past acquisition of slavery, "what to do with slaves already acquired."²

The spurious interpretation of Quranic verses, as well as the adoption of the Hamitic curse by some Muslim scholars, established a solid foundation for racial differentiation that guaranteed the continuity and the institutionalization of slavery, even though both practices are against the

¹ Shu'ab al-Imān 4760, Grade: Sahih

² El Hamel, C. *Black Morocco: a History of Slavery, Race, and Islam*. New York: Cambridge UP, 2013. P: 42.

principles and the moral teachings of the Quran. The Quran mightily encouraged manumission instead of institutionalizing slavery. All verses, conversely to what had been promoted and perpetuated, endeavor persistently to discourage the practice of slavery and to gradually and ultimately abolish it.

3.2.2. Black is the 'Other'

Pythagoras, a Greek philosopher once said, "*there is a good principle that created order, light, and man and a bad principle that created chaos, darkness, and woman.*"¹ For him, the world is structured into a dichotomous system; light/ darkness; order/chaos; man/woman. Dark skin, which is a conspicuous part of the human body, presents a visible sign of chaos and disorder. The colour black acquired a status of disorder, chaos and sinful that eventually stimulated a sense of fear. Based on the foregoing discussion in the previous section, one is able to fathom that Hamitic theory contributed greatly to producing numerous stereotypes about people with dark or black complexion. Ham's curse created a misconception of "Black" color, which represented everything evil for white people. Consequently, black skin, being an incarnation of a "curse", automatically paved the way towards establishing the social status of that group of people in the lowest rank of racial hierarchy compared to all other skin colors. An example of such stigmatization is embodied in the well-known Jesuit Antonio Vieira's attitude, who was imprisoned for recognizing and advocating Native Americans' humanly rights but ironically supported importing and enslaving black Africans to serve the white settlers. He went further and regarded any escape of a slave from such duty as a sin.²

¹ De Beauvoir, S. *The Second Sex*, 1949. Trans. and Ed. Parshley, H. M. London: Johanathan Cape, 1956. P: 5.

² Delumeau, Catholicism Between Luther and Voltaire, 88. Cited in Ellerbe, H. *The Dark Side of Christian History*. Morningstar and Lark: USA, 1995. P: 91.

It is worth noting that not all Muslim scholars adopted the Hamitic myth. Many historians refused to accept simply the correlation between the Hamitic story and the racial differences between people. An example of these historians, who rejected the Hamitic theory, is Shams ad-Din abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad ad-Dimashqi (1256–1327). Ad-Dimashqi explained and attributed the diversity of races to environmental factors. According to him, the whiteness of peoples of the north is due to the extreme cold conversely to the extreme heat of the places where black-skinned peoples live.¹ Ibn Khaldun, a well-known Arab historian, concurred with ad-Dimashqi and highlighted the influence of the environment on the racial geographical division. He reported in his book *The Muqaddimah* (introduction to his universal history):

To attribute the blackness of the Negroes to Ham, reveals disregard of the true nature of heat and cold and the influence they exercise upon the climate and upon the creatures that come into being in it. The black skin common to the inhabitants of the first and second zones is the result of the composition of the air in which they live, and which comes about under the influence of the greatly increased heat in the south [. . .]. People there go through a very severe summer, and their skins turn black because of the excessive heat.²

Ibn Khaldun was the first scholar to treat fully the Hamitic theory and to deem it as a myth or as a “silly story”.³ He argued that skin color is influenced by the intensity of the weather. Peoples with Black complexion are influenced by the intense heat where they have lived; whereas peoples with white complexion lived in a climate characterized by intense cold. He also rejected the Hamitic curse that assumes the inferiority and savageness of dark-skinned

¹ Shams ad-Din al-Ansari ad-Dimashqi, in Hopkins and Levzion, *Corpus*, 212. El Hamel, C. *Black Morocco: a History of Slavery, Race, and Islam*. New York: Cambridge UP, 2013. P: 70.

² Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, translated by Franz Rosenthal. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969. P: 61.

³ Ibid, P: 59-60.

people's practices. He instead regarded black skin peoples' '*unusual*' customs as the result of environmental conditions and the specificities of the place where they lived.¹

For other historians and scholars, the negative evaluation of blacks is established based on religion. Muhammed Ibn Battuta, an influential Moroccan scholar and traveler, reported his observations from his travels to West Africa in 1353. He described black people in West Africa as being too sexually free when he said, "*these people have remarkable and strange ways. As for their men, they feel no [sexual] jealousy [. . .]. The women there have friends and companions among the foreign men [e.g., not a kinsperson]*."² He also viewed their behaviors with disdain when he described, "*at this I repented at having come to their country because of their ill manners and their contempt for white men*".³ Hence, Ibn Battuta's reaction and criticism are precisely about the social and cultural customs of blacks in West Africa. Being a Muslim with certain beliefs, he viewed black peoples' behaviors, who were not Muslims, conveying immorality and barbarism. His criticism and attitude were not derived from the Hamitic myth but from religion instead.

Black people represented, from a Hamitic perspective, everything evil and the embodiment of a curse. From a social and cultural perspective, they were viewed as ignorant and immoral. In both cases, the black represented the inferior race. In addition, another perpetuated stereotype over time is related to sexuality. A white woman's body was considered as cold because it does not respond to pleasure. Black woman's body, on the other hand, was perceived as "*fire from Gehenna*." However, Ethiopian woman was perceived having a balanced body; neither too hot nor too cold. Al- Bokha'ri from Mecca, described the advantages of the Ethiopians in his book entitled "*Al-Turaz manquch fi mahasin Al Hubush*"

¹ Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, translated by Franz Rosenthal. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969. P: 60.

² Ibn Battuta in Hopkins and Levtzion, *Corpus of Early Arabic Sources for West African History*, P: 298. Cited in El Hamel, C. *Black Morocco: a History of Slavery, Race, and Islam*. New York: Cambridge UP, 2013. P: 72.

³ Ibid.

when he stated, “*contact with the Ethiopian woman heals suffering bodies, appeases passion, protects against the pains of cold weather and dampness, and works as a perfect remedy for backache and rheumatisms.*”¹ Moreover, the price of black concubines varied accordingly to several physical standards. The size of a concubine’s bust, for example, could change the price as well as the value of the black concubine; the smaller the bust the less value it becomes.

The Hamitic myth was not the only source of black peoples’ inferiority and their subjugation. Enslavement has also been justified with scientific evidences. Discussions of racial origins and differences were raised in scientific discourse. Curtin (1960), one of the prominent scholars on African studies, argued in his article entitled “*‘Scientific’ Racism and the British theory of empire*” that during the second half of the eighteenth-century European scientists aimed at establishing a racial thought that demonstrates scientifically the superiority of one race and the inferiority of all other existing races. The objective behind developing this racial doctrine was to extend the British Empire. In other words, British Imperialism ironically concurred with the development of scientific racial thought. Curtin went further with his argument and stated, “*the key "scientific fact" was the belief that physical appearance was merely an outward mark of an inborn and permanent inferiority for all non-European peoples.*”

² Therefore, the use of science as evidence served to establish ‘inevitable’ facts that guaranteed the continuity of white supremacy and other races’ inferiority. This scientific interpretation was consequently employed to justify slavery with all its forms and practices. European Scientists developed a doctrine to make the distinction between different people based on their skin color. Hence, light skin colored Europeans were ranked at the top of the apartheid they made. Whereas Asians, Africans, American Indians, etc were all accumulated simply in the lower rank and

¹ BokhaĀri al-Makki 'Aja'ddin Mohamed, al-Turaz al manquch fi mahasin al Hubuch, MS 5888, BH. Cited in Ennaji, M. “Young slaves and servants in nineteenth century Morocco”. *Critical Quarterly*. 39/3, 1997. 59-68. P: 61. Pub in Wiley Online Library. DOI: 10.1111/1467-8705.00108

² Curtin, D. P. “‘Scientific’ Racism and the British theory of empire.” *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*. 2/1, 1960. 40-51. P: 42. DOI: 10.2307/41970819

deemed as the inferior races.¹ Slavery, for others, was regarded as a duty determined by nature. Thomas Carlyle, Scottish essayist, historian and social critic, argued in his essay "Occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question", which was first published in 1849, that the servitude of black skin people is enjoined by the "*Law of the World*" because they are "*more foolish*" in comparison to Europeans who are born wise. He stated in clear words:

You are not "slaves" now; nor do I wish, if it can be avoided, to see you slaves again; but decidedly **you will have to be servants to those that are born wiser than you**, that are **born lords of you -- servants to the whites**, if they *are* (as what mortal can doubt they are?) born wiser than you. That, you may depend upon it, **my obscure black friends**, is and was always the law of the world, for you and for all men; to be servants, **the more foolish of us to the more wise**; and only sorrow, futility and disappointment will betide both, till both, in some approximate degree, get to conform to the same.²

Carlyle replaced the term 'slavery' with a euphemism "*servant hired for life*", which conceal the nature of the practice. For him, the blacks' disobedience would lead to "*futility and disappointment*". From this perspective, he considered slavery equally beneficial for slaves; they would do mainly what they are born for and what gods decreed for them and eventually happiness would be their reward.³

Drawing on the previous examination of the historical documents on slavery, it has become possible to deduce two influential reasons behind the inferior stigma attached to people

¹ Curtin, D. P. "'Scientific' Racism and the British theory of empire." *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*. 2/1, 1960. 40-51. P: 44. DOI: 10.2307/41970819

² Carlyle, T., "Occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question", *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country* XL. London, 1849. 527-538. P: 535/536. This electronic text is taken from the version reprinted in America under the title "West India Emancipation" in *The Commercial Review of the South and West* (later *De Bow's Review*), June, 1850, Vol. VIII (Old Series), Vol. II, No.4 N.S., p.527-538 (ed. J.D. De Bow, New Orleans). Available in <https://www.hetwebsite.net/het/texts/carlyle/carlyle1849negroquestion.htm> accessed on 12/08/2019.

³ Ibid, P: 535.

with black complexion. The first crafted justification by white people to rationalize their actions towards people with black complexion is religion. Religion has always been throughout history a very powerful strategy employed by manipulators to establish “truths” and eventually make someone unquestionably believe them. These forged truths are usually in favor of a group (inventors) over another group(s). In other words, a group of people, who think highly of themselves, maneuvered another group of people by using their own misinterpretation of religion. In the case of racial hierarchy, the “Hamitic curse” was the main justification to legitimize and institutionalize the enslavement of generations of people with black or dark complexion.

The second reason that has been identified is what Curtin P. D. named as “scientific racism”. In the second half of the eighteenth century, scientific knowledge was highly respected. Hence, Europeans started developing a racial thought based on biological aspects, using “scientific” terms. Their aim was to demonstrate objectively the inborn and natural superiority of one race and the inferiority of all others. Both of these reasons and attitudes were stemmed from the fear of the “Other”. People tend to consider the “Other” as a threat mainly because of racial, cultural, and religious differences, including migrants. My argument is that despite the fact that we live in the twenty-first century, the inherited history on slavery and people and black complexion do still exist in nowadays societies.¹ Fanon (1952), whose father was a descendant of slaves and mother of mixed French parenthood, in his masterpiece *Black Skin, White Mask* describes rigorously and eloquently his experience:

I was responsible at the same time for my body, for my race, for my ancestors.

I subjected myself to an objective examination, I discovered my blackness, my ethnic characteristics; and **I was, battered down by tom-toms, cannibalism,**

¹ This argument will be elaborated more when I will be discussing the findings of the questionnaires and the interviews.

intellectual deficiency...I wanted to be a man, nothing but a man. Some identified me with ancestors of mine who had been enslaved or lynched: I decided to accept this. It was on the universal level of the intellect that I understood this inner kinship—I was the grandson of slaves in exactly the same way in which President Lebrun was the grandson of tax-paying, hard-working peasants. In the main, the panic soon vanished. In America, Negroes are segregated. In South America, Negroes are whipped in the streets, and Negro strikers are cut down by machine-guns. In West Africa, the Negro is an animal.¹

Based on the studies that have been cited, African Sub-Saharan are generally perceived as destitute, savage, ignorant, and the embodiment of many other stereotypes. In Morocco the first evident aspect of black is the 'Other' is what can be acknowledged as 'detachment'. This idea will be elaborated profoundly when addressing African trans-Saharan migrants in Morocco. The upcoming discussion will be limited to trans-Saharan migrants in the Moroccan context with some other general illustrations. However, before proceeding in migrants' experience in Morocco, it is more informative and systematic to initiate the following part with an introduction of the adopted methodology and the migrants' socio-demographic variables and profiles.

¹ Fanon, F. *Black Skin, White Masks*. London: Pluto Press, 2008. Originally published as *Peau Noire, Masques Blanc* by Editions de Seuil, France, 1952. P : 84/85.

**Part Two: Transit Sub-Saharan Migrants in
Morocco as a Case of Study**

4. Introducing the Case Study

Morocco had been considered for a long time a country of irregular emigration mainly for Moroccan emigrants. This country, due to the geographical proximity, has become an important gate to Europe that attracts a great number of migrants with different nationalities. Migrants from sub-Saharan countries represent the overwhelming majority. This chapter seeks first to contextualize this research within the existing studies and reports. Then, it will introduce the methodology and methods adopted to carry out this study.

4.1. Contextualizing the study

During this research, I have found a considerable number of articles and reports tackling the issue of sub-Saharan migration in Morocco. These references have discussed this controversial topic from different angles, adopting different approaches and methods. The objective of the following section is to shed light on the most current and significant studies' findings and interpretations of sub-Saharan migration in Morocco.

4.1.1. Evaluation of Previous Studies

The examination of the main references on sub-Saharan migration in Morocco will follow a chronological order of publication. At the outset of this examination, it is possible to detect a highly informative investigation carried out by the Moroccan association AMERM and was compared to other subsequent studies. The investigation lasted from March to April and was funded by the European Union.¹ The study was mainly quantitative and involved 1000 sub-Saharan migrants.² It focused on approaching the respondents in five cities in Morocco, which were estimated to be the focal shelter for a greater number of 'transit' sub-Saharan migrants.

¹ AMERM. "l'Immigration subsaharienne au Maroc: analyse socio-économique". Rabat, Association marocaine d'études et de recherches en migrations, 2008. P : 7.

² Ibid, P: 11.

These cities are Rabat, Casablanca, Oujda, Tangier, and Laayoune.¹ It is worth noting that sub-Saharan migrants, who were in Morocco for studying and were involved in educational institutions, were excluded from this investigation.² Gender and migration were addressed in another qualitative study that took place in 2008 for the aim of measuring transformations at the level of social relations between women and men during the migratory process.³ The fundamental objective of this investigation is to shed light on different aspects of sub-Saharan migrants' experiences of 'transit' migration in Morocco. The study seeks to better explain the process of transit migration, starting from the departure until their staying and living conditions in Morocco, including itineraries, motivations and the way they are perceived.⁴

According to the investigation's findings, men migrants predominate overwhelmingly. The study shows that women migrants constitute barely (20.3%) compared to (79.7 %) of men migrants. They belong both to urban and rural areas. The following graph displays the sex ratio of migrants and their living areas.

¹ AMERM. "l'Immigration subsaharienne au Maroc: analyse socio-économique". Rabat, Association marocaine d'études et de recherches en migrations, 2008. P: 8.

² Ibid, P: 10.

³ Ibid, P: 7.

⁴ Ibid. P: 8.

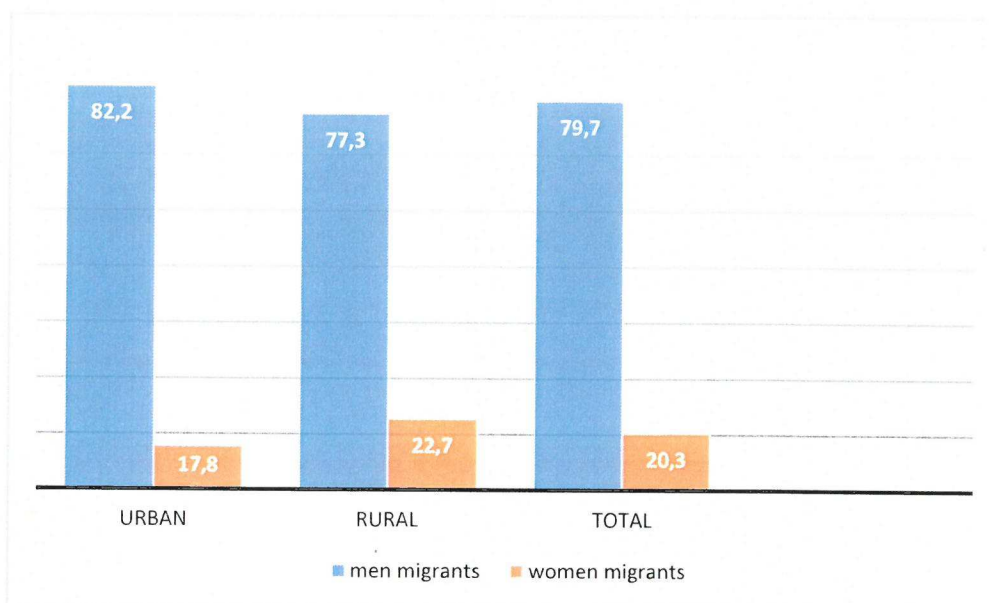


Figure 5: Transit sub-Saharan migrants: Gender and living areas.¹

These results reveal that rural women have more propensity to migrate compared to their female counterparts in urban areas (22.7% vs. 17.8%, respectively). On the contrary, men living in urban areas tend to migrate more than men in rural areas. Yet, male migrants still outnumber female migrants in both living areas. The association explained and related this numerical imbalance in favor of men to two aspects: the first one is the inequality of women and men in the face of irregular migration despite its mixing; the second is the difficulties of approaching sub-Saharan migrant women during the investigation. Although more and more women are attempting to take risks and migrate under the same difficult conditions as men, women seem to be often under the guardianship of men and which consequently complicated having access to them by the investigators.²

¹ AMERM. "l'Immigration subsaharienne au Maroc: analyse socio-économique". Rabat, Association marocaine d'études et de recherches en migrations, 2008. P: 21.

² Ibid.

Having highlighted that sex ratio is in favor of men and their predominance over women migrants coming from both living areas, the investigation also showed that the structure of migrants' age is respectively in favor of women.

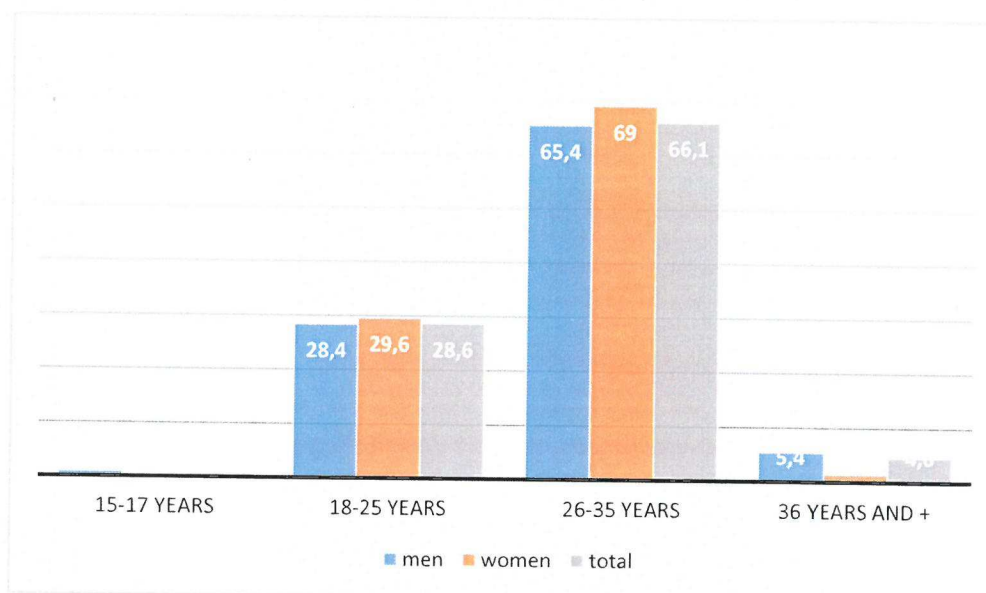


Figure 6: The age of transit sub-Saharan migrants from a gender perspective.¹

Young female migrants relatively predominate young male migrants. The average age for men ranges around 28 years (27, 9 years) against 27 years for women. In the age group of 18-25 years, the rate of women is slightly higher than migrant men (29, 6 % compared to 28,4 %). However, there is a relatively higher rate of women than that of men in the age group of 26-35 years old (69.0% against 65.4% respectively); while for the age group 36 years and over, men migrants are more numerous (5.4% against 1.5% respectively).²

Another considerable study is the one conducted by Berriane and Aderghal in 2009 on sub-Saharan migrants and took place exclusively in Fes. The focus was on highlighting the

¹ AMERM. "l'Immigration subsaharienne au Maroc: analyse socio-économique". Rabat, Association marocaine d'études et de recherches en migrations, 2008. P: 23.

² Ibid, P: 24.

way Fes attracts flows of African migrants. The main objective was to figure out whether Fes, as one of the big and symbolic cities, fulfill migrants' expectations in terms of employment, social and cultural integration, knowing that their migration reason was driven primarily by economic motives.¹ The study is based on a survey that involved 400 sub-Saharan migrants, who responded to the questionnaire, providing information about their demographic and socio-economic profile. Women constituted just (27. 5%) of the total respondents.² The majority of respondents belong to the young population, constituting (77.4%) of the total, and their ages ranged from 20 to 30 years. The study, however, shows the predominance of women among younger people.³ Therefore, although sub-Saharan men migrants dominate, young sub-Saharan women seem to have a higher propensity to migrate. The study included interviews as well conducted with 40 migrants selected from the survey. The interviews' objective is to highlight aspects of migrants' migratory route, their detailed everyday life in Fes, as well as their future plans for their migratory project.⁴ Berriane and Aderghal concluded that Fes has never been neither a destination nor a transit city for migrants. It was even unknown for a number of respondents. Yet, when they arrived in Morocco after long exhaustive travels, the name of the city was triggered as a shelter or a station that supplies decent opportunities to recharge their batteries and then pursue their migratory journey.⁵

Another appreciated investigation on irregular transit sub-Saharan migration in Morocco was carried out in 2013 within IPPR and the Council of the Moroccan Community Abroad (CCME). The study was based fundamentally on intensive qualitative research, particularly in-depth interviews with 50 sub-Saharan migrants. The respondents consisted of 38

¹Berriane, M. and M. Aderghal. "Sub-Saharan migrants in Fes: A presence on the margins of an evolving city". *Frontiers in Science and Engineering*. (An International Journal Edited by Hassan II Academy of Science and Technology), 2009. P: 1. http://www.ueuromed.org/pro/file/publi/berriane_04.pdf Accessed on 14/05/2018.

² Ibid, P: 3.

³ Ibid, P: 8.

⁴ Ibid, P : 3.

⁵ Ibid, P: 7.

men and 12 women migrants. The interviews took place in four locations: Rabat, Casablanca, Oujda, and Nador. According to the investigation, the sample of migrants belongs to different sub-Saharan countries: Cameroon, Senegal, Ghana, DRC, Nigeria, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Burkina Faso, Benin, Mali and Chad. The fundamental objective of this study was to offer a general idea of the lived migratory experiences by these migrants, which will pave the way towards identifying the main challenges confronted by this vulnerable category of migrants and the best way to handle and present them in migratory discourses.¹ The interviews were not the only source of information, even if majorly, the study was also based on other sources that provide additional information. Nineteen interviews were carried out with representatives of governmental institutions, civil society organizations, international organizations and diplomatic missions. The study took into consideration the available studies on sub-Saharan migration in Morocco as well as the existing initiatives that have been launched as a response to irregular migrants' needs and demands. Information about migrants' everyday life was obtained from two focus groups with irregular sub-Saharan migrants that took place in Rabat. Besides all of what has been mentioned, the issue of irregular migration was discussed in two roundtable discussions with representatives from national and international civil society organizations in addition to government representatives.² The general conclusion that has been derived from this research is the fact that Morocco is undergoing a continuous change but slower from being a country of transit and changing towards a country of immigration. Regarding irregular migrants' experience in Morocco, their legal or "*sans papier*" status, as expressed in the study, is a crucial factor in determining their living conditions, employment and access to basic services such as healthcare. In addition, despite the efforts of NGOs and

¹ Cherti, M. and P. Grant "The myth of transit: Sub-Saharan migration in Morocco", *Institute for Public Policy Research*, 2013. P: 7.

² Ibid.

migrants' rights advocates to provide help, there was a necessity for the state to interfere and develop more positive actions.¹

Another informative and most recent study is conducted by Mourji (et al.) in Autumn 2015 and the beginning of the Winter of 2016. The investigation consisted of both quantitative and qualitative methods. The quantitative investigation took place in Casablanca, Mohammedia, Rabat, Salé and Tangier. The study was conducted by a group of master students under the supervision of Professor Fouzi Mourji on 1453 people. The qualitative investigation was carried out by Saadia Radi and took place in Casablanca, Rabat, and Tangier. Twenty-five people were interviewed for a changing period between half-hour and one hour and a half.² According to the study's findings, male migrants present almost three quarters of the whole respondents; men migrants represent (74.31%) compared to (25.69%) to women migrants. Mourji (2016) compared the sex ratio of sub-Saharan migration to Morocco (either as a destination or transit country) to the first flow of Maghrebine migration to Europe, which was fundamentally masculine with a progressive augmentation of female migration.³

This investigation highlighted different crucial factors that molded Sub-Saharan migrants' migratory experience in Morocco. However, there are some significant variables that have been neglected. Gender and legal approaches were merely mentioned and have not been used as a very important variable for the analysis. For example, the gender of migrants' socio-demographic information (marital status, age, level of education, previous work in the country of origin) was not addressed. In other words, it would have been more informative if the socio-demographic profile of migrants had been described from a gender perspective. To

¹ Cherti, M. and P. Grant "The myth of transit: Sub-Saharan migration in Morocco", *Institute for Public Policy Research*, 2013. P: 67.

² Mourji, F. (et al.) "Les migrants subsahariens au Maroc : enjeux d'une migration de résidence" *Konrad Adenauer Stiftung*, 2016. P: 16.

³ Ibid, P: 23.

demonstrate more on this missing point, the following first graph displays the level of education and the second highlights the respondents' marital status.

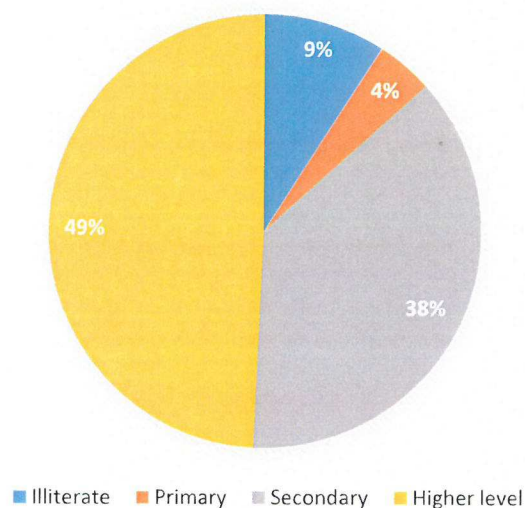


Figure 7: Immigrants' level of education.¹

The first graph shows that the majority of sub-Saharan migrants achieved a higher level of education (49% compared to 38% of respondents have secondary level, respectively). However, the data of migrants' level of education is presented without any indication to the way these numbers are distributed among women and men. The gender of respondents' level of education has been disregarded.

¹ Mourji, F. (et al.) "Les migrants subsahariens au Maroc : enjeux d'une migration de résidence" *Konrad Adenauer Stiftung*, 2016. P: 25.

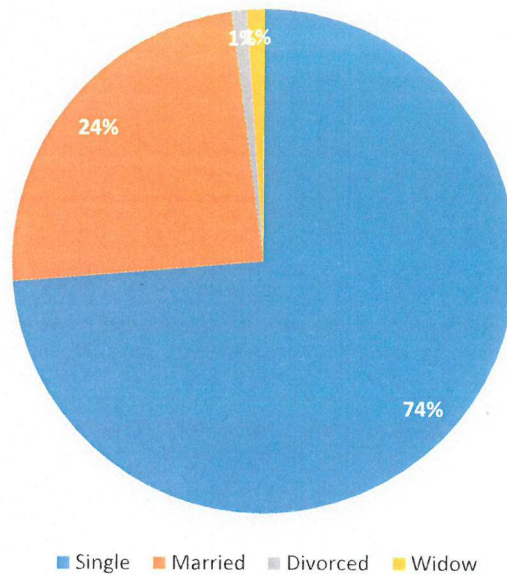


Figure 8: Immigrants' marital status.¹

The second graph displays the marital status of the studied sample. While single and married immigrants constitute the majority with (74,29%) and (24,39%), divorced and widow immigrants seem to be the least represented with 0,97% and 0,35%. Similarly to the level of education, marital status has also been presented as gender-blind socio-demographic data. Knowing for instance whether single or married women tend to migrate, would have led to a better understanding of both women's and men's migratory experiences.

In addition to gender approach, the legal approach had also been unraveled. First, the section concerned with migrants' profile information did not shed light on the legal status of the respondents. It had been mentioned that since the beginning of migration to Morocco, the category of graduates, students or Koranic school students and active people dominate along migration flows.² Migrants are also driven by a variety of motives, yet the majority of respondents within the presented sample belong to countries that do not require a visa to enter

¹ Mourji, F. (et al.) "Les migrants subsahariens au Maroc : enjeux d'une migration de résidence" *Konrad Adenauer Stiftung*, 2016. P: 26.

² Ibid, P: 28.

Morocco, such as Senegal and Cote d'Ivoire.¹ Despite all these and other significant information about the migrants' motives and intentions, their legal status during the investigation remained unrecognized. The only available information was about their entering documents to Morocco.

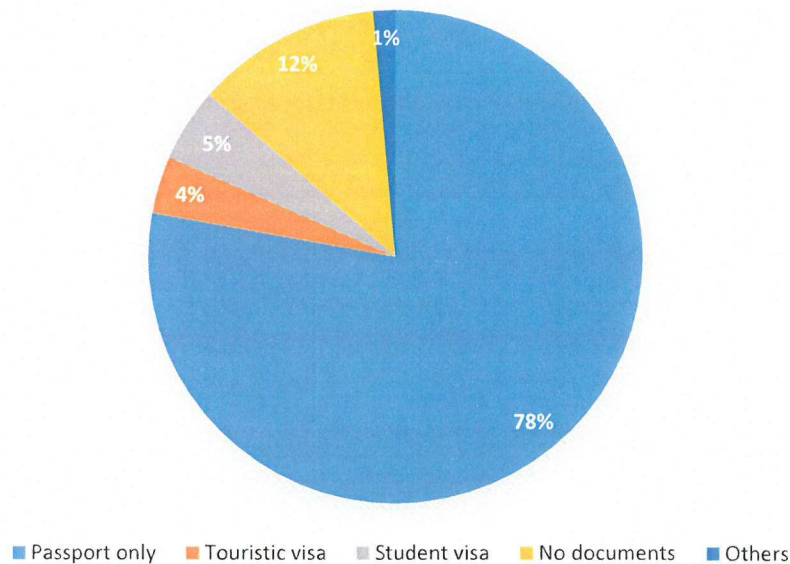


Figure 9: Immigrants' entering documents.²

The legal approach is fundamental to understand the way legal status influences individuals during their migratory experience. Few respondents entered Morocco without authorized documents. If the legal status of migrants were identified at moment of conducting the study, it would have paved the way towards a better understanding of its influence on migrants' living conditions and integration, including employment, access to basic services and future plans. Furthermore, the quantitative investigation highlighted just some aspects of the migrants' life in their home countries without tackling the conditions and jeopardies that they encountered along their journey to Morocco. On the contrary, the qualitative study

¹ Mourji, F. (et al.) "Les migrants subsahariens au Maroc : enjeux d'une migration de résidence" *Konrad Adenauer Stiftung*, 2016. P: 39.

² Ibid, P: 33.

included the testimonies of some irregular migrants' long journey to Morocco. Therefore, gender and legal status are two necessary analytical components that should not be simply disregarded when talking about sub-Saharan migration in general but irregular transit migration in particular.

The investigation tackled the living conditions of migrants in Morocco, which is a fundamental stage along with the migratory processes. Employment is a major condition that has a crucial significance to determine migrants' motives and future plans. Based on the investigation, the majority of migrants engage in some sequential and complementary activities including mendicity and prostitution. These two activities are practiced in addition to other activities, which are obviously insufficient, to gather more financial resources.¹ Based on this information, the study focused on mendicity and prostitution as complementary works for more financial resources but the previous sections mentioned that the majority of migrants entered Morocco with passports or visas. The latter triggers the question: is legal status effective in bettering one's life? or do the same living conditions remain (because of race, gender and religion)? These variables remained unexplored in the study. Before making an attempt to answer these questions, the following section will highlight the development of Moroccan migration policies in relation to the political context and international relations.

4.1.2. Socio- and Political Context

At the age of globalization, the circulation of ideas has become very easy with the emergence of new technology. On the contrary, the circulation of people has become more and more restrictive. Paradoxically, the free circulation of information contributed to the increasing propensity to migrate. The fact that people have become able to share information about the

¹ Mourji, F. (et al.) "Les migrants subsahariens au Maroc : enjeux d'une migration de résidence" *Konrad Adenauer Stiftung*, 2016, P: 64.

trajectories and aspects of their life, showing the bright side of migration and the achievements, has prompted others in developing and least developed countries to move towards better living conditions. While a certain category of people has been granted the privilege of free mobility, the wide majority are deprived of this freedom. Destination and transit countries legislate the implementation of more restrictive migration policies, including complicated visa requirements and intensive border surveillance strategies. The political relations between countries have a great impact on migratory policies and agreements. Willen (2007) emphasizes in her study on undocumented migrants in Tel Aviv that the circumstances and living conditions of migrants in any country are affected by immigration policies, sociopolitical conditions of the state and the status of illegality given to them.¹ This section will be precisely devoted to highlighting the development of Morocco's migration policies. The fact that Morocco plays a political, economic and migratory bridge between sub-Saharan countries and European Union necessitates an examination of its geopolitical role and policies in both African and European continents.

The development of Morocco's migration policies went through significant changes. During the 1960s and onward Morocco has been known for and considered itself mainly a country of emigration and in many ways migration has influenced Morocco's social, cultural and economic life.² Since independence, Moroccan emigrants have essentially chosen the north as a destination. This migratory tendency was initiated during the colonial period but further emphasized by a range of signed labour migration agreements with European countries in the

¹ Willen, S. S. "Toward a critical Phenomenology of "illegality": State power, criminalization, and Abjectivity among Undocumented migrant workers in Tel Aviv, Israel". *International Migration*. 45/ 3, 2007. 8–38. P: 11. DOI: 10.1111/j.1468-2435.2007.00409.x.

² Berriane, M., H. de Haas and K. Natter "Introduction: revisiting Moroccan migrations". *The Journal of North African Studies*, 20/4, 2015. 503-521. P: 503. DOI: 10.1080/13629387.2015.1065036.

early 1960s.¹ Some European countries (France and Belgium in particular) attracted Moroccan emigrants because of given facilities and economic and social policies. However, since the beginning of the 1990s, Morocco has become a transit country, mostly irregular or illegal migration, for sub-Saharan migrants whose primary objective is to reach European Union countries. Despite this serious transformation, Morocco experienced an absence of migratory policies between the beginning of the 1990s and 2002/2003. The continuous massive flow of migrants towards Europe urged European Union countries to intensify border surveillance systems. Along with border control protection, European countries started putting more pressure on transit countries. The European Council met in Seville on 21 and 22 June 2002 and migration was among the discussed issues. Seville's meeting concluded in this respect that

The European Council urges that any future cooperation, association or equivalent agreement, which the European Union or the European Community concludes with any country should include a clause on joint management of migration flows and on compulsory readmission in the event of illegal immigration.²

In addition, the council also stated in article 35:

It is necessary to carry out a systematic assessment of relations with third countries, which do not cooperate in combating illegal immigration. That assessment will be taken into account in relation between the European Union and its Member States and the countries concerned, in all relevant areas. Insufficient cooperation by a

¹ Cherti, M. and M. Collyer "Immigration and Pensée d'Etat: Moroccan migration policy changes as transformation of 'geopolitical culture'", *The Journal of North African Studies*, 20/4, 2015. 590-604. P: 600. DOI: 10.1080/13629387.2015.1065043

² Council of the European Union, *Presidency Conclusions, Seville European Council 21-22 June 2002* (13463/02), article 33, P: 10. http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/72638.pdf.

country could hamper the establishment of closer relations between that country and the Union.¹

Based on the 2002 Seville meeting, the European Union made any future cooperation, no matter its nature or objective, conditioned with good management of illegal migration. Morocco is a country that follows an open political relation with Europe per se. Since then the Moroccan state has adopted a restrictive, security-based approach, which was an obvious reflection of the strong prevailing European approaches and accompanying discourses on migration. This was manifested in law 02–03 of 2003. This regulatory law was considered the aftermath of May's 2003 terror attacks that occurred in Casablanca, in addition to frequent raids and repeated illegal expulsions of migrants, including refugees, to Algeria and Mauretania.² At the institutional level the efforts undertaken to control flows of migrants to Europe, Morocco established in November 2003 the Directorate of Migration and Border Surveillance (DMBS) and the Migration Observatory. Their main task is "*the operational implementation of the national strategy to combat networks of human trafficking and border surveillance.*" In this sense, fighting against human trafficking networks and illegal migration is Morocco has become genuinely among the priorities for the king and government.³

Spain and France, in particular, have strong and synaptic relations at different levels. Every year they sign several agreements and cooperation in multiple various domains. After the Seville meeting conclusions, the Moroccan's orientation towards migration policy was expressed three years later in an interview with King Mohamed VI for the Spanish newspaper

¹ Council of the European Union, *Presidency Conclusions, Seville European Council 21-22 June 2002* (13463/02), article. 35, P: 11. http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/72638.pdf.

² Berriane, M., H. de Haas and K. Natter "Introduction: revisiting Moroccan migrations". *The Journal of North African Studies*, 20/4, 2015. 503-521. P: 515. DOI: 10.1080/13629387.2015.1065036.

³ 16 On 10 November 2003 the King Mohammed VI chaired a meeting at the Royal Palace in Rabat devoted to the issue of migration and border surveillance. See "SM le Roi Mohammed VI préside une séance de travail consacrée à la question de la migration et de la surveillance des frontières", in *AtlasVista Maroc*, 11 November 2003, <http://www.avmaroc>.

El País, on the eve of the visit by Spain's king and queen to Morocco in January 2005. On this occasion, the new Moroccan king said:

We are aware of the fact that this immigration represents a danger for Spain. The same also applies to Morocco, as half of the Sub-Saharan candidates of illegal emigration end up staying in Morocco, and Spanish public opinion should know that. The various Spanish governments have always asked Morocco to grant the necessary attention to this issue. We have always done so.¹

In 2004, Europe launched the European Neighbourhood Policy and then Morocco became a privileged partner of the EU and was given an advanced status in the southern Mediterranean region. The advanced status is reflected in Europe's determination to strengthen economic and trade relations, social and development, judicial and political measures, and environment and energy cooperation and initiatives. For example in In 2016, EU bilateral assistance under the ENI amounted to € 190 million and supported the expansion and consolidation of the social protection schemes (€ 100 million), the reform of the vocational training system (€ 15 million), the Government's migration policies (€ 35 million), as well as civil society (€ 15 million). In 2017, EU bilateral assistance under the ENI also amounted to € 189.5 million to support adult literacy (€ 50 million), gender equality (€ 35 million) and a complementary forestry programme (€ 12.5 million). Additional contributions to existing programmes were adopted to enhance legislative and regulatory convergence (€ 9.5 million) and social protection (€ 9.2 million). In addition, as a result of the intensified border control management and migration policies that alleviate migration flows, Morocco benefits from funding under the EU Emergency Trust Fund for stability and addressing root causes of

¹ Jesús Ceberio and Ignacio Cembrero, "Se ha restablecido el respeto mutuo entre España y Marruecos", in *El País*, 16 January 2005, http://elpais.com/diario/2005/01/16/internacional/1105830001_850215.html. Cited in Lahlou, M. (2015) Morocco's Experience of Migration as a Sending, Transit and Receiving Country. Available at: <http://www.iai.it/sites/default/files/iaiwp1530.pdf>. P: 11. Accessed on 07/08/2016/.

irregular migration and displaced persons in Africa.¹ Therefore, financial cooperation plays an essential support role in enhancing Morocco's development and progress, and eventually the success of this special relationship.

The growing flows of migrants and refugees have become alarming in the aftermath of several complicated factors happening in numerous countries. In addition to the constant political conflicts, environmental and economic instability in some sub-Saharan countries, the emergence of Arab Spring in the late 2010 in some North African countries (Tunisia and Egypt) and Middle Eastern countries (Yemen, Iraq, and Syria in particular) contributed greatly into aggravating a human mobility and refugees crisis around the world. While Jordan and Turkey received the greatest part of refugees, European countries were also the main destination for another part without forgetting to highlight the fact that other countries were regarded the gateway to Europe. Morocco as transit and destination country received a considerable number of Syrians refugees who seek safety and dignified living conditions. The majority of them aimed at crossing the borders to Spain and eventually to Europe. However, the increasing number of sub-Saharan migrants does not involve only irregular migrants, it actually also includes migrants who travel to Morocco on visas for the aim of pursuing studies and seeking jobs in the unskilled and skilled labour market. Europe has also become a more apparent source of migrants. There is a noticeable growing tendency of Europeans who have settled in Morocco as workers, entrepreneurs, or retirees. Some European labour immigrants, particularly from Spain, have come to Morocco since the onset of the Global Economic Crisis in 2008. Recently there is also a modest but growing number of migrants from Asia. The presence of Filipina women migrants has become more visible as domestic workers and nannies, most often for

¹ European Commission webpage, *European Neighbourhood Policy And Enlargement Negotiations*: https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/neighbourhood/countries/morocco_en. Accessed on 11/12/2019.

wealthier Moroccan families, in addition to the increasing number of Chinese traders in Moroccan cities.¹

At the economic level, members of The European Union and Morocco have always had strong trading partnerships initiated with a commercial agreement in 1969 and successively developed, leading to negotiations for a 'Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area' launched in March 2013. The outcome sought is to pave the way towards an official integration of Morocco into the European common market.² As a result, a Mobility Partnership was founded on the 3rd June 2013 between the Kingdom of Morocco and the European Union and its Member States, namely the Kingdom of Belgium, the French Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Italian Republic, the Kingdom of the Netherlands, the Portuguese Republic, the Kingdom of Spain, the Kingdom of Sweden, and the United Kingdom.³ Four fundamental objectives have been identified to attain in this agreement. The first one is "*to manage the movement of persons for short periods and legal and labour migration more effectively, taking into account, with regard to the latter, the labour market of the signatories.*" The second is "*to strengthen cooperation on migration and development in order to exploit the potential of migration and its positive effects on the development of Morocco and European countries.*" The third focuses on "*combating illegal immigration, networks involved in the trafficking and smuggling of human beings, and to promote an effective return and readmission policy while respecting fundamental rights, the relevant legislation and ensuring the dignity of the people concerned.*" The last objective takes into consideration "*complying with duly ratified*

¹ Berriane, M., H. de Haas and K. Natter "Introduction: revisiting Moroccan migrations". *The Journal of North African Studies*, 20/4, 2015. 503-521. P: 513. DOI: 10.1080/13629387.2015.1065036.

² Cherti, M. and M. Collyer "Immigration and Pensée d'Etat: Moroccan migration policy changes as transformation of 'geopolitical culture'", *The Journal of North African Studies*, 20/4, 2015. 590-604. P: 600. DOI: 10.1080/13629387.2015.1065043

³ Council of the European Union, *Joint declaration establishing a Mobility Partnership between the Kingdom of Morocco and the European Union and its Member States* (ST 6139 2013 ADD 1 REV 3), 3 June 2013, p. 1, <http://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-6139-2013-ADD-1-REV-3/en/pdf>. Accessed on 12/11/2018.

international instruments concerning the protection of refugees.”¹ Based on this agreement, the foremost concern of the signatories is to ensure the good management of migration that would maintain countries’ welfare and development. Migrants’ rights, ‘illegal’ migrants or refugees, come in the list as the second concern. However, the emphasis on combating ‘illegal’ migration, regardless of the purposes, in many cases can lead to violation of international human rights agreements. An investigation was broadcasted on France 24 that showed numerous protesters and migrants, who accused the Spanish authority of keeping illegal migrants in detention institutions that were described as “Spanish Guantanamos”. These migrants were waiting for expulsion and deportation in humiliating and inhumane living conditions.² Morocco was also accused of “*human rights breaches over migrants*” in a documentary broadcasted on BBC on the 4th of September 2013.³ For Cherti and Collyer (2015) the focus of Media and civil society on Morocco was not driven by “unusually bad” policy because civil society and foreign researchers are unusually unrestrained compared to other countries, like in Algeria and Egypt, where the living situation of migrants is worse but very few information is available.⁴ Furthermore, Morocco’s National Human Rights Council (CNDH) presented a report in 2013 where it called for “*the development of a national asylum system, the integration of immigrants and refugees, and most significantly in the short term, an ‘exceptional regularisation’ of undocumented migrants resident in Morocco.*”⁵

Taking into account all of these proceeding events, as a reaction, King Mohamed VI Held a meeting on the 10th September 2013 with his Minister of Home Affairs and some human

¹ Council of the European Union, *Joint declaration establishing a Mobility Partnership between the Kingdom of Morocco and the European Union and its Member States* (ST 6139 2013 ADD 1 REV 3), 3 June 2013, p. 4, <http://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-6139-2013-ADD-1-REV-3/en/pdf>.

² France 24, Video: Detention centres for migrants slammed as ‘Spanish Guantanamos’. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tineFIJdyn4>. Accessed on 25/12/2018.

³ Paul Mason, “Morocco accused of human rights breaches over migrants”, in *BBC News*, 4 September 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/business-23959892>. Accessed on 25/12/2018.

⁴ Cherti, M. and M. Collyer “Immigration and Pensée d’Etat: Moroccan migration policy changes as transformation of ‘geopolitical culture’”, *The Journal of North African Studies*, 20/4, 2015. 590-604. P: 591. DOI: 10.1080/13629387.2015.1065043.

⁵ Ibid, P: 590.

rights representatives (among the National Council of Human Rights – CNDH) to initiate a new “migration and asylum policy” for foreign residents in the kingdom, especially irregular migrants. The meeting was concluded with three main objectives. The first objective is to launch an exceptional regularization opportunity for immigrants that was carried out in 2014 and was expected to benefit almost 45000 migrants. The second objective is to enlarge UNHCR scope and powers, which would qualify and allow them to grant the right of asylum to a more significant number of asylum-seekers in Morocco. The third objective focuses on the social life of migrants and asylum-seekers by planning new laws that facilitate their better integration in Morocco in addition to combating human trafficking.¹ In the light of these objectives, the Ministry in charge of Moroccans Residing Abroad and the Migration Affairs presented a “National Strategy on Immigration and Asylum”, which was later adopted by a Government Council in 2014. This strategy is based on the High Orientations of King Mohammed VI following the meeting held last year on this subject, the provisions of the new Constitution, the report of the National Council of Human Rights. This strategy’s aim is to ensure making a harmonious, comprehensive, humanistic and responsible migration policy. The strategy includes eleven programs in key areas, such as education and culture (integration into the school system, training languages, Moroccan culture), youth and sports (sports and leisure programs), health (access to healthcare), housing (promotion of the right to housing within a legal framework), social assistance and solidarity and social development, access to vocational training and facilitation of access to employment. It also focuses on the management of migration flows and the fight against trafficking in human beings and trafficking networks, the strengthening of international cooperation and partnerships, the modernization of the legal

¹ Lahlou, M. Morocco’s Experience of Migration as a Sending, Transit and Receiving Country, 2015. P: 12. Available at: <http://www.iai.it/sites/default/files/iaiwp1530.pdf>. Accessed on 07/08/2016/.

system and the adoption of a national policy and establishing an active communication in the field of migration and asylum.¹

At the economic level, Morocco's economic relation to Europe has been enhanced by the signature of Mobility Partnership in June 2013, which is supposed to grant a degree of free movement between Morocco and the EU. The first initiative of the Mobility Partnership is the Sharaka Programme, established in 2014, with a budget of 5 million euros, which will, among other things, work with Agence Nationale de Promotion de l'Emploi et des Compétences to facilitate the access to European labour markets for highly qualified Moroccans.² Morocco's new geopolitical orientation towards the south is also prompted by economic motives. In February 2014 king Mohamed VI, accompanied by a delegation of around a hundred personalities - ministers, members of the royal cabinet, bosses of public and private companies - undertook another trip to Mali, Ivory Coast, Guinea Conakry and Gabon. It resulted in enhancing economic partnership by signing and launching a range of socio-economic development projects, including, in the areas of health, education, agriculture, livestock and fisheries, housing social.³ In Mali, for instance, several development projects in sectors of health, agriculture, livestock were accomplished and others were launched. For example, an agreement was signed between the Malian state and the Moroccan group "Alliance" for the construction of housing and barracks infrastructure for the armed forces.⁴

At the level of commercial trading, Morocco's budgetary report for 2014 mentioned that during the period 2003-2013, Morocco's total trade with the African continent increased by

¹ Conseil de gouvernement du jeudi 18 décembre 2014, <http://www.maroc.ma/fr/actualites/conseil-de-gouvernement-du-jeudi-18-decembre-2014> Accessed on 12/11/2018

² Cherti, M. and M. Collyer "Immigration and Pensée d'Etat: Moroccan migration policy changes as transformation of 'geopolitical culture'", *The Journal of North African Studies*, 20/4, 2015. 590-604. P: 600. DOI: 10.1080/13629387.2015.1065043.

³ Ministère de l'Economie et des Finances. "Relations Maroc-Afrique. L'ambition d'une 'nouvelle frontière'." Rabat: Ministère de l'Economie et des Finances, 2014. P : 7.

⁴ Ibid, P: 8.

(13%) on average per year to reach nearly 36 billion dirhams in 2013, representing around (6.4%) of the total value of external Moroccan trade against (4.6%) in 2003. Over the same period, on the one hand, Morocco's exports to the African continent grew by an annual average of (16%) to reach 16.3 billion dirhams in 2013, representing (8.8%) of Morocco's total exports, compared to (4.2%) in 2003. They consist mainly of food, beverages and tobacco (28% in 2013), semi-finished products (23%), finished products of industrial equipment (17%), finished products of consumption (16%) and energy. and lubricants (12%). On the other hand, imports also increased by (12%) on an annual average to reach 19.8 billion dirhams in 2013, which represents a share of (5.2%) of total imports in Morocco compared to (4.8%) in 2003.¹ After having signed these agreements and partnerships between Morocco and several sub-Saharan countries, another substantial step to boost south-south relations has been announced in 2017. At the 28th summit of the Pan-African organization, which was held in Addis Ababa on 30 and 31 January 2017, the historic 'grand return' of the kingdom into the African Union has been endorsed.²

Having discussed Morocco's new geopolitical orientation towards the south, which has been driven by political and economic motives, this new south-south cooperation has, therefore, resulted in shifting its migration policy from security-based approach to more strongly human-rights-based approach. This change at the level of Morocco's Euro-African relations reflects the way in which the state is dealing with the shifting migratory realities; from a country known predominantly as a major source emigration to a transit country and a settlement country. The impact of the exceptional regularization law and Morocco's new strategies that target migrants'

¹Ministère de l'Economie et des Finances. "Relations Maroc-Afrique. L'ambition d'une 'nouvelle frontière'." Rabat: Ministère de l'Economie et des Finances, 2014. P : 9/10.

² Saad, A. "Le grand retour du Maroc à l'Union Africaine". Pub. 27/02/2017 <http://www.ocppc.ma/publications/le-grand-retour-du-maroc-%C3%A0-l%E2%80%99union-africaine>. Accessed on 12/11/2018.

integration will be examined in another upcoming section. The following section will be devoted to introducing the methods adopted in this research.

4.2. Methodology

The issue of migration is a complicated multi-dimensional topic. To address the complexities of irregular transit migration, this study will adopt an eclectic approach by using socio-economic, historical and political approaches. The aim of adopting an eclectic approach is because migrants' experience of migration processes are influenced by several intersected factors. On one hand, the destination states' migratory policies and international relations affect greatly the migrants' living conditions and their decision of settlement and the extent of their integration. On the other hand, the historical heritage constructs several taken-for-granted stereotypes and prejudices that affect partly but importantly the way migrants are perceived within the settlement/receiving society. However, the most substantial analytical element on which this research focuses is the gender perspective. Therefore, adopting social theory is essential for addressing the ways socialization establishes forms of gender inequalities differentials through the entire migration processes. To answer the question of gender's manifestation during migratory processes, this study will consist of a comparative approach. It will attempt to develop a critical and analytical examination of the experience, processes and patterns of migration of men and women. The following section within this sub-chapter is going to introduce and discuss the methods that I relied on when collecting data.

4.2.1. Methods and Tools

This study focuses on explaining comparatively the ways migration and gender reversely affect each other, molding women and men's migration experience. To achieve the fundamental objective of this research, the mixed-methods approach is the most suitable research method to rely on throughout the process of gathering data and it combines quantitative

and qualitative research methods. For Axinn and Pearce (2006) both quantitative and qualitative research methods encompass strengths and weaknesses but mixing multiple methods is a valuable strategy to “counterbalance” and overcome both methods’ shortcomings as well as achieving a comprehensive empirical documentation.¹ It is undeniable that each research method is inherently different from the other. Quantitative and qualitative research methods have been considered and used for long time as two disconnected and polarized perspectives, which has eventually triggered a “separatist-versus-combinationsit” controversy among researchers.² Duffy (1987) outlined a set of dichotomous distinctions between the two methods that do not make any of them superior on the other. For her, the quantitative method represents “*an outsider perspective, stable reality, particularistic focus, verifying orientation, objective data and controlled conditions*”; whereas the qualitative method is established using “*an insider perspective, dynamic reality, holistic focus, discovering orientation, subjective data and naturalistic conditions*.”³

Having gender as a major variable in this comparative study, the triangulation strategy of combining quantitative and qualitative methods is very useful because it is most suited to meet this study’s objectives. There are several different modes of integrating qualitative and quantitative research but triangulation is a widely used research technique that Tarrow (1995) regards as “*the best the strategy of combining quantitative and qualitative methods*”.⁴ Triangulation refers fundamentally to using multiple methods to study and understand the same phenomenon.⁵ Triangulation, according to Denzin (1970), can be achieved at three levels:

¹ Axinn, G. W. and L. D. Pearce. *Mixed Method Data Collection Strategies*, Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006. P: 58.

² Duffy, M. E., “Methodological Triangulation: A Vehicle for Merging Quantitative and Qualitative Research Methods.” *Image: The Journal of Nursing Scholarship*, 19/3, 1987. 130– 133. P: 131 doi:10.1111/j.1547-5069.1987.tb00609.x

³ Ibid, P: 130/131.

⁴ Tarrow, S. “Bridging the quantitative-qualitative divide in political science”. *American Political Science Review*, 89/ 2, 1995. 471-474. P: 473. DOI: 10.2307/2082444

⁵ Duffy, M. E. “Methodological Triangulation: A Vehicle for Merging Quantitative and Qualitative Research Methods.” *Image: The Journal of Nursing Scholarship*. 19/3, 1987. 130–133. P: 131. DOI: 10.1111/j.1547-5069.1987.tb00609.x

theoretical, data, and investigator triangulation.¹ Triangulation, in this study, is going to be applied at the level of research methodology. Methodological triangulation refers to adopting multiple methods of data collection procedures to examine the same topic within one study.² Gathering data using methodological triangulation can be achieved at the level of two dimensions. The first one is what Denzin (1978) calls “within-method triangulation” and it is presented when the researcher employs multiple techniques within the same chosen data-gathering method to measure the multidimensional issue of observational units.³ The second strategy is “between-method triangulation”. This strategy combines dissimilar methods to measure the same unit. In other words, it involves the convergence of multiple methods of data collection to approach the same dimension of a research problem. This technique creates a balanced combination of the strengths of each method and overcome their unique deficiencies.⁴ For Jick (1979) this strategy is “*a vehicle for cross validation when two or more distinct methods are found to be congruent and yield comparable data*”.⁵

Drawing on the previous discussion that focused on strategies of merging quantitative and qualitative methods, this study adheres to using methodological triangulation that is based on across methods technique (between-method triangulation). Multi-methods approach establishes a solid foundation to attain a more comprehensive and diverse empirical data as well as analysis. In other words, this study adopts functionalist and post-positivist techniques for data collection. Functionalist technique is reflected in using objectivist technique, which is the collection of questionnaires. Whereas post-positivist technique is presented in using a

¹ Denzin, N. K., *The research act: A theoretical introduction to sociological methods*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1970. In Duffy, M. E. “Methodological Triangulation: A Vehicle for Merging Quantitative and Qualitative Research Methods.” *Image: The Journal of Nursing Scholarship*. 19/3, 1987. 130–133. P: 131. DOI: 10.1111/j.1547-5069.1987.tb00609.x

² Jick, T. D. “Mixing Qualitative and Quantitative Methods: Triangulation in Action.” *Administrative Science Quarterly*. 24/4, 1979. 602 – 611. P: 602. DOI: 10.2307/2392366

³ Denzin, N. K. *The research act 2nd Ed: A Theoretical Introduction to Sociological Methods*, New York: McGraw Hill, 1978. P: 301.

⁴ Ibid, P: 302.

⁵ Jick, T. D. “Mixing Qualitative and Quantitative Methods: Triangulation in Action.” *Administrative Science Quarterly*. 24/4, 1979. 602 – 611. P: 602. DOI: 10.2307/2392366

subjectivist technique, which is interviews. The qualitative method includes not only interviews but also observations, documentaries and news. The quantitative method, on the other hand, consists primarily of a survey, that was accomplished by distributing questionnaires in Tangier and Fes.

The observational study was initiated in 2015 to gain some general insights on the topic and the target population and then to build up a relevant questionnaire. The second aim of the observations is to capture and analyze spontaneous behaviors of the population under study. I spent two months in Tangier in 2015 doing a training with an association called *Clinique Hijra* directed by Mr. Younous Arbaoui. This association was initially a project funded by International Organization for Migration. Its current essential objectives are to provide legal assistance to migrants and to include migration studies within the academic paradigm as an independent field of study. During the training period, I attended and participated in the organization of some activities. I attended at the beginning some classes that revolved around migrants' rights in Morocco. Then, I participated in the organizational process of some activities. During those activities, compared to men sub-Saharan migrants, very few women migrants sought legal assistance and attended those activities. When taking part in some interviews with a few migrants, who were seeking legal assistance, it was possible to detect the fact that migrants have multiple motives and reasons different from what is common. For example, not fulfilling the socially constructed characteristics can be one of the migrants' incentives to move out of their home country. In this regard, the association received a migrant, who left his country because of his sexual orientation, which endangers his life. The final important observation that is worth highlighting is the fact that the majority of transit migrants I met at that time have no intention to stay in Morocco. Although they have a residency permit, they are still seeking the possibility to reach the final destination (Europe). These preliminary

observations will be either fully confirmed or partially refuted since there had been only very few cases.

This investigation consists also of a quantitative method for data collection comprised of questionnaires. Based on the previous readings and reports, the questionnaire is self-designed and it consists of a three-stage analytical framework. The questionnaire is divided into three sections and each section represents a migratory stage: the preliminary stage, the route or the journey, and the “transit” stage. Each stage of this migratory process highlights motivations, aspirations, confrontations, and impediments that are going to be addressed and interpreted systematically. The questionnaire, unlike the interviews, is composed of structured questions (multiple choice and binary yes / no questions). The questionnaires are used to provide translated insights into numerical data on attitudes, opinions, behaviors and other defined variables, taking into consideration that little research tackling the gendered experience of sub-Saharan migrants is carried out using a quantitative method. Yet, the objective sought from the questionnaires is not to generalize the results and the sample of migrants in this study does not represent the entire sub-Saharan community in Morocco.

Taking into consideration the fact that some sub-Saharan countries are Francophone while others are Anglophone, the questionnaires are designed and distributed into two languages French and English. The data-gathering process was carried out in two cities: Fés and Tangier. Some researchers consider Fés city a transit city or rest room for a great number of immigrants, where they usually spend an unidentified period to recharge their psychological state and more importantly financial energy. This strategy enables them to get prepared for the forthcoming trip and to afford pursuing their initial plans. On the other hand, Tangier is one of the very significant big cities where a great number of migrants reside, waiting for the right opportunity to make their life-changing attempt and cross the borders.

Regarding the sampling techniques, which are employed throughout the process of this investigation, are random and snowball techniques. After examining research techniques and taking into account the nature of this topic, snowball and random strategies of data-gathering are considered the most appropriate techniques to approach the respondents in both methods of data collection. Snowball sampling is a useful strategy to overcome the problem of locating respondents when the subject of the research is sensitive and the population is ‘concealed’.¹ The topic of irregular transit migration is a highly sensitive issue indeed, as it entails personal information about a life-changing experience. Thus, irregular transit migrants can be included within what Faugier and Sargeant (1997) call “*hard-to-reach or hidden populations*” in sampling process.² Therefore, a considerable degree of trust between respondents and a researcher is a key element to facilitate and complete the data collection process. Establishing a bond of openness and commitment between the researcher and the interviewee is one of the essential research strategies on which feminist researchers also emphasize. This strategy, based on what is called “*feminist ethic of commitment and egalitarianism*”, is believed to replace the common “*scientific ethic of detachment and role differentiation*”.³ In Tangier, the first few respondents were selected randomly. They were approached in neighborhoods where they commonly live or are gathered. After establishing a certain degree of confidence, these respondents have become mediators to reach and gain other respondents’ confidence. Some of them accompanied me to a cyber where migrants gather and contact their families. Other migrants were approached in traffic lights where they practice mendicancy. On the other hand, respondents in Fés were approached in the streets, where they have small businesses, in traffic lights, and in a small call center owned by a sub-Saharan migrant, who helps irregular Sub-

¹ Atkinson, R. and J. Flint “Accessing hidden and hard-to-reach populations: snowball research strategies”. *Social Research Update* 33. University of Surrey, 2001. P: 1. Available at <http://www.soc.surrey.ac.uk/sru/SRU33.html> accessed on 12/04/2015.

² Faugier, J. and M. Sargeant “Sampling hard to reach populations”. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 26, 1997. 790-797. P: 790. DOI: 10.1046/j.1365-2648.1997.00371.x

³ Reinharz, S., *Feminist Methods in Social Research*, New York: Oxford UP, 1992. P: 18.

Saharan migrants to regularize their legal status within the country. However, it is worth mentioning that not all migrants, who were contacted, accepted participating in this investigation.

The questionnaires were manually filled by the respondents to provide them enough space and autonomy on their answers. In this way, the respondents would not be influenced by my presumptions and the results would be more objective. However, very few participants were illiterate and consequently unable to fill in the questionnaires. In that case, I interfered and filled the questionnaires for them. Collecting data occurred in two separate periods. It was initiated by a pilot study in December 2017 that consisted of 10 migrants in Fés to test as well as to evaluate the feasibility and appropriateness of the questions. Having the questionnaires reworded, the pilot study was followed by the first period of collecting data. At the outset of the fieldwork, I collected 74 questionnaires in Tangier between May and June in 2018. Then, during a period that lasted from January to February 2019, I gathered 38 questionnaires in Fés. The objective of gathering data in two separate periods was mainly the result of research circumstances and difficulties. The total number of accepted collected questionnaires is 112; in addition to 13 eliminated questionnaires (10 from Tangier and 3 from Fés) because they were incomplete. It is worth emphasising the uniqueness of each migrant's migratory experience despite to commonalities. Therefore, the sample of the target population in this research does not claim to be representative of the entire Sub-Saharan community living in Morocco or all irregular Sub-Saharan migrants. Its purpose instead is to provide gendered insights on the lived experiences by these migrants, which would help to identify the main challenges and gender discrepancies faced by this group and how to address them better.

Having collected the questionnaires, the data was analyzed using SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences), which is a widely recognized software for editing and analyzing all sorts of data. The objective is to display the frequency of research variables

that define respondents' selected answers. Yet, the main variable based on which all other variables will be analyzed is gender in order to develop a better gender-sensitive understanding of migration patterns. The following section is going to address migrants' general personal and socio-demographic profiles without using gender. The aim is to highlight the shortcomings of genderless findings. This is going to be the first step towards a more profound gendered analysis.

The second data-gathering technique employed in this study is interviews. Interviews with a life history character are also utterly essential in this research. While questionnaires' questions are structured, limiting respondents' ability to talk about their stories, interviews with semi-structured questions provide them with wider space to express and articulate their experiences and thoughts. For Axinn and Pearce (2006) the best way to balance data collection is by using highly structured methods with less structured methods of research. Combining the structured nature survey methods with the flexibility of observational or less structured interviewing methods results in making, respectively, "*data useful for testing hypotheses and data useful for learning from informants in their own words and for discovering new hypotheses.*"¹ Reinharz also (1992), discussing how feminist methods in social research are distinct from other methods, views semi-structured and unstructured interviewing as a qualitative data-gathering technique that promotes free interaction between the researcher and the interviewee.² Narrative methods with a more interpretive approach play a vital role in the field of migration research in general, but in forced migration in particular. Life histories approach has been employed within a range of scholarly fields to shed light closely on the diversity of individuals' life experience as a combination of 'historical processes, psychological

¹ Axinn, G. W. and L. D. Pearce. *Mixed Method Data Collection Strategies*, Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006. P: 59.

² Reinharz, S. *Feminist Methods in Social Research*. New York: Oxford UP, 1992. P: 18.

development, cultural patterning and literary writing'.¹ Furthermore, telling life stories, for respondents, functions not only as a platform through which they have enough space to openly express their lived experience, but also as a means first, for reconstructing meaning to life in the past, present and future prospects, and second for mitigating their suffering.² However, life histories are not only limited to examine the life experience of migrants, but they are also a research mechanism that highlights the interviewee's subjective perspective of social life. Adopting open-ended interviews as a research method allows an explorative study of people's views of reality and enables the researcher to generate theory.³ Gibbs (2007) in this respect also emphasizes the value of using qualitative based data collection and the necessity to interpret and analyze the ways respondents' communications are contextualized and molded.⁴

Eastmond (2007), drawing on Burner's (1985) inquiry, identified the process through which a life experience becomes a narrative and it is constituted of three different stages. She made a distinction between "life as lived", the flow of events that touch on a person's life; "life as experienced", how the person perceives and ascribes meaning to what happens, drawing on previous experience and cultural repertoires; "life as told", how experience is framed and articulated in a particular context and to a particular audience; and she added "life as text", the researcher's interpretation and representation of the story.⁵ As a result, based on Eastmond's (2007) developed narratives stages, life stories narratives do not necessarily mirror transparently the actual life events, they reflect as well the migrants' perception of these events that stem also from their cultural background. The nature of the context and to whom these experienced stories are told also do influence the process of narration. Furthermore, the role of

¹ Eastmond, M. "Stories as Lived Experience: Narratives in Forced Migration Research." *Journal of Refugee Studies*. 20/2, 2007. 248-264. P: 248. DOI: 10.1093/jrs/fem007

² Ibid, P: 251.

³ Reinharz, S. *Feminist Methods in Social Research*. New York: Oxford UP, 1992. P: 18.

⁴ Gibbs, G. R. *Analyzing Qualitative Data*. Vol. 6. Los Angeles: The Sage Publications, 2007. P: 2.

⁵ Eastmond, M. "Stories as Lived Experience: Narratives in Forced Migration Research." *Journal of Refugee Studies*. 20/2, 2007. 248-264. P: 249. DOI: 10.1093/jrs/fem007

the researcher as a receptionist is not only restricted to being a passive audience. The researcher's interpretation and analysis of the story play again a vital role in the ways these narratives are transmitted to and perceived by the readers.

The interviews are formed into semi-structured questions to provide migrants the adequate space that would allow them to talk about their migratory experience, which eventually serves the main objectives of this research. The interviews were carried out individually with five migrants on the 21st of April and then with three other migrants on the 5th of May 2019. Each interview took between 20 to 30 minutes. For purposes of confidentiality and research ethics, the migrants' names are kept unrevealed according to their demand. As a response to their request, I am going to refer to the interviewees as (respondent 1, 2, 3, etc). This research ethical measure is taken in order to ensure their personal safety and the fulfillment of confidentiality terms. Finally, this research also relies on some documentaries, news, and reports that serve at providing additional information and data that have not been accessible during the investigation or I did not encounter because of the diversity of migrants' experiences. The following section will introduce the main socio-demographic profiles of migrants but without using a detailed gendered perspective. (a table that presents the socio demographic profiles of the interviewed migrants is in the appendices).

4.2.2. Migrants' General Socio-Demographic Profiles

The essential objective that this research seeks to achieve is to address the ways gender are manifested throughout the entire migratory processes of irregular transit sub-Saharan migrants in Morocco. The gender variable, then, is fundamentally important to understand gender-related complexities within this widely controversial topic and throughout the data analysis. However, to have a sample that encompasses equal representation of both men and women migrants was far from being attainable. The graph below shows that women migrants

represent (23, 2%) compared to (76,8%) of men migrants, respectively. Therefore, men respondents overwhelmingly outnumber women respondents by constituting 86 compared to 26. In several other studies conducted on sub-Saharan migration in Morocco male migrants are highly represented in comparison to female counterparts. For example, in a report realized by Meryam Cherti and Peter Grant in 2013 under the title “*the myth of transit: Sub-Saharan migration in Morocco*”, which relied on a qualitative approach, female migrants also constituted only 27% of all respondents (12 women and 38 men).

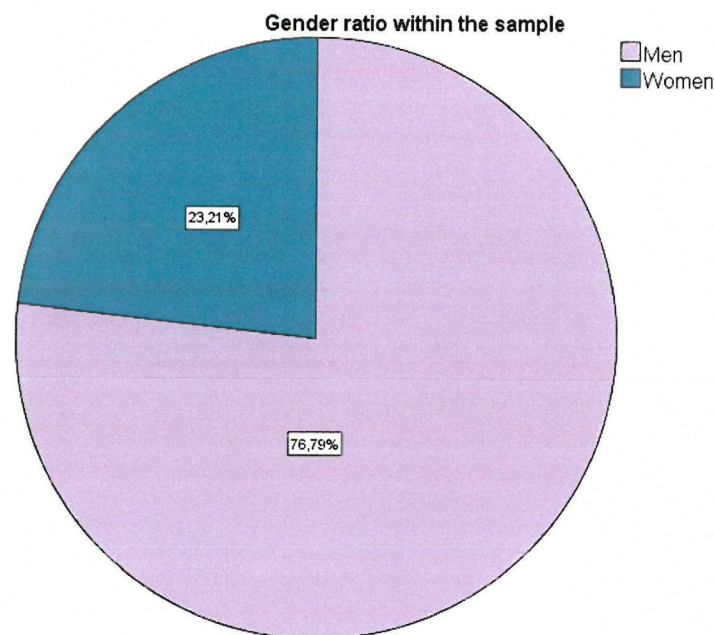


Figure 10: the Gender of this study's Respondents

Sub-Saharan female migrants were highly reserved about their personal life compared to men. For example, when I went to a hairdresser shop where several female migrants gather, they refused participating by filling the questionnaire and one of them asserted, “*No! We are not immigrants.*” It is undeniable that the presence of sub-Saharan female migrants in Morocco is generally less than that of men migrants. However, their representation in the Moroccan society is noticeably increasing but not in research or reports. It is assumed that many sub-

Saharan countries have a matriarchal social structure where women have greater independence in comparison to women who live within patriarchal societies. The same assumption suggests, then, that sub-Saharan women are already empowered by the nature of their matriarchal societies, which consequently, enable them to hold a plenipotentiary position to make decisions. This hypothesis is going to be elaborated more in the following chapter.

The same assumption suggests, then, that sub-Saharan women are already empowered by the nature of their matriarchal societies, which, consequently, enable them to hold a plenipotentiary position to make decisions. The age group from 18 to 29 years old predominates in the sample with (71,4 %); then, followed by the age group from 30 to 40 years old. While the majority of respondents in this sample belongs to young and early adult age groups, adolescents constituted only (6,3 %) compared to (2,7 %) of migrants, who belong to the 41-50 age group. Therefore, the majority of migrants in this sample belong to a youthful, active, and ambitious age group.

Table 1: Respondents' age categories

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 10 – 17	7	6,3	6,3	6,3
18 – 29	80	71,4	71,4	77,7
30 – 40	22	19,6	19,6	97,3
41 – 50	3	2,7	2,7	100,0
Total	112	100,0	100,0	

Moving to respondents' current marital status, the majority of migrants are actually single and they represent (81,3%) of the sample. Followed then by married category, which constitute only (12,5%). Divorced and widow categories are represented feebly with (3,6%) of divorced and lastly (2,7%) of widow respondents. Marital status holds a significant influence

on individuals' propensity to migrate. The overwhelmingly representation of migrants within the single category among the survey's sample is a reflection of the fact that the state of being detached emotionally and officially is an important element that may prompt migration. In other words, having no family commitment provides a broader space to make an independent decision to migrate. The following table shows in details the marital status of migrants.

Table 2: Migrants' Marital status

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Single	91	81,3	81,3	81,3
	Married	14	12,5	12,5	93,8
	Divorced	4	3,6	3,6	97,3
	Widow	3	2,7	2,7	100,0
	Total	112	100,0	100,0	

Regarding respondents' countries of origin, this paper has not focused only on one particular African country. The sub-Saharan African region comprises more than 50 sub-Saharan countries. However, the sample of respondents under study does not seek to represent all countries. The investigation focuses on migrants from the sub-Saharan region instead of from one particular country or culture. The sample of migrants under study belongs to 11 sub-Saharan countries but two respondents did not precise their country of origin. They instead indicated to 'Africa' as a country of origin. The top represented country is Cameroon by 38,4% (43 migrants). Then, migrants, who came from Cote d'Ivoire, represent (19,6%) the equivalence of 22 migrants. Senegal also is significantly represented by (9,8%) the equivalence of 11 migrants. The Graph below shows all represented countries in this study. The followed table below demonstrates the number of migrants in every represented sub-Saharan country.

Table 3: Migrants' Countries of Origin

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Africa	2	1,8	1,8	1,8
	Bourkina Faso	2	1,8	1,8	3,6
	Cameroon	43	38,4	38,4	42,0
	Chad	2	1,8	1,8	43,8
	Congo DR	9	8,0	8,0	51,8
	Côte d'Ivoire	22	19,6	19,6	71,4
	Gabon	3	2,7	2,7	74,1
	Guinea	6	5,4	5,4	79,5
	Mali	9	8,0	8,0	87,5
	Mauritius Island	1	,9	,9	88,4
	Senegal	11	9,8	9,8	98,2
	Gambia	2	1,8	1,8	100,0
	Total	112	100,0	100,0	

The over-representation of some countries in comparison to others and the fact that some countries are completely absent from this sample does not necessarily project the overall presence of sub-Saharan immigrants in Morocco. The imbalanced representation of countries is linked to some influential factors, such as geographical proximity, spoken languages, and coastal security. These disparities also depend on the commonly selected and followed migratory routes. Migrants very often select transit countries where their first or second language is spoken. On the other hand, the coastal border control is another element that migrants usually take into consideration when choosing the potentially guaranteed transit country. Libya has been considered a massive attraction to a great number of sub-Saharan migrants. The 24th round of DTM¹ data collection in Libya, which took place in January and

¹ DTM refers to The Displacement Tracking Matrix system that is specialized in "tracking and monitoring internally displaced populations. It captures, processes and disseminates information in order to provide a better understanding of the movements and evolving needs of displaced populations, either on site (e.g. camps) or en

February 2019, identified at least 666,717 migrants present in Libya. The majority of adult migrants were reported to be males (88%) and the remaining (12%) to be females. Individuals from sub-Saharan countries outnumber majorly other regions by constituting (69%) (out of the 623,627 individuals from Africa, 433,444 were from Sub-Saharan countries.)¹ The choice of Libya by migrants as a significant transit gate to Europe is primarily due to the revolution, which caused a political destabilisation. This unstable status crippled the state's ability to protect and control its overland borders but, most importantly, its coastal borders. However, since 2017 and until nowadays bold headlines and leaked covertly recorded videos were circulating worldwide in all types of Media, which revealed the inhuman living conditions of migrants from different countries in Libya. Many of these migrants were held as captives to demand ransoms from their families to free them. Some of these captives and others end up enslaved and sold to several human traffickers. Some other migrants were trapped unwillingly in miserable detention centers in Libya and were unable to escape neither to Europe nor to their home countries. In the aftermath of the circulated information about the atrocious living situation in Libya, Moroccan's gate towards Europe became the second to be likely selected by sub-Saharan migrants and relatively safer than that of Libya. Arrivals to Spain increased by 131% in 2018 (65,400 (58,600 Sea + 6,800 Land) compared to 28,300 (22,100 Sea + 6,200 Land) in 2017. On the other hand, arrivals decreased by 80% in 2018 (23,400 Sea) compared to (119,400 Sea) in 2017.²

Having tackled the migrants' country of origin, educational level is another very significant socio-demographic factor that heavily affects migrants' opportunities in their

route. It provides primary data and information at national and international level. DTM focuses on four main components: mobility tracking, flow monitoring, registration and surveys." Accessed on https://ec.europa.eu/knowledge4policy/dataset/ds00047_en in 09/06/2019.

¹ IOM, "Libya's migrants' report round 24, January – February 2019", P: 4/17. Accessed on <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/R24%20migrant%20report.pdf> in 09/06/2019.

² UNHCR, "Desperate journeys: refugees and migrants arriving in Europe and at Europe's borders January – December 2018", UNHCR, January 2019, P: 8.

country of origin. The majority of migrants have attained a high school level with (44,6 %) but only (31,3 %) of all migrants have got a baccalaureate degree. Then, a noticeable number of migrants who have been to university is represented by (25%). However, migrants with a bachelor degree comprise only (3,6 %), but (5,4%) of migrants have got a Master degree. Therefore, the majority could not or did not want to proceed with their education at the university. On the other hand, (24,1 %) of the respondents have got a professional diploma attained from vocational colleges despite the fact that some of them did not have a baccalaureate degree. The tables below present more details about migrants' level of education and their obtained degrees.

Table 4: Migrants' educational level

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Illiterate	6	5,4	5,4	5,4
	Primary	12	10,7	10,7	16,1
	Secondary	16	14,3	14,3	30,4
	High school	50	44,6	44,6	75,0
	University	28	25,0	25,0	100,0
	Total	112	100,0	100,0	

Table 5: Migrants' attained degrees

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Baccalaureat degree	35	31,3	31,3	31,3
	Professional diploma	27	24,1	24,1	55,4
	Bachelor degree	4	3,6	3,6	58,9
	Master degree	6	5,4	5,4	64,3
	Doctoral degree	1	,9	,9	65,2
	None	39	34,8	34,8	100,0
	Total	112	100,0	100,0	

Similar results have been detected by other previous studies. For instance, in AMERM's (2008) extensive survey, almost a third (31.7%) of migrants within the sample lacked basic education, but the overall composition was relatively well educated, with (32.4%) having reached a secondary level, and another (16.1%) having continued to higher education. While the illiterate category of migrants tends to be the least represented in this sample with only (5,4%) and (34,8 %) of all migrants have no degree at all.¹

The findings that target basic socio-demographic profiles capture interesting and significant elements that may influence migration patterns. However, the absence of gender dimension in the analysis did not allow a profound interpretation of these important factors. As a result, the analysis of migrants' social, economic, and cultural backgrounds remained subtle and incomplete. Therefore, gendering migrants' socio-demographic information is essential to puzzle out the ambiguities in migration processes. The following chapter is going to examine the pre-stage of migration, which will include a gendered analysis and interpretations of migrants' cultural and economic backgrounds based on the survey's findings.

5. Gender and the Pre-Stage of Migration

Irregular 'transit' migration, unlike the common forms of migration, is composed of several processes. These processes occur very often unexpectedly and usually take a longer period than for what a migrant has previously planned. To answer systematically the present study's fundamental questions, the examination of migration processes adopts a three-stage analytical framework. Each stage tackles several factors in the migratory experience. However, it is worth reminding that migratory processes may include other stages, depending on migrants' initial and unstable intentions, which also depends on fluctuating factors, including the living

¹ AMERM. "l'Immigration subsaharienne au Maroc: analyse socio-économique". Rabat, Association marocaine d'études et de recherches en migrations, 2008. P : 15.

circumstances in the destination country. The first phase of the migratory process, by which this chapter initiates the discussion, is entitled 'the pre-stage of migration'. This chapter is going to examine in detail the manifestations of gender inequalities in numerous aspects of migrants' lives in their home countries. The discussion is initiated by a gendered reading of migrants' socio-demographic profiles.

5.1. Gendering Migrants' Socio-Demographic Profiles

Before making an attempt and stepping out of the home country, each migrant has a particular different life from the other that distinguishes his/her motivations. Gender's massive influence on the living conditions of individuals is manifested in multiple aspects of their lives. Consequently, migrants' surrounding living environment holds an important impact on their propensity to migrate, motives as well as plans. Therefore, highlighting the gender of migrants' socio-demographic profile is a necessary step towards understanding the ways migration and gender are intersected.

5.1.1. Migrants' Age and Marital Status

Having mentioned previously the fact that women migrants constitute only (23,2%) of this sample in the present study, this section will highlight the gender discrepancies within other socio-demographic elements. The first factor this section is going to tackle is the migrants' age. First, women migrants are completely absent from the youngest age category that starts from 10 to 17 years old. On the other hand, even though women constitute only (22,5%) compared to (77,5%) in 18 to 29 age group, they comprise more than the two-thirds of the total female respondents in the sample. Female migrants, who belong to the 30 - 40 age group, are the second top represented age category. Only one female respondent represents the last age group, which ranges between 41 and 50 years old. The table below displays the gender of migrants in each age category, while the graph presents the accurate number of migrants in each age category.

Table 6: Gender and age categories

		Gender		Total
		Men	Women	
Age	10 – 17	8,1%		6,3%
	18 – 29	72,1%	69,2%	71,4%
	30 – 40	17,4%	26,9%	19,6%
	41 – 50	2,3%	3,8%	2,7%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

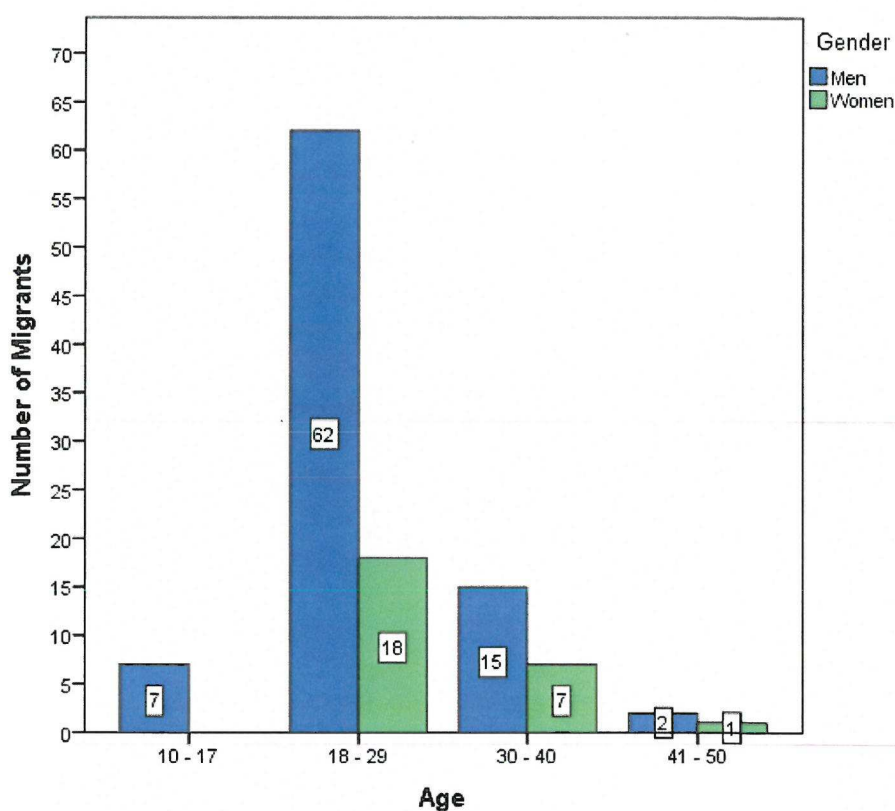


Figure 11: The Gender of Migrants within each Age Category

Based on these findings, women migrants, similarly to men, belong majorly to the most active age category. Individuals, whose age ranges from 18 years old to 29 years old, are usually still wandering and seeking to figure out how to establish patterns of life they would best fit in. For Dr. Thomas Armstrong, in his latest book, *The Human Odyssey: Navigating the 12 Stages*

*of Life that, young adults between the age of 20 to 35 years old, need enterprise “to accomplish their many responsibilities, including finding a home and mate, establishing a family or circle of friends, and/or getting a good job. As a result, this principle of enterprise serves us at any stage of life when we need to go out into the world and make our mark.”*¹ Even though women migrants constitute a minority overall, they tend as well to endeavor to attain their objectives. However, not all these women migrants are single. The following variable to be discussed comparatively is the marital status of both women and men respondents.

The findings show that the majority of female migrants, similarly to male migrants in this study, are still single. However, the representation of married women migrants is higher than that of men. Women migrants outnumber men migrants mainly in the category of widow migrants; 2 out of 26 female migrants are widows compared to only 1 out of 86 men migrants. These differences reflect important gendered aspects and roles within migrants’ cultures. The following table and graph present detailed numerical information about the respondents’ marital status.

Table 7: Gender and Migrants’ Marital Status

		Gender		Total
		Men	Women	
Marital status	Single	86,0%	65,4%	81,3%
	Married	9,3%	23,1%	12,5%
	Divorced	3,5%	3,8%	3,6%
	Widow	1,2%	7,7%	2,7%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

¹ <http://www.institute4learning.com/resources/articles/the-12-stages-of-life/> accessed on 07/06/2019.

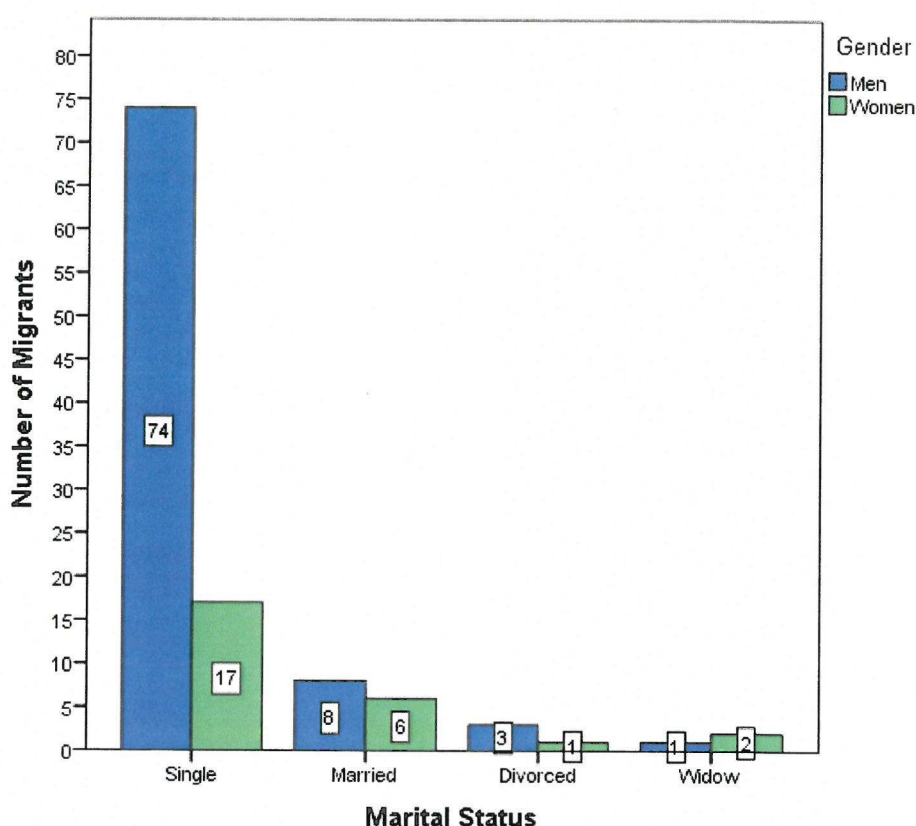


Figure 12: The marital status of female and male migrants

Transit irregular migration is a set of several processes that very often involve risks, uncertainty, and unsteadiness. On the other hand, to be married necessitates taking in charge of family responsibilities and commitment. Therefore, the most appropriate marital condition to migrate is when the migrant is single. Family commitment and responsibilities are very likely to dishearten an individual from attempting to migrate. Based on these results, one may assume that married female migrants have respectively the same independent propensity to migrate. In other words, the almost equal representation of married women and married men does not mean that married women can migrate independently regardless of their marital commitment. The majority of married women migrants, if not all of them, have either followed their husbands or got married in Morocco, but very few of them migrated and left behind their husbands and children. The findings also reveal that the overwhelming majority of single women migrants

are from Cameroon and Ivory Coast.¹ Previous studies suggest that Sub-Saharan migrants are predominantly single. The majority carry out the migration venture alone. Married men migrants usually leave their wives at home countries. This situation does not appear to be a common occurrence for women. Married female migrants are more likely to join their husbands in destination countries and less likely to migrate autonomously. In AMERM's (2008) sample, a clear majority of (82.2%) were single, with only (14.8%) married and another (3.0%) widowed or divorced.² The determinants of propensity to migrate from a gender perspective are going to be elaborated more in the following sub-chapter. The following section is going to shed light on migrants' living environment and countries of origin.

5.1.2. Represented Countries of Origin

Sub-Saharan region is very often viewed as a homogeneous community that encompasses similar cultural and societal beliefs and practices. The diversity of its cultures and their specificities is seldom reckoned. However, the significant role of the culture, where migrants live and belong to, in determining the migratory patterns should be acknowledged and examined. The following table and graph highlight the gender ratio within the represented Sub-Saharan countries in this study.

Table 8: Gender and Migrants' Countries of Origin

		Gender		Total
		Men	Women	
Country of origin	Africa	2,3%		1,8%
	Bourkina Faso	2,3%		1,8%
	Cameroon	44,2%	19,2%	38,4%
	Chad	2,3%		1,8%

¹ The table that shows the distribution of migrants based on their marital status within the represented countries is in the appendices.

² AMERM. "l'Immigration subsaharienne au Maroc: analyse socio-économique". Rabat, Association Marocaine d'Etudes et de Recherches en migrations, 2008.

	Congo DR	8,1%	7,7%	8,0%
	Côte d'Ivoire	8,1%	57,7%	19,6%
	Gabon	3,5%		2,7%
	Guinea	5,8%	3,8%	5,4%
	Mali	10,5%		8,0%
	Mauritius Island	1,2%		0,9%
	Senegal	9,3%	11,5%	9,8%
	Gambia	2,3%		1,8%
	Total	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

According to the table above, 11 sub-Saharan countries are represented in this study but merely by men migrants. Women migrants, on the other hand, represent only five out of eleven sub-Saharan countries. They belong majorly to Cote d'Ivoire, constituting (57,7%) of all female migrants. Comparatively, they outnumber their male counterparts from Cote d'Ivoire. Then, followed by (19,2%) of female migrants from Cameroon and (11,5%) of those who came from Senegal. The Congo Democratic Republic and Guinea are the least represented countries by female migrants. AMERM's survey of 1,000 sub-Saharan migrants in 2008, which included both regular and irregular forms of migration in Morocco found that the largest group was from Nigeria (15.7%), followed by Mali (13.1 %), Senegal (12.8 %), DRC (10.4%), Ivory Coast (9.2%), Guinea (7.3 %) and Cameroon (7.0 %). A smaller number of migrants were found from Gambia (4.6 %), Ghana (4.5 %), Liberia (3.8 %) and Sierra Leone (3.1 %).¹ The following graph offers more information about the number of women migrants in each represented sub-Saharan country in this investigation.

¹ AMERM. "l'Immigration subsaharienne au Maroc: analyse socio-économique". Rabat, Association marocaine d'études et de recherches en migrations, 2008.

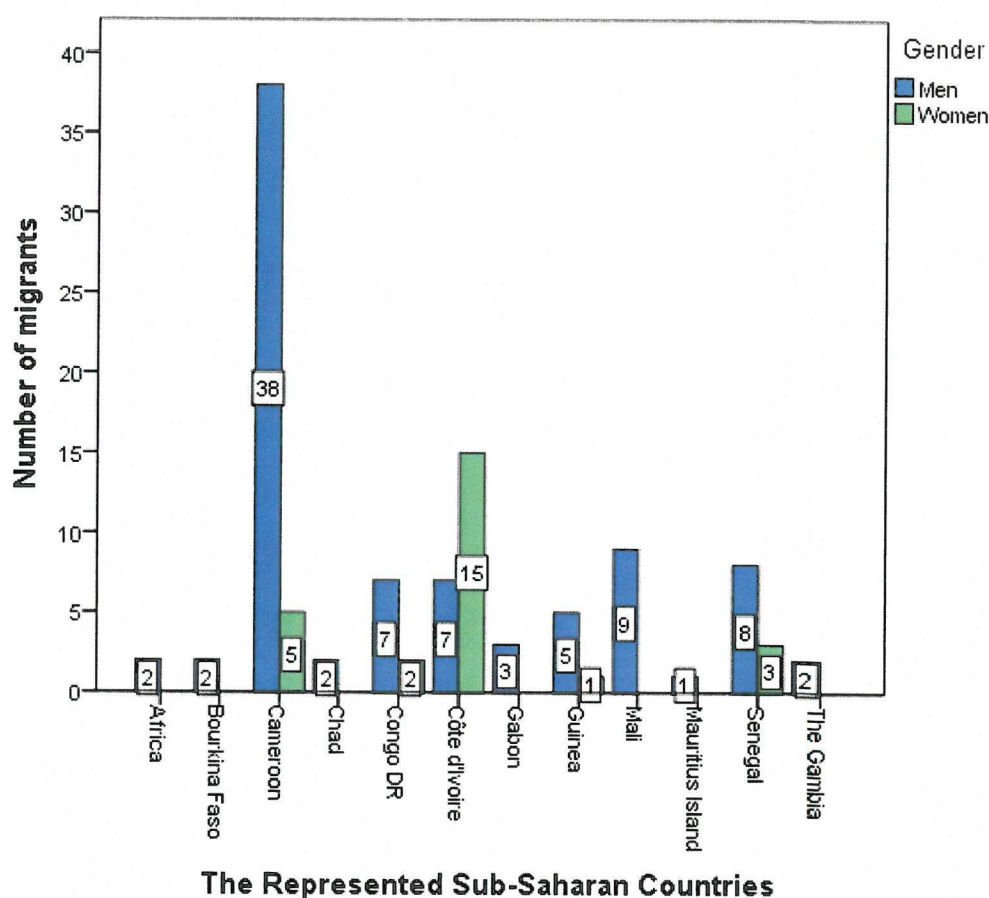


Figure 13: The gender of migrants within the countries of origin

After having a close view of the gendered representation of the countries of origin in this survey, the question to be evoked in this respect is: why do women in some countries have more tendency to migrate than women in other countries? This question and others will be elaborated more in the upcoming sub-chapter after gendering all elements of migrants' socio-demographic profiles. The last component on which the following section is going to shed light is the educational level of both women and men migrants.

5.1.3. Gender and Migrants' Education

The OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) suggests that irregular migrants are often relatively well educated, with many of them holding the equivalent of an A-level and above, while the illiterate category represents a minority.¹ The educational level in a nation is an important factor that reflects not only a country's progress and education-related policies and system but also the cultural mindsets and practices. The importance of knowing the educational level using a gender dimension resides in its direct and indirect impact on individuals' well-being, including qualifications, acquired skills, employment, and earnings. The first table and graph display migrants' educational level while the second one highlights the obtained degree from a gender lens.

Table 9: Gender and educational level

		Gender		Total
		Men	Women	
Educational_level	Illiterate	4,7%	7,7%	5,4%
	Primary	3,5%	34,6%	10,7%
	Secondary	14,0%	15,4%	14,3%
	High school	50,0%	26,9%	44,6%
	University	27,9%	15,4%	25,0%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

¹ OECD, "The Web Atlas of Regional Integration in West Africa: Migration", Paris: ECOWAS-SWAC/Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2006, P: 8.

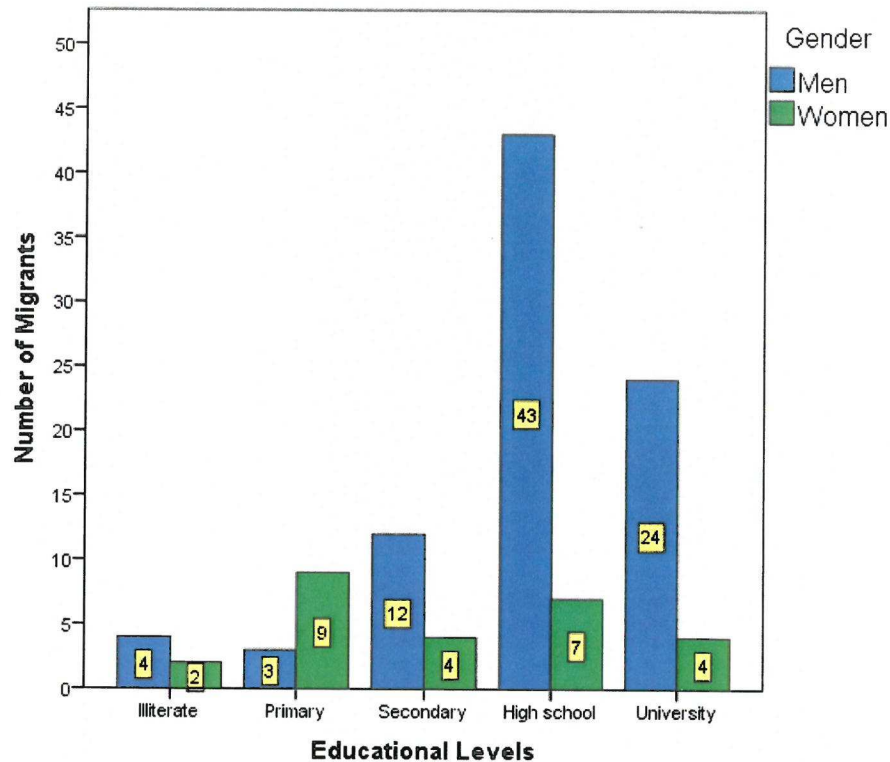


Figure 14: the gender of migrants within the educational level

The results of the survey demonstrate a vast discrepancy in the representation of gender in migrants' educational level. Men migrants have remarkably a higher level of education compared to that of women migrants. They overwhelmingly outnumber female migrants in both secondary and high school levels, constituting (50%) out of the total male migrants compared to (26.9%) out of all female migrants. Although the difference may not appear very significant in percentages, the variation in numbers is more noticeable. The findings show that only seven female migrants have got a high school level in comparison to forty-three male migrants. The over domination of men over women migrants exists as well within the university level (24 male migrants compared to merely 4 female migrants); then, followed by secondary school level where female migrants comprise four vs twelve male migrants. The only educational level where women migrants outnumber their male counterparts is the primary level. They constitute (34,6%) out of all female migrants in comparison to (3,5%) out of the total number of male migrants. Therefore, it can be deduced that women are less likely to pursue higher levels of

education, which eventually does not enable them to get a degree. The table and graph below show that very few women could attain any degree, while the majority have no degree at all.

Table 10: Gender and migrants' degree

		Gender		Total
		Men	Women	
Degree	Baccalaureat degree	34,9%	19,2%	31,3%
	Professional diploma	25,6%	19,2%	24,1%
	Bachelor degree	4,7%		3,6%
	Master degree	5,8%	3,8%	5,4%
	Doctoral degree		3,8%	0,9%
	None	29,1%	53,8%	34,8%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

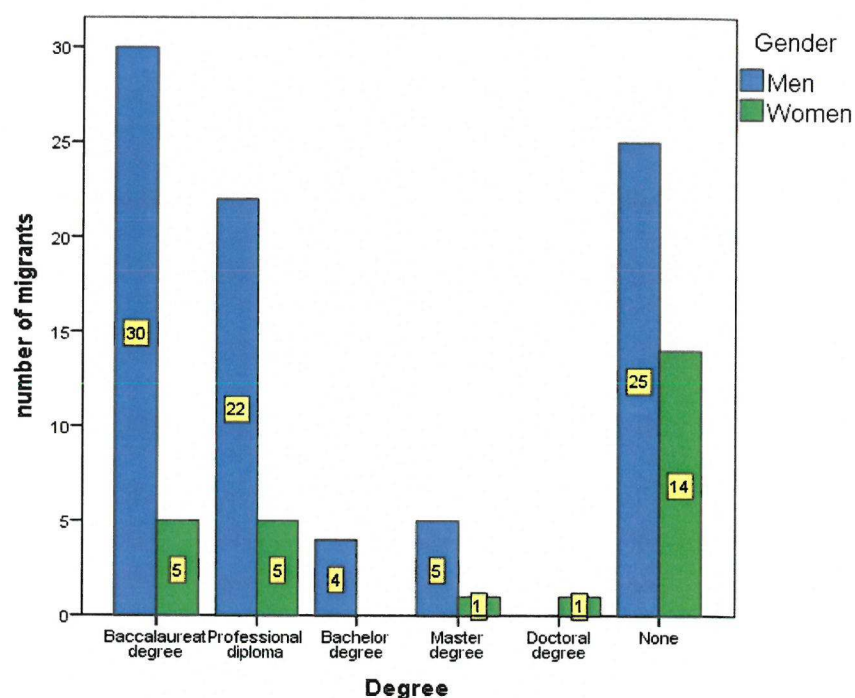


Figure 15: Gender ratio in attained degrees by migrants

The findings that detect migrants' achieved degrees confirm gender disparities in the educational level. More than half of women in the survey do not have any degree, while the majority of men, respectively, could achieve a Baccalaureate degree. Having captured and

highlighted significant gender disparities within the main socio-demographic elements of migrants' profiles, the following task is to figure out the way these crucial factors in one's life influence the propensity to migrate. The following section will tend to establish a linkage between the respondents' tendency to migrate and their socio-demographic components. It is a challenging task due to the diversity of sub-Saharan countries in the sample. However, this diversity will highlight the specificities of some sub-Saharan countries and their impact on migratory patterns.

5.2. Gender and the Propensity to Migrate

Migrants' socio-cultural background plays a crucial role in the initial process of migration. Deciding whether to migrate or not is connected to several social and economic factors. In the case of sub-Saharan migrants, the existing studies, as far as I know, show that male migrants outnumber palpably female migrants regardless of the intended destination or the purpose. However, compared to the previous years, female sub-Saharan migrants' participation in migration is noticeably increasing. Gender migratory discrepancies in other countries are usually explained as the result of the patriarchal societal structure, which produces gendered hierarchies in several aspects of life.

Sub-Saharan region in Africa is commonly viewed as a homogenous area that comprises of matriarchal social structure, which is consequently supposed to provide greater independence for women to participate in many activities, including the decision to migrate. However, the representation of sub-Saharan women in migration data does not reflect the standards of a matriarchal society. This section is going to address the socio-cultural background of migrants and their propensity to migrate. The discussion will be initiated by examining the assumption of matriarchal vs patriarchal social structures, which will be eventually connected to migration.

The first two questions that this section will attempt to address are: How is matriarchy different from patriarchy? In addition, is matriarchy social system in sub-Sahara Africa a myth or a fact?

5.2.1. Matriarchy vs Patriarchy Assumption

Matriarchy is a societal system where the mother is the head of the family. It also can be defined from a larger scale as a community, or society that is based on this social system or ruled by women. The data that anthropologists and scholars usually rely on to document the existence of matriarchy is of three types: first, societies in which women majorly contribute to subsistence; second, societies where descent is traced through women; and third, ancient myths of women rulers.¹ Diop (1989), in his widely acknowledged book, *The Cultural Unity of Black Africa*, accomplished an intensive and rigorous critique of Bachofen's theory of matriarchy and Morgan's theory of the family. Diop (1989) pointed out that Bachofen established his theory on the matriarchal system drawing on the Greek literature, then he expanded its application on all human social organizations. Bachofen's theory concluded that mankind was quite primitive since there was no marriage and he accused matriarchal social systems of being characterized by "barbarism" and "sexual promiscuity". However, the establishment of the marriage institution did not stop the continuity of either the matrilineal descent system or matriarchal structure. Diop (1989) criticized vehemently Bachofen's theory of matriarchy for being biased and extremely based on prejudiced judgment, concluding that patriarchy is superior to matriarchy. For Bachofen:

patriarchy is superior to matriarchy; it represents above all spirituality, light, reason and delicacy. It is represented by the sun, the heavenly heights, where reigns as sort of ethereal spirituality. In contrast, matriarchy is linked with the cave-like depths

¹ McGee, K. "The Impact of Matriarchal Traditions on the Advancement of Ashanti Women in Ghana". *Listening to the Voices: Multi-ethnic Women in Education*. Ed. B. Taylor. San Francisco: San Francisco UP, 2015. P:

of the earth, to the night, to the moon, to the 'left', which belongs to 'passive femininity in opposition to the right which is linked with masculine activity'.¹

Diop (1989) goes further and provides his own vision of matriarchy. He stated that:

matriarchy is not an absolute and cynical triumph of woman over man; it is a harmonious dualism, an association accepted by both sexes, the better to build a sedentary society where each and every one could fully develop by following the activity best suited to his physiological nature. A matriarchal regime, far from being imposed on man by circumstances independent of his will, is accepted and defended by him.²

According to Goettner-Abendroth (2005), "*these matriarchies do not have hierarchies, classes and the domination of one gender by the other are all unknown to them. They are societies that are free of domination, but they still have their guidelines and codes. Moreover, this is what makes them so attractive to those looking for a new philosophy to support the creation of a just society.*"³ Nevertheless, Amadiume (1989) pointed out that many current feminist scholars do not view matriarchy in the sense of social institutions, kinship organisations, women's institutions and culture, but rather as a society ruled entirely by women. However, when they encounter difficulty in finding such a society, they dismiss the issue of matriarchy as a myth.⁴

Diop (1989) linked these organising social systems to the influence of the environment's peculiarities in two geographical zones. Matriarchy is founded originally in the South, which is based on an agricultural system. Conversely, the nomadic life in the North resulted in adopting

¹ Diop, C. A. *The Cultural Unity of Black Africa: the Domains of Patriarchy and of Matriarchy in Classical Antiquity*. Karnak House: London, 1989. P: 6.

² Ibid, P: 108.

³ Goettner, A. H. "Modern matriarchal studies: Definitions, scope and topicality". Paper presented at *the Second World Congress of Matriarchal Studies*, San Marcos, TX, USA, September 29–October 2, 2005. P: 2.

⁴ Amadiume, I., "Introduction" in Diop, C. A. *The Cultural Unity of Black Africa: the Domains of Patriarchy and of Matriarchy in Classical Antiquity*. Karnak House: London, 1989. P: xi.

patriarchy as the societal organising system.¹ The transition of social systems from matriarchy to patriarchy, which, according to Bachofen's perception of patriarchy, is an evolutionary transition from inferiority to superiority and from darkness to enlightenment, occurred because of exterior factors. These factors encompass primarily the introduction of Islam and later of Christianity in Africa.² Therefore, the pre-Islamic and pre-colonial Africa was matriarchal and matrilineal par excellence. Women used to have greater power in the household and society compared to the subordinate and oppressed women in the North. Patriarchy and patrilineality were superimposed with Arabs' permeation, which Diop (1989) describes as a transition on the surface. However, it is due to colonialism that patriarchy became more visible in African societies.³ Colonial regimes played a fundamental transitional role in reinforcing patriarchal norms and gender divisions in different aspects of life and institutions including, economics, education, politics and particularly within the familial structure. As a result, women disappeared from the public and leading roles and their low positions in society exacerbated.⁴

Cleaveland (2000), in his study of Walāta community, which was originally a Mandé town on the edge of the kingdom of old Mali, argued that by the sixteenth century Walata witnessed the migration of Arabs who introduced Islam and then was colonized by the French in the early twentieth century. Cleaveland (2000) argued as well that senior elite Walata Muslim women contributed to the production, reproduction, and reinforcement of the prevailing patriarchal gendered stereotypes that had been superimposed by Islam and colonialism.⁵ After opening up to the long history of matriarchy and matrilineality and their peculiarities in sub-

¹ Diop, C. A. *The Cultural Unity of Black Africa: the Domains of Patriarchy and of Matriarchy in Classical Antiquity*. Karnak House: London, 1989. P: xii.

² Ibid, P: 60/61.

³ Ibid, P: 61.

⁴ Crotty, M. P. "Family Law in Sub-Saharan Africa ». *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy*. 30. Taylor & Francis Group, 2009. 341–356. P: 343. DOI: 10.1080/15544770903266566

⁵ Cleaveland, T. "Reproducing Culture and Society: Women and the Politics of Gender, Age, and Social Rank in Walāta". *Canadian Journal of African Studies/La Revue canadienne des études Africaines*. 34/2, 2000. 189-217. P: 191. DOI: 10.2307/486414

Saharan Africa, the question that can be triggered in this respect is: Do matriarchal values and legacy still exist or at least have an impact on the current cultural beliefs in sub-Saharan societies?

The continent of Africa is assumed to still consist of some matriarchal societies, the majority of which reside in sub-Saharan Africa in particular. Matrilineal / Matriarchal societies in sub-Saharan Africa include Angola, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Malawi, Namibia, South Africa, and Zambia.¹ However, one should take into consideration the fact that there are several ethnicities in each sub-Saharan country. These ethnicities are usually organized in the form of tribes and clans and each has specific traditions and cultural beliefs. For instance, the Serer tribe is a West African ethno-religious group that makes up the third largest tribe in Senegal. This group represents 15 percent of the Senegalese population. The Serer people are also present in Gambia and southern Mauritania. The group originated from the Senegal River Valley and moved south between the 11th and 12th centuries. They are known historically as the matrilineal ethnic group that long resisted the expansion of Islam. Another example is the Ovambo people, or often referred to as Aawambo. It is a tribal ethnic group predominantly found in southern Africa. They constitute the largest tribe in Namibia, accounting for 50 percent of the country's population. The group mostly occupies Namibia's northern region. The Ovambo people are also found in southern Angola, where the name Ambo is very common. They are said to have moved south from the upper regions of Zambezi around the 14th century. Most of them practice Christianity and speak the Ovambo language.² It is worth indicating, however, that during my research I could not find any official study that confirms the ongoing existence of matriarchal societal systems.

¹ Bernedette, M. "Matriarchies in Afrika: Decolonising Love & the Egalitarian KhoeSan". PPT, <http://kongress-matriarchatspolitik.ch/upload/Bernedette-Muthien1.pdf> Accessed on 12/09/2019.

² <https://face2faceafrica.com/article/top-7-african-tribes-women-literally-rule/3>

The Sub-Saharan countries comprise of multiple different religions. Christianity and Islam are the most prevalent religions, though. Religious beliefs and practices in the Sub-Saharan Africa region are regarded as a key gender-specific factor in individuals' propensity to migrate. In Cameroon and Ivory Coast, the number of Christians predominate other religions. Conversely, the Muslim population in Senegal and Mali outnumber populations practicing other religions.¹ Kirwin and Anderson (2018) argued in their study, which involved several countries in West Africa, that even though men expressed more impulse to migrate compared to women, the findings vary considerably depending on religion. For instance, in Nigeria and Burkina Faso, where Christian populations significantly outnumber, women share a similar desire level to migrate with men. In Niger, on the other hand, where the majority of the population is Muslim, the number of men, who wish to leave the country, constitute the double of that of women. In Nigeria, in addition, the difference between Muslims and Christians wishing to migrate is stark. According to the survey, about two-thirds (68%) of Muslims wish to stay in their country, compared with (39%) of Christians.² Therefore, this study acknowledges the significant impact of religious beliefs in shaping individuals' tendency to migrate.

The historical legacies of the matriarchal system in sub-Saharan Africa remain mysterious and unexplored widely. Patriarchal social order, on the other hand, has become the dominant existing social system in African communities. Chigbu (2015), during his examination of women's contribution to development in Uturu, which is an Igbo community located in the southern-eastern region of Nigeria and by using a qualitative approach, emphasized the important role of the cultural constraints that hinder women's active roles in

¹ Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, "Tolerance and Tension: Islam and Christianity in Sub-Saharan Africa", 2010, P: 63. <https://www.pewforum.org/2010/04/15/executive-summary-islam-and-christianity-in-sub-saharan-africa/> Accessed on 12/09/2017.

² Kirwin, M. and J. Anderson "Identifying the factors driving West African migration", *West African Papers*, N°17, Paris: OECD Publishing, 2018. P: 10. <https://doi.org/10.1787/eb3b2806-en>

development. As a result, they have switched to another survival strategy, which he calls “*the evolution of invisible matriarchy*.”¹ He accused the prevalent patriarchal system in the country for not acknowledging Nigerian women’s significant contribution to national development, particularly in the agricultural sector, in which they make up to (60-80%) of the country’s agricultural labour force.² Chigbu (2015) believes, drawing on his carried out interviews with Nigerian women, that the emergence of the new social order – the invisible matriarchy – is embodied in leading from the home by having an influence on their men. Women adopt this survival strategy to make “*men serving as women’s figureheads in operating women’s formal machinery of authority in the community. It presents a situation whereby community affairs are guided by invisible matriarchy operating from the words and actions of men*.”³ Sub-Saharan women have believed that adopting this strategy would empower and enable them to resist the cultural gender-based “*inferiorisation*”, which is imposed and reinforced by the patriarchal social system.⁴ The following section is going to tackle the manifestation of patriarchy by exposing more aspects of gender inequalities in the sub-Saharan region.

5.2.2. Gender Inequalities in Sub-Saharan Countries

Gender inequalities in sub-Saharan Africa are embedded in numerous beliefs and practices. They are imposed culturally and also reinforced by family law. Similarly to several other patriarchal societies, the state establishes a body of law to regulate issues relating to marriage, divorce, inheritance, and reproduction, which in several cases disadvantage women and render them dependents.⁵ Based on the socio-demographic results of this research, gender

¹ Uchendu, C. E. “Repositioning culture for development: women and development in a Nigerian rural community”. *Community, Work & Family*. 18/ 3, 2015. 334-350. P: 334. DOI: 10.1080/13668803.2014.981506

² Ibid, P: 335.

³ Ibid, P: 344.

⁴ Ibid, P: 345.

⁵ Crotty, M. P. “Family Law in Sub-Saharan Africa ». *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy*. 30. Taylor & Francis Group, 2009. 341–356. P: 342. DOI: 10.1080/15544770903266566

inequalities in sub-Saharan Africa exist strikingly. Female sub-Saharan migrants are lagging behind their male counterparts, concerning not only the number of migration participation but also their level of education and the degrees they obtained. While the majority of male migrants could reach a high school level of education, which can be understood as being finished or not, the highest level of education that female migrants could accomplish or maybe not even accomplished is the primary school level. This gender discrepancy in the educational achievement reflects the situation of girls within the household and society. These findings project that girls' education is not considered as important as boys' within the family. Families perceive girls usually to be more suitable to help in the house and agriculture in rural areas. They are prepared for their culturally prescribed roles, which are often restricted in reproduction and household. The United Nations published a report in 2017, which highlighted the aspects of gender inequalities in education within Sub-Saharan Africa. The report confirms that the rate of girls in secondary school remains low in comparison with that of boys, despite the cultural, economic, and political differences between countries. The report related the under-representation of girls in secondary and higher education to girls' low primary-school survival rates. According to the report:

at the primary level (12%) of boys and (16%) of girls of school age are out of school in the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS). The situation is even more alarming in the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), where over a third of primary school age children do not attend school, the figure being 40% for girls. Consequently, girls spend a shorter time in school than boys, with an educational life expectancy of 8.7 years in 2011 as against 9.9 for boys.¹

¹ UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization "UNESCO and Gender Equality in Sub-Saharan Africa: innovative programmes, visible results", 2017. Printed in France. P: 33.
http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/AFR/images/3781_15_E_web.pdf

The report explained this conspicuous gender disparity in education, along with other factors, to be the result of the prevalent practice of early marriage, the cultural belief that girls should assume the responsibility of looking after the home, and besides, the absence of basic health necessities, such as the toilet facilities in schools.¹ According to the UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS), the majority of sub-Saharan African countries have not achieved all six EFA goals² by 2015, three of which emphasize the education of children, but girls in particular. For example, under (70%) of primary school age children do not complete primary education, some 31 million children are out of school, including (53%) of girls, while 22 million young people are out of school and some 182 million adults are illiterate. More importantly, gender disparity in education does not only involve schoolgirls but also women teachers.³ Besides, in Sub-Saharan Africa, unlike the other regions, a blatant rate of young people leave school earlier than in other regions and join the workforce at an earlier age.⁴ Therefore, the under-representation of girls in secondary and high school and the fact that few of them proceed with their primary education in comparison to boys in this study is related essentially to the cultural trivialization of the importance of educating girls. Eventually, girls, instead of learning in the

¹ UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization "UNESCO and Gender Equality in Sub-Saharan Africa: innovative programmes, visible results", 2017. Printed in France. P: 33.

http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/AFR/images/3781_15_E_web.pdf

² These are the six EFA goals: 1. Expanding and improving comprehensive early childhood care and education, especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children;
2. Ensuring that by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to a complete free and compulsory primary education of good quality;
3. Ensuring that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life skills programmes;
4. Achieving a 50 per cent improvement in levels of adult literacy by 2015, especially for women, and equitable access to basic and continuing education for all adults;
5. Eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, and achieving gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality;
6. Improving all aspects of the quality of education, and ensuring excellence of all so that recognized and measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy, numeracy, and essential life skills.
From http://portal.unesco.org/fr/ev.php-URL_ID=22012&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html. Accessed on 07/07/2019.

³ UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization "UNESCO and Gender Equality in Sub-Saharan Africa: innovative programmes, visible results", 2017. Printed in France. P: 31.

http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/AFR/images/3781_15_E_web.pdf

⁴ Chakravarty, S., S. Das, J. Vaillant, "Gender and Youth Employment: A review of Constraints and effective interventions" *World Bank Group*, 2017. P: 2.

school, stay home to learn how to play perfectly their roles in marriage and household. The outcome of refusing to educate girls, besides ignorance, they remain dependent and unable to establish a solid ground for an autonomous life in the future, which is supposed to benefit the well-being of their families as well. Lack of education is a real handicap that limits women's participation in the job market or their right to compete for better working opportunities. A gendered analysis of migrants' participation in the workforce and employment is necessary. The following table shows the gendered representation of migrants within the labor market.

Table 11: Gender and Migrants' Employment in Home Countries

		Gender		Total
		Men	Women	
Profession in home country	yes, full-time	26,7%	30,8%	27,7%
	yes, part-time	31,4%	30,8%	31,3%
	No	41,9%	38,5%	41,1%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

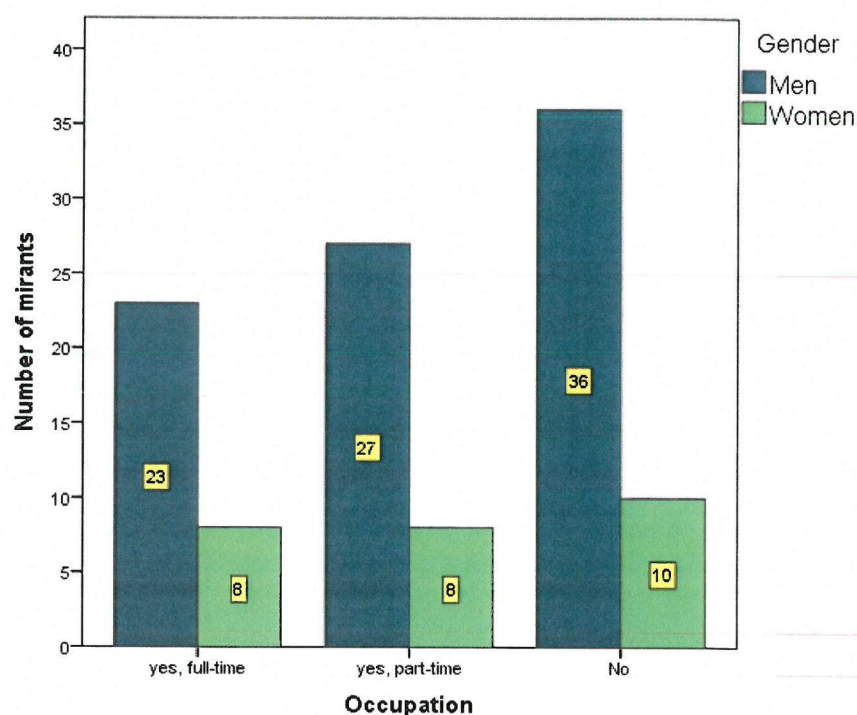


Figure 16: The gender of migrants' occupation in the home country

The survey's findings demonstrate the majority of migrants in this study's sample were not having any kind of income-generating work in their home countries. Despite the predominance of unemployed migrants over the other categories separately, from another perspective, migrants, who used to have an income-generating work, regardless of being full-time or part-time, outnumber unemployed migrants. Women migrants, on the other hand, are found in all three categories at almost a similar level of representation. These results, however, do not reflect the underlying challenges and constraints that sub-Saharan African women undergo. It's statistically proven that in 2013, the ratio of female-to-male labor force participation rates was higher in Sub-Saharan Africa than in any other region.¹ Globally, in 2015 one fourth of all active women were engaged in agriculture. Although women's employment in this sector has decreased over the last twenty years, agriculture remains the most important employment sector for women in low-income and lower-middle-income countries. In sub-Saharan Africa, over 60 per cent of all working women remain in agriculture. In many developing economies, women are concentrated in time and labour intensive agricultural activities, which are often unpaid or poorly remunerated.² Moreover, data from the ILO report reveals that having a part-time job, which involves working for less than 35 hours, constitutes (71.0%) of all employed people. Women outnumber men in having part-time jobs (49% compared to 34.8% for men, respectively). They also tend to be more self-employed than men (55.7% compared to 42.8% for men). Whereas waged and salaried women constitute (26% in comparison to 16.6% of men).³ Nevertheless, the report's presented data on women's participation in these types of jobs remain limited in the part-time job category.

¹ World Bank. World Bank Databank Gender Statistics. 2015. Retrieved from <http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/gender-statistics> Accessed on 12/09/2018.

² ILO, "Women at work", 2016. P: 23. https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms_457317.pdf

³ Ibid, P: 17.

The predominance of women in part-time employment sector can be also interpreted in relation to their primary role in the household. Across the world, the vast majority of unpaid household and care work is performed by women. In developing countries, women spend 4 hours and 30 minutes per day on unpaid care work compared to 1 hour 20 minutes for men. Unpaid work is the work that produces goods and services for household consumption, which includes collecting firewood and fuel, fetching water, cooking, cleaning and providing care for children, the elderly and other dependents.¹ Gordon F. De Jong (2000), in his empirical study, where he examined the distinct determinants of migration decision-making for men and women during temporary and more permanent migration in rural Thailand, concluded that being entitled the role of looking after dependent family members, such as children and elders, discourage women's propensity to migrate. He emphasized the paramount role that intentions, expectations, norms, and gender roles play inside the 'black box' of migration decision-making.² Boyd, while discussing women's propensities and determinants to migrate, strongly affirmed that:

different gender-specific propensities to migrate also may reflect differences in "human capital," defined as job related skills that arise from education and labor market experience. If women face greater barriers than men in receiving education and/or in enhancing labor market relevant skills, the perceived and real payoff for migration may be less, thus reducing their propensity to migrate.³

Toma and Vause (2013) conducted a study about the heterogeneity of female mobility and focused on comparing the mobility drivers of independent versus partner-related forms of

¹ ILO, "Women at work", 2016. P: 19. https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms_457317.pdf

² De Jong, F. G. "Expectations, gender, and norms in migration decision-making", *Population Studies*. 54/3, 2000. 307-319. P: 318. DOI: 10.1080/713779089

³ Boyd, M., "Women in International Migration: The Context of Exit and Entry for Empowerment and Exploitation", High-level panel on "The Gender Dimensions of International Migration", United Nations, Canada, 2006. P: 3.

migration from the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Senegal. They found out that the economic and the cultural specificities in each of the studied countries have a great impact on re-constructing gender roles and eventually gendered migration patterns. The severe economic crisis that DR Congo has undergone in recent decades, for example, has been a significant factor behind the increasing number of unemployed men, which consequently compelled women to take over their husbands' responsibilities and to accept all types of small jobs, even if they are very often poorly remunerated.¹ In Senegal, on the other hand, despite the economic crisis, which has fundamentally contributed to women's role in household survival strategies, their participation underlie different perception from that of Congolese women.² They have linked the increasing of Congolese women's participation in the labour market, in comparison to Senegalese women, primarily to the cultural views about gender roles within society. For them, Senegalese society is attached strongly to traditional views of gender roles compared to the Congolese society, which eventually hinders women's economic participation. In other words, women in DR Congo are subjected to less social control than their female counterparts in Senegal and this is manifested in their higher labour market participation. As a result, Congolese women have higher autonomy and chances to migrate.³ Based on their findings, they demonstrated the gendered characteristics of migration from each country. They have confirmed that the proportion of women migrating independently is in a constant increase from (38%) before the 1990s to (71 %) after 2000 compared to the decreasing of couple reunification migrations. Female migration trends in Senegal, on the other hand, appeared taking the opposite path. After an increase of female autonomous migration was noticed in the 1990s, this trend

¹ Toma, S. and S. Vause "On Their Own? A Study of Independent versus Partner-Related Migration from the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Senegal", *Journal of Intercultural Studies*. 34/ 5, 2013. 533-552. P: 538. DOI: 10.1080/07256868.2013.827832

² Ibid, P: 538.

³ Ibid, P: 539.

started dropping after 2000 compared to the remarkable augmentation of couple reunification forms of migration.¹

At the educational level, women in Senegal, who have secondary education or more, tend more likely to migrate independently instead of for family reunification reasons. For Congolese women, on the other hand, education has almost a similar impact on the two types of migration. In addition, the fact of being a student can also boost the likelihood of migrating autonomously than that of being with a partner and this is the case of both Congolese and Senegalese women.² We can notice that Toma and Vause's findings remarkably contradict this study's results. This difference does not necessarily undervalue any of these studies' findings. Toma and Vause did not identify precisely the type of migration they were addressing. However, it is assumed that women with higher education, in addition to being aware of education's importance and their rights, are more likely to choose regular ways of migration, and the purpose is usually striving towards higher achievements in education. Women with a lower level of education, on the contrary, because of fewer employment opportunities, poorly paid works, or overburdened working hours, irregular migration remains the best option for a better and dignified life. This assumption was confirmed by Toma and Vause's study. According to them, employment has a substantial influence on the migration patterns of women. In the case of women in DR Congo, being an active participant in the labour market the prior year may likely disincentivise migration; employment here is regarded as an alternative for autonomous migration, which is not the case in Senegal. Employment in Senegal does not discourage women's autonomous migration.³ Having discussed gender disparities in education and employment in sub-Saharan Africa, which certainly identify their position in the household

¹ Toma, S. and S. Vause "On Their Own? A Study of Independent versus Partner-Related Migration from the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Senegal", *Journal of Intercultural Studies*. 34/ 5, 2013. 533-552. P: 541. DOI: 10.1080/07256868.2013.827832

² Ibid, P: 544.

³ Ibid, P: 545.

as well as in the public space and restrict the extent of their autonomy, exploring gender-specific propensities to migrate and their relation to the previously explored socio-demographic factors is the following section's main objective.

5.2.3. Restrictions and Motivations

The strong causal relationship between migrants' cultural and economic background and the motivations is widely acknowledged. This section addresses the impact of these factors on forming gendered motivations and restrictions that sub-Saharan migrants encounter, which consequently affect their propensity to migrate. The survey's respondents were asked about women and making the decision to migrate in their own countries. The findings reveal that male sub-Saharan migrants surprisingly agree and disagree with the fact that women and men have an equal level of freedom to make a decision to migrate.

Table 12: Women's Autonomy to migrate from a gender perspective

		Gender		Total
		Men	Women	
women's autonomy to migrate	Yes	43,0%	34,6%	41,1%
	No	43,0%	61,5%	47,3%
	Maybe	14,0%	3,8%	11,6%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

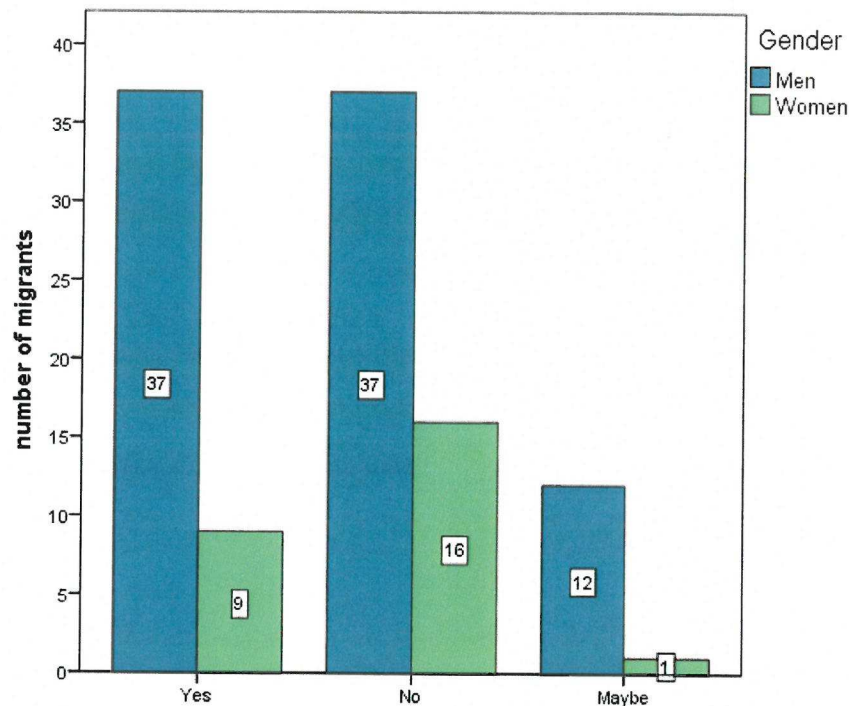


Figure 17: Women’s autonomy to migrate from the migrants’ perspective

The majority of female sub-Saharan migrants deny being as free as men in their society when it comes to decision-making to migrate. Such dichotomous results can be at first sight interpreted in different ways. First, at a personal level, they highlight the issue of gender-awareness and its implications in migrants’ cultural background, which is understood differently. Second, at a larger level, the findings may reflect the cultural diversity in the sub-Saharan African region. These results refute the suggestion that Sub-Saharanans are a homogeneous community that shares similar social and cultural values. These initial equivocal results are going to be more clarified when discussing the results of how migrants justified their responses. The following table presents migrants’ perspective on the restrictions that restrain women’s tendency to migrate.

First, it is important to indicate that (29,5%) of this study’s respondents did not reply to this question compared to (70,5%). The missing responses are justified as an outcome of the fact that several of them think that women are on par with men when deciding to migrate.

Therefore, they do not believe that there are gender-specific restrictions that play a key factor in migration decision-making for women. Furthermore, we should take into consideration that respondents had the possibility of choosing multiple responses. The data demonstrate that financial resources are believed to be the major factor that restricts women's decision to migrate constituting (22,7%). Then, followed by family constraints with (21,6%) of responses. Irregular migration's risks are found to be the third factor among the list of these restrictions by representing (17,5%); then, followed by the fact that women are less independent compared to men in the sub-Saharan region with (16,5%). Cultural norms and religious beliefs, as a factor that influences women's migration, are the least represented (11,3% and 10,3%). However, analyzing these results from a gender lens leads to a different interpretation of these restrictions.

Table 13: Women's restrictions to migrate from a gender perspective

			Gender		Total
			Men	Women	
migration's restrictions ^a	Family constraints	Count	15	6	21
		% within Gender	24,6%	33,3%	
	Cultural norms	Count	7	4	11
		% within Gender	11,5%	22,2%	
	Financial restrictions	Count	19	3	22
		% within Gender	31,1%	16,7%	
	Religious constraints	Count	7	3	10
		% within Gender	11,5%	16,7%	
	Women are less independent	Count	11	5	16
		% within Gender	18,0%	27,8%	
	Migration risks	Count	15	2	17
		% within Gender	24,6%	11,1%	
Total		Count	61	18	79

Women respondents, on the contrary to men, believe that women's propensity to migrate is restricted first and foremost by family constraints instead of financial restrictions. Female and male interviewees from Senegal and Mali emphasized the survey's findings. For

them, women are not permitted to travel alone or without their family's permission, which they rarely can get. Moreover, another aspect that should be highlighted, is the fact that seventy-nine respondents (women and men) provided an answer for restrictions, while only sixty-six respondents' answers about women's freedom to make a decision to migrate varied between yes and maybe. In other words, even though several respondents think that women are on par with men in their countries to decide to migrate, they still expressed that women are likely to face restrictions. Therefore, although thirteen respondents view women are equally free to make an independent decision to migrate, they still believe that women migrants confront more challenges at the early stage of the migratory process.

These survey results demonstrate the significance of gender-sensitive analysis. Unlike gender-blind studies on migration, which very often disregard the ways gender issues are differently understood by women and men, gender-sensitive empirical studies expose the ways gender is manifested within a particular society and within the agents' mindsets, who are responsible on transmitting and entrenching traditional gender expectations. In other words, it is necessary to highlight the different ways that women and men construct their perception of gender-related topics. As a result, from a male migrants' perspective, the financial factor is much more significant than any other constraints. This actually could be used as a projection of 'the self' on 'the other'; assuming that female migrants undergo the same challenges to those of male migrants without taking into account cultural peculiarities. Female migrants, on the contrary, view that their decision to migrate is hindered predominantly by their family members and then on their dependence, which can also be linked to financial resources. No one can deny that all of these restrictions intersect with each other in women's lives. The family represents merely but significantly a smaller institution that functions as agents that comply with and even protect the cultural norms. Thus, family, as a pivotal representative of the prevalent cultural beliefs about gender roles, limit women's access to education and to the labour market, which

often leads to dependence and submissiveness. Boyd (2006) in this respect confirms, “*a male dominated migration pattern also is enhanced when strong gender scripts exist that deny women agency and autonomy in decision making and in actions.*”¹

Gender disparities characterize the entire process during the pre-stage of migration, including motivations. Migration’s incentives are one of the overtly generalized and highly controversial issues. Irregular sub-Saharan migration is very often assumed to be the consequence of economic aspirations. Eventually, economic migrants are the least protected by international migration laws and the most vulnerable to be stuck in transit countries or to undergo deportation. However, migration in several cases is induced by multiple overlapped reasons. That is why respondents in this study have been permitted to choose multiple responses. The survey reveals that to have a better life is the primary objective that prompted this study’s respondents to migrate (42%). Then, followed by to escape wars and ethnic conflicts and to improve economic living conditions, which are presented at the same level (32,1%). Family problems and family expectations are also a noticeable incentive that drives people towards migration (11,6% and 10,6%). The following table accentuates the way migrants’ motivations are gendered for a better understanding of gender differences.

Table 14: Migrants’ motivations from a gender perspective

			Gender		Total
			Men	Women	
migrants' motivations	To escape war or ethnic conflicts	Count	31	5	36
		% within Gender	36,0%	19,2%	
	Cultural restrictions	Count	2	1	3
		% within Gender	2,3%	3,8%	
	To improve economic living conditions	Count	28	8	36
		% within Gender	32,6%	30,8%	

¹ Boyd, M. (submitted) “Women in international migration: the context of exit and entry for empowerment and exploitation”. Presented in High-level panel on *The Gender Dimensions of International Migration*. University of Toronto: Canada. Fiftieth session 27 February – 10 March. Commission on the Status of Women: New York, 2006. P: 3.

Family pressure and expectations	Count	10	2	12
	% within Gender	11,6%	7,7%	
sexual orientation and fear of persecution	Count	1	0	1
	% within Gender	1,2%	0,0%	
Follow family member or friends	Count	2	4	6
	% within Gender	2,3%	15,4%	
Family problems	Count	7	6	13
	% within Gender	8,1%	23,1%	
Sexism or violence based on your sex	Count	0	1	1
	% within Gender	0,0%	3,8%	
To have a better future	Count	40	7	47
	% within Gender	46,5%	26,9%	
Total	Count	86	26	112

For male migrants, to have a better future is the main objective of their migration. However, to have a better future is open to different interpretations. The meaning of 'to have a better future' can have economic, social, educational and cultural dimensions. The objective of having a better future also implies a subjective dissatisfaction with the existing living conditions in the country of origin. Conversely, the majority of women respondents predetermined their objective in bettering their economic living conditions, then it is followed by having a better future. Women migrants, bearing in mind their educational level and their prior working status in home countries, are aware that to have a better life is based primarily on improving their financial conditions. For women, family problems are also a strong motivating factor in women's migration. Migration is, in such case, an escape from family problems that may encompass several forms of gender-specific family-related issues. Forced marriages, domestic violence, or genital mutilations are usually a key driver for women to venture out and undertake the risks of migration.

To conclude the discussion about gender and propensity to migrate, drawing on the findings of the survey, women's status and roles in the sub-Saharan sending countries have an

undeniable impact on their propensity to migrate. This impact must be considered at three levels: the individual, the familial and the societal. At the individual level, sub-Saharan African women belong to a young active age category but less educated than their male counterparts. The underestimated importance of girls' education in several sub-Saharan countries handicap the improvement of their potentials and limit the available work opportunities. Lacking a high level of education also increases the likelihood of women's exploitation and getting weak remuneration. Preventing girls from education stems from the belief that girls' fundamental role is to get married and to take care of their dependent family members. That is why families often reinforce teaching girls how to be a 'good' daughter, wife, and mother. Women, as a result, end up financially dependent and lacking the necessary autonomy in the household and eventually lacking the ability to make an independent decision to migrate.

Religious beliefs are another factor that may contribute to weakening sub-Saharan African women's tendency to migrate. Based on the previous discussion and illustrations, Muslim communities are more reserved about women migrating independently in comparison to women from other religions. Muslim women are not allowed to travel alone, especially when we are talking about irregular migration. However, as much as these factors can curtail women's propensity to migrate, they can be pushing factors to migrate. In other words, under the pressure of family restrictions and social norms, women may feel the urge to escape these impediments for the aim of improving their living conditions. Thus, gender inequalities in the sending country can function dichotomously. Migration, in such a case, is a salvation from the prevailing gender inequalities in home countries, hoping to find gender parity in the receiving countries. The question to be triggered in this respect is: does migration empower women?

6. Gender and the Journey to Morocco

Irregular transit migration is usually a long journey that consists of several stages. The journey to Morocco is a very important stage in sub-Saharan migration discourse. This journey is a determinative phase that might have a crucial impact on migrants' intentions and eventually on the entire process. Stepping out of the home country is very often carried out with expectations and after so much planning that maybe have lasted for years. However, very few migrants experience a smooth journey as expected. The majority of migrants undergo several harrowing challenges and impediments that might put their plans at risk. The irregularity of the means that migrants undertake sets them in vulnerable situations and exposes them to multiple hazardous travelling conditions. These crucial migratory conditions have been highlighted in previous studies and reports, but very little has been said about the ways these impediments are engendered. This section is going to focus on migrants' journey complexities from a gender perspective.

6.1. Gendered Plans and Strategies for the Journey

Irregular migration is a risky life-changing project that demands long and careful planning, which might take years in several cases. There are several migratory land, sea and air routes that migrants use to reach their intended destinations in North Africa and Europe. In Africa, overland routes are classified among the busiest routes that connect sub-Saharan African countries with North African countries. The growing reliance on overland routes is the result of the excessive and constant restrictive migration regulations and the intensive border surveillance over sea routes. Although a few migrants choose air routes, the safest method to North African countries, the majority of migrants, crossing the land borders, either do not have enough finances to afford airway routes, require an entry visa to trespass other countries, or both circumstances. Migrants may undertake several land routes depending on the location of

their home countries, their desired destination, and the degree of jeopardies. This section will focus fundamentally on highlighting the tactics and strategies that migrants established and evolved to cross the overland routes and the means of transportation they used.

6.1.1. Journey's Financial Costs

At the outset of the journey, the first mission that a migrant is supposed to make is to gather finances to pay for the journey's expenses. Migrants use different methods to get the money they need for their journey, which in some cases requires savings for years. During the journey of crossing Sahara to North Africa, migrants spend hundreds of dollars to pay smugglers, bribes, transportation, and daily necessities. In 2003, it was estimated that the cost of a boat crossing from Morocco to Spain ranges from 5000 dirhams up to 8000 dirhams (approximately US\$ 500 up to US\$ 800) for male adult Moroccans. For adult female Moroccans, the cost is on average 5 000 dirhams (500 US\$); whereas for minor children (13 to 16 years), the cost is 2000 dirhams (approximately 200 US\$). For a Francophone sub-Saharan African (reputed to be relatively poor), the price is 8,000 dirhams (US\$ 800); but the price is even higher for an Anglophone sub-Saharan Africans, who are regarded as more resourceful and richer, especially Nigerians, the cost is 12,000 dirhams (1,200 US\$). The price differential between a Francophone and an Anglophone is also usually explained by being vulnerable to incur higher and more menacing risks in case of "capture".¹ However, these figures were found in 2003 and certainly as a response to the current increased restrictions and surveillance in North African and European borders, smugglers tend to charge migrants higher prices.

Before reaching the point of crossing the borders to Europe, migrants spend hundreds of dollars since the very beginning of their journey from their origin country. For the interviewed migrants in this study, the costs of their journey to Morocco vary between 3000

¹ Lahlou, M. "Le Maghreb : Lieux de Transit". *La Pensée du Midi*. 2/10. 40 – 51, 2003. P : 51.

dirhams and 20000 dirhams (300 US\$ and 2000 US\$). Similar to coastal trespassing costs, due to enhancing the intensification of restrictions on migration, border and police officials tend to charge higher bribes, and migrants use increasingly secondary routes through the desert, which are often more dangerous.¹ The following table and graph shed light on the strategies that migrants use to have financial resources for their trips.

Table 15: Gender and travel cost strategies

		Gender		Total
		Men	Women	
Travel cost	Savings	50,0%	69,2%	54,5%
	Family's help	30,2%	19,2%	27,7%
	Borrow (family or friends)	19,8%	11,5%	17,9%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

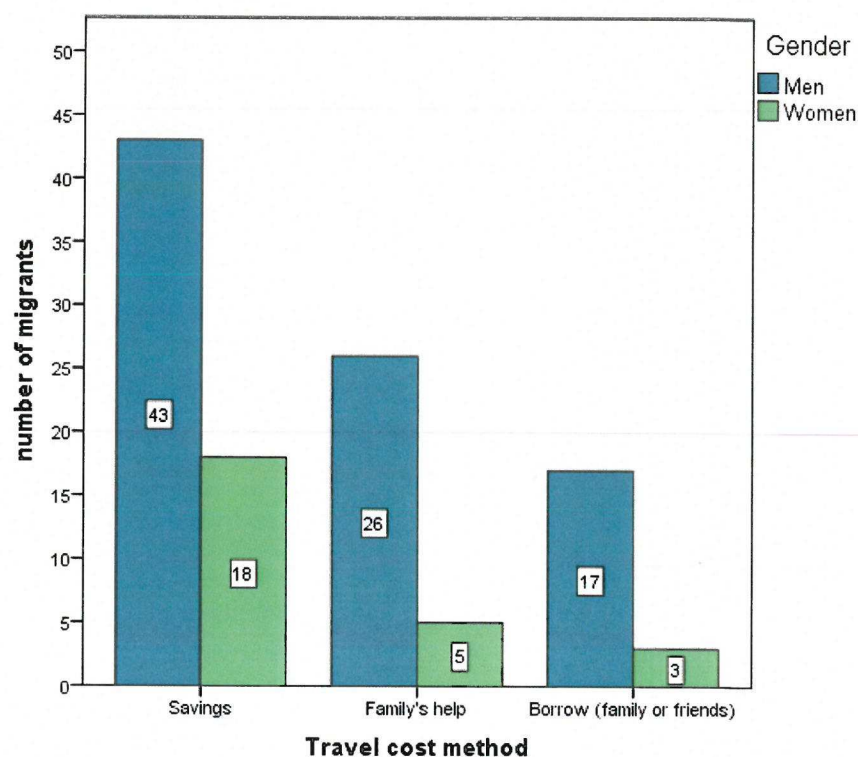


Figure 18: Migrants' strategy for managing travel cost

¹ Brachet, J. "Migrants, Transporteurs et Agents d'Etat : Rencontre sur l'Axe Agadez-Sebha" *Autrepart* 36, 2005. 43 – 62. P : 56. <https://www.cairn.info/revue-autrepart-2005-4-page-43.htm#> Accessed on 10/09/2019.

According to the survey's results, the majority of migrants relied primarily on themselves to finance their journey. Half of all male migrants relied on their own savings to afford the costs of migration, whereas more than two-thirds of female migrants saved their own finances to afford the journey. Some migrants, because of not having enough finances, they plan to stay in other transit countries where they work to save again for the rest of their journey. Irregular 'transit' migration is characterized by the constant mobility of migrants and saving money for the journey is a ceaseless process during the whole journey until migrants reach their intended destination countries. On the other and, one-third of male migrants approximately admitted that they have received financial help from family, whilst less than a quarter of women migrants received financial support from family. These results demonstrate that women's migration is less supported within the family compared to men's migration. Families usually would prefer men's migration over women's migration because of the assumption that irregular migration underlies strenuous and hazardous conditions. Men are also considered as being more capable of overcoming these impediments. The graph below reinforces the previously mentioned findings and reveals more information, about migrants' social network and its significance during this phase of the journey.

6.1.2. Migrants' Social Networks

The majority of male migrants, more than half, received moral or financial support from family while it is the opposite for female migrants. However, it is suggested by several studies that female migrants have a tendency to financially help by sending more remittances to their dependent family members. In such cases, women rather than men will be more likely to migrate. Boyd (2013) clearly indicated that in the case of being perceived to be more reliable in sending remittances to family members remaining behind, and/or because of high labor demand for "female" stereotyped skills such as caregiving and nursing, women will have more

chances to be supported by the family to migrate.¹ Therefore, female migration is encouraged in two specific cases. The first case is when the left-behind family members, especially parents and spouse, ensure that the migrating female is going to send more remittances compared to male migrants; the second case is when there is a high demand for feminized jobs in destination countries, which eventually facilitates female migrants' integration in the job market.

Figure 19: Migrants and family support

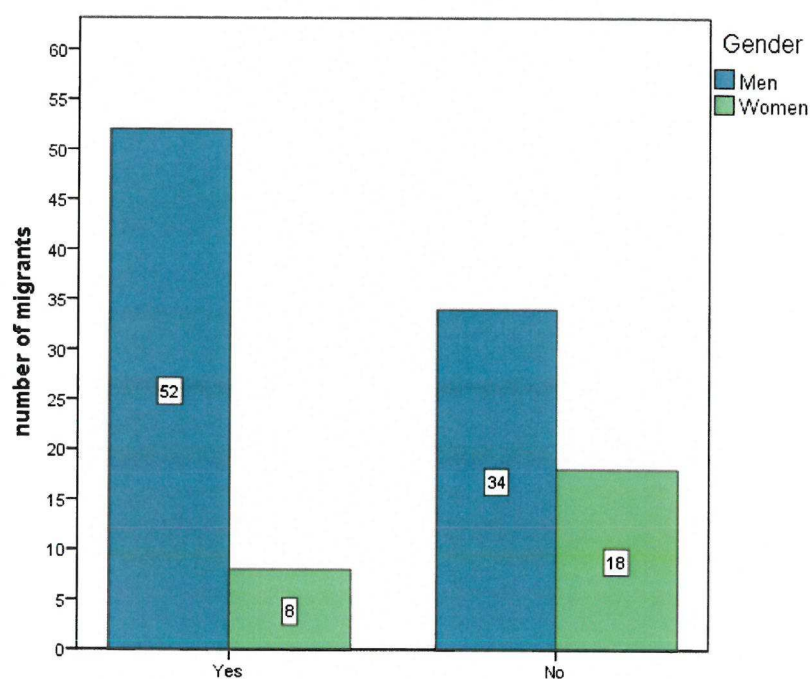


Table 16: migrants and their families' support

		Gender		Total
		Men	Women	
migrants' relation to their family	Yes	60,5%	30,8%	53,6%
	No	39,5%	69,2%	46,4%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

¹ Boyd, M., "Women in International Migration: The Context of Exit and Entry for Empowerment and Exploitation", High-level panel on "The Gender Dimensions of International Migration", United Nations, Canada, 2006. P: 5.

This table shows the remarkable gender discrepancy among migrants in relation to their families' support. While the majority of male migrants have received families' support, the majority of their female counterparts did not. The family's support plays a vital role in motivating/handicapping the decision to migrate. The following table highlights the kinship between migrants and the family member who supported them. According to the survey's results, women migrants were supported by their husbands or partners more than any other family member did. However, we should take into consideration that several of our respondents are married and the purpose of their mobility could be joining their husbands. In such case, husbands support women migrants financially and morally primarily to join them. That was the case of a female migrant from Senegal (respondent 3)¹. She is married and her husband came first to Morocco and then after a year she, accompanied by their two children (a boy and a girl), joined him. He took charge of all travelling expenses for his family. Nevertheless, another female interviewee from Senegal (respondent 4)² has migrated first, joining her sister-in-law in Morocco, and left behind her husband and her six-year-old daughter. The female migrant established her own business (a small restaurant) that did not go very well and then she ended up closing it. She explained also that her husband provided her 'authorisation' to travel alone. Having already a family member in Morocco contributed obviously to motivating her to migrate to Morocco for a better job opportunity. Based on what she expressed, once she will become financially stable, her husband and children will join her.

Having a family member or a friend in the destination country, who can play the role of an informant, is a very significant element in female migration. Women become more determined to migrate when they are informed about the living conditions by a well-trusted source of information. Having someone in the destination country, with whom a female migrant

¹ Respondent 3, woman, 30 years old, from Senegal.

² Respondent 4, women, 26 years old, from Senegal.

is familiar, makes them feel safer in a new living environment and culture, where they know no one else. Respondent 4 overtly expressed the fact that her sister-in-law helped her to come to Morocco. She is actually living with her sister-in-law. Thus, having a reliable person in the destination country is going to facilitate several aspects of living, like having shelter, getting familiar with the new environment and being advised of how to integrate, and surely paving the way towards having a job and making a living. The following table demonstrates the fact that women are less supported by family members compared to male migrants and the kinship relationship is more diverse for male migrants.

Table 17: migrants' supporting family members

	Gender		Total
	Men	Women	
Family members	38,4%	69,2%	45,5%
all family	1,2%		0,9%
Brother	7,0%	3,8%	6,3%
brother, partner	2,3%		1,8%
brother, sister	1,2%		0,9%
Father	5,8%		4,5%
father, mother	2,3%	3,8%	2,7%
Husband		11,5%	2,7%
Mother	16,3%		12,5%
mother, brother	3,5%		2,7%
mother, brother, partner	1,2%		0,9%
mother, sister	2,3%		1,8%
mother, sister, brother	1,2%		0,9%
Parents	3,5%		2,7%
parents, partner	1,2%	3,8%	1,8%
parents, sister	2,3%		1,8%
Partner	2,3%		1,8%
Sister	1,2%	3,8%	1,8%
sister, husband		3,8%	0,9%
Uncle	2,3%		1,8%
Wife	4,7%		3,6%
Total	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

The previously discussed findings and patterns in migration open up on another controversial but less tackled factor in migration processes, which is migrants' social networks. Migrants' social network is a significant mechanism that may contribute to determining migratory patterns. Previous studies have found out a strong relationship between social network and all migration stages. Migration researchers undoubtedly recognized that migratory processes are deeply connected to social networks and both migration and networks are embedded within wider international and national legislative, economic, political and social frameworks that construct the actions of individuals and the meanings they attach to them.¹ Migrants' social networks then play a key but underestimated role in initiating the decision to migrate, migration costs, the journey's conditions and employment prospects in destination countries. It is emphasized that social networks play a prominent role in several migratory factors, "*from employment prospects and amenity differentials to life-cycle considerations and migration costs.*"² Boyd (1989) articulates in her article, where she focused on presenting an overview of research findings on the determinants and consequences of personal networks in relation to migration, that:

social relations both transmit and shape the effect of social and economic structures on individuals, families, and households. Additionally, social ties transmit information about places of destination (including places of return migration) and sources of settlement assistance. Thus, studying networks, particularly those linked to family and households, permits understanding migration as a social product – not as the sole result of individual decisions made by individual actors, not as the

¹ Bilecen, B. (et al.) "The missing link: Social network analysis in migration and transnationalism." *Social Networks*, 2017. P: 1. DOI : 10.1016/j.socnet.2017.07.001

² Blumenstock, J. (et al.) "Migration and the Value of Social Networks". *University of Berkley*, 2019. P: 2. http://www.jblumenstock.com/files/papers/migration_networks.pdf. Accessed on 08/08/2019

sole result of economic or political parameters, but rather as an outcome of all of these factors in interaction.¹

The previous studies emphasize that social networks influence an individual's migration experience by providing utility at two distinct levels: first, that networks facilitate access to information, for instance about jobs and living conditions in the destination country; and second, social networks function as a source of safety by providing tangible and social support.² Respondent 8³, for example, explained that when she was working in Senegal, she did not have any intention to migrate to Morocco. However, meeting friends, who circulate to Morocco, convinced her that working in Morocco and establishing her own small business will enable her to make more money. Based on the narratives of respondents 8 and 4, social networks contributed primarily to their decision-making of migration. Blumenstock and his colleagues (2019), in their very recent study that focuses on improving our understanding of the impact of social networks on individual's decision to migrate and the extent of their utility, elucidate that *“that the average migrant derives more utility from ‘interconnected’ networks that provide social support than from ‘expansive’ networks that efficiently transmit information.”*⁴ Since this section has previously highlighted the financial support that social networks provide to this study's respondents, the following table sheds light on the informational utility of migrants' social contacts.

Table 18: Migrants and smugglers

	Gender		Total
	Men	Women	

¹ Boyd, M. “Family and personal networks in international migration: Recent developments and new agendas”, *International Migration Review*, 23/3. 1989. 638-670. P: 642. DOI: 10.1177/019791838902300313

² Blumenstock, J. (et al.) “Migration and the Value of Social Networks”. *University of Berkley*, 2019. P: 2. http://www.jblumenstock.com/files/papers/migration_networks.pdf. Accessed on 08/08/2019

³ Respondent 8 : A female migrant from Gambia, divorced widow, remarried with a Moroccan (Fatiha marriage), has got three children, the eldest in Dakar studying, two in Gambia, and a newborn baby in Morocco.

⁴ Blumenstock, J. (et al.) “Migration and the Value of Social Networks”. *University of Berkley*, 2019. P: 1. http://www.jblumenstock.com/files/papers/migration_networks.pdf. Accessed on 08/08/2019

Smuggler	By myself	42,3%	28,6%	39,4%
	Friends	55,1%	52,4%	54,5%
	Family member	2,6%	19,0%	6,1%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

The table shows that the majority of migrants relied on their friends to put them in contact with the smuggler or the person who is supposed to guide them throughout the journey. Otherwise, they rely on their family members either as informants, guides or both. For instance, Respondent 1, a male migrant from Senegal traveled with his Senegalese friend, who is already living in Morocco and visits Senegal once in a while. Furthermore, other studies suggest that social networks have an ambivalent influence on migrants' decision to migrate. On one hand, migrants' social networks provide efficient utility and facilities that may encourage individuals to migrate; but on the other hand, larger networks may also disincentivize migration in case of increasing the likelihood of competing over opportunities and resources among migrants, or in case of worrying about the negative outcomes that may affect those left behind after their departure.¹

To sum up, several researchers in migration studies acknowledge that social networks, interacting with other political, social, and economic factors, may increase the level of sex selectivity in migration flows. Sub-Saharan women, migrating independently, receive less support from their family members. However, their tendency to migrate increases when they have a well-trusted person in the receiving country, who is supposed to provide accurate information and a sense of safety.

¹ Blumenstock, J. (et al.) "Migration and the Value of Social Networks". *University of Berkley*, 2019. P: 3. http://www.jblumenstock.com/files/papers/migration_networks.pdf. Accessed on 08/08/2019

6.1.3. Migrants' Entry Methods to Morocco

Transportation is another very important element in planning for the journey during the migration. This section is going to tackle the methods migrants had chosen to reach Morocco. Based on the results, the majority of migrants entered the Moroccan territory using cars, feet, or a combination of the two. Agadez is considered as one of the main crossing cities by migrants that connect the sub-Saharan region with the Maghreb. Agadez is located on a historical crossroads of trade routes that now extend deep into West and Central Africa. From Agadez, migration routes fork to the Sebha oasis in Libya and to Tamanrasset in southern Algeria. From Tamanrasset in Algeria, migrants move to the northern cities or enter Morocco via the border near Oujda. From Oujda in Morocco, migrants either try to enter the EU by crossing the sea from the north coast or entering the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta or Melilla or move to Rabat and Casablanca, where they settle down at least temporarily.¹

Table 19: Means of transportation to Morocco

			Gender		Total
			Men	Women	
Means of transportation	Plane	Count	8	5	13
		% within Gender	9,3%	19,2%	
	Bus	Count	8	1	9
		% within Gender	9,3%	3,8%	
	Car	Count	68	20	88
		% within Gender	79,1%	76,9%	
	Feet	Count	59	6	65
		% within Gender	68,6%	23,1%	
	Others	Count	1	0	1
		% within Gender	1,2%	0,0%	
Total		Count	86	26	112

¹ De Haas, H. "Irregular Migration from West Africa to the Maghreb and the European Union: An Overview of Recent Trends." International Organization for Migration: Geneva. P: 17.

The overwhelming majority of irregular migrants arrive in Morocco from Algeria, crossing from *Maghnia* over to Oujda. The southern border with Mauritania is more difficult to cross, due to mines, heavy patrolling, and the particular security situation prevailing as a result of the unresolved Sahara issue.¹ However, the interviewed migrants from Senegal stated that they entered through crossing the Southern borders of Morocco. This is due to the geographical proximity of Senegal to Morocco from the South and to the visa-free migratory procedure from Senegal to Morocco. Nevertheless, the respondents mentioned that they had to pay the officials at the border. Some other migrants, especially those who do not require a visa, chose the air routes. From a gender perspective, female migrants similarly to their male counterparts tend to rely heavily on cars as the main means of transportation, in order to avoid crossing the borders by feet as it entails more risks and dangers. The following sub-section will be devoted to examining the route's jeopardies.

6.2. Gendering the Journey's Impediments and Jeopardies

Sub-Saharan migrants are likely to experience numerous hardships during their venture in the vast Sahara route to Morocco. These difficulties take many forms with fluctuating levels of danger. This sub-chapter explores the jeopardies that migrants within the studied sample encountered and focuses on demonstrating their gendered aspects.

6.2.1. Migratory Routes to Morocco

Some migrants within the sample had a legal authorization and could afford travelling to Morocco by plane. The survey's results show that only (7,4%) of migrants were able to enter Morocco via the airway route. In the meanwhile, many other migrants do not have the legal or

¹ Papadopoulou, K. A. *Transit Migration: The Missing Link between Emigration and Settlement*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008. P: 105.

financial potentials to make this safe choice. Eventually, having fewer options compel the majority of migrants to cross the overland routes, which majorly comprise of desert and wasteland.

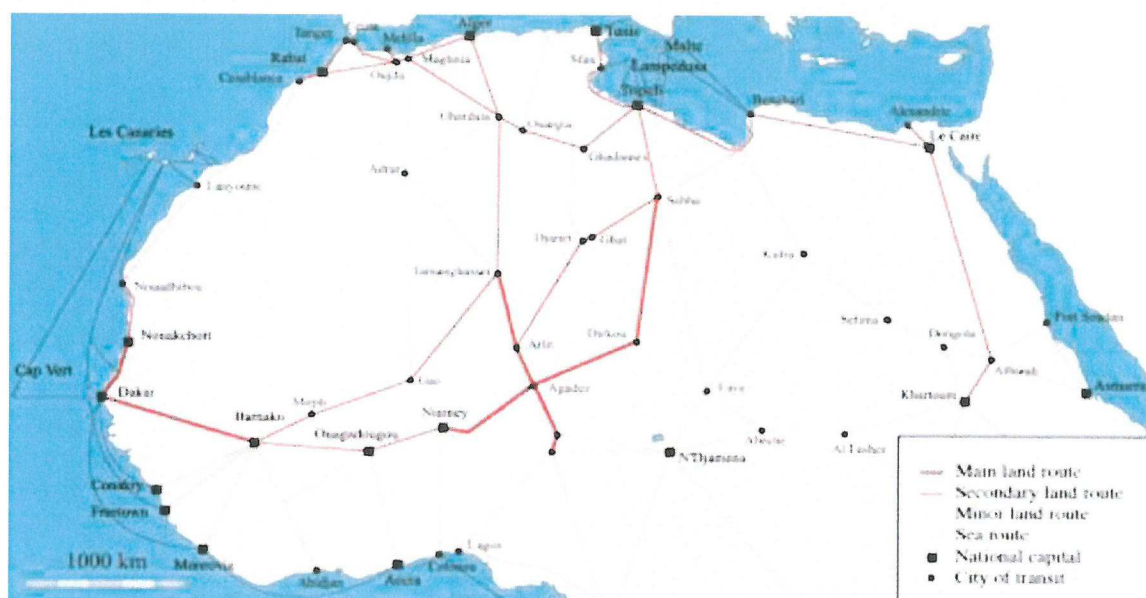


Figure 20: Map of Main routes of present-day Trans-Saharan migration.¹

This map demonstrates the main routes that migrants opt for and go through until they arrive at their destination and which is very often a European territory. Migratory trajectories take the form of changing connected channels. The first is from East Africa (Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea), through Sudan to Libya. Migrants from the Horn of Africa also cross over the Gulf of Aden to Yemen. It is striking to know that Yemen in 2006 hosted 88,000 refugees from these countries. The second route is the one from West and Central Africa (Liberia, Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast, Burkina Faso, Guinea, Ghana, Cameroon) to Mali and Niger. The route then splits to Libya, or to Algeria and Morocco, or to Mauritania and Morocco. The third route connects Morocco through Algeria to Libya and Tunisia, a horizontal corridor for migrants already ‘in transit’ in the region, who move eastwards or westwards according to rumours about where it

¹ Frenzen, N. “Institut Thomas More: Towards a Sustainable Security in the Maghreb: An Opportunity for the Region,” *A Commitment for the European Union*, Paris. 2010.
<https://migrantsatsea.org/2010/04/28/thomas-more-institute-towards-a-sustainable-security-in-the-maghreb-an-opportunity-for-the-region/> Accessed on 13/06/2018.

is currently easier to cross or where jobs are available. This route is also consumed by the Maghrebi migrants. Stretching right across the Canary Islands, Mauritania seems particularly entangled in the transit migration phenomenon. Senegal and Gambia are also new departure points for the Canaries.¹ These migratory routes remain unofficial and changeable depending on the elements of security, the countries' border controls, and the destination/transit country. Migrants usually rely on the transferred hearsay from other migrants or on the smugglers' instructions. The multiple routes from Libya and Morocco to Europe seem to be preferred heavily by migrants because of the multiplicity of departure points. However, due to the many reported cases of human rights violations in Libya and the tightening of coastal borders surveillance by Italy, Morocco's routes become the safest.

The journey's duration to Morocco keeps fluctuating; it might take days, weeks, months or even years, depending on several intervening factors. The geographical proximity of migrants' departure country and their financial supplies are crucial determinants that identify the overland journey's duration. The following table presents the duration of the journey that this study's respondents spent crossing the desert to Morocco. Almost half of all migrants (43,6% the equivalent of 48 migrants in numbers) spent a period of time that ranges between one month to six months, a quarter of them (25% the equivalent of 12) are female migrants. From another angle, almost half of all female migrants spent this similar period, while one-third of them spent less than one month of travelling. The category of migrants, who spent less than one month, may include those who have travelled by plane too (in addition to two respondents who did not reply to this question).

Table 20: Journey's length

	Gender		Total
	Men	Women	

¹ Papadopoulou, K. A. *Transit Migration: The Missing Link between Emigration and Settlement*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008. P: 94.

Journey's length	Less than one month	12,9%	36,0%	18,2%
	One month to six months	42,4%	48,0%	43,6%
	Six months to one year	23,5%	8,0%	20,0%
	One year to one year and a half	9,4%		7,3%
	Two years	2,4%	4,0%	2,7%
	More than two years	9,4%	4,0%	8,2%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Regarding this research's interviews, respondents from Senegal, both female and male claimed that they spent one week or less crossing the Southern borders using a car (between four and six days). The female respondent from Ivory Coast entered via the airway route. Whereas two immigrants from Mali have spent years in Algeria to decide to get to Morocco. In fact, based on their narratives, their prior purpose was to work in Algeria. Respondent 6 spent 2 years and respondent 7 spent 3 years but they both were dissatisfied with the strenuous living and working conditions in Algeria. As a result of their resentment, they decided to move to Morocco. These two Malian migrants are a good example of the common biased sub-Saharan migration. Sub-Saharan migration is very often linked to Europe. Media and politicians tend to disseminate the idea that all sub-Saharan migrants have the same intention of crossing the borders to Europe. Their main objective is to justify the restrictive migratory policies and regulations. Another objective is to promote the local population's concerns about migration flows and reinforce xenophobic attitudes by electing politicians and leaders who are against migration. Furthermore, another factor that may make the journey's duration longer is financial supplies. Respondent 5 pointed out the fact that there are some migrants who go first to Mauritania where they spend a few months there to work and then they attempt to cross the borders. As a result, we can deduce that the period's length of the migratory journey across several African countries can be extended due to different factors: First, the financial supplies; second, the geographical proximity of the home country to the intended destination country;

third, the change of migrants' plans and intentions; and last to the encountered impediments during the travelling.

6.2.2. Overland Route and its Insecurities

The overland journey of migration from the sub-Saharan region to Morocco is very likely to be interrupted by several dangerous impediments. The Sahara routes, regardless of their multiplicity and variations, are very often fraught with several diverse dangers. A number of migrants reported coming across groups of dead bodies in the desert.¹ Between 1996 and 2007 an estimated 1079 people died trying to cross the desert, more than half of them during the last three years.² Media and reports focus heavily on collecting data of deaths on the Mediterranean crossing while very little information is available about the tragic human cost of Sahara crossing migration. For Collyer (2006), "the greatest difficulties of the journey were usually encountered during the crossing of the Sahara." Therefore, the journey in the Sahara, along with its difficulties and dangers, remains less mediatized compared to the overwhelming focus on the risks of crossing the Mediterranean borders.³ This sub-section will be devoted to discussing the jeopardies that migrants confront and undergo, and will tend as well to highlight the gendered forms of these jeopardies. The table underneath presents a list of hardships and difficulties that the respondents of this study encountered during their journey with the exclusion of 13 migrants (eight male and five female migrants) who entered Morocco via the airway route.

First, the overland journey is fraught with not only one precise danger; migrants may encounter several different sorts of dangerous impediments. For this purpose, it is worth

¹ Collyer, M. "States of Insecurity: Consequences of Saharan Transit Migration," Centre on Migration Policy and Society, University of Oxford, Working Paper No. 31, 2006. P: 14.

² Papadopoulou, K. A. *Transit Migration: The Missing Link between Emigration and Settlement*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008. P: 95.

³ Collyer, M. "States of Insecurity: Consequences of Saharan Transit Migration," Centre on Migration Policy and Society, University of Oxford, Working Paper No. 31, 2006. P: 14.

mentioning that migrants were given the option to select multiple answers to the question of forms of insecurities encountered throughout their trip. The results show that lack of food and water are the most common and shared impediments among migrants by constituting (39,4%) together. The length of the migratory journey in the Sahara and its unexpected delaying factors may put migrants in a vulnerable situation of running out of basic necessities. While some migrants might experience a smooth process without confronting any obstacles, the majority undergo several difficulties. Respondent 5, for instance, with his cousin did not encounter any problem during their journey to Morocco, he stated:

when we came, we were 5 in the car, I, my cousin and three Moroccans. And really we had no problem at all. Because the money we paid, it is that man who should take charge of everything, it was he who had the responsibility of everything. When we arrived at the frontiers, we had to get off the car to present our documents and sign some others and then we go back to the car. That's all. He took care of everything else. But it is very difficult for others. There are **some people who spend even three months** to get to Morocco. There are some sub-Saharan neighbors like from Mali or Gambia, Guinea Bissau their journey is exhausting. **The relationship between Morocco and Senegal** is also not the same as with other nationalities. We, especially the Senegalese, they know us very well. It does **facilitate** the process for us. Otherwise, until nowadays if you go to the frontiers you can find **other migrants from other nationalities sleeping outdoors (à l'air libre)** for months with cold and heat. It is unbearable. It is very difficult for them.¹

The scarcity of basic needs in the middle of nowhere for a long period may lead to life-threatening consequences, especially when smugglers abandon the migrant during the journey. Being left unexpectedly in the wasteland of Sahara increases the likelihood of not only running

¹ Respondent 5, man, 42 years old, from Senegal.

out survival necessities but also encountering several other forms of insecurities. For example, in a forthcoming UNHCR report based on interviews with people, who had crossed the sea to Italy, at least (44%) reported witnessing deaths during their journeys.¹ Respondent 4 was also a victim of abandonment in the middle of the journey. When she was asked about the risks she underwent during her travelling, she expressed:

during the trip, yes. It was a little difficult. **There were some moments when I felt even discouraged.** Because the Moroccans who brought me, when we arrived at the borders between Mauritania and Morocco, **they abandoned me.** I stayed there for four days. We agreed with them and we paid to bring me to Fes. I had nowhere to go, no food, nothing. It was very difficult. I phoned my husband and **he got panicked** because I was alone, I know no one in a foreign country. So my husband got in contact with and paid another person to bring me to Fes.

Being abandoned in the wasteland may expose any migrant to several forms of insecurities. Yet, the abandonment of a female migrant in the middle of nowhere, expose her to more vulnerabilities and forms of exploitation (these gendered forms will be highlighted in the upcoming discussion). Such unexpected and unplanned obstacles are very likely to discourage female migrants from pursuing their planned destinations as the respondent expressed. Additionally to this, circulating such information among female migrants and other women in their home countries also may dishearten their decision to migrate. On the other hand, the overland route consists of multiple forked routes, in which getting lost is easy. In this case, the majority of individuals migrating for the first time are not familiar with the overland routes. This necessitates them a smuggler (indicator or a guide as some of the interviewees called them), who is supposed to guide them through the desert. However, the smuggler, who can play

¹UNHCR, "Desperate journeys: Refugees and migrants arriving in Europe at Europe's borders." UNHCR, The UN Refugee Agency, January 2019, P: 14.

the role of facilitator of the journey, can very likely be the source of several troubles to migrants. Based on this study's findings, (14,6 %) of migrants experienced financial exploitation by the smugglers. That was also the case of respondent 4 since she paid to be guided throughout all the trajectory but she was abandoned in the middle of it. There is actually no contract between the migrant and the smuggler. Therefore, the migrant and his/her family have no guarantees that the travelling conditions will be attained. The migrant's life depends on the smuggler's integrity. Thus, the absolute reliance on smugglers to cross the unknown in the vast Sahara makes migrants extremely vulnerable to numerous forms of exploitation. Based on the survey's findings, financial exploitation seems to be the most frequent and shared form of exploitation encountered by migrants and then followed by violence. Smugglers in many cases exert violence over migrants and several of them end up with injuries in the aftermath of these drastic circumstances. Furthermore, migrants are also very vulnerable to experience health problems and injuries throughout the journey. These physical damages can be the result of the journey itself and lack of basic needs or can be caused by smugglers or migrants within the same journey. Migrants in some cases may also be the source of physical violence or financial violence exerted on other migrants within the same trip. The two forms of violence constitute (9%), but (3,1%) of the respondents claimed of undergoing sexual harassment or assault by other migrants.

The above discussion of the survey's results provide valuable information but still inadequate to understand comprehensively migration insecurities. This, unfortunately, was the case of several previous studies, which have produced generalized and gender-blind explanations of migration processes. Marchand (2008) insists that the nexus between migration and insecurities, which can be traced through all dimensions and stages of the migratory experience, is undoubtedly gendered, creating different types of insecurity and violence for men and women and depending on their varying social and economic positions and the power

relations between them.¹ Hence, it is necessary to explore the ways gender intersects with these migratory insecurities and molds differentially migrants' journeys. All the previously presented findings of the journey's impediments are engendered in the following table.

Table 21: The journey's risks

			Gender		Total
			Men	Women	
Risks and jeopardises	Lack of food	Count	55	12	67
		% within Gender	70,5%	57,1%	
	Thirst and dehydration	Count	29	4	33
		% within Gender	37,2%	19,0%	
	Financial exploitation by the smugglers	Count	31	6	37
		% within Gender	39,7%	28,6%	
	Theft or depredation by other migrants	Count	9	3	12
		% within Gender	11,5%	14,3%	
	Become a victim of trafficking	Count	15	0	15
		% within Gender	19,2%	0,0%	
	Sexual exploitation by the smuggler	Count	4	4	8
		% within Gender	5,1%	19,0%	
	Sexual harassment or assault by other migrants	Count	2	6	8
		% within Gender	2,6%	28,6%	
	Health problems or injuries	Count	24	7	31
		% within Gender	30,8%	33,3%	
	Violence (from traffickers)	Count	25	3	28
		% within Gender	32,1%	14,3%	
	Violence (from other migrants)	Count	8	3	11
		% within Gender	10,3%	14,3%	
	Others	Count	2	2	4
		% within Gender	2,6%	9,5%	
Total		Count	78	21	99

¹ Marchand, M. H. "The Violence of Development and the Migration/Insecurities Nexus: labour migration in a North American context", *Third World Quarterly*. 29/ 7, 2008. 1375-1388. P: 1387.
DOI: 10.1080/01436590802386575

Despite the fact that male respondents of this research's sample outnumber female respondents, the analysis of the present data is going to focus on the percentages within each gender. Migrants, both women and men, are likely to share similar obstacles, but this does not eliminate the fact that there are also disparities at the level of the way they experience these risks and obstacles. For instance, both genders experience the inadequacy of food during their trip at a similar level. Respondent 7 mentioned during the interview that he and all other migrants survived mainly on biscuits and water throughout their journey in the Sahara that lasted for one week. The scarcity of basic needs is a common circumstance that both women and men migrants may experience. The following section is going to focus on discussing women migrants-related insecurities.

6.2.3. Significance of 'Female Body' Throughout the Journey

Smugglers or traffickers/ migrants-related insecurities are manifested in disparate ways. While male migrants underwent financial exploitation by smugglers at the second level, female migrants were more subjected to health problems and injuries. Indeed, the specificities of women's body make them more vulnerable to health problems and injuries, which might have been caused by the traffickers, other migrants, or simply by the journey's natural inconveniences. In this respect, previous studies showed that women are more likely to bring their children with them than men. They even take sometimes the risks of the journey during their pregnancy, which eventually exposes them to health complications and miscarriages in some cases. The following pyramid presents a comparative classification of encountered insecurities by both male and female migrants. The colorful part lists the most common impediments that male migrants experienced; whereas we find on the other side the obstacles that female migrants underwent.

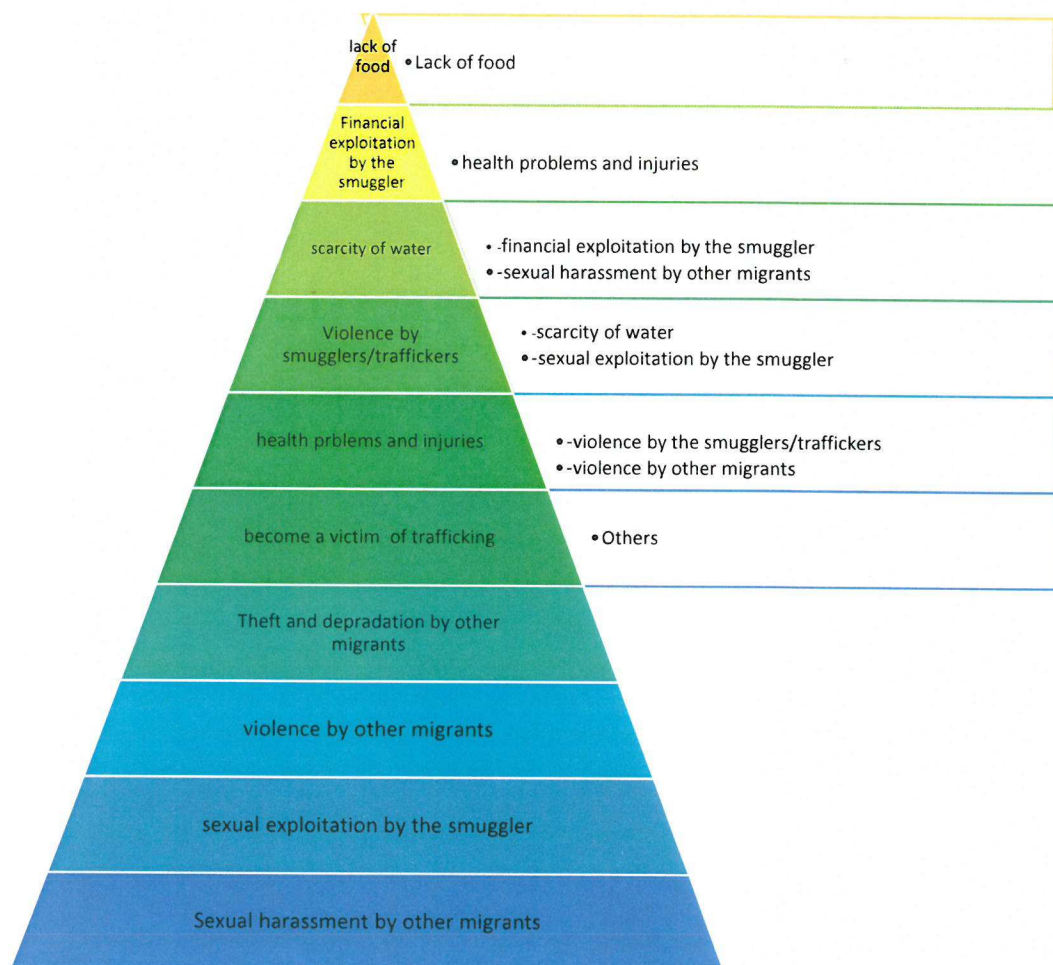


Figure 21: levels of insecurities encountered by female and male migrants within the sample.

At the third level, female migrants underwent financial exploitation by smugglers and sexually harassed or assaulted by other migrants, whereas thirst and the scarcity of water are occurring more among male migrants. Traffickers can be very useful in guiding migrants throughout the unknown of the desert and taking them to safety zones; however, they are very likely to be the source of different forms of insecurities as well. Some migrants reported several cases of kidnapping of migrants traveling from the East and Horn of Africa while crossing the

border between Eritrea and Sudan. The kidnappers held migrants as captives and demanded high ransoms of up to \$8,000 from their families to release them.¹

The survey shows that the migration insecurities, caused by traffickers, are embodied primarily in violence for men migrants. In the meanwhile, the majority of women migrants indicated that they underwent sexual exploitation by the traffickers, and then subsequently their experience of violence exerted by traffickers and migrants. Migrants have a different perception of the meaning of traffickers and smugglers. When respondent 7 was asked if he encountered any problem with the smugglers, he replied: “*no, the smugglers want only the money, and they will take you wherever you want. The smugglers do not have a problem. If you have money ‘Marhaba’ (you are welcome) but if you don’t have money ‘dégage’*”. Based on the migrant’s experience, the smugglers’ main concern is to receive all the required money; otherwise, the migrant’s chance to carry on the journey diminishes and the risk of being abandoned in the middle of nowhere increases. However, this testimony about the smuggler/migrant relationship is from a male migrant perspective.

For female migrants payments to the smugglers can be realized in different ways. In the aftermath of the gender differentials in education, employment, and economy distribution among women and men in several sub-Saharan African countries, women are compelled to face other coercive probabilities of the payment. Female migrants are very likely to find themselves forced to undergo blackmailing by the smugglers to exchange sexual relations for helping them to cross the desert. The data shows that (19%) of female migrants underwent sexual exploitation by smugglers, but none of the interviewees was a subject of such exchange during their journey. The absence of cases of female migrants sexually exploited by smugglers does not void the survey’s findings. Freedman (2012) emphasized “*sexual-economic exchange*” has become a

¹ UNHCR, “Desperate journeys: Refugees and migrants arriving in Europe at Europe’s borders.” UNHCR, The UN Refugee Agency, January 2019, P: 18.

recurrent process for sub-Saharan migrants. She explained that in several cases this exchange is perceived as “normal”, to the extent of becoming part of the journey. Two cases in this respect were mentioned in her research. The first case is of a female migrant, whose departure country was Mali, articulated that because she had no money, she could find a man who was ready to help her to reach Europe if she would have sex with him. She explained: “*“it’s just a way to get to Europe. I am prepared to pay with sex – with the smuggler or the border guard. The most important thing for me is to reach Europe.”*”¹ While for this migrant the sexual-economic exchange seems a possible and consensual way to pay the smuggler, it is a no escaping option for others. The second case is of a Nigerian woman who explained how she had been forced into having sex with the smuggler:

I paid around \$300 to come to Morocco. The person who was in charge told me that he would prepare a false passport for me, **but if I was caught he threatened to kill me if I talked about him.** Then, during the journey, **the guide asked for more money from all of us, and several times he asked me to have sex with him.** What was I going to do? I accepted. If I did not accept, he would have **abandoned me in the desert,** and you know what the desert means?²

International reports’ findings confirmed the fact that sexual exploitation exerted by smugglers, either consensual or forced, is very prevalent among female migrants. In other words, sexual violence against female migrants has become a normal process that they are very likely to experience. However, it is not mainly restricted to smugglers. Sexual violence towards female migrants during the journey may also be caused by male migrants. According to the survey’s findings, (28,9%) of female migrants experienced sexual harassment or assault exerted

¹ Freedman, J. “Analysing the Gendered Insecurities of Migration: a case study of female sub-Saharan African migrants in Morocco”. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*. 14/1, 2012. 36–55. P: 46. DOI: 10.1080/14616742.2011.631281

² Ibid, P: 46/47.

by male migrants. Médecin Sans Frontiers reported in (2008) forty-five cases of migrant women who have been victims of serious sexual assaults in the area. One Congolese woman interviewed described how she had been kidnapped by four Nigerians in the no-man's land. She was separated from her two young children and kept captive for a week while she was raped and sexually assaulted.¹ After five years MSF released another report about violence and vulnerability of irregular sub-Saharan migrants where they mentioned several cases of sexually abused women. The area between Maghnia and Oujda is a very precarious zone where gangs, traffickers, and smugglers operate with impunity and are responsible for many incidents of rape and sexual violence against migrant women. A twenty-seven years old migrant articulated to the organization that:

In Maghnia you are asked to pay fifty euros. **The women must pay 150 euros and those who can't are obliged to marry them, they rape them.** ... every night during four nights in a row the members of this group woke up and abused those who did not pay. **I was searched and hit with clubs four times. I still have scars and very badly.** Groups operating by nationality are highly organized: each group has a leader, a secretary and leaders - they are the ones who hit you with clubs. When finally **I could arrive in Oujda, I had to pay the "ghetto right" again.**²

The body, in the case of female migrants, has an ambivalent significance during the journey. For some female migrants, the body can be a pragmatic way to attain a precise objective, which is supposed to enable them to make more autonomous decisions. As a result, the female migrant's body provides her agency and becomes a source of empowerment. It is a strategy used by some female migrants to survive throughout the process of migration. They

¹ MSF. « Violence et Immigration, deux ans plus tard: Rapport sur l'immigration d'origine subsaharienne en situation irrégulière au Maroc et dans les zones frontalières », MSF, 2008, P: 11. Available at <http://www.msf.fr> Accessed on 28/11/2015.

² MSF, « Violences, Vulnérabilité et Migration : Bloqués aux Portes de l'Europe Un Rapport sur les Migrants Subsahariens en Situation Irrégulière au Maroc », MSF, 2013, P: 22. Available at https://www.msf.fr/sites/default/files/informemarruecos2013_fr_0.pdf Accessed on 01/09/2019.

employ this strategy to avoid other impediments that jeopardize their life or their dream of a better life, such as being abandoned in the wasteland. However, in the majority of cases, the body reflects a relationship of power between female migrants and the encountered men during their journey, whether a smuggler, trafficker, a gang member or a male migrant. Kastner (2013) argued that *“for Nigerian women who migrate to Europe, the body often remains the only resource and capital on their way to Europe and during their lives in Europe. At the same time, the body represents an object of gender-based violence.”*¹ Male migrants (19,2%) mentioned that they became victims of trafficking compared to none of the female migrants. The absence of women being a victim of trafficking from this study’s sample cannot be interpreted as being less likely to confront kidnapping and trafficking. The international reports clearly demonstrated the fact that more women and children, compared to adult men, have been victims of trafficking. The UNHCR’s 2019 report, which was based on the gathered information at disembarkation points in Italy and other reliable sources of information, suggests that victims of torture and sexual and gender-based violence like sexual assault and rape constitute predominantly of women and girls, but also include many men and boys.² These humans’ and precisely women’s rights violations are likely to be committed by multiple perpetrators during the migratory journey. In addition to smugglers and male migrants, the vast distance of Sahara and the multiplicity of migratory routes facilitate gang members and traffickers’ criminal activities with natural impunity. A Malian respondent 7 explained in his narration of the journey’s risks highlighted the prevailing presence of gang members who coerce migrants during their journey. He recounts:

well, no we did not come by car and we did not come by plane. **We came with a**

‘Haragga’. Well, we were in Algeria. Before Algeria, we came by car to Algeria.

¹ Kastner, K. “Nigerian border crossers: Women travelling to Europe by land” in *Long Journeys: African Migrants on the Road*. Ed. A., Triulzi and L. M., Robert. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 2013. P: 25.

² UNHCR, “Desperate journeys: Refugees and migrants arriving in Europe at Europe’s borders.” UNHCR, The UN Refugee Agency, January 2019, P: 19/20.

Because I used to live in Kita my village. Called Kita. From Kita to Bamako it's 190 km. From Bamako to Gao it is like 1800 km. Then from Gao to Akalil, it takes 600 km. We have confronted many things. We can't explain everything, we can only explain some. Because before arriving in Algeria, in Mali, **from Gao until Algeria**, it is very very dangerous right there. **Because there are rebellions over there**. When they see you they stop you, they tell us to get off the truck and everybody should pay them money, they would tell you to pay 250 DHS sometimes 1000 DHS, it depends, and **if you don't pay, they will kill someone, they will hurt someone, they will leave someone there**, you see. But we anyways, I am a man, since I was born, I have never been afraid.¹

The presence of these gang members increases the likelihood of violence and sexually related crimes against migrants, in general, and women, in particular. Smugglers and gang members may also be cooperating with each other; in such case, many migrants end up as victims of trafficking and coercive exploitation among these criminal groups. The kidnapped migrants undergo different cold-blooded forms of human rights violations, for sexual or financial motives, or in many cases, the perpetrators have both motives. An Eritrean woman, later evacuated from Libya to Niger, recounts her journey from Sudan by a truck, which was majorly characterized by different forms of violence and different perpetrators along all the journey. She with other three female migrants had been raped by smugglers for seven days in Sahara, locked up in Libya for two weeks and underwent physical violence by other smugglers, and then kidnapped by other smugglers and 'given' to another smuggler's network where they were held and beaten from February until November in 2017.² The absence of security and authorities that combat human trafficking in Sahara facilitates the growing number of these gangs and their criminal acts. Political leaders are more concerned about protecting the

¹ Respondent 7, man, 30 years old, from Mali.

² UNHCR, "Desperate journeys: Refugees and migrants arriving in Europe at Europe's borders." UNHCR, The UN Refugee Agency, January 2019, P: 19.

Mediterranean borders and the smugglers' activities on the sea routes that connect Africa to Europe, which provides the traffickers enough space to operate freely and with impunity. In this respect, Adamson (2013) clearly argued that the issue of migration and security is very often viewed from a state-centric perspective and emphasized on addressing state security and individual security as intertwined topics.¹

As a result of the previous discussion, the prioritization of states' security and the focus on the implementation of migration policies that protect the sovereignty of the state inevitably increase the likelihood of creating several forms of migration insecurities for migrants. It also contributes to the increase in prices, which migrants may not be able to afford and eventually exacerbate their vulnerable situation. Migrants share some similar experiences; however, gender is a crucial factor that contributes to creating gender-based violence like sexual assaults and rape. Therefore, addressing the ways gender impacts migration journey reveals the gender differentials in economic distribution, social network and the confronted risks during the journey in the Sahara. The following chapter will be devoted to exploring irregular sub-Saharan migrants' experience in Morocco and gendered intricacies.

7. Irregular Transit Sub-Saharan Migrants' Experience in Morocco from a Gender Perspective

After surviving the hardships of the journey in the Sahara or neighboring countries, migrants finally arrive in Morocco where new migratory hardships take place. Migrants' experience in Morocco, similarly to the previous migratory stages, is affected by multiple factors. Gender is a significant factor that inevitably shapes the migrants' experience in Morocco. This chapter is going to focus on exploring the dynamics and characteristics of

¹ Adamson, F. "Crossing Borders: International Migration and National Security". *International Security*, 31/1, 2006. 165–199. P: 167.

irregular sub-Saharan migrants' experience in Morocco and will definitely highlight the interconnectedness of gender with other factors.

7.1. Migrants' Living Conditions

Once the journey in the Sahara comes to an 'end', another phase of the migratory process is initiated. When migrants enter the Moroccan borders, the first step they try to do is to determine in which city to 'settle' even though the concept of 'settlement' is almost absent in irregular. Migrants' settlement in one city or in one place is determined by several connected factors. These factors are responsible for changing migrants' intentions and plans. As we have previously discussed in the first part, one of the crucial characteristics of irregular transit migration is 'intention'. Therefore, migrants' settlement in a precise place is driven by economic, social, legal and security factors. This sub-chapter is going to explore migrants' living conditions in Morocco in relation to their legal status, access to basic services, and methods of making a living.

7.1.1. Gender and Reproduction in Migration

Reproduction is a peculiar element that has a turning point impact on female migrants, which spans from the journey to the transit country and destination country. Female migrants with children or still unborn babies (pregnant) are very likely to go through several gender-specific hardships. Being pregnant or accompanied by a child is proved to have an ambivalent impact and crucial consequences on women's migration processes. Before addressing this duality of reproduction in migration experience, the following two tables provide detailed and comprehensive analyzed data of migrants' parenting role combined with gender and their marital status. However, it is worth mentioning that during collecting data, I encountered female migrants with children and newborns but not pregnant migrants.

Table 22: Migrants with their children in Morocco

Marital status				Gender		Total
				Men	Women	
Single	children who live in Morocco	None	Count	70	12	82
			% within Gender	94,6%	70,6%	90,1%
		One child	Count	3	3	6
			% within Gender	4,1%	17,6%	6,6%
		Two children	Count	0	1	1
			% within Gender	0,0%	5,9%	1,1%
		More than two children	Count	1	1	2
			% within Gender	1,4%	5,9%	2,2%
		Total	Count	74	17	91
			% within Gender	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
Married	children who live in Morocco	None	Count	6	1	7
			% within Gender	75,0%	16,7%	50,0%
		One child	Count	2	5	7
			% within Gender	25,0%	83,3%	50,0%
		Total	Count	8	6	14
			% within Gender	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
Divorced	children who live in Morocco	None	Count	3	1	4
			% within Gender	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		Total	Count	3	1	4
			% within Gender	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
Widow	children who live in Morocco	None	Count	1	1	2
			% within Gender	100,0%	50,0%	66,7%
		One child	Count	0	1	1
			% within Gender	0,0%	50,0%	33,3%
		Total	Count	1	2	3
			% within Gender	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
Total	children who live in Morocco	None	Count	80	15	95
			% within Gender	93,0%	57,7%	84,8%
		One child	Count	5	9	14
			% within Gender	5,8%	34,6%	12,5%
		Two children	Count	0	1	1
			% within Gender	0,0%	3,8%	0,9%
		More than two children	Count	1	1	2
			% within Gender	1,2%	3,8%	1,8%
		Total	Count	86	26	112

	% within Gender	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
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Table 23: Migrants' left children in the home country

Marital status				Gender		Total
				Men	Women	
Single	children left in the home country	None	Count	45	10	55
			% within Gender	60,8%	58,8%	60,4%
		One child	Count	21	5	26
			% within Gender	28,4%	29,4%	28,6%
		Two children	Count	7	2	9
			% within Gender	9,5%	11,8%	9,9%
		More than two children	Count	1	0	1
			% within Gender	1,4%	0,0%	1,1%
		Total	Count	74	17	91
			% within Gender	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
Married	children left in the home country	None	Count	2	2	4
			% within Gender	25,0%	33,3%	28,6%
		One child	Count	1	1	2
			% within Gender	12,5%	16,7%	14,3%
		Two children	Count	3	2	5
			% within Gender	37,5%	33,3%	35,7%
		More than two children	Count	2	1	3
			% within Gender	25,0%	16,7%	21,4%
		Total	Count	8	6	14
			% within Gender	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
Divorced	children left in the home country	None	Count	2	0	2
			% within Gender	66,7%	0,0%	50,0%
		One child	Count	0	1	1
			% within Gender	0,0%	100,0%	25,0%
		More than two children	Count	1	0	1
			% within Gender	33,3%	0,0%	25,0%
		Total	Count	3	1	4
			% within Gender	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
Widow	children left in the home country	None	Count	1	0	1
			% within Gender	100,0%	0,0%	33,3%
		Two children	Count	0	1	1
			% within Gender	0,0%	50,0%	33,3%

				More than two children	Count	0	1	1
					% within Gender	0,0%	50,0%	33,3%
Total					Count	1	2	3
					% within Gender	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
Total	children left in the home country	None			Count	50	12	62
					% within Gender	58,1%	46,2%	55,4%
		One child			Count	22	7	29
					% within Gender	25,6%	26,9%	25,9%
		Two children			Count	10	5	15
					% within Gender	11,6%	19,2%	13,4%
		More than two children			Count	4	2	6
					% within Gender	4,7%	7,7%	5,4%
				Total	Count	86	26	112
					% within Gender	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Based on the survey's findings in the two tables, the majority of respondents in this sample do not have children, taking into account the fact that single migrants overwhelmingly outnumber the other marital status categories. In addition, migrants, who have neither left in the home country nor brought a child with them, constitute the majority within the sample. For the first table, female migrants overwhelmingly tend to take the responsibility of bringing children with them. This fact might suggest multiple interpretations. First of all, we shall take into consideration that some women accompanied by their children migrated to join their husbands in Morocco (this is the case of respondent 3 who joined her Senegalese husband with their two children).

The second case is when several women initiate their journey during their pregnancy and because the journey's period very often spans to months and years they end up unwillingly delivering their baby en route or within one of the transit countries. In addition, due to the high probability of undergoing gender-based sexual violence, many female migrants were reported to become pregnant during the journey. In clearer words, the pregnancy is likely to happen as

an unplanned outcome of rape, sexual violence or consensual sexual relationships. The Lancet reported in a study with a group of migrants in Milan that seven out of the eight women became pregnant as the result of sexual violence en route.¹ However, it has been noticed that the number of female migrants with newborn babies or pregnant women is remarkably increasing. Some arrive in Europe pregnant or having delivered on board search and rescue boats. Whereas others either become pregnant shortly after arriving or they arrive carrying newborns. In 2014 a study in Sicily suggested as many as 11 per cent of women migrants arrive during their pregnancy.² This noticeable rising change in female migration has created two oppositional controversial interpretations among researchers and politicians in migration discourse.

Some politicians started referring to pregnant female migrants as ‘anchor babies’ when addressing migration issues in their campaigns. The term was used for the first time by Jeb Bush in the 2016 presidential campaign in relation to birth tourism. He actually targeted specifically wealthy Chinese women, who travel during their last phase of pregnancy to the USA as tourists for birthright citizenship. In some countries, like USA, the state provides citizenship to newly born babies from non-citizen mothers. This migratory regulation was exploited and became more like a business by opening the so-called “maternal hotels” in the USA that took in charge of catering to Chinese visitors who wished to bear children in America.³ The increasing number of women arriving pregnant or with newborns has become the subject of anti-immigrant discussions that use terms like ‘anchor babies’. The idea is that migrant women tend to time their pregnancy deliberately to take advantage of the humanitarian protection systems established for children to prolong their stay in Europe. Such stigmatization

¹ Plambech, S., “Why So Many Migrant Mothers Arrive in Europe Pregnant”, October, 2017, Accessed on 11/09/2019 in <https://www.newsdeeply.com/refugees/community/2017/10/31/why-so-many-migrant-mothers-arrive-in-europe-pregnant>

² Ibid.

³ Barro, J. “Just what do you mean by ‘Anchor Baby’”. *The New York Times*, 2015. <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/30/upshot/just-what-do-you-mean-by-anchor-baby.html> Accessed on 12/09/2019.

has sparked researchers' intense reaction and addressed rigorously this topic. Kim K. Joon and his colleagues (2017) vehemently criticized the use of the term 'anchor babies' to refer to pregnant migrants or newborns and argued that the "anchor babies rhetoric" is used to pejoratively construct a linkage between pejorative meanings and specific populations. In their words, the expression reinforces that:

immigrant women, in abstraction, are defined not merely as law-breakers and a social burden on our society, but the dehumanizing references reflect a much deeper, visceral revulsion to certain bodies that are tied to immigrant women. **The images of monstrous 'anchor babies' attacking the US and their mothers anchoring themselves to the shores of the nation capture the belief that, if left unchecked, alien brown children, embodying the implicit threat of social infestation, will 'multiply like rats'.** The fear of sexually active and fertile brown immigrant women posing as an invading menace serves to buttress racist immigration restrictions designed to control unwanted populations. **Moreover, turning babies into 'anchor babies' is a primary mode of gendering where 'the motherhood of women of color [was] constructed as morally bankrupt' and 'mothering ... legislated against and often interrupted by the state'** (Nakano-Glenn). The 'anchor-baby mama' is seen as sexually and reproductively uncontrollable. This impure and infectious 'alien maternity' constructs its mirror opposite, the virtuous mother.¹

Based on the above quote from Joon's (et al.) rigorous and eloquent article, the use of 'anchor babies' rhetoric is a well-prepared tactic that entails social and political functions. At the social level, the expression serves to alienate or demonize pregnant migrants and newborns and to construct a 'racially-gendered' fragmentation to devalue the reproduction role of a specific

¹ Joon K. K., E. Sagás and K. Cespedes, "Gendering immigrant subjects: 'anchor babies' and the politics of birthright citizenship," *Social Identities in Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture*. 24/ 3, 2018. 312-326. P: 322. DOI: 10.1080/13504630.2017.1376281

population. Constructing, disseminating and perpetuating the idea of ‘terrifying’ invasion of female migrants and their babies throughout political discourses that target particular races induce social national concerns, which will be eventually translated into xenophobic attitudes. At the political level, the main objective of using such dehumanizing expression that entails implicit and explicit stigmatized meanings is to establish an ideological link to more restrictive migratory policy measures.¹ Schmidt (2018) conducted a study with 11 pregnant unaccompanied teens from Honduras, El Salvador and Guatemala to investigate the assumption of ‘anchor babies’ and migration motivators. She argued that contrary to the commonly used political rhetoric and assumptions regarding pregnant migrants, none of the female respondents mentioned birthright citizenship as a motivator or made any reference to the possibility that their children would gain US citizenship if born on the US side of the border. The main incentives that have been triggered by the interviewees are limited to safety concerns in their home countries either boyfriends or gangs and the hope for better educational and working opportunities in the United States.²

While some researchers like Kim Joon and Susan Schmidt criticized the assumption that pregnant migrants and female migrants bringing a child with them for the aim of taking advantage of some migration regulations, Kristin Kastner (2010) argued the opposite. She focused, in her article, on studying family dynamics in the context of Nigerian female migration to Spain and conducted the interviews, both in Morocco and in Spain. Kastner (2010) actually did not mention in her study the expression of ‘anchor babies’ at all. However, she articulated that regardless of the difficulties that might stem from having “*unborn*” and newborn children

¹ Joon K. K., E. Sagás and K. Cespedes, “Gendering immigrant subjects: ‘anchor babies’ and the politics of birthright citizenship,” *Social Identities in Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture*. 24/ 3, 2018. 312-326. P: 322. DOI: 10.1080/13504630.2017.1376281

² Schmidt, S. “Endangered mothers or “anchor babies”? Migration motivators for pregnant unaccompanied Central American teens.” *Vulnerable Children and Youth Studies: An International Interdisciplinary Journal for Research, Policy and Care*, 2018. 1-11. P: 3. DOI: 10.1080/17450128.2018.1526428

are likely to play a significant role to proceed with the journey of migration by providing protection and ensuring not to be deported.¹ She recounted that in Tangier some female migrants presented their children to her and referring to them as ‘their paper’. Jennifer, for example, a female migrant who came to Spain in 2005 with her little daughter, recounted her experience of having a baby in Morocco: *“I don’t have papers, but I have baby. Baby is my paper, you understand? Because when I carry my baby to stroll out, they don’t talk, you know, they don’t harass me, they don’t catch me. Because I have BABY! If you have baby, they won’t do you anything (Jennifer, 12 November 2005, Spain)”*² Drawing on Kastner’s interview with the Nigerian female migrant, we can deduce that some female migrants are aware that migration policies, which extremely restrict irregular migration flows in general, are lenient with children, pregnant migrants and minors because of being classified as the most vulnerable category to risks, exploitation and jeopardies. Kastner (2010) emphasized that the majority of girls initiated the journey as single, but they become pregnant on the road because of either rape, forced or semi consensual sexual relationships. In some cases, women are obliged to enter various relationships in order to reduce the journey’s hardships.³ In other words, sexual relationship is a must-go-through survival strategy, which ensures their protection and alleviates their everyday struggle. This survival strategy, in the majority of cases, ends up with pregnancies. While some female migrants would choose abortion with life-threatening methods, others use it in a pragmatic way against the extreme migration policies. According to Moroccan immigration law, pregnant migrants and minors are exempted from deportation (see Article 26, N° 7 and 8).⁴ Spain also provides differentiated treatment to migrants in vulnerable

¹ Kastner, K. “Moving relationships: family ties of Nigerian migrants on their way to Europe”, *African and Black Diaspora: An International Journal*. 3/ 1, 2010. 17 – 34, 2010. P: 17. DOI: 10.1080/17528630903319813

² Ibid, P : 22.

³ Ibid, P : 23.

⁴ Dahir n° 1-03-196 du 16 ramadan 1424 (11 novembre 2003) portant promulgation de la loi n° 02-03 relative à l’entrée et au séjour des étrangers au Royaume du Maroc, à l’émigration et l’immigration irrégulières is available at : http://www.sgg.gov.ma/Portals/0/profession_reglementee/Dahir_immigration_fr.pdf accessed on 14/09/2019.

situations, who require international protection, including, minors, unaccompanied minors, persons with disabilities, will be taken into account, elderly people, pregnant women, single-parent families with minors, people who have suffered torture, rape or other serious forms of psychological or physical or sexual violence and victims of human trafficking (see Article 46, N° 1 and 2).¹ Therefore, in spite of how female migrants got pregnant, the ambivalence of having ‘unborn’ or newborn children is undeniable. Some researchers tend to bring about the victimization of pregnant migrants but in the meanwhile, politicians are using the rhetoric of ‘anchor baby’ to alienate and portray them as wicked and threatening. Women in both discourses are stigmatized and rendered as a dichotomy of weak and good vs powerful and wicked. Female migrants, pregnant or with children, are individuals with gender-specific needs, motives and objectives and who would take advantage of all possible methods and undertake all possible strategies to survive with their children and to gain better life chances. Hence, reproduction for female migrants might have an ambivalent impact on their migration process. It can be a source of relief by alleviating some migratory hardships and facilitating the progress of their legal status. Yet, no one also can deny the fact that in other cases it may cripple their mobility and eventually decrease the likelihood of crossing the borders.

The survey’s data shows unexpectedly that more female migrants also have left their children in their home countries. This category of female migrants is classified within the so-called ‘transnational motherhood’. The expression ‘transnational mothers’ refers to “*mothers from all backgrounds, cultures, ethnicities, and social locations who live in different countries from their dependent children and maintain emotional, economic, and communication links across geographical boundaries.*”² Several female migrants prefer to entrust close relatives

¹ Ley 12/2009, de 30 de octubre, reguladora del derecho de asilo y de la protección subsidiaria : TÍTULO V De los menores y otras personas vulnerables, is available at <https://www.boe.es/buscar/act.php?id=BOE-A-2009-17242> accessed on 14/09/219.

² Cervantes, G. A. “transnational motherhood”, *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Family Studies*, First Edition. Ed. Constance L. Shehan, 2016. P: 1. DOI: 10.1002/9781119085621

(mothers, grandmothers, sisters, aunts) with the caring of their children. Respondent 8, for instance, transmitted the role of mothering responsibility of three children to her aunt who became responsible for raising her. Whereas respondent 4 relied on her husband to look after their six years old daughter, which is not a common case especially in Senegal. Couples in some cases tend to study and calculate carefully the chances and the possible opportunities for each of them by taking into consideration several factors, including social network, gender-selectivity in the job market. Cervantes (2016) suggested that most transnational mothers use “*a cost and benefit approach*” in relation to their children when making the decision to migrate. Although they are aware that their absence will emotionally affect their children, economically will benefit them by having better education, housing, medical care, and eventually a better future.¹ In this respect, respondent 8 recounted how she made the decision to migrate and for what purpose, she said:

When we (she and her husband) got divorced, I stayed in Gambia, I used to go to Senegal, Senegal and Gambia are very close. I used to go to Senegal because I have family there, go to Senegal, to Dakar, I used to work there, in the port in fish domain. But when I was in Senegal, I honestly did not think of coming here or going out of Senegal. When my ex-husband died, they gave me my children, my father died, my mother died, no one was there/left to help me, I left my children with my aunt, **I started thinking about doing something to help my children because I have a very weak level of education. I wanted my children to study better than me.** I enrolled them in a private school, it is me who pays the school. **It's me who does everything for my children.** That's what has motivated me. I needed another way to make more money. I used to earn money over there, but it

¹ Cervantes, G. A. “transnational motherhood”, *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Family Studies*, First Edition. Ed. Constance L. Shehan, 2016. P: 1. DOI: 10.1002/9781119085621

wasn't sufficient, because I have many personal problems because of that. (her eldest son is studying at the university in Dakar).¹

In addition, the decision of leaving a child behind by transnational mothers in the home country with someone else to take care of is made for the following two purposes: irregular migration processes are characterized by perilous risks from the start until the potential final destination; children are the most vulnerable to confront migration discomforts and perilous risks. However, this might not be the case when there are more dangers in the home country because of war and conflicts. The second purpose is to ensure the continuity of the migratory process. Having a baby or a child entails a huge responsibility of caring and involves specific needs that very likely force female migrants to postpone their attempts to find jobs or to cross the borders.

7.1.2. Legal Status and Access to Basic Needs

Legal status for migrants is another significant factor that entails an enormous impact on their lives within the receiving country and their future intentions. Regardless of the fact that I have addressed irregular transit migration throughout this investigation, the presence of other forms of irregular migration is undeniable in the sense that the entry legal status of migrants is unsteady. Migrants' legal status can change depending on the receiving countries' immigration policies and regulations. Driven by political and economic objectives, Morocco since 2013 has initiated and adopted a new vision about immigration management that is characterized with a humanistic approach. The following table presents the legal status of migrants at the time of conducting the survey.

Table 24: Migrants' legal status

	Gender	Total
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¹ Respondent 8, woman, 36 years old, from Gambia.

			Men	Women	
Legal status	Asylum seekers	Count	0	1	1
		% within Gender	0,0%	3,8%	0,9%
	Irregular	Count	78	21	99
		% within Gender	90,7%	80,8%	88,4%
	Regularized	Count	7	4	11
		% within Gender	8,1%	15,4%	9,8%
	Others	Count	1	0	1
		% within Gender	1,2%	0,0%	0,9%
Total	Count	86	26	112	
	% within Gender	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	

According to the survey's findings, irregular/undocumented migrants, women and men, constitute the overwhelming majority within the studied sample. It is worth reminding that (7,4%) of migrants entered Morocco via air route in addition to another decent number of migrants who entered Morocco legally. For instance, four Senegalese and one Gambian interviewee entered Morocco via crossing the southern borders, which require going through authority checking. The regularized category may include migrants who have crossed the borders with legal means and migrants who have regularized their legal status. The illegality starts when they expire the legal period of their stay within the country and they eventually end up spending years with numerous uncertainties.

Regarding Morocco's new law of regularization, the state does not grant the residency permit to all irregular migrants. There is a set of required documents that immigrants should provide in their application to be eligible for regularization. Firstly, it is a must for migrants to present their traveling documentation (passport) when they submit their application. Having a passport for migrants is a very problematic issue. Because of the illegality of the means that migrants undertake in addition to the jeopardies and gangs they confront during the journey, several migrants end up losing their identity documents. Eventually, it is quite complicated for

them to submit an application. For example, respondent 6, who do not have a residency permit yet, recounts how he lost all his belongings and documents on the way to Morocco, he said:

I have even passed by central police station (commissariat central) three times, and I need documents. **They told me that it is necessary to bring, lease contract, working contract, passport, Identity card (...)** I have my voter's card, my brother sent me a copy, but **I lost all my other documents at the frontiers in Algeria.** Because **when we wanted to cross the borders to Morocco, the Algerian military, they catch us, they beat us, they kill us, they took all our belongings,** they left us like this, and this is how I lost my documents.¹

However, there are other migrants who prefer to keep their identity unrevealed, either to avoid deportation or to forge/ fake their identity so that they can be classified within refugees or asylum seekers. According to the interviewees, lease and working contracts are also very necessary documents to submit their application. In concrete terms, migrants must prove their settled residence in Morocco by presenting either a copy of ownership contract or lease contract in their name. In addition to their lodging justification, they are also required to present a document justifying the nature of the activity exercised and that can be achieved either by a legalized photocopy of the employment contract for employees or by the commercial register and business license. Both of these two documents are also very difficult for migrants to obtain because of the following reasons. First, some people refuse to allow migrants to rent in their property in the case of the absence of the migrant's identification documents; but when others accept the absence of identity documents handicap making an official contract. Therefore, the absence of identification documents may likely prolong the migrants' illegal status. The following table highlights the staying period of sub-Saharan migrants in this study.

¹ Respondent 6, man, 28 years old, from Mali.

Table 25: Migrants' spent Period in Morocco

			Gender		Total
			Men	Women	
Period in Morocco	Less than one year	Count	33	8	41
		% within Gender	38,4%	30,8%	36,6%
	One year	Count	20	10	30
		% within Gender	23,3%	38,5%	26,8%
	Two years	Count	10	1	11
		% within Gender	11,6%	3,8%	9,8%
	Three years	Count	11	3	14
		% within Gender	12,8%	11,5%	12,5%
	Four years	Count	4	3	7
		% within Gender	4,7%	11,5%	6,3%
	Five years or more	Count	8	1	9
		% within Gender	9,3%	3,8%	8,0%
Total	Count	86	26	112	
	% within Gender	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	

According to the survey's findings male migrants, who spent less than one year in Morocco, outnumber female migrants. This fact does not show only the staying period, but also the low representation of female migrants within sub-Saharan migration flows. In other words, having a very low number of female migrants compared to their male counterparts, whose staying period does not reach one year yet, reflects to some extent the presence of continual gender disparities within the number of newcomers. On the other hand, having a higher percentage of female migrants, who have spent one year or four years, might drive the interpretation to another direction. The latter could be viewed either as a change of their plans from transit to settlement or of their incapability to continue their prior plans of crossing the borders to Europe. The unsuccessful attempt or the incapability of female migrants to proceed with their plans can also be linked to some gender-specific obstacles, such as pregnancy or having a child. As it has been previously discussed, the regularized category does not distinguish migrants who crossed legally the borders and those who have regularized their

illegal status. (Table 25) may clarify a part of this ambiguity by presenting the percentage of migrants who have a residency permit. Moreover, as an attempt to comprehend legal status and its significance according to migrants' perception, (table 26) reveals migrants' intention to submit their application for residency permit.

Table 26: Residency permit

			Gender		Total
			Men	Women	
Residency permit	Yes	Count	6	4	10
		% within Gender	7,0%	15,4%	8,9%
	No	Count	80	22	102
		% within Gender	93,0%	84,6%	91,1%
Total		Count	86	26	112
		% within Gender	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 27: Migrant's intention to apply for a residency permit

			Gender		Total
			Men	Women	
migrant's intention to apply for a residency permit	Yes	Count	25	8	33
		% within Gender	31,3%	36,4%	32,4%
	Maybe	Count	33	11	44
		% within Gender	41,3%	50,0%	43,1%
	No	Count	22	3	25
		% within Gender	27,5%	13,6%	24,5%
Total	Count	80	22	102	
	% within Gender	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	

The majority of migrants, both women and men, expressed their uncertainty about applying for regularization. Then, followed by migrants who are already willing to submit their application. Whilst migrants, who have no intention to regularize their legal status, rank at the final position. These findings reflect the fact that regardless of the importance of regularization of legal status, migrants seem to be still hesitant to submit their application. This uncertainty is

the result of migrants' unacquaintance with the usefulness of regularization on their well-being. In order to dive deeper and explore migrants' perception of regularization and its significance, it was necessary to evoke this topic with the interviewed migrants. Two migrants (one female and one male) out of eight have already got a residency permit in Morocco. The other interviewees expressed their willingness to regularize their legal status for multiple, similar to some extent, reasons. The following quotes demonstrate migrants' opinion on the influential linkage of regularizing the legal status and the integration of migrants within the receiving society. The first respondent commented:

I met several people who told me to submit my application because if you are regularized, you can do a lot of work. You can't ask for a job without the residency permit. My prior job was a carpenter. Sometimes when I ask for a job, the employers say **we can't employ you because you don't have a residency permit, we can't take this risk.** When your visa is expired, sometimes if you want to rent an apartment, the owner would not rent you the apartment because you don't have the residency permit. If you travel and you would like to go to a hotel, if you don't have a residency permit, they would not take this risk. **If you have a residency permit, you are regularized, you are like a Moroccan.**¹

Respondent 5 also said in the same respect:

Well, the working conditions are not very difficult, especially when you have the residency permit. **When you have the residency permit, the working conditions are more ameliorated.** When you don't have the residency permit, some employers may also exploit you, you may work for longer hours without getting paid.²

¹ Respondent 1, man, 38 years old, from Senegal.

² Respondent 5, man, 42 years old, from Senegal.

In addition, the following quote is an extract from my interview with a female migrant:

Q: What is your current legal status?

A: I am not regularized yet.

Q: Do you have the intention to apply for it?

A: yes, yes, I will.

Q: According to you how is it possible for migrants to integrate in Moroccan society?

A: I think if you have **the residency permit might help, people would understand that you have the same rights as theirs.**

Q: Regarding the work, do you think it would help to get a better job?

A: yes, that's what I think. Because there are some people who refuse to employ migrants who do not have documents.¹

Based on the respondents' statements, the legal status of migrants has a crucial impact on three significant aspects of their lives: employment, lodging, and position within the local community. Having a regularized legal status plays a key role in the employment of migrants. According to the law, employing undocumented migrants is an illegal act that is penalized. This employer's decision is as 'a risk' that might create sort of a problem between the employer and the authority. However, some employers tend to challenge this law and recruit some undocumented migrants like in the case of respondent 4. In many cases, undocumented migrants end up trapped in a job and exploited by employers because of their vulnerable legal status. In the case of employment exploitation or any other form of human rights' violations, migrants' vulnerable legal status does not allow them to report a complaint to the police as it was expressed by respondent 8 when she said: "*It will be helpful even when something happens, I will be able to go to the police.*" Having a regularized legal status also represents an element

¹ Respondent 4, woman, 26 years old, from Senegal.

of security and empowerment since the migrant becomes entitled rights that prevent any form of exploitation.

Lodging is another struggle that undocumented migrants are likely to experience. In many cases, if migrants can afford it, landlords refuse to rent to irregular migrants. The situation is more intricate if the migrant would like to spend a night in the hotel. As a result, several migrants find themselves without a haven and spend nights under the bare sky. The interviewed migrants believe that having a residency permit would enable them to have a dignified life by being entitled to the same rights as Moroccans. Eventually, the legal status of migrants can either enhance their access to employment and lodging services, or it is very likely to increase their vulnerability. For a comprehensive view, the table below shows the surveyed respondents' point of view on the impact of the irregular legal status.

Table 28: The impact of irregular status on migrants' living conditions

			Gender		Total
			Men	Women	
Illegality effects	Stigmatization of illegality	Count	15	7	22
		% within Gender	17,4%	26,9%	
		% of Total	13,4%	6,3%	19,6%
	Inability to find a job	Count	53	17	70
		% within Gender	61,6%	65,4%	
		% of Total	47,3%	15,2%	62,5%
	Fear of deportation	Count	48	9	57
		% within Gender	55,8%	34,6%	
		% of Total	42,9%	8,0%	50,9%
	Inability to have access to local health centers	Count	6	0	6
		% within Gender	7,0%	0,0%	
		% of Total	5,4%	0,0%	5,4%
	Become vulnerable to exploitation	Count	18	7	25
		% within Gender	20,9%	26,9%	
		% of Total	16,1%	6,3%	22,3%
	Inability to rent a lodging	Count	22	3	25
		% within Gender	25,6%	11,5%	

	% of Total	19,6%	2,7%	22,3%
Local people's humiliating look	Count	28	9	37
	% within Gender	32,6%	34,6%	
	% of Total	25,0%	8,0%	33,0%
Total	Count	86	26	112
	% of Total	76,8%	23,2%	100,0%

Based on the results, both women and men agree that the irregular status hinders their chance of being employed, in addition to their constant fear of being deported from Morocco. For female migrants, the illegal status does not evoke only the fear of deportation; it also provokes the local people's humiliating attitude towards them. A considerable percentage of migrants believe that the irregular status alters the way they are perceived by the local community (this point will be elaborated in an upcoming section). Being vulnerable to many forms of exploitation is another impact of irregularity as expressed by (20,9%) male migrants and (26,9%) female migrants. Having discussed the significance of the legal status from migrants' perspective, the following section will focus on exploring the different ways migrants attempt to make a living in Morocco.

7.1.3. Making a Living in Morocco

Making a living or engaging in financial activity in the receiving country is another challenging mission that irregular migrants experience. This challenge encompasses intricate gendered strategies and peculiarities, which this section is devoted to highlighting. Migrants tend to engage in different and sometimes multiple financial activities to manage their needs, which varies among migrants. While some are struggling mainly to survive by getting the basic needs, other migrants tend also to make savings for the expenses of border crossing to Europe, which is constantly increasing because of the heightened surveillance at the European borders. They, therefore, end up spending years in Morocco doing different financial activities. According to the survey's findings, slightly more than half of all migrants make their daily

living from mendicity. The following table displays the type of financial activities in which this study's sample of migrants engaged to make a living.

Table 29 : Migrants' financial activities

			Gender		Total
			Men	Women	
Financial activities	Laborer	Count	6	0	6
		% within Gender	7,0%	0,0%	5,4%
	Call centers	Count	10	1	11
		% within Gender	11,6%	3,8%	9,8%
	Domestic work	Count	1	4	5
		% within Gender	1,2%	15,4%	4,5%
	Commerce	Count	2	5	7
		% within Gender	2,3%	19,2%	6,3%
	Small jobs and services	Count	19	2	21
		% within Gender	22,1%	7,7%	18,8%
	Mendicity	Count	43	14	57
		% within Gender	50,0%	53,8%	50,9%
	Others	Count	5	0	5
		% within Gender	5,8%	0,0%	4,5%
Total		Count	86	26	112
		% within Gender	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Despite the fact that female and male migrants engage majorly in mendicity as the main source of living at approximately the same level, their gender has a significant impact on their strategies and tactics. When driving in Fes as well as in Tangier, it is common to be approached by migrants in traffic light stops, greeted with '*Assalam Alaikum*' and asked for some money for food. Female and male Sub-Saharan migrants, however, adopt different tactics. Men tend to rely mainly on language by learning a few Moroccan expressions to communicate with the local community. Women, on the other hand, tend to focus more on their appearance. Many of them wear a headscarf 'hijab', which reflects their religious identity, as Muslims, to the local community. Sometimes they mainly sit somewhere, wearing Muslim look-like clothing and

carrying a baby. Several migrants I surveyed in Tangier explained that they are not Muslims, though. They revealed the fact that they are Christians from Ivory Coast and that they fake their religious identity to attract the local community's sympathy. Based on these migrants' confessions, Moroccans seem to sympathize and be more generous with Muslim-looking sub-Saharan migrants than with migrants who have other beliefs and religions. As a result, migrants tend to adopt the strategy of constructing another religious identity as a desperate attempt to establish a sense of belonging and to stimulate the generosity of the local community. Unfortunately, this generosity, which should be based on humanistic impulse, is based on seeing the 'self' in the 'other', instead. (this idea of 'Otherness' will be more elaborated in the upcoming sub-chapter).

The participation of female migrants in jobs that are more characterized by commercial skills and providing services constitutes (42,3%) compared to (36,1) for male migrants. The overwhelming predomination of male migrants exists in a domain that requires a certain level of education like call centers. In order to be employed in a call center, it is necessary to have a fluent level in speaking French and an average knowledge of some software. Taking into consideration the previously discussed gender disparities in education within this study's sample of migrants, it seems an inevitable result for female sub-Saharan migrants to have fewer chances to get jobs that require a high educational level. Eventually, they have a penchant for establishing their small businesses, which often encompasses selling goods (such as pieces of jewelry) or providing services (esthetics and hair braids). In the case of not being able to afford it, the only left option is to engage in the unconventional job market or in feminized jobs, such as domestic work. Irregular migrant employees are very likely to be exploited in this sort of job, such as the case of respondent 2. She worked as a domestic worker for a Moroccan employer, doing "*unbearable, heavy and difficult house tasks*"¹, but eventually did not get paid

¹ Respondent 2, woman, 28 years old, from Senegal.

for three months. In the aftermath of the absence of laws that regulate these sectors in Morocco, which are female-dominated, and besides the irregularity of migrants' legal status, increase gender differentiation and the vulnerability of being exploited. The following table presents mainly migrants who are working to make their living as it tackles the working conditions.

Table 30: Working conditions

			Gender		Total
			Men	Women	
Working conditions	Very good	Count	1	0	1
		% within Gender	2,3%	0,0%	1,8%
	Good	Count	19	5	24
		% within Gender	44,2%	41,7%	43,6%
	Bad	Count	17	4	21
		% within Gender	39,5%	33,3%	38,2%
	Very bad	Count	6	3	9
		% within Gender	14,0%	25,0%	16,4%
Total	Count	43	12	55	
	% within Gender	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	

The results show that the majority of working migrants are dissatisfied with the working conditions. The majority of interviewees similarly expressed their resentment on the working conditions regardless of the different works in which they are involved. Having previously discussed the impact of migrants' legal status on the working opportunities and conditions, some of them complained about the distance between where they live and where they sell their goods and the inadequate income or recession. Whereas other migrants mentioned some additional intriguing difficulties that trigger fundamental questions. Respondent 4, for instance, expressed her dissatisfaction saying that:

Honestly, it is difficult. **It is hard here.** Not only is the salary not good. I get paid 2000 Dhs without food, and transportation. And if you are sick and absent for a day, they cut off your salary. **It is only for us the blacks, that's what I noticed.**

Because I noticed one day that the employer kept the same salary for some Moroccan girls but not for blacks. If there is a problem, it is the blacks who are fired. They don't look for who has done the problem.¹

The fifth respondent, even if he pointed out that he has not encountered any work difficulties, explained that out of his experience “*Senegalese immigrants are very welcomed by Moroccans in comparison to other immigrants from other nationalities. In some call centers if you are not Senegalese they would not employ you. But if you are Senegalese you are really welcomed, because they have a lot of trust in Senegalese.*”² Hence, in addition to the status of illegality and commonly experienced difficulties (like recession, etc), sub-Saharan migrants are very likely to encounter other peculiar work obstacles. Based on both respondents' statements, discrimination in the workplace is another intricate difficulty that sub-Saharan immigrants experience. However, they experience it differently. For respondent 4 discrimination in the workplace is based on race, but for respondent 5 discrimination could be based also on nationality. The following sub-chapter will address and profoundly examine forms of discrimination in migration discourse within the context of sub-Saharan migration in Morocco.

7.2. Sub-Saharan Migrants' Interaction with Moroccans

Being more or less obliged to spend or even willingly spending several years in Morocco, which is considered by numerous migrants the last step in their journey towards reaching the main objective, sub-Saharan immigrants cannot escape the inevitable interaction with the Moroccan community in their daily life. This final sub-chapter will attempt to comprehend the immigrants' perceptions of the Moroccan community, their aspirations and

¹ Respondent 4, woman, 26 years old, from Senegal.

² Respondent 5, man, 42 years old, From Senegal.

future intentions, and the way gender intersects with other social constructs such as race, religion, and political constructs such as the legal status and nationality.

7.2.1. Aspects of Discrimination

Discrimination is one of the crucial and problematic issues in migration discourse that has been addressed by activists from different perspectives and created disputes among politicians on different platforms. Immigrants are very likely to be the target of multiple forms and practices of discrimination within the receiving country. These discriminatory attitudes can be exerted by different individuals and incited by multiple impetuses. The irregularity of an immigrant, for instance, increases the likelihood of being subjected to discrimination and in some cases might contribute to creating new forms. The previous sub-chapter has already highlighted, but outwardly, discrimination in the workplace and the importance of having a residency permit to improve the working conditions. This section focuses primarily on presenting numerical insights into the various forms and patterns of discrimination based on the survey's findings. The following table presents the different forms of discrimination that immigrants within this study's sample experienced before. It is worth mentioning that respondents were given the right to multiple choose their answers to these questions.

Table 31: Forms of discrimination

			Gender		Total
			Men	Women	
Forms of discrimination	Labeling	Count	19	8	27
		% within Gender	22,1%	30,8%	
		% of Total	17,0%	7,1%	24,1%
	Offenses	Count	42	9	51
		% within Gender	48,8%	34,6%	
		% of Total	37,5%	8,0%	45,5%
	Jokes	Count	13	8	21
		% within Gender	15,1%	30,8%	
		% of Total	11,6%	7,1%	18,8%

	Insults	Count	44	17	61
		% within Gender	51,2%	65,4%	
		% of Total	39,3%	15,2%	54,5%
	Violence based on ethnic, religion or race	Count	24	4	28
		% within Gender	27,9%	15,4%	
		% of Total	21,4%	3,6%	25,0%
	avoiding contact	Count	32	8	40
		% within Gender	37,2%	30,8%	
		% of Total	28,6%	7,1%	35,7%
	Refusing to provide services	Count	6	0	6
		% within Gender	7,0%	0,0%	
		% of Total	5,4%	0,0%	5,4%
Total		Count	86	26	112
		% of Total	76,8%	23,2%	100,0%

To summarize the table above, the figures within each gender reveal that women sub-Saharan immigrants have been subjected to insults, labeling, and jokes more than their male counterparts. Men sub-Saharan immigrants, on the other hand, have experienced offenses, avoiding contact and being ignored, violence, and refusing to be served more than female migrants. Violence against migrants may occur either as incidents against an individual, gangs that attack them for the purpose of robbery,¹ or the Moroccan authority. It can range from low-level hostility and intimidation to physical injury, sexual assault and even murder. The consequences of violent raids on female sub-Saharan migrants may have a much longer-term impact. When I was attending the association ‘*Hijra*’ film debate, a female sub-Saharan migrant, who used to live in Mesnana forest (Tangier), had a miscarriage in the aftermath of a police raid. Therefore, while some of these forms of discrimination are gender-neutral, others are certainly gender-specific. Men and women migrants do not always experience the same forms of discrimination; there are some specific forms that only women undergo, instead (this point will be more elaborated in the following section). These forms of discrimination against

¹ Cherti, M. and P. Grant “The myth of transit: Sub-Saharan migration in Morocco”, *Institute for Public Policy Research*, 2013. P: 33.

sub-Saharan immigrants took place in different locations. More than half of all forms of discrimination occurred in the streets. The most reported cases of discrimination happened in other public places, such as buses and taxis. These results reflect that the majority of the discriminatory and aggressive attitudes come directly from the Moroccan population. The following table demonstrates more details about the places where immigrants have been frequently subjected to discrimination.

Table 32: Places of discriminatory attitudes

			Gender		Total
			Men	Women	
places of discrimination ^a	Administrative institution	Count	9	2	11
		% within Gender	10,5%	7,7%	
		% of Total	8,0%	1,8%	9,8%
	Health care center	Count	19	4	23
		% within Gender	22,1%	15,4%	
		% of Total	17,0%	3,6%	20,5%
	Cafés	Count	28	5	33
		% within Gender	32,6%	19,2%	
		% of Total	25,0%	4,5%	29,5%
	Stores	Count	21	1	22
		% within Gender	24,4%	3,8%	
		% of Total	18,8%	0,9%	19,6%
	Buses	Count	50	16	66
		% within Gender	58,1%	61,5%	
		% of Total	44,6%	14,3%	58,9%
	Taxis	Count	29	11	40
		% within Gender	33,7%	42,3%	
		% of Total	25,9%	9,8%	35,7%
	Streets	Count	61	20	81
		% within Gender	70,9%	76,9%	
		% of Total	54,5%	17,9%	72,3%
Total	Count	86	26	112	
	% of Total	76,8%	23,2%	100,0%	

Discrimination seems to become an inevitable corollary of migration. Migration is a significant mechanism that promotes the growing diversity of societies. Diversity, in this respect, means that receiving societies become multi-ethnic, embracing people from different cultures, races, religions, and languages. Discrimination, however, is evoked by the differences between immigrants and the local population. Based on the previously presented findings, it takes different forms and occurs in different places. As an attempt to comprehend the implications of discrimination against irregular sub-Saharan migrants in Morocco and to identify the drivers behind them, migrants were asked to provide their point of view on what basis discrimination in their case is established.

Table 33: Drivers of discrimination according to the migrants

			Gender		Total
			Men	Women	
Social constructs	Race	Count	73	24	97
		% within Gender	84,9%	92,3%	
		% of Total	65,2%	21,4%	86,6%
	Nationality	Count	6	2	8
		% within Gender	7,0%	7,7%	
		% of Total	5,4%	1,8%	7,1%
	Religion	Count	23	7	30
		% within Gender	26,7%	26,9%	
		% of Total	20,5%	6,3%	26,8%
	Legal Status	Count	17	1	18
		% within Gender	19,8%	3,8%	
		% of Total	15,2%	0,9%	16,1%
Total	Count	86	26	112	
	% of Total	76,8%	23,2%	100,0%	

The table shows that race overwhelmingly predominates the other social constructs and considered by both female and male sub-Saharan migrants as the main instigator of discrimination. Racial discrimination has always been a dilemma in the history of humanity,

which unfortunately still exists despite the technological and global progress. According to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1965) racial discrimination refers to:

...any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life.¹

For the majority of migrants, discrimination is fundamentally racially-based. In other words, regardless of the diversity and multi-ethnic Moroccan population, migrants believe that their black skin generates discriminatory practices. Followed then by religious differences between some sub-Saharan migrants and the predominant Muslim Moroccan population. AMERM in their 2008 report highlighted the religious differentiation that non-Muslim sub-Saharan immigrants experience. Based on the migrants' own expressions, they think they are considered as "*disbelievers*", "*cursed*" or even "*devils*" by Moroccans.² On the other hand, legal status, from the migrants' point of view, seems to have a less significant link to discrimination. However, several migrants have chosen a combination of race/religion or race/legal status. The following section is going to discuss profoundly the unequal relations between sub-Saharan migrants and the Moroccan population.

¹ Article 1 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, adopted by UN General Assembly resolution 2106 A (XX) on 21 December 1965 and entering into force on 4 January 1969. Accessed in <https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/cerd.aspx>, on 22/10/2019.

² AMERM. "l'Immigration subsaharienne au Maroc: analyse socio-économique". Rabat, Association marocaine d'études et de recherches en migrations, 2008. P : 84.

7.2.2. 'Black' Identity in Gendered Migration Discourse

The previous section highlighted forms of discrimination that this study's respondents have underwent. It might seem for some that there is a little significance between gender and discriminatory forms. In other words, discrimination against sub-Saharan migrants has actually been addressed in other studies as gender-neutral. The main objective in this section is to demonstrate the impact of gender on molding stereotypes and stigmatization linked to sub-Saharan migrants. The following table presents the results of the way migrants think they are perceived by Moroccans. It is a multiple response question that includes a number of positive and negative stereotypes in order to avoid biased perceptions.

Table 34: The way immigrants are perceived by Moroccans

			Gender		Total
			Men	Women	
Perceived Immigrants	Brothers sisters	Count	3	0	3
		% within Gender	3,5%	0,0%	
		% of Total	2,7%	0,0%	2,7%
	Immigrants	Count	7	5	12
		% within Gender	8,1%	19,2%	
		% of Total	6,3%	4,5%	10,7%
	Expatriate	Count	2	0	2
		% within Gender	2,3%	0,0%	
		% of Total	1,8%	0,0%	1,8%
	Poor	Count	58	16	74
		% within Gender	67,4%	61,5%	
		% of Total	51,8%	14,3%	66,1%
	Uneducated	Count	25	12	37
		% within Gender	29,1%	46,2%	
		% of Total	22,3%	10,7%	33,0%
	Victims	Count	14	10	24
		% within Gender	16,3%	38,5%	
		% of Total	12,5%	8,9%	21,4%
	Trafficker	Count	10	0	10
		% within Gender	11,6%	0,0%	

	% of Total	8,9%	0,0%	8,9%
Threat	Count	19	4	23
	% within Gender	22,1%	15,4%	
	% of Total	17,0%	3,6%	20,5%
African	Count	59	20	79
	% within Gender	68,6%	76,9%	
	% of Total	52,7%	17,9%	70,5%
Criminal	Count	15	4	19
	% within Gender	17,4%	15,4%	
	% of Total	13,4%	3,6%	17,0%
Primitive	Count	19	5	24
	% within Gender	22,1%	19,2%	
	% of Total	17,0%	4,5%	21,4%
Total	Count	86	26	112
	% of Total	76,8%	23,2%	100,0%

The results of the survey show the predominance of terms that imply negative significance, producing multiple stereotypes that denote 'inferiorization'. The term 'African' is the most shared term among migrants. In fact, this term is widely used by Moroccans in their daily speech about migration, referring particularly to sub-Saharan migrants. This term, although it might seem neutral and innocent, it is not. All black migrants in Morocco are ironically referred to as Africans. Using such terms project an attempt of making a heterogeneous continent to a homogeneous one, which is achieved by encapsulating all various nationalities in two terms African and Senegalese. Africa is often portrayed as a continent that generates diseases, famines and poverty. Eventually, the term 'poor' is the second stereotype on the list. Africans, precisely sub-Saharans, are very often perceived as destitute and miserable peoples, who are in need of donations and help. As a result of this impoverished image, irregular migrants are also viewed as uneducated and ignorant. More female migrants, however, think that they are perceived as uneducated. This fact can also be interpreted as a reflection of the migrants' perception of themselves. Going along the list, female and male migrants seem to have a bifurcated point of view after the element of education. While female migrants think that they are perceived as

victims then threat and criminals, male migrants believe that Moroccans perceive them as incarnation primitivism, threat, and criminality. The victimization of female migrants is very often in the aftermath of the increasing vulnerability of women throughout the journey of migration.

There is a new approach emerging that focuses on which category Sub-Saharan African migrants are classified in. While some migrants, such as refugees and trafficked persons, are presented as victims, which, consequently, enable them to gain considerable international attention and aid, illegally crossing borders migrants (economic migrants) are deemed as criminals by the states. They are regarded as a threat to the state's security and capable of committing other illegal practices, which eventually legitimizes their deportation. The state's perception of irregular migrants reinforces the population's perception. This fact can also be linked to some incidents where some migrants committed some legal violations. For example, in Tangier in 2015 some sub-Saharan immigrants were forcibly evacuated by the Moroccan authority from houses in Irfan district into which they illegally broke.¹ In Boukhalef, a wide district well-known for the great number of sub-Saharan migrants living there, there is a strained relationship between sub-Saharan migrants and Moroccans. A short documentary produced by 'Les Observateurs France 24' showed the resentment of both sub-Saharans and Moroccans from each other. Sub-Saharan migrants described their very difficult and inhumane living conditions, whereas Moroccans also expressed their discontentment with some sub-Saharans' disrespectful behaviors, which involve the illegal occupation of their properties and the blackmailing to go out.² Another incident of violation but this time it is an assassination of a night guardian in a shopping center Kissariat Al Alj in Fés in 2017. The investigation allowed police to arrest three

¹ Medi1TV, "عملية إخلاء الشقق المقتحمة من طرف المهاجرين الأفارقة بطنجة", 01/06/2015 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p2dCwqhnFv4>, Accessed on 30/10/2019.

² Les observateurs France 24, « Maroc : Tanger, fin de parcours pour les migrants », 09/12/2014. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5dzLZNBFP5k>, 05/11/2019.

Cameroonian migrants in an irregular situation in Morocco.¹ Such incidents and others rumored have actually fueled the pre-existing tension between Moroccans and sub-Saharan migrants communities, generating hateful generalizations. Eventually, all sub-Saharan immigrants became the target of numerous racist, xenophobic and pejorative comments as well as actions, using these incidents as pretexts when commenting on the posts on social media.

One of the labeling terms used to diminish their position is *Azzia* (for a woman) and *Azzi* (for a man). It is considered by migrants a pejorative term that is similar to some extent to ‘*nigger*’ in English, which is regarded as almost certainly the most offensive and inflammatory racial slur in English, an expressive term of hatred and bigotry. It is used as an insulting and contemptuous term for a black person.² In order to delve deeper into migrants’ experiences, the interviewed sub-Saharan migrants were also asked about the stereotypes that Moroccans have about them and if they have experienced any form of discrimination or racism. The following are testimonies from the conducted interviews with female and male sub-Saharan migrants, for the purpose of uncovering the extent of gender disparities manifestation in discrimination practices. The first respondent recounts his experience with discrimination saying:

Yes, sometimes yes. Once I was in a village, and someone racially insulted me. And then I asked **him ‘are you Muslim’**, he said yes, and he asked me ‘are you Muslim’ I said yes. **And he asked me to recite some Quran** and I said it. **All Muslims are brothers**. One day I was in a market, someone called me and came to me and he told ‘it’s you who sold me a fake phone’. I told him, ‘alright! there is a law in Morocco, let’s go to the police’. He said ‘no, no’. So He refused because I did not sell him a phone. Once I was in the street, someone called me ‘**Azzi, slave**’.

¹ El Baroudi, N., “L’assassinat d’un veilleur de nuit à Fès ravive les tensions envers les migrants », 15 May, 2017. https://telquel.ma/2017/05/15/l'assassinat-dun-veilleur-de-nuit-a-fes-ravive-les-tensions-envers-les-migrants_1546852/?utm_source=tq&utm_medium=normal_post

² <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/nigger>, 31/10/2019.

Sometimes when I am walking in the street in Fes, there is someone who **calls me 'gum gum'**. All of these are **racist insults**.¹

Respondent 5 also expressed his resentment:

Yes, there are but not much. And as I said they do it out of ignorance it was on a bus. On the bus there was a boy and it happened **when there was Ebola etc when you enter the bus they close their nose, and it really hurts (ca fait très mal)**. But sometimes you argue with them and it passes. But finally, **when you adapt you can overcome such attitudes**, and when you learn the language and you can live with it.²

The sixth respondent, on the other hand, mentioned that he experienced racism in Algeria but not in Morocco, saying: *“well, here in Morocco we don't have any problems. Because only people, who do not have hope, who want to harm us (nous faires du mal). Otherwise, we don't have very big problems. They are really nice. Well, racism is not here, it was in Algeria. But here not very much.”*³ The seventh respondent, however, articulated that he has never experienced any form of racism in Morocco and expressed his content about living within the Moroccan community, which characterized by solidarity and sympathy. However, he did not deny that there is some sort of difficulty that he linked to language and miscommunication. The only feeling he experiences sometimes is ‘ignorance’. He said for example, *“there are some people who make me mad because of their stupid questions. For example, when they ask me, are there any cows in Mali? That's a stupid question. 90% of Malians are involved in agriculture, so there aren't any cows in Mali”*!⁴ In addition, having spent two years in Algeria,

¹ Respondent 1, man, 38 years old, from Senegal.

² Respondent 5, man, 42 years old, from Senegal.

³ Respondent 6, man, 28 years old, from Mali.

⁴ Respondent 7, man, 30 years old, from Mali.

he, similarly to respondent 6, expressed his resentment and described Algerians as “*very racist*”. He added:

For Moroccans, there is this problem of Christian and Muslim. They don't have the same culture. **But Malians and Senegalese are Muslims.** We also have frontiers with the Maghreb. **Normally, Mali and Senegal are like North Africa, they are North Africans.** Because we have Frontiers with Mauritania and Algeria. So we are mixed...They don't distinguish between Africans. For them, you are just African. In Islam we are all the same (...) **Muslim sub-Saharan migrants have more chances with Moroccans than Christians.** For me, it is a misunderstanding of cultures, generalization, and problems linked to migration.¹

To sum up, discrimination for male migrants has two facets: racial and religious. Racial discrimination is carried out via expressions that imply pejorative attitudes towards the black race such as ‘Azzi and gum gum’. Besides, using the term ‘slave’ demonstrates a lexical repertoire of discrimination that consists of expressions, reflecting the ongoing legacy of slavery. The use of this term against black migrants can be interpreted as a systematic strategy to remind them of their past and constant inferior position, which obviously did not end with the abolishment of slavery. On the other hand, migrants tend to identify with Moroccans through religion as a response to their explicit awareness of racial differentiation. In other words, migrants’ constant emphasis on the religious commonality between some Sub-Saharan migrants and Moroccans during the interview shows their desperate attempt to highlight the commonalities instead of the differences. Moreover, although Moroccans do not show any self-identification with sub-Saharan migrants neither geographically, racially, nor religiously, Muslim Sub-Saharans expressed their feeling of being privileged compared to Christians or generally non-Muslim sub-Saharan immigrants. Besides, the fifth respondent expressed

¹ Respondent 7, man, 30 years old, from Mali.

implicit disappointment on what he thinks unchangeable discriminatory behaviors and that the only solution is adaptation. Therefore, adaptation is another survival strategy during the migratory experience to overcome the multiple forms of discrimination, which have become part of their daily life.

The use of 'African' term to refer to black sub-Saharan migrants demonstrates Moroccans' attempt of 'detachment' from the 'Other' – the sub-Saharan immigrant. It creates a fictitious border/boundary between 'us' and 'them'. Sibley (1995), based on a profound examination of psychoanalytical theories that tackled the importance of preserving self-identity, has argued that the urge to exclude "threatening others" from one's proximity is connected to the socially perpetuated desires, which is often a subconscious attitude to maintain self-cleanliness and purity.¹ He has explored how this abject fear on the self being defiled or polluted is targeted towards specific individuals or groups, who are depicted as deviant or dangerous. The fact that black color is often used to describe dirt, which is associated with diseases, and everything evil, has a significant impact on the construction of the ways the 'black Other' is perceived.² In Moroccan culture, similarly to other cultures, the black color refers to evil, dirt, bad luck, and ugliness. As a result, Moroccans' subconscious rejects the fact of being Africans in order not to be included within the same 'dirty, destitute, and evil jar'. The concept of 'Othering' is often addressed from an interdisciplinary lens but this case is referring us to an ambivalent self-Othering discourse. By using the term 'African' to refer to sub-Saharans, Moroccans make out themselves the 'Other', who do not belong to the destitute category. Such an unconscious and taken-for-granted attitude is an emphasis on the hierarchy and binary position of superiority and inferiority. 'Othering' is a well-known process that inevitably leads to exclusion, 'inferiorization' and marginalization of individuals, who do not fit within the same

¹ Sibley, D. *Geographies of Exclusion: Society and Difference in the West*. London: Routledge, 1995. P: 8.

² Ibid, P: 22/23.

category. Some scholars have pointed out that othering pertains to a psychological purpose where the exclusionary mechanism of othering aims at satisfying a need to preserve psycho- and socio-spatial proximity 'clean' from deviant, dirty or threatening others and maintaining moral normality.¹ Therefore, it is a sense of inferiorization that sub-Saharan migrants feel and experience in Morocco. In the same respect, AMERM identified four aspects of inferiorization. Sub-Saharan immigrants estimated that they are perceived as inferior economically, socially, racially, and religiously.² This study's findings also confirm sub-Saharan migrants' perception of the multiplicity of unequal relations. At the economic level, they are perceived as poor and miserable; on the social level, migrants are viewed as uneducated and primitive; whereas racial inferiorization is expressed not only by 'African' but also by other labels that the interviewees revealed, such as 'slave' and 'Azzi'. In addition, despite the absence of non-Muslim interviewees, religious inferiorization is also an existing aspect in this study as well as in AMERM's report.

Having discussed the male version of experience with discrimination and racism, the female version is characterized by other peculiar specificities. First, before going through the interviews, it is necessary to emphasize that all female migrants declare emphatically that they experienced racist attitudes. The second respondent stated that she has undergone many forms of racism, recounting:

Because I do business, I go sometimes to the Souks 'market'. **It is like a small hell over there;** to negotiate, to put your table, it is very different, they tell you **"degage, gum gum, Azzia,"** they call you all names, **"go back to your country, what are you doing in Morocco?"** But in Senegal, there are so many Moroccans. I have a

¹ Hubbard, P. "Community action and the displacement of street prostitution: Evidence from British cities". *Geoforum*. 29/3, 1998. 269-286. P: 281. DOI: 10.1016/s0016-7185(98)00014-1

²AMERM. "l'Immigration subsaharienne au Maroc: analyse socio-économique". Rabat, Association marocaine d'études et de recherches en migrations, 2008. P : 84.

friend who came here to open a store as a restaurant for her business, they told her **'you are not Moroccan, we rent only to Moroccans'**. They did not want to rent her because she is a **foreigner** but in Senegal there many Moroccans who open shops. It was the owners, **they said we don't rent to the Africans.** ¹

The third respondent similarly stated that *"sometimes there are some boys and girls who throw small rocks at me, they call me 'gum gum, Azzia, go back to your country'. Sometimes, they call me 'Dwa Lberd'. I don't know the meaning. What does that mean?"*² The fourth respondent also articulated and described the different forms of discrimination she has experienced, saying that:

They (Moroccans) **are very racist**. Well, there are some people who are **kind too**. But not all. Sometimes when you are walking in the street some ask us to get in the car, as **if we are prostitutes**. That's what **disturbs me a lot here**. You are eating, they honk their horns from their cars so that you get in. They don't give you respect. **They don't give respect to black women here (...)** I don't understand very well Arabic. So even when they call me something I don't understand them. Sometimes I have a problem with taxi drivers. One day I wanted to stop a taxi, the taxi driver left me and went to the Moroccan client even if I was first to call him. These are the cases. And that's racism too.³

Furthermore, respondent 8 expressed her outrageous feeling towards some forms of racism that are more degrading. She said:

Yes, a lot. Especially here in Fes. You know I am a fighter woman. I don't like when someone insults me. When someone insults me I react right away. I am a little nervous. Sometimes when I am walking especially men, they **tell me 'mon amie,**

¹ Respondent 2, woman, 28 years old, from Senegal.

² Respondent 3, woman, 30 years old, from Senegal.

³ Respondent 4, woman, 26 years old, from Senegal.

viens fuck fuck, je te donne l'argent' (my friend, come fuck fuck, I will give you money). And they tell me **'mon amie (my friend), Azzia, Aroubia, Sahraouia.'** But that's not a problem. But when they tell me **'Dwa Lberd or fuck fuck'** I fight with them right away. **I can't tolerate that.** I don't like it. Women only look at me, they laugh, they make fun of me. Sometimes in buses, **even if you are wearing clean clothes, you have a shower and you put perfume,** but just to make fun of you they close their nose, just to make fun of you, **to destabilize you. That makes me feel bad honestly** but I say nothing. **I confronted that many times.** Even today. Because I take a taxi to go to *Bab Fatouh*. A Moroccan stopped the taxi but when he looked into the taxi and saw me, he told him 'no, no'. The taxi driver also told me 'because of you he did not want to get in the taxi. He is racist.' I told him that is their problem, I don't care.¹

Female respondents' testimonies reveal that while some discriminatory forms are shared with male migrants, others are very gender-specific, unlike what some reports and studies on irregular sub-Saharan migrants assumed. For male migrants, discrimination is often based on racial and religious differentiation, whereas for female migrants discrimination, in addition to race and religion, takes the form of 'racialized sexual harassment'. All female interviewees expressed their resentment and outrage against the harassment they encounter in their daily life. For them, when discrimination is evoked by race, it can be tolerated even if it makes them feel inferior, but when it is based on their gender and touches them as women, they cannot tolerate such practice. The reiterated expression of '*dwa lberd*' (a cold's healer) implies a mythical belief on black women's bodies. It minimizes their existence to a pure sexual objectification of their bodies. Throughout the history of slavery, black women's bodies were very often considered warmer than white women's bodies (see page 106). This fact also demonstrates the significant impact of the inherited beliefs and fantasies, which have been constructed by a

¹ Respondent 8, woman, 36 years old, from Gambia.

‘racialized patriarchy’ on sub-Saharan women’s experiences of migration. The second respondent emphasized this historical legacy when she said, “*the majority of Moroccans consider us as slaves because of our black skin; whereas it is God who did this, it is not us, because all people are black and white. Even in our eyes, we have black and white.*”¹ Furthermore, female sub-Saharan African migrants rank at the bottom of a racial patriarchal hierarchy, which is characterized by dichotomous relations. Collins (2000), for instance, emphasizes in *Black Feminist Thought* the fact that all other groups of color must, according to the meanings attached to their color, take the place within a continually renegotiated color hierarchy. Yet, the meanings attached to whiteness and blackness, which they symbiotically gain only in relation to one another, define the top and the bottom.²

Another aspect of racial discrimination that is women-specific exists at the aesthetic level. Companies of cosmetic products present beauty and race differentially. These products’ thematic approach focuses on whitening as a process and beauty as an outcome. They also link beauty to whiteness and ugliness to blackness. The latter stresses vehemently the superiority of whiteness in comparison to the inferiority of blackness. Women, on the contrary to men, are very much objectified by evaluating the way they look. From a binary opposition standpoint, White and Black women represent “*two opposing poles*” in comparison to women of other colors like Latinas, Asian-American women, and Native American women who maneuver for positions in between within the hierarchy. Collins (2000) goes further and underscores that African-American women’s experience of pain of never being able to fulfill the prevailing standards of beauty is not encapsulated restrictively to White men and White women, it rather extends to Black men as well as one another.³

¹ Respondent 2, Women, 28 years old, from Senegal.

² Collins, H. P. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (2nd ed.), New York and London: Routledge, 2000. P: 90.

³ Ibid, P: 89/90.

Moroccan culture, similarly to other societies, valorizes whiteness as a feature of beauty despite the diversity of ethnicities. A saying that has always puzzled me and I heard on several occasions is when Moroccans are describing two girls one is white and the other is black. For the black girl they say: “*although she is black/brunette, she is beautiful*”; whereas the white girl is described as “*although she is white, she is not beautiful*”. The use of skin color in this descriptive speech is striking. Whiteness represents a natural privilege while blackness is seen as a flaw that blurs the other standards of beauty. The darker a woman is the less beautiful she is considered. Collins (2000) added, in this respect that “*Black men’s blackness penalizes them. But because they are not women, valuations of their self-worth do not depend as heavily on their physical attractiveness. In contrast, part of the objectification of all women lies in evaluating how they look.*”¹ Therefore, female sub-Saharan migrants, unlike their male counterparts, who are likely associated with attitudes like savageness and violence, undergo a multi-layered intersected racial, gender and religious forms of degradation. Contrary to male respondents, female respondents did not show any self-identification with Moroccans through religion despite being all Muslims and wearing a headscarf.

Women migrants’ relation to their husbands is also based on submission. This was emphasized by the fifth respondent’s statement: “*women do not have the same freedom as men to migrate. Because there are already the traditions. There are customs and there is religion. In Senegal, the wife should always be submissive to her husband. If the husband tells her not to go, then she should not go. If he tells her to stop talking, she should stop talking.*”² His statement reflects Senegalese women’s position in the family, which is limited to a complete submission to her husband’s orders. To conclude, female sub-Saharan migrants’ inferior position is identified within three levels of hierarchies: first, as women in a patriarchal hierarchy; second,

¹ Collins, H. P. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (2nd ed.), New York and London: Routledge, 2000. P: 89.

² Respondent 5, man, 42 years old, from Senegal.

as black women within a racial hierarchy; and last, as irregular women migrants in a hierarchical category of migrants. They are aware they are not respected not only as black but rather as 'black women migrants'.

The survey's respondents were also asked how they perceive the Moroccan population in general and the question included a list of positive and negative attitudes. Being racist, unfortunately, overwhelmingly predominate the results.

Table 35: The ways Moroccans are perceived

			Gender		Total
			Men	Women	
Perceived Moroccans	Solidary	Count	26	5	31
		% within Gender	30,2%	19,2%	
		% of Total	23,2%	4,5%	27,7%
	Pleasant	Count	17	5	22
		% within Gender	19,8%	19,2%	
		% of Total	15,2%	4,5%	19,6%
	Welcoming	Count	12	8	20
		% within Gender	14,0%	30,8%	
		% of Total	10,7%	7,1%	17,9%
	Unpleasant	Count	24	7	31
		% within Gender	27,9%	26,9%	
		% of Total	21,4%	6,3%	27,7%
	Contemptuous	Count	20	5	25
		% within Gender	23,3%	19,2%	
		% of Total	17,9%	4,5%	22,3%
	Racists	Count	61	19	80
		% within Gender	70,9%	73,1%	
		% of Total	54,5%	17,0%	71,4%
	Xenophobic	Count	6	1	7
		% within Gender	7,0%	3,8%	
		% of Total	5,4%	0,9%	6,3%
Total	Count	86	26	112	
	% of Total	76,8%	23,2%	100,0%	

The predominance of 'racist' does not revoke the presence of positive attitudes too. Some migrants have dual attitudes towards the Moroccan community. They did not deny the aspects of solidarity that they experienced and felt during their interaction with members of the Moroccan community. All interviewees emphasized the existence of "*good and bad people*" in all societies despite their bitter experiences with some racist attitudes. Respondent 8, for example, recounted the solid friendship she established with a Moroccan woman, saying:

There are some other Moroccans **who are very good**. I have so many Moroccan friends. Some invite me, some buy me gifts. I even have a Moroccan friend who fought for me with other Moroccans. I am going to tell you an anecdote. I have a friend called Fatima Zahra. When I come first to *Doha Zouagha*, I used to sell my goods there, when I came as new, the other Moroccans did not want me to take a place. They told me '**no, no sir lebladek (go to your country), you're not Moroccan, you can't have a place**'. Fatima Zahra left her house and came to the market to fight for me to have a place. She said '**even if she is black, she is better than you, because she has a good heart, but you are bad.**' It is thanks to her that I have a stable place now. She invites me, she gives me gifts, she gives me Couscous, and even for my child she sometimes buys clothes. Thanks to her that no one touches me.¹

This quote shows two opposing attitudes. Some Moroccans demonstrate xenophobic attitudes towards sub-Saharan migrants evoked by the fear of concurrence. Her friend, in the meanwhile, shows the essence of solidarity that can stand against a flow of discriminatory and degrading attitudes. Migrants' experience within the receiving society influence greatly their future plans. Having discussed migrants' living conditions, employment, legal status, and

¹ Respondent 8, Woman, 36 years old, from Gambia.

interaction with the Moroccan community, the following section will address migrants' intentions and aspirations.

7.2.3. Migrants' Aspirations

Throughout this research's discussion, sub-Saharan migrants are very often associated with irregular transit migration. However, findings revealed that migrants have different objectives. Their intentions and objectives keep fluctuating throughout the whole process of migration because of several influential determinants. Before addressing migrants' future intentions, they were asked if they have ever made any attempt to illegally cross the European borders.

Table 36: Attempts to Cross the Borders.

			Gender		Total
			Men	Women	
Attempts	No, not yet	Count	32	18	50
		% within Gender	37,2%	69,2%	44,6%
		% of Total	28,6%	16,1%	44,6%
	One attempt	Count	21	0	21
		% within Gender	24,4%	0,0%	18,8%
		% of Total	18,8%	0,0%	18,8%
	Two attempts	Count	11	5	16
		% within Gender	12,8%	19,2%	14,3%
		% of Total	9,8%	4,5%	14,3%
	Three attempts and more	Count	22	3	25
		% within Gender	25,6%	11,5%	22,3%
		% of Total	19,6%	2,7%	22,3%
Total	Count		86	26	112
	% within Gender		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
	% of Total		76,8%	23,2%	100,0%

Findings show that the majority of migrants, in general, did not make any attempt at the time of conducting the survey, but (55,4%) of migrants declared that they have already made a failed

attempt or more to illegally cross the borders towards Europe. The gender ratio of these results reveals an obvious differentiation in the likelihood of crossing the borders. More than half of female migrants did not make any attempt by the time the survey was conducted. Conversely, male migrants who made an attempt or more constitute (62,8%) in total. This gender discrepancy can be linked to different aspects that influence their tendency to proceed with their prior plan of crossing the borders. The heightened coastal border security drive migrants to shift their focus on the Moroccan land borders with enclaves Ceuta and Melilla, which are separated by very tall wired fences. Climbing these fences is the only way to cross the borders and it reduces female migrants' likelihood to make an attempt. Given the fact that some women are accompanied by babies, certainly handicaps their mobility and eventually their prior plans of crossing the borders especially in the case of climbing the fences. The inability or failure to cross the borders affects migrants' determination and inevitably, their future plans. The following table presents migrants futuristic perspective and their intentions.

Table 37: Migrants' Future plans

			Gender		Total
			Men	Women	
Future plans	I will stay in Morocco	Count	3	2	5
		% within Gender	3,5%	7,7%	4,5%
		% of Total	2,7%	1,8%	4,5%
	I will continue my journey to Europe	Count	57	13	70
		% within Gender	66,3%	50,0%	62,5%
		% of Total	50,9%	11,6%	62,5%
	I will return to my home country	Count	7	3	10
		% within Gender	8,1%	11,5%	8,9%
		% of Total	6,3%	2,7%	8,9%
	I don't know yet	Count	19	8	27
		% within Gender	22,1%	30,8%	24,1%
		% of Total	17,0%	7,1%	24,1%
Total	Count	86	26	112	
	% within Gender	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	
	% of Total	76,8%	23,2%	100,0%	

The findings demonstrate that the ongoing intensified border surveillance and the increasing likelihood of undergoing life-threatening risks or getting stuck in the sea for days, do not deter migrants' willingness to pursue their dream of reaching the European territory. The overwhelming majority of migrants, both men and women, expressed their determination to cross the European borders. Conversely, another striking finding of this investigation was how few migrants showed their intentions to stay in Morocco – they constitute the least percentage. This fact demonstrates the failure of states' security approach to alleviating the flow of migrants. The findings highlight as well the inadequacy of Morocco's human approach and integration programs to change irregular migrants' prior intentions. However, for the same reason, (30,8%) of female migrants and (22,1%) of male migrants do not envisage any potential plan for their future. Their intention to cross the borders or generally their prior plans have been quivered. Eventually, their future plans have become blurred. Similar results were reflected in the findings of AMERM's (2008)¹ extensive survey of migrants, where almost three-quarters (72.6%) of respondents hoped to continue their journey, while only one in 10 (10.6 %) wanted to return home. Whereas only (2.3 %) wished to remain in Morocco (we should take into consideration that.²

No one can deny the impact of the considerable dangers involved and the intensified security on the borders on migrants' intentions. However, the decision to change the initial migratory plans is associated with other multiple overlapped factors. The social network of migrants also plays a significant role in rethinking their prior decisions. For example, the fifth

¹ We should bear in mind that AMERM's report was carried out before Arab Spring and the current political instability of some countries, which have changed greatly the patterns of migration and the migratory policies, including Morocco's new law of regularization.

² AMERM. "l'Immigration subsaharienne au Maroc: analyse socio-économique". Rabat, Association marocaine d'études et de recherches en migrations, 2008. P : 92/93.

interviewed migrant left Senegal with the objective of crossing the borders to France, but his experience in Morocco drove him to reconsider his prior plans, he said:

well when I first migrated to Morocco, **it was actually to go to France to work in the Military.** They have a program in which they recruit foreigners all nationalities and until the age of 40 years. So I thought by passing through Morocco, it will be easier to go to France. That was my primary objective. After that when I came to Morocco in 2010, I established my own small business, which was going very well. So I started to think of staying in Morocco and hesitated making the attempt of crossing the Ocean Mediterranean and go to France. So I stayed. Then I met an Imam in the mosque where I used to pray. **He advised me and said “you are Muslim why would you go to reinforce the army of non-Muslims”**, he convinced me. And it is then when I decided to stay in Morocco. And I am still doing my small business.¹

The respondent demonstrates that establishing a new social network and meeting people, who have another vision, may influence migrants' primary decision. However, the majority of irregular migrants live within their closed communities and with peers, who share, to some extent, a similar perspective and futuristic vision. Respondent 5 also expressed his desire to return back to Senegal and enlarge his own investment in importing and exporting goods between Senegal and Morocco. Female interviewed migrants, on the other hand, traveled to Morocco hoping for a better job opportunity or for establishing a small business. This decision was influenced greatly by someone of their social network, who motivated and provided them with useful information on migration processes (except one female respondent who migrated for family reunification with her husband).

¹ Respondent 5, man, 42 years old, from Senegal.

Another factor that plays a fundamental role in the migratory process is embodied in the receiving country's living conditions, especially legal status and employment. Respondent 7 expressed his keen desire to accomplish stability. He said, *"for the right moment, I don't have a plan. For the right moment, my only plan is to stabilize and in order to do that I need to have papers here. Since I do not have documents, then I have no project. Because in order to make a project you need to be stable. I need first stability."*¹ Based on this statement, one can infer the migrant's sense of loss and of being handcuffed. His main objective at the moment of conducting the interview was to regularize his legal status. Having a regular status represents, for him, the first step that will help him to attain the stability he seeks. Drawing on other previous testimonies, the legal status plays a pivotal role in promoting a migrant's integration in the job market. These two determinants contribute to constructing a sense of stability within the receiving society, which consequently influence migrants' plans. However, it is worth highlighting that migrants' aspirations and intentions differ from one migrant to another, depending on each individual's primary motivation and migration experience throughout the entire journey. This last section shows that even though Europe still allures the majority of migrants, their noticeable shift towards other options should be acknowledged. The states, then, are in front of the challenge of legislating and designing migratory policies and initiatives that meet with migrants' aspirations and needs.

¹ Respondent 7, man, 30 years old, from Mali.

Conclusion

This study sought to develop a gender-sensitive approach to the implications and changing patterns of Sub-Saharan irregular 'transit' migration in Morocco. The overriding theme of this paper has been the need to highlight the invisibility of women and gender biases in migration literature and to make gender a key dimension for a better comprehension of irregular migration-related issues, such as propensity to migrate, legal status and survival strategies. A gendered analysis, however, does not merely focus on women but addresses gender as a central organizing principle of the entire migration process.

This paper's objective was accomplished by using a three stages analytical frameworks to illustrate how gender is intricately involved in the entire process of migration and to demonstrate how the socially constructed gender relations, roles and hierarchies have a differential impact on the migratory decisions and experiences of men and women. The paper endeavored to unravel the complexity of this relationship by combining qualitative and quantitative research strategies to overcome the shortcomings that each method involves and the limitations created by research circumstances. The mix-methods approach was not only complementary but also allowed the comparison of findings to understand migrants' responses for each research method. By using qualitative and quantitative research methods, the study concludes that both gender and migration have an ambivalent impact on women's and men's experience of migration. The results captured numerous factors that create gendered vulnerabilities and differentials.

The theoretical analysis presented here sought to bring together several scholarly perspectives and discussions in migration studies. By discussing different perceptions and definitions, the first part concluded that 'transit' migration is not a different type of migration. It is a phase that consists of a process that both economic migrants and refugees find themselves

compelled to experience. Besides, the first part detected numerous complicated economic, political, historical and linguistic relations between the common departure countries and the common receiving countries that characterize irregular 'transit' migration. Researchers in migration studies proved that these factors determine individuals' choice of destination countries and of the undertaken strategies to cross the borders. Irregular transit migration is also the result of not only the complicated migratory procedures but also of an economic and cultural hierarchy across the countries and societies. Globalization as well plays a key role as it facilitates the transmission of information on migration opportunities and routes. On the other hand, despite the states' attempt to identify the characteristics of each category of migrants, these categorical characteristics overlap in many cases. The theoretical part also unraveled gender biases in early migration theories and examined the scholarly journey of incorporating gender in migration studies. By tracing back the development of the gender-sensitive approach in migration literature, the discussion concludes that not only migration and gender are connected in several ways, but they also involve a reciprocal impact on each other during the entire process of migration.

By adopting the three stages analytical framework in the second part, the discussion involved migrants' living environment in their home countries; the journey from home countries until their arrival to Morocco; and then their lived experience in Morocco, which is considered for the majority as the final step to Europe. The survey's findings showed that women and men experience commonalities and differences during the entire process of migration. Despite the assumption and the historical fact of patriarchy in some communities in the sub-Saharan region, women have less tendency to migrate. The prevalent gender expectations and roles in migrants' home countries crucially influence making the decision to migrate. For example, the propensity to migrate in the sub-Saharan region is affected by multiple gendered divisions of power. Data showed that gender inequalities in the sub-Saharan

region hinder women's empowerment and access to decision-making positions. The gender gap in education in the sub-Saharan region is striking. Eventually, sub-Saharan women have less access to financial resources and cannot afford the expenses of the journey unless their families help them.

The process of irregular migration puts individuals in serious life-threatening circumstances. Reports and studies usually focus on the sea routes and the catastrophic number of human losses but very little information is known about the vast land route that connects sub-Saharan countries to North African countries. The journey from home country to Morocco in the desert may take days or even weeks, depending on the geographical proximity and it is fraught with different forms of dangers. Armed revolt or trafficking gangs a real nightmare for migrants. Lack of financial resources also increases women's vulnerability to undergo trafficking or sexual exploitation by different perpetrators. The discussion of secondary sources also unraveled the way some female migrants manage survival strategies in their journey to Europe. By turning their vulnerabilities to empowering elements, some female migrants may make use of any condition to remain alive and to pursue their prior intentions.

Gendered multi-dimensions also mold several aspects of migrants' lived experience in Morocco. An anti-essentialist notion of gender has to acknowledge that gender mediates and is mediated by other socially constructed characteristics. In this study, the intersectionality of gender, race, and religion manifests in several aspects of migrants' experience in Morocco. Female sub-Saharan migrants, due to the gendered cultural repertoire on the history of slavery and race, confront sexualized prejudices and harassment. Moving from a patriarchal society to another patriarchal society does not really improve women migrants' status. Women migrating independently, despite the increasing vulnerability, enable them to gain more freedom and become the decision-makers than when they are with their husbands. The interviewed female migrants were asked at the end about how their lived experience of migration is different from

that of men's and they expressed their thoughts on gender differentials. For example, the second respondent underscored the extent of submission that Senegalese women are required to perform by asking permission from and abiding their husbands, while she used to be more autonomous to make her own decisions when she was not married yet. Therefore, gender relations affect all three dimensions of migration: the causes, the process and the consequences of migration.

The process of collecting data for this research was confronted with many challenging factors. Irregular transit migration is a highly sensitive topic at two levels: political and personal. The city of Tangier is a hotspot because of the tension between sub-Saharan migrants, the population and the authority. Bearing that in mind, I attempted at the beginning to approach this population via associations. However, despite my constant and eager attempt to contact NGOs asking for having a training to facilitate approaching migrants, either I received no response or I received disapproval. I have also volunteered in an association called "Voie des Migrants/ path of Migrants" in Ramadan 2018 when they were offering meals to some homeless Moroccans but majorly sub-Saharan migrants under the title "FTOUR du Coeur". However, when I asked them to get in touch with the migrants they were meeting daily, they rejected my request without any justification. Then I decided to approach the migrants where they usually gather or in traffic lights. After a few days, when I was collecting the questionnaires, the authority intimidatingly interrupted the process and eventually, I became unable to carry it on or to conduct the interviews. Another challenge encountered in this investigation is the constant mobility of migrants. As a result, the questionnaires could not be left to respondents and collected at another meeting. I had to wait for them to finish and it took between 15 to 20 minutes. This situation contributed to attracting the curiosity of other people and members of the authority in particular.

The only association that approved my meeting with migrants they work with is an association in Sefrou. The association organizes classes that focus on agricultural careers for a considerable number of migrants. However, when I attended the event of providing certificates and I talked to the participating migrants, I figured out that all of them are pursuing their studies in Morocco; some were PhDs and others were studying in Master Programs. In addition, when I was approaching the migrants in the streets both in Fes and Tangier, I noticed how this action evoked curiosity and wonder for the Moroccan community. These attitudes consist of staring and some were even trying to get indirectly close to us to figure out what is happening. To maintain and ensure migrants' security and safety, I could not conduct the interviews in public spaces. Fortunately, one of the respondents offered his house where I could meet other respondents and conduct the interviews. On the other hand, irregular migration is also a very sensitive issue for migrants. The majority of migrants I encountered did not have a regular legal status in Morocco. Convincing them to recount their intimate stories was a very difficult task. Several migrants did not accept to open up because for them I am stranger. Despite my emphasis on the confidentiality terms as a researcher, they still did not accept sharing their stories. Their refusal was instigated primarily by the fear of being arrested and then deported or expelled to Southern cities or even to their own countries. Establishing a degree of trust between the mediator and me was a very necessary element. Besides that, the fact that he had a regularized status also facilitated the process.

This research was a contribution to enhancing our understanding of Sub-Saharan women's and men's experience of irregular 'transit' migration. However, it also had some methodological shortcomings. The difficulty of approaching the sample of this study resulted in some limitations. Being incapable of conducting the interviews necessitated the establishment of a degree of confidence between an interviewee and me and then convince him to play the role of a mediator to facilitate my meeting with other interviewees of his entourage.

This, however, created limited access to data on other religions since all interviewees are Muslims. The latter also reflects the enclosed environment where the Muslim Sub-Saharan live. On the other hand, the religious diversity of the interviewees would have enriched the discussion by having diverse points of view and more information on religion since it is a significant factor as well. The diversity of interviewed migrants would also have allowed and enhanced our understanding of the intersectionality of other social constructs with gender, such as social classes in home countries and sexual orientation.

The fact that there have been very few regularized migrants within this study does not allow deeper analysis and evaluation of Morocco's new law of regularization and the programs that target the integration of irregular migrants. I recommend for future researchers to overcome this pitfall by including Sub-Saharan students and regularized employees in the sample. This study did not include Sub-Saharan students because it focused on irregular transit sub-Saharan migrants, who experience different migratory patterns. Besides, studies on migration focus very often on addressing migration issues from migrants' perspective with no consideration to the receiving population. I could not include this topic in this current study due to time restrictions, but I am willing to explore it in my future research. Adding another survey that highlights the Moroccan population's insights on irregular transit migration would enrich the discussion. This survey is going to capture their perception of irregular migration from the perspective of the receiving population and shed light on their interaction with the Sub-Saharan community. Using a gender dimension during the data analysis of this survey would unfold new facts about the Moroccan population. This approach would eventually facilitate comparing the interaction between migrants and the local community from multiple different perspectives.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Tables

Table 1: The interviewed migrants' profiles

Respondents	Profile
Respondent 1	Man, 38 years old, married, from Senegal, Baccalaureat degree.
Respondent 2	Woman, 28 years old, married, from Senegal, high school level.
Respondent 3	Woman, 30 years old, married, from Senegal, primary level.
Respondent 4	Woman, 26 years old, married, from Senegal, high school level.
Respondent 5	Man, 42 years old, married, from Senegal, Baccalaureat degree.
Respondent 6	Man, 28 years old, Single, from Mali, high school level.
Respondent 7	Man, 30 years old, Single, from Mali, university level.
Respondent 8	Woman, 36 years old, Married, from Gambia, primary level.

Table 2: The marital status of migrants within their countries of origin (in number)

Country of origin			Gender		Total
			Men	Women	
Africa	Marital_status	Single	2		2
	Total		2		2
Bourkina Faso	Marital_status	Single	2		2
	Total		2		2
Cameroon	Marital_status	Single	32	5	37
		Married	4	0	4
		Divorced	2	0	2
	Total		38	5	43
Chad	Marital_status	Single	2		2
	Total		2		2
Congo DR	Marital_status	Single	7	1	8
		Married	0	1	1
	Total		7	2	9
Côte d'Ivoire	Marital_status	Single	6	10	16

		Married	0	2	2
		Divorced	1	1	2
		Widow	0	2	2
	Total		7	15	22
Gabon	Marital_status	Single	3		3
	Total		3		3
Guinea	Marital_status	Single	5	0	5
		Married	0	1	1
	Total		5	1	6
Mali	Marital_status	Single	8		8
		Married	1		1
	Total		9		9
Mauritius Island	Marital_status	Married	1		1
	Total		1		1
Senegal	Marital_status	Single	5	1	6
		Married	2	2	4
		Widow	1	0	1
	Total		8	3	11
The Gambia	Marital_status	Single	2		2
	Total		2		2
Total	Marital_status	Single	74	17	91
		Married	8	6	14
		Divorced	3	1	4
		Widow	1	2	3
	Total		86	26	112

Appendix 2: Questions of the Interviews

These were the main questions in the interviews, but some of them phrased sometimes due to the development of the interview. I will start citing the questions in French first, since it was the spoken language during the interviews and then in English.

Questions in French:

1. Quel âge avez-vous?
2. Quel est votre état matrimonial?
3. Quel est votre niveau d'éducation?

4. Avez-vous un travail au pays d'origine ?
5. Comment avez-vous de l'argent pour migrer ?
6. Combien ça vous a coûté du Sénégal jusqu'au Maroc ?
7. Dans votre société, les femmes émigrent-elles autant que les hommes ou y a-t-il une différence?
8. Qu'est-ce qui vous a poussé à migrer?
9. Votre famille a-t-elle soutenu votre décision de migrer?
10. Comment es-tu entré au Maroc?
11. Es-tu venu seul?
12. Combien de temps avez-vous mis pour arriver au Maroc en provenance du Sénégal?
13. Avez-vous fait face à des risques pendant le voyage?
14. Depuis combien de temps êtes-vous resté au Maroc?
15. Avez-vous des enfants avec ici?
16. Avez-vous laissé d'autres enfants au Sénégal?
17. Où habites-tu?
18. Comment gagnez-vous votre vie?
19. Comment pouvez-vous décrire les conditions de travail?
20. Quel est votre statut juridique au Maroc en ce moment?
21. Avez-vous l'intention de faire une demande?
22. A votre avis, quels sont les effets négatifs d'être irrégulier?
23. A votre avis, comment les migrants subsahariens sont-ils perçus par les Marocains?
24. Quelles sont les raisons derrière ces stéréotypes?
25. Avez-vous déjà expérimenté une forme de racisme?
26. Est-ce difficile ou facile de s'intégrer dans la société marocaine?
27. En général, comment percevez-vous les Marocains?
28. Quels sont tes plans futurs?

Questions in English:

1. How old are you?
2. What is your marital status?
3. What is your level of education?
4. Do you have a job in the country of origin?
5. How do you get money to migrate?
6. How much did it cost you from Senegal/ Mali/ Gambia to Morocco?
7. In your society, do women emigrate as much as men or is there a difference?
8. What made you migrate?
9. Did your family support your decision to migrate?
10. How did you come to Morocco?
11. Did you come alone?
12. How long did it take you to arrive in Morocco from Senegal?
13. Did you face any risks during the trip?
14. How long have you been in Morocco?
15. Do you have children here?
16. Have you left any other children in Senegal?
17. Where do you live?
18. How do you earn your living?
19. How can you describe the working conditions?
20. What is your legal status in Morocco at the moment?
21. Do you intend to apply?
22. In your opinion, what are the negative effects of being irregular?
23. In your opinion, how are Sub-Saharan migrants perceived by Moroccans?
24. What are the reasons behind these stereotypes?

25. Have you ever experienced a form of racism?
26. Is it difficult or easy to integrate into Moroccan society?
27. In general, how do you perceive Moroccans?
28. What are your future plans?

Additional interview questions

These questions were based on the development of the conversation and on the specificities of each respondent's lived experience of migration.

Questions in French:

1. Existe-t-il des restrictions à la migration des femmes?
2. Avant de se marier, par exemple une fille qui vit avec ses parents, serait-elle capable de migrer seule?
3. le permis de séjour faciliterait-il l'intégration?
4. Savez-vous combien elle a payé au total?
5. Qu'en est-il de votre tante, s'est-elle opposée à votre migration?
6. Avez-vous rencontré des problèmes d'hébergement?
7. Est-ce que la famille vous a aidé?
8. Es-tu venu seul?
9. Avez-vous déjà tenté de franchir les frontières?
10. Qu'est-ce qui a fait passer deux ans en Algérie et ensuite entrer au Maroc?
11. Es-tu venu avec l'intention d'aller en Europe ou de rester au Maroc?
12. Alors, est-ce que travailler en Algérie était très difficile?
13. Avez-vous eu des problèmes avec les passeurs?
14. Qu'est-ce qui vous a motivé à migrer?

Questions in English:

1. Are there restrictions on women's migration?

2. Before getting married, for example a girl who lives with her parents, would she be able to migrate alone?
3. Would the residence permit facilitate integration?
4. Do you know how much she paid in total?
5. What about your aunt, did she oppose your migration?
6. Have you experienced any hosting issues?
7. Did the family help you?
8. Did you come alone?
9. Have you ever tried to cross borders?
10. What made two years in Algeria and then to Morocco?
11. Have you come with the intention of going to Europe or staying in Morocco?
12. So, was working in Algeria very difficult?
13. Have you had problems with smugglers?

Appendix 3: Questionnaires (English and French versions)

This questionnaire is being conducted as a part of a Ph.D. research on transit migration in Morocco from a gender perspective. The purpose of this study is to explore and examine women's and men's migration experience to/in Morocco. The questionnaire is divided into three migratory stages: the pre-stage, the journey, and the supposed last transit stage to Europe. You are kindly asked to fill in this questionnaire. You DO NOT need to write your name on this questionnaire. Your responses will be anonymous and will never be linked to you personally. Thank you for your cooperation.

❖ Please circle the most appropriate response

Gender	A. Female B. Male
Age	A. 10 – 17 B. 18 – 29 C. 30 – 40 D. 41 – 50 E. 50 and above
Marital status	A. Single

	B. married C. divorced D. widow
Country of origin	

Section one: Pre-stage of migration

❖ Please circle the most appropriate response

1. What is your educational level? A. Illiterate B. Primary C. Secondary D. High school E. University	2. If you have a degree, what is it? A. A Professional Diploma B. Baccalaureat degree C. A Bachelor degree D. A Master degree E. A PhD degree F. None
3. Did you have any occupation in your home country? A. Yes, full-time B. Yes, part-time C. No. No	4. How did you collect money for your trip? A. Savings (only your own money) B. Family (family helped) C. Borrow (family or friends) D. Bank credit
5. Do you think that women in your country of origin have the same freedom to migrate as men? A. Yes. B. No. C. Maybe	6. If NO, what are the reasons in your opinion? A. Family restrictions B. Cultural restrictions C. Financial restrictions D. Religious restrictions E. Women are less independent F. The risks of the transit migration
7. What has pushed you to migrate from your country of origin? A. To escape from War or ethnic conflicts B. Cultural restrictions C. To improve economic living conditions D. Family pressure and expectations E. Your sexual orientation and fear of persecution F. Friends' and family members' models G. Family problems H. Sexism or violence based on your sex I. To have another future	
8. Have you been supported by any family member? A. Yes B. No	

9. If YES can you write please bellow who is this family member to you? (ex: father, mother, sister, brother, or spouse (husband, wife, or life partner)).
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The Journey of Migration

10. How did come to Morocco? A. By plane B. By bus C. By car D. On foot E. other	11. How have you got to know the smugglers? A. Moi meme B. Friends C. Family members
12. How long had been the journey of migration to Morocco in total? A. Less than one month B. One month to six months C. Six months to one year D. One year to one year and half E. Two years F. More than two years	
13. What are the threats you have been confronted with (please feel free to circle more than one response if you want)? A. Lack of food B. Thirst and dehydration C. Financial exploitation by the smugglers (theft, depredation) D. Theft or depredation by others migrants E. Become a victim of trafficking F. Sexual exploitation by the smuggler G. Sexual harassment or assault by other migrants. H. Health problems or injuries I. Violence (from traffickers) J. Violence (from other immigrants) K. Others	

The last transit stage of migration

14. How much time have you spent in Morocco so far? A. Less than one B. One year C. two years D. Three years E. Four years F. Five years or more	What is your legal status in Morocco? A. Asylum seekers B. Refugees C. Without papers D. Regularized E. Other
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15. Have you brought any child with you? A. None B. One child C. Two children D. More than two children	16. Have you left any child in your home country? A. None B. One child C. Two children D. More than two children
17. Where do you live? A. In a rent B. Your own property C. With a friend (s)/a member of family D. Homeless	18. How do you make your living in Morocco? A. Laborer B. Call centers C. Domestic work D. Commerce E. Small jobs and services F. Mendicity G. Others (please mention it)
19. IF YOU WORK, how would you describe your (working) conditions? A. Very good B. Good C. Bad D. Very bad	
20. Do you have residency permit? A. Yes B. No	21. If <u>NO</u>, are you willing to apply for it? A. Yes B. No C. maybe
22. If <u>YES</u>, for how much time have you taken the residency permit? A. Three months C. Two years B. One year D. three years or more	
23. What are the effects of being irregular in your own opinion? A. Stigma of illegality, E. Become vulnerable to exploitation B. unable to find a job, F. unable to rent accommodation C. continuous fear of deportation, G. local people's humiliating look D. unable to have access to local health centers	
24. How do you think transit sub-Saharan immigrants are perceived by Moroccans? (feel free to circle more than one option) A. Bothers/sisters F. Threat B. Immigrants G. Criminals C. Expatriates I. Primitive D. Destitute J. diseases E. Uneducated K. others: F. Victims G. Africans H. traffickers	
25. What are the reasons behind these stereotypes? A. Race C. Religion B. Country of origin D. Legal status	

26. Have you ever experienced any form of racism, discrimination based on your race, in any of these places? (feel free to circle more than one option) A. Administrative institution B. Health care institution C. Cafés D. Stores E. Buses F. Taxis G. Streets
27. If you answered <u>YES</u> at least one of the previous questions, could you please state the forms of racism you have suffered from? Please circle and mention the expressions. A. Labeling B. insults C. jokes D. Insults E. Violence based on ethnic origin, religion, skin color. F. Ignore and avoid contact G. refuse to provide services H. Others (please mention them).....
28. How many attempts have you done to reach European territory so far? A. I did not do any attempt yet, B. One attempt, C. two attempts D. three attempts and more.
29. How do you perceive the Moroccan community? A. Solidarity B. Comfortable C. Welcoming D. Unpleasant E. Contemptuous F. Racist G. Xenophobic
30. How many attempts have you done to reach European territory so far? A. I did not do any attempt yet, B. One attempt, C. two attempts D. three attempts and more.
31. What are your future plans? (circle only one option, please) A. I will stay in Morocco B. I will go to Europe C. I will return back to my home country D. I don't know yet.

Thank you very much for your collaboration

Ce questionnaire est mené dans le cadre d'une recherche de doctorat dans le domaine des études de genre sur la migration du transit au Maroc. Le but de cette étude est d'explorer l'expérience migratoire des femmes et des hommes au Maroc. Le questionnaire est divisé en trois étapes migratoires : la pré-étape, le voyage, et la supposée dernière étape de transit vers l'Europe. Vous êtes priés de remplir ce questionnaire et répondez aux questions qui correspondent à votre expérience. Vous n'avez pas besoin d'écrire votre nom sur le questionnaire. Vos réponses seront anonymes et ne jamais être lié à vous personnellement. Je vous remercie infiniment pour votre coopération.

❖ Veuillez encercler la lettre (A, B or C etc) du réponse la plus appropriée

Genre	A. Home B. Femme
Age	A. 10 - 17 B. 18 - 29 C. 30 - 40 D. 41 - 50 E. 50 et au-dessus
L'état civil	A. Célibataire B. Marié(es) C. Divorcé(es) D. Veuf (ve)
Pays d 'origine	

Section 1 : Pré-étape de la migration

❖ Veuillez encercler la réponse la plus appropriée

29. Quelle est votre niveau d'éducation ? F. Analphabète G. Niveau primaires H. Niveau collège I. Niveau lycée J. Niveau universitaire	30. Si vous avez un diplôme, c'est quoi ? G. D'un baccalauréat H. Un diplôme professionnel I. Une license J. Un master K. Un doctorat L. Aucun
31. Avez-vous eu une profession dans votre pays ? D. Oui, à temps plein E. Oui, à temps partiel F. No Pas de	32. Comment avez-vous eu de l'argent pour votre voyage ? E. L'épargne (seulement votre propre argent) F. La famille (la famille vous a aidé) G. Emprunter (famille ou amis) H. Crédit bancaire

33. Pensez-vous que les femmes dans votre pays d'origine ont la même liberté que les hommes d'émigrer? D. Oui E. Non F. Peut-être	34. Si NON, quelles sont les raisons à votre avis ? G. Restrictions de la famille H. Les restrictions culturelles I. Les restrictions financières J. Les restrictions religieuses K. Les femmes sont moins indépendants L. Les risques de migration de transit
35. Qu'est-ce qui vous a poussé à émigrer de votre pays d'origine? J. Pour échapper à la guerre ou les conflits ethniques K. Les restrictions culturelles L. Pour améliorer les conditions économiques de vie M. La pression et les attentes de la famille N. Votre orientation sexuelle et la crainte de persécution O. Suivre membre de famille ou des amis Comme un modèle P. Des problèmes familiales Q. Le sexisme et la violence basée sur votre sexe. R. Pour avoir un mieux avenir	
36. Avez-vous été soutenu par un membre de votre famille? A. Oui B. Non	
37. Si la réponse est <u>OUI</u>, pouvez-vous écrire ci-dessous qui est ce membre de la famille pour vous? (ex: père, mère, sœur, frère ou conjoint (mari, femme ou partenaire de vie)). 	

Le trajet de la migration

38. Avec quel moyen de transport avez-vous venus? A. En avion B. En car C. En voiture D. A pieds E. autres	39. Comment avez-vous appris à connaître le passeur ? D. Moi meme E. Les amis F. Membre de la familles
40. Quelle était la durée du trajet vers le Maroc au total ? G. Moins d'un mois H. Un mois à six mois I. Six mois à un an J. Un an à un an et demi K. Deux ans L. Plus de deux ans	

41. Quelles sont les menaces que vous avez confronté (n'hésitez pas à choisir plus d'une réponse si vous voulez) ?

- L. Le manque de nourriture
- M. La soif et la déshydratation
- N. L'exploitation financière par les passeurs (vol, récoltes)
- O. Vol ou de déprédation par d'autres migrants
- P. Devenir une victime de la traite
- Q. L'exploitation sexuelle par le passeur
- R. Le harcèlement sexuel ou d'agression par d'autres migrants.
- S. Problèmes de santé ou de blessures
- T. La violence (des trafiquants)
- U. La violence (d'autres immigrants)
- V. Others

La dernière étape de la migration de transit

42. Combien de temps avez-vous passé/es au Maroc jusqu'à présent ? G. Moins d'un an H. Une année I. Deux ans J. Trois ans K. Quatre ans L. cinq ans ou plus	43. Quel est votre statut actuel au Maroc A. Demandeurs d'asile B. Réfugiés C. Sans papiers D. Régularisé (e) E. Autres
44. Avez-vous un enfant avec vous ? E. Aucun F. Un enfant G. Deux enfants H. Plus de deux enfants	45. Avez- Vous laissé/es un enfant dans votre pays ? E. Aucun F. Un enfant G. Deux enfants H. Plus de deux enfants
46. Où habitez-vous ? E. Votre propriété F. Chez un (e) ami(e) (s)/un membre de famille G. chambre collective H. chambre individuelle I. sans-abri	47. De quoi vivez-vous? H. Ouvrier I. Les centres d'appels J. Le travail domestique K. Commerce L. Petits travaux et services M. Mendicité N. Autres (veuillez préciser)
48. Si vous travaillez, comment pourriez- vous décrire les conditions de travail ? B. Très bon B. Bien C. Mauvais D. Très mauvais	
49. Avez-vous un permis de résidence ? B. Oui B. Non	50. Si NON, Avez-vous l'intention de faire une demande? B. Oui B. Peut-être C. Non
51. Si OUI, pour combien de temps avez-vous pris le permis de résidence ? C. Trois mois C. Un an D. Deux ans D. trois ans ou plus	

52. Quels sont les effets d'être irrégulière ?	
E. La stigmatisation de l'illégalité, F. Impossible de trouver un emploi, G. La crainte de déportation H. Impossible d'avoir accès aux centres de santé locaux	E. devenir vulnérables à l'exploitation F. Impossible de louer un logement G. Regard humiliant de la population locale
53. Comment les immigrants irréguliers subsahariens sont vus par les Marocains ? (n'hésitez pas à faire des cercles plus d'une option)	
I. Des frères/sœurs J. Des immigrants (tes) K. Expatrié (e) L. Pauvre M. Non scolarisé (e) N. Victimes	G. trafiquants H. Menaces I. Africains J. Criminels K. primitif Autre :
54. Quelles sont les raisons de ces stéréotypes ?	
C. La Race D. Pays d'origine	C. La Religion D. Statut irrégulier
55. Avez-vous déjà subi une forme de racisme, de discrimination fondée sur votre race, dans un de ces endroits ? (N'hésitez pas à faire des cercles plus d'une option)	
H. Institution Administrative I. Établissement de soins de santé J. Cafés K. Les magasins L. les bus M. les Taxis N. les Rues	
56. Si vous avez répondu <u>OUI</u> à au moins une de question précédentes, pourriez-vous nous indiquer les formes de racisme vous avez souffert ? Veuillez encercler et mentionner les expressions SVP.	
I. Étiquetage J. des injures K. blagues L. Les insultes M. La violence fondée sur l' origine ethnique, la religion, la couleur de peau. N. Ignorer et éviter le contact O. refuser de fournir des services P. Others (please mention them).....	
57. Comment vous percevez les marocains? sont-ils ? (vous pouvez encercler plus d'une option)	
A. Solidaires B. Agréables C. accueillants D. désagréables E. méprisants F. racistes G. xénophobes	
58. Avez-vous fait des tentatives pour atteindre le territoire Européen?	
C. Non, pas encore D. Une tentative,	C. Deux tentatives D. trois tentatives et plus

59. Quels sont vos plans futurs ? (Encerclez une seule option, s'il vous plaît)

D. Je vais rester au Maroc

C. Je vais retourner à mon pays d'origine

E. Poursuivre le chemin vers Europe

D. Je ne sais pas encore.

❖ **Merci beaucoup pour votre collaboration**