

up in a traditional Muslim environment that venerates patriarchal values and, thus, find it very difficult to accommodate the image of an obedient and hard-working housewife with a modern and independent career woman.

Working outside the home is often accompanied by all sorts of tensions and stress for which Moroccan women are not often prepared. For example, having a job often involves dressing, appearing, speaking, and behaving in a 'modern' way. These daily gestures are intermingled with a strong social code of behaviour that places considerable pressure on women who often find themselves torn between two clashing systems of values: tradition and modernity. Moroccan women's work creates another paradox: although it is welcomed, it is socially perceived as being the cause of men's unemployment. This is linked to the social attitude towards women's work in Morocco that is still loaded with stereotypes. As a result, Moroccan career women face a dilemma: how to respond to the traditionally masculine norms of the job market and at the same time respond to the traditional feminine role expectations that social norms prescribe? Career women are subject to both the forces of traditional stereotypes and the demands of modern life; they are often 'apologetic' and 'hesitant' in public spheres, because they need to adopt more stereotypically male attributes (i.e. being assertive and task-driven). These women are generally more assertive and forceful in private spheres.

Working women are also more consulted in matters relating to household income management, the education of children, etc. These women are less likely to be in a polygamous marriage than non-working women.

Possessing language skills in the sense of knowing one or more written languages in addition to one's mother tongue is highly valued in Moroccan society, where multilingualism constitutes a strong cultural component. The mastery of language skills in the Moroccan context is a socially positive factor that may serve to either empower or disempower women. Mastering language skills allows them to resist patriarchy in different ways: multilingual women use written languages to assert themselves and fight exclusion in public spheres, whereas monolingual women are restricted to using orality for the same purpose.

Marriage is an important institution in Moroccan society and culture, as well as in the Arabo-Muslim world (see AFSHAR, 1987). The marital status of women is an important social variable that reflects the heterogeneity of Moroccan women and the discrepancy of choices and chances they have. The importance of this variable cuts across geographic origin, class, level of education, job opportunity, and mastery of language skills. Although each one of these social variables has its value in the Moroccan context, none of them reduces the importance of marital status because women in Morocco are first and foremost socially defined in relation to this variable. Marital status divides women into 'married' and 'unmarried'. Whereas the social category of married women is clear, the category of unmarried women is more complex as the latter may be spinsters, divorced, or widows. While social attitude towards married women is very positive, it is rather negative towards the various sub-categories of unmar-

ried women. Therefore, the social choices and chances that are offered to women in the former category are very different from the ones offered to women in the latter category. This discrepancy in choices shows that Moroccan women are not socially oppressed in the same way. This discrepancy also creates great tension between women inside and outside families. Inside families, where both married and unmarried women live together, more value is given to married women, in the sense that they are more often consulted in matters relating to the everyday running of the household than the unmarried ones.

Having briefly overviewed the major social categories to which Moroccan women belong, it is important to note that these women are far from being passive victims of male migration; they fight back, although in difficult conditions.

IV. THE IMPACT OF MALE MIGRATION ON WOMEN

Migration makes a great impact on the women left behind. These women may be wives, mothers, sisters, daughters, spinsters, or widows. They may have their own children or be in charge of somebody else's children. The impact of migration on these women may be positive, negative or both depending on the social category to which they belong and the size of the household. This impact is considered in relation to family structure and general behaviour, household economy, and investments (i.e., resources, enterprise, housing, household appliances, etc.).

1. Positive impact

A positive impact of migration on women is greater independence in the management of the household economy. The women left behind belong to various social categories, a fact which makes them a heterogeneous group. Widows living with the migrant's siblings and wives with children constitute a sizeable portion of the women left behind. They are illiterate in the great majority of cases. They are, especially the widows, the most likely to manage the household income in the absence of the husband/son. Their age and their 'mother' status bestow great social power on them and society generally accepts their presence in the public (men's) sphere. In addition, the strong relationship that mothers develop with their sons, whom they consider as sources of revenue and support in their old age, especially in the absence of the husband, gives them power. This category of women is most often found in rural and semi-urban areas, more so than in typically urban areas.

As for young, usually newly-married brides, they often live with the migrant's parents, the ones who control the migrant's remittances. This category of women acquires power with the coming of children and most of them manage to join their husbands in the host countries. On the other hand, sisters

have less access to the migrant's remittances, especially if they are married, unless the mother is absent or dead. Spinsters in the household (who may be sisters or a member of the family) are also taken care of by the migrant.

In addition, migration often results in a restructuring of the family and the emergence of women-headed households in a heavily patriarchal society. The women left behind in cities may start seeking a job. This engenders change in mentality and behaviour and enhances women's agency. For example, women leave the home for day-to-day purchases and manipulate larger expenditures by allocating funds to cover them. They become economic monitors, which significantly influences their overall status.

Another positive impact of migration on women and on the overall development of Morocco in general is its contribution to the development of the country. Indeed, migrants' remittances constitute the primary source of income for the national budget. Migrants' investment in Morocco represented 2 per cent of the country's revenue in 1960, 10 per cent in 1971 and almost 25 per cent by the end of the 1970s (Bureau des Statistiques, Rabat, 1994). The importance of remittances is linked to (i) the temporary nature of migration, (ii) the fact that the migrant is not accompanied by his family, and (iii) the solid family attachment, especially for the migrants who originate from rural areas or from the poorest sections of the Moroccan population. The Moroccan government has started to take important measures to encourage Moroccan migrants to invest in their country of origin. The Mohamed V Foundation for Solidarity is a royal institution whose sole goal is to take care of Moroccan migrants at all levels. The results that the Foundation has achieved up to now are very satisfactory.

The most positive impact of migration on women is the increase in the income of the migrant's household. Having a husband, a son, or a brother as a migrant in Europe is often perceived as a source of income. In fact, the structure of the resources of the migrant households differs from that of non-migrant ones (CHATTOU, 1998; COURBAGE, 1994). This is primarily due to the amounts of money that migrants send to their families, whereas salaried work constitutes the major source of income for non-migrant households. These incomes are often stable because of the regularity of jobs in the host countries. For two-thirds of households, the amount of remittances is superior to the minimum wage. This is due to a change in the nature of migration: from a migration of enrichment to a migration of necessity. The amount was multiplied by 5.3 in the 1960s and by 13.1 in the 1970s.

As far as investments are concerned, rural migrants are more attached to their country of origin than urban migrants. Agricultural resources are more important for the former, and enterprise resources are more important for the latter (see CHATTOU, 1998; HAMDOUCH *et al.*, 1981). Accordingly, rural migrants invest more in land, while urban migrants invest more in housing and commerce. For both types of migrants, investment provides security.

Migration also has a direct positive impact on the education of children. As Moroccan education is in a transitional period (from public to private educa-

tion), the migrant's choice of the type of education for his children reflects his vision of the world. It is precisely at this level that modernity and tradition may come into conflict. It is also at this level that the evolution in attitudes between these two poles can be measured. Parents may choose between the following types of education for their children: religious, modern, or short-term professional training. It seems that migrant households would opt more for a modern type of education than non-migrant households. The size of the family, as well as the length of migration, are important variables here. Women play a larger role in influencing the migrant's choice as to the type of education they want for their children. Given that finding a job, especially in the private sector, depends on the mastery of French, women generally opt for the modern type of education. Indeed, so far as their children's education is concerned, the women left behind often function as agents of socialisation, making the participation of men minimal. Many of them realise themselves through their children, especially sons whom they consider as a guarantee of financial security in their old age.

2. Negative impact

In addition to the positive impact of migration on women, there is a negative one. In general, migration has a deep destabilising impact on the Moroccan social fabric. It often results in the disintegration of the family nucleus and traditions. While spatial mobility engenders more equity in household relations and promotes the education of children, it increases the rate of divorce and lessens the authority of parents over children. New cultural models that are adapted from industrialised societies deeply affect the traditional roles of men and women in Moroccan society and sometimes result in strong clashes between traditional and modern values.

Another negative effect is related to the overall condition of the women left behind although they may gain in agency and self-esteem. The Department of Statistics (Bureau des Statistiques) has published a study on the state of poverty in Morocco.⁶ Poverty has risen since the 1990s from 13.1 per cent to 19 per cent. Part of this study focuses on the female population and households run by women, as an example of the poorest sectors in Moroccan society. According to this study, more than 2.7 million women were officially declared poor in Morocco in the year 1998-1999, with an annual increase of 6 per cent. Age is important here: 48.2 per cent (59.1 per cent in rural areas) are under 25 years old, 33.8 per cent (24.1 per cent in rural areas) between the ages of 25 and 44, and 13.0 per cent (16.8 per cent in rural areas) over 45. This shows that rural women suffer more from poverty than urban women.

Of great significance to this paper is the fact that the marital status of these women is not really significant: 10.1 per cent (23.5 per cent in rural areas) of married women in urban areas are poor in comparison to 11.4 per cent (24.2 per cent in rural areas) of single women. Households headed by single women represent 30.3 per cent in rural areas and 14.4 per cent in urban areas. House-

holds headed by mothers represent 8.6 per cent in urban areas and 22.3 per cent in rural areas. Illiteracy is another relevant factor: 89.9 per cent of women in rural areas and 58.2 per cent in urban areas are illiterate according to 1999 official statistics (see Bureau des Statistiques, Rabat).

Serious negative effects of male migration are attested to when the migrant does not find a job or finds a low-paid job in the host country. This situation is becoming increasingly common. This state of affairs may engender more poverty for the women left behind, less education for the children, and changes in the structure of the family (such as divorce) that harm children.

In rural areas, poor women left behind work in the fields, generally in small farms owned by their family. The fact that boys stay in school longer than girls reinforces the need for female labour. Rural women work an average of ten hours a day. In spite of this, it is men who head the farms and who are viewed as full-time labourers no matter how long they stay on the farm. This explains the fact that the rate of women whose work is recognised as such is abnormally low. In 1989, 82.9 per cent of women working in agriculture were counted as family helpers.

Another problem faced by rural women left behind face is their lack of savings. This is mainly due to their inferior status relative to discriminatory inheritance laws. Women's share in land ownership is usually absorbed by male heirs. As a result, these women face difficulty in obtaining bank loans because of lack of guarantees. The devalorisation of women is, thus, perpetuated because of the discrimination sanctioned by law.

Poverty is aggravated by lack of infrastructure, facilities, unemployment, under-employment, and droughts. In Moroccan cities, the social sectors of health care and education are the most hit by budget cuts. Education expenditure per capita decreased by 11 per cent from 1983 to 1989, resulting in a general decline of 8.7 per cent in school enrolment rates between 1985 and 1990. In a society where female education is considered less important than male education, it is girls who are most directly affected by this decline: the school enrolment rate declined at 7.8 per cent for boys and at 10 per cent for girls. Peasant girls are the worst hit with a decline rate of 13.6 per cent.

Likewise, a great percentage of women left behind is found in the lowest levels of vocational schools: 72 per cent of them have primary school educations and 50 per cent have completed three years in the secondary school. However, females constitute one-third of those in the highest levels of skilled technician training. Despite the recent upsurge of computer training and jobs related to computer science, electronics, hotel business, women still opt for typically female activities, such as dressmaking, embroidery, and secretarial work.

Nowadays, the importance of women's work for the economy of Morocco has become a reality. Households need women's financial contributions in order to survive. Women's work is, however, tolerated only if it does not clash with society's gender role assignment (see SADIQI, 2003).

V. CONCLUSION

A conclusion to this paper would be that the overall social status of Moroccan women left behind by male family members is ambivalent and sometimes paradoxical. These women are both empowered by their new condition and disempowered by their social condition and lack of facilities. Although some of these women, especially the newly married, widows and spinsters follow their male migrant family members, the majority of women stay behind and find themselves burdened with the responsibility of catering for the household, maintaining the family honour and raising children.

In spite of all significant disempowering factors, rural and urban women left behind are not passive; they fight exclusion by forcing their way into the male-dominated public spaces and assert themselves as breadwinners by supporting their households, sometimes single-handedly. The overall status of Moroccan rural women as a group makes them negotiate gender and power relations in a way that is congruent with their socio-cultural environment. Their endeavours are indeed very courageous in a context that is characterised by widespread illiteracy, strong patriarchal dogmas, and a strict gender dichotomy.

In the present state of affairs, migration has indeed become a priority on the Moroccan government's political agenda. A new ministry for the Moroccan residents in Europe has been recently created and a woman was appointed to head the ministry. In spite of the fact that migration has always attracted the attention of decision-makers and in spite of the fact that it constitutes a major source of revenue, almost no attention is being paid to this category of Moroccan women by researchers. Given the general social, economic and political situation in Morocco and Europe and given the great tensions that we have to live with and monitor, it is imperative that the women left behind by migrants are allocated due attention. They do not only guarantee family stability in the absence of males, but they also have a direct and everlasting impact on children. Both the positive and negative impacts of migration on these women need to be seriously taken into account. Women's agency in Moroccan society has been confirmed over the years as the Moroccan feminist movement has shown, but illiteracy and lack of access to the spheres of power still constitute hurdles for them. State assistance for both women and their children will certainly help them carry out their mission more appropriately.

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Considering the Gender Dimension or Moroccan Migration: A "Win-Win" Approach to North/South Migration in the Mediterranean

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The concepts of "justice," "equity," "democracy," and "identity" are more and more recurrent in the Euro-Mediterranean and global rhetoric on migration; yet, these are very seldom applied with a gender dimension in mind. This is a serious deficiency in a region where power is unbalanced not only among countries but also among sexes. Identity is a matter of choice - a choice that is linked to the freedom to choose. In general, women have less freedom to choose because more women than men are poor, illiterate, and culturally marginalized. In a world where political and economic events are moving faster everyday with the advent of globalization, it is urgently necessary to take gender issues into consideration when dealing with migration. A gender approach to migration can help to foster a "win-win" approach to North/South migration. In this essay I focus on Morocco and deal with two relevant aspects: 1) the overall situation of women in Morocco and 2) the ways to achieve a "win-win" approach to migration.



The Overall Situation of Women in Morocco

Moroccan culture is characterized by a gendered superstructure. The larger factors that influence gender perception and gender role assignment are linked to the social organization where women are largely disadvantaged. But these women do not constitute a socially homogeneous group. The social variables that explain Moroccan women's heterogeneity are: 1) geographical origin, 2) class, 3) educational level, 4) job opportunities, 5) language skills, and 6) marital status.^[1] These variables are obtained on the basis of social oppositions and have a direct influence on gender perception, political awareness, self-awareness, independence, critical assessment, and fashioning modes of resistance. Social variables carry significant social meanings and attest to the fact that in Moroccan society, women are not given the same social

choices. The choices given to women depend on their positioning within each social variable: urban, rich, educated, working, married women have more social choices in Moroccan society than rural, poor, non-working, illiterate, and unmarried women.

The biggest problem facing Moroccan women is illiteracy, a fact attested statistically and sociologically. Statistically, women constitute the largest illiterate portion of the Moroccan population. The illiteracy rate among Moroccan women in general is 60%^[2] (48% in urban areas and 95% in rural areas).^[3] The rural population represents around 48.6% of the Moroccan population according to the latest official statistics.^[4] About 37% of girls attend school. The percentage of women who are economically active is 27%.^[5] This figure applies to formal employment which is why it is fairly low in world terms. These data are good for showing the nature of social change. Sociologically, women's illiteracy is basically due to their low-income socioeconomic status. Moroccan women's illiteracy is also a result of a trans-cultural inequality whereby men's educational achievement is privileged over women's. Morocco's illiterate women are aware of this condition of subordination and resent it, but the patriarchy has offered them few alternatives.

Illiteracy is prevalent in both cities and rural areas, but it is in the latter where it is most blatant. In the Moroccan countryside, access to education is not always easy for girls, as they are less likely to be permitted to travel to school (even on foot or by public transport) or to attend public boarding schools, especially in rural, mountainous, and semi-desert areas. Illiteracy excludes a large portion of Moroccan women, especially in rural areas, from positions of decision-making, the written media, and similarly powerful domains.

Given these facts, men benefit more than women from the positive aspects of migration, such as resources, enterprise, housing, investments, and education. Women, on the other hand, are hit harder by negative aspects of migration, such as the disintegration of the family nucleus and traditions, poverty, and illiteracy.

In the case of very young couples, it is often the case that women push their husbands to emigrate in the hope of joining them later. Such young wives are often left behind with the husband's family which is assumed to "keep an eye" on them. It is often the case that the parents-in-law assume full control of the remittances sent by the emigrant husband. The first phases of marriage are often phases where the struggle between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law over 'control' of the husband is at its highest. In the case of older wives with children, the wife usually benefits from the remittances if she lives in an urban area, a fact which gives her a new function in the family: the management of financial resources. Thus, the migrant's remittances increase the direct resources available in different ways and according to the status of the woman in the family.

Another type of migration which has an effect on women is circulatory migration. This particular migration includes the return of migrants or their descendants during holidays. These circulatory migrants have had a complex effect on young women in Morocco since the 1980s. In fact, while their "motivating" effect is very apparent (young and less young Moroccans are impressed by the cars and other commodities they bring), the Islamophobia which characterizes the milieu in which they live in Europe has the effect of importing increasingly conservative views of Islam. In other words, the fact that these migrants approve of the veil and Islamic practices contributes to making religion more conservative in the country. As a result, the apparent "emancipator" aspect of the female migrants does not always coincide with feminist ideals in Morocco.

Moroccan women who migrate also experience the negative impact of migration. In addition to those who migrate to join their husbands or other family members, more and more single women are migrating. Female migration must always have existed alongside male migration, although no official figures relating to it are available. It is important to note in this respect that the Moroccan national media (TV,

newspapers, etc.) occasionally report that one or more young Moroccan women are among the dead when small boats carrying clandestine migrants from Morocco to Spain sink. These women are, in general, very young, unemployed, and single. Further, the media also reports on the abominable conditions of clandestine migrants and shows pictures of young men and women living in shantytowns around agricultural areas in Spain. The women who spoke to the reporters often said that they migrated because they wanted to support their aging parents and younger siblings. Research in this particular area is sorely needed.

Ways of Achieving a Win-Win Approach to Moroccan Migration

Win-win strategies are of two types: those that relate to migration and those that deal more with the "superstructure" of gender relations.

Win-Win Strategies Related to Migration

The win-win strategies that relate to migration mainly include calling upon the media to provide documentation. There is a real deadlock at the level of mentalities on both sides of the Mediterranean and the media is still party-affiliated and largely perceived as male public space in this region of the world. As a result, women are not, generally speaking, depicted as agents. They neither own the media nor are they decision-makers in it. All this translates into the fact that women migrants are still neglected.

Offering more documentation on the interface between women and migration in Morocco is important. It promotes communication between the two shores of the Mediterranean Sea and informs researchers and policymakers of the places where the problems exist and suggests ways to address these problems. There is indeed a terrible lack of information on this topic in the sending and receiving countries. This renders the problems associated with migration more complex and the remedies more complicated. These may be obtained through the creation of mobile units and agents of development to implement field work.

Another issue that the media needs to address is religion in its relation to migration. More work is needed on images of Islam, women and Islam, Islam and human rights, and gender and human rights.

Win-Win Strategies Related to the "Superstructure" of Gender Relations

Giving voice to all women broadens their choices and democratizes approaches to alleviate the problems of migration. The illiteracy problem needs to be considered. For example, we need more use of TV as a means to reach all women, especially the illiterate. All women, especially those who are illiterate (who happen to be the poorest), need to have access to useful information. Radio and TV commentaries, sketches, and comedies can be helpful. Also badly needed is documentation in the field of women, migration, and the media.

Conclusion

The gender dimension cannot and should not be omitted from any serious analysis of migration in the Mediterranean region. Integrating gender issues into such analysis can help pave the way for ameliorating some of the migration-related and deeper structural problems in the Mediterranean region.

[1]. See Fatima Sadiqi, *Women, Gender, and Language in Morocco* (Leiden and Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2003).

[2]. Cf. Bureau des Statistiques, Rabat, Morocco, 1999.

plus haut : les crises socio-économiques et la dégradation des conditions de vies résultant du bilan des conflits armés, les inégalités et disparités économiques de plus en plus croissantes entre le Nord et le Sud comme conséquence de la mondialisation et l'échec de l'intégration africaine. De ce fait, toute solution qui néglige ces facteurs est vouée à l'échec. En espérant une réorientation des stratégies marocaines et espagnoles, nous plaçons pour une humanisation de la gestion des flux migratoires illégaux. Nous pensons également qu'un programme de formation des corps et forces de sécurité à la déontologie des droits humains pourrait minimiser les violations de ces droits. Enfin, nous considérons que l'accès des associations, des ONG de défenses des migrants ou des droits humains et de la société civile aux zones de détention des immigrants et leur présence à toutes les étapes de renouveau peut largement contribuer à la protection des droits des migrants.

MOROCCO AND THE EUROPEAN UNION FROM EURO-MED 95 TO ADVANCED STATUS FOR MOROCCO, AND FROM POLITICAL AND CULTURAL DIALOGUE TO THE EUROPEAN PACT ON MIGRATION

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Morocco / European Union : The global context of a particular vicinity

The relationships between Morocco and the European Union (EU), formalized since 1969 by a first agreement of association with the former European Economic Community, are extremely strong.

Two basic elements indicate the intensity of these reports on the Moroccan side: The EU represents the main customer of Morocco. It's the recipient of 74% of its sales abroad; It is also its leading vendor since Morocco receives 52% of its imports from EU countries.

These EU countries constitute also the principal area of residence of Moroccan migrants living abroad. Nearly 2,5 million Moroccans live today in the EU, close to the 3/5 in France and 1/5 in Spain. Besides, hundreds of French and Spanish enterprises are operating in various economic, financial and commercial sectors in Morocco.

Politically, the failure of the Union of the Arab Maghreb (UMA, instituted in 1989 between the 5 Maghreb countries) and the withdrawal of Morocco of the Organization of African Unity in 1984 - in addition to the political and institutional brittleness of the League of the Arab States - pushed Morocco to consolidate economic, human and political relationships with the EU as a strategic approach allowing it "to protect" itself from an immediate geopolitical environment which is not particularly friendly.

For the EU, and mainly for countries like France and Spain, Morocco represents a good customer and its economy constitutes good business. Additionally, it's one of the most stable countries in the region, which has advanced in the process of democratization at the regional level; a country thus worth approaching and to encouraging.

Furthermore, with the increase of the phenomenon of irregular migration, since the years 1990, starting from sub-Saharan Africa, Morocco is regarded as the country on which Europe can rely for "protecting" part of its borders starting from the south of the Mediterranean Sea.

Globally and more politically, for the EU, Morocco can become the leader country in the democratic reform processes in the Maghreb in the sense that it might inspire and stimulate its neighbours, not only in the Arab world, but also in many countries in the south of the Sahel, such as Senegal, Mali, Niger or Guinea Conakry, considering that Morocco has a strong political, economic and cultural proximity and diverse links with these countries⁽¹⁾. For that to happen, it needs a larger political and financial support from the EU.

In that direction, in the interest of Morocco itself, but also in the interest of Europe and the other Maghreb countries, there exist today numerous reasons which oblige Europeans and the Maghrebians to work together in a close cooperation, to address shared problems and similar threats and to find and offer relevant and appropriate answers.

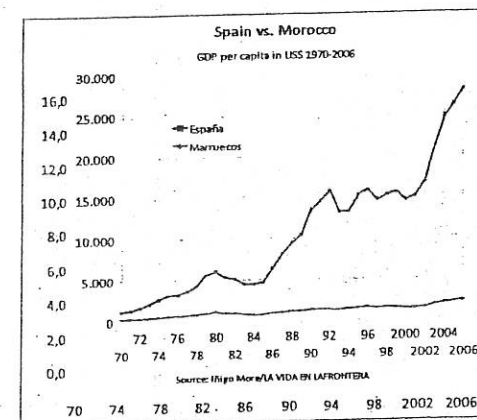
Among the existing problems, there are of course those of climate warming, the advance of the desert towards the north, deforestation and the rarefaction of the water and the need for the safeguarding of this vital resource. As to the security threats, the recent terrorist attacks in Morocco, Algeria, or Spain, more particularly, show that the North of the Mediterranean Sea as much as the countries of the South are aimed, without reference to nationality or religion.

This implies that it is imperative, for all the countries in the region, to thwart the sources which feed violence and terrorism. One of the challenges the bring about these threats is the growing gap between the level of development of the EU countries and those of the Maghreb.

(1) A zone which interests very much Europe, more particularly because of the fact that the majority of the migrants than it receives from Africa are originating from it.

Thus, the comparison of Morocco and Spain (and thus of Europe as a whole) indicates that these two countries - and through them, these two zones - represent today one of the most unbalanced borders in the world, in terms of discrepancy of the GDP per capita of their populations.

Moreover, not only is the variation of income over this border very important today, but this same border represents— as it's shown by the two figures below—perhaps the only border in the world, which marks the gap between a rich zone and a poor one, and where the difference of income per capita has been increasing during the last thirty years.



• Source: Inigo More/LA VIDA EN LA FRONTERA

Given the global (political, social, economic and geo-strategic) context, Morocco constantly required more political and economic proximity with respect to the EU, and this request was also very often supported by the EU countries to which it is very close geographically and historically, particularly to France and Spain.

Thus, well before Eastern European countries, Morocco officially applied to join the European community on 20 July 1987⁽²⁾, one year after Spain became member of this community. The application was rejected

(2) Los Angeles Time, July 21, 1987.