Exploring the Social and Professional Status of Authorized and Unauthorized Sub-Saharan Migrants in two Moroccan Cities: Rabat and Nador

Lahbib LAMRID and Aziz Chanfouh,
Mohammed Premier University, Oujda

Abstract

Prompted in the first place by a range of reports from migrant-rights associations in Morocco, most notably GADEM and AMERM, on the outsized precarity experienced by sub-Saharan migrants as the by-product of a multiyear dysfunctional migration system endorsed by the Moroccan government since 2003, the present study set out in the summer of 2019 to explore the social and professional status of both authorized and unauthorized sub-Saharan migrants in two Moroccan cities: Rabat and Nador. It employed a set of observations and a series of discussions with 30 migrants and 33 Moroccan citizens for gathering relevant information on attitudes, perceptions, and testimonies. The findings showed that despite being documented, sub-Saharan migrants are forced into marginalization in both cities due to the stereotypical perceptions and attitudes of those cities' population, as well as to their limited access to basic services. Furthermore, undocumented migrants, especially in Nador, do not intend to remain in Morocco as they undergo dire living conditions; they are instead waiting anxiously for a chance to cross to Spanish-occupied city of Melilla and into continental to Spain. Consistent with its findings, the study concluded that Morocco's current migration system is more of a geopolitical nature than anything, due to pressure from the European Union and the desire to respond to African states 'concerns over the fate of their citizens barred from passage to Europe. Therefore, the study recommends that it is high time for the Moroccan government to rethink its migration policies and initiate a truly comprehensive reform for 'normalizing' migrants; the reform should address legal and illegal migration on equal footing, target several migrant-related life aspects such as labor, health, demography, education, and so on, search for fresh solutions to migrant's problems, provide well-educated and highly skilled migrants with opportunities to boost economic growth and be an added compliment to the native-born population, and most importantly use media to change the attitudes of the native-born public towards migrants.

Key terms: Morocco, Morocco's migration system, sub-Saharan migrants, social and professional status, normalizing migrants

Introduction:

Perhaps the most problematic and demanding global issue in the 21st century relates to the unparalleled surge of migrants and displaced people. Among the chief factors that account for the soaring number of illegal human movements and

trafficking across borders are globalization, environmental deterioration, economic distress, political unrest, and armed conflicts. Thanks to the unrelenting complaints and remarks of human rights activists, migration has surfaced as a global emergency that needs an immediate and effective response: both destination and transit countries are busy ensuring safe home-returning journeys for migrants or trying to find ways of integrating them (Martin & Widgren, 1996; Lagarde, 2015). In Sweden, for instance, the government provides refugees with language training so as to prepare them for jobs. The massive population movements have pushed countries to rethink their borders and launch initiatives for the management of migration[1].

Morocco is no exception; due to its geographic location and political stability, the country has become by default a destination for thousands of sub-Saharan migrants and their favorite country of departure towards Europe. Despite European collaboration to turn Morocco's borders into barricades for migrants, migration to the northern shores of the Mediterranean has reached levels not seen in decades and is expected to increase further in the future (Lahlou, 2018). Such increasing cross-border movements between Morocco, other African countries, and Europe is attributed mainly to geographic proximity and Morocco's social and political stability during the Arab Spring, as compared to other countries like Tunisia, Libya, and Egypt (Khandelwal & Roitman, 2013).

Surprisingly enough, however, Morocco's approach to migration is marked by duality and perplexity[2]. Still stuck with preventing millions of its citizens from moving illegally to Europe because of the increasing rates of unemployment among the youth, Morocco granted residence cards to thousands of sub-Saharan migrants. Such a move is part of a policy that results from Morocco's geopolitical relations interests. The country has partnered with the European Union and EU Member States, particularly Spain and France, to thwart the migration of sub-Saharan migrants across the Mediterranean. On the other hand, its interest in Africa incites it to work on the integration of migrants in the Moroccan society. As a result, Morocco is now perplexingly facing the challenge of integrating them into society which is not yet a welcoming environment given the significantly rampant economic and social upheavals (EL Ghazouani, 2019; Jacobs, 2019).

---

[1] One of the worldly recognized initiatives is the Berne Initiative. For a detailed explanation of this initiative, see *The Berne Initiative. International Agenda for Migration Management: Common Understandings and Effective Approach for a Planned, Balanced, and Comprehensive Approach to the Management of Migration* (2005), a trilingual publication (English, French, and Spanish) by International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the Federal Office for Migration (FOM), Switzerland.

[2] The biggest challenge consists in the contradiction of policy and reality. For a better understanding of this contradiction, see Anna Jacobs (2019).

Unfortunately, despite the efforts of the Moroccan government to provide sub-Saharan migrants with a welcoming environment, their stay in Morocco is still woeful. It is a fact that Morocco is "the most important migratory corridor" as nearly 37, 000 people immigrated through it to Spain in 2018 and that it is *not* the area where migrants and refuges want to remain irrespective of the remarkably rising rate of new arrivals (Lahlou, 2018, p. 4). Among the prominent migration reforms enacted by the Moroccan government is the 2013's New Migration Policy which paved the way for irregular migrants to obtain legal residency and access to social and employment services. Though promising, the policy did not provide migrants with a solid ground for their rights; migrants still experience precarity due mainly to marginalization, exploitation, sexual harassment, and hostility from the native population (EL Ghazouani, 2019). EL Ghazouani questions the effectiveness of the Moroccan government's policies to integrate sub-Saharan migrants into society, arguing that migrants continue to live in precarious conditions. He further argues that Morocco's efforts to integrate migrants in social life and workforce, such as National Policy Immigration and Asylum NPIA, have proved ineffective because of a number of obstacles such as the increasing number of migrants, the rising unemployment among Moroccan youth, and tensions between migrants and Moroccan citizens. He concludes that sub-Saharan migrants live in dire conditions owing to the ineffective measures taken by the Moroccan government to integrate them in labor, education, and healthcare sectors. The calamitous conditions of sub-Saharan migrants are not only the concern of scholars, but they are the concern of migrant-rights groups in Morocco as well. For instance, the reports of GADEM and AMERM on these conditions are stirring calls to reformatory action[3].

Based on all of this, the present study initiated in the summer of 2019 attempts to explore the living conditions, mainly the social and professional status of sub-Saharan migrants who live in Rabat and Nador. To collect relevant qualitative data, the survey used two methodological tools; observations and discussions/ interviews with both migrants and Moroccan citizens. However, difficulty of access limited the scope of the survey which could d have been more comprehensive had the researchers been able to interview a larger number of migrants and informants from the ministry in charge of migration in Morocco, as well as from institutions and groups concerned with the rights of migrants.

Background

---

[3] GADEM, AMERM, OMDH, and AMDH are human rights associations which highlight violations pertaining to Morocco's integration and protection of sub-Saharan migrants. For further elaboration on the work of such associations, see for example, Association Marocaine d'Etudes et de Recherche en Migration (AMERM) (2008) and Alami (2018).

As mentioned above, the approach to migration in Morocco is perplexing and problematic. Morocco has become a default destination of migrants and asylum seekers owing in part to its partnerships with the EU and some member states to curb irregular migration across the Mediterranean. In other words, the migrants who arrive at Morocco are prevented from migrating to Europe, so they automatically remain in Morocco, which contributes to the latter becoming a land of migrants although it is difficult for it to integrate them fully and provide them with all the needs and ic rights. Furthermore, both the ineffective policies to contain migrants and the policies to prevent them from moving to Europe push migrants to experience precarity, and this expresses an incoherence within Morocco's geostrategic interests in Africa and its migration policies[4].

The latest feature of Morocco's migration history is the succession of policies and reforms for coping with sub-Saharan migrants who remain in Morocco as a consequence of their failure to cross to Europe. Owing to Morocco's increasing interest in Africa after the Arab Spring, the pressure exerted by the European Union and EU member states to regulate and manage migration within its borders, coupled with the criticism contained in the reports of GADEM and National Human Rights Council, the Moroccan government issued a number of policies and reforms related to the management of migration and integration of migrants. Most prominent among these policies[5] are:

- 2003's security-focused Law No. 02-03. The law was directed towards governing the presence of migrants in Morocco; despite granting migrants some basic rights, it was based on strict measures against illegal migration.
- 2013's New Migration Policy. The rigidity of the former policy paved the way for the New Migration Policy which gave priority to human rights. It was implemented in two periods: in 2014, 24,000 migrants were granted a one-year legal status; and in 2017, residence was granted to 28.000 migrants.
- 2015's National Strategy on Immigration and Asylum. The strategy aimed at integrating migrants and granting them elementary services such as education, healthcare, labor, and so on.

---

[4] See Sara Benjelloun (2020) for a vivid elaboration on the contradiction between Morocco's interest in Africa and the implementation of its migration policies towards sub-Saharan migrants.

[5] For a thorough elaboration on these policies, see Morocco's Migration Policies and the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration, prepared and published by the Moroccan Kingdom in 2018.

As EL Ghazouani (2019) puts it, there remains a noticeable gap between Moroccan migration policies and on-the-ground approaches. He argues that these policies have proven ineffective as thousands of migrants "are shunted to the margins of society" and suffer from exploitation due to their vulnerability. Equally, GADEM, AMERM, along with other associations from civil society, highlight violations made by the Moroccan government in its approach to the affairs of sub-Saharan Migrants[6].

As indicated above, the policies and reforms issued by the Moroccan government to manage migration and integrate migrants in the Moroccan society are ineffective. EL Ghazouani depicts Morocco as "a highly unequal society" where the integration of migrants, despite a series of reforms and promises, is not feasible. He strongly argues that the Moroccan government encounters a plethora of inner issues such as unemployment among the youth and political tensions. In "Morocco's Migration Policy: Understanding the Contradiction between Policy and Reality", Anna Jacobs (2019) holds that "while Morocco's migration policies aim to be humanitarian and inclusive, there are challenges that impede full implementation of these objectives." She reports that poor treatment of migrants, which can be best exemplified by police raids and abuses in 2018, testifies to the ineffective approach of the Moroccan government to migration management. In the same vein, Sara Benjelloun (2020) shows that Morocco's incomplete implementation of the 2003's migration policy is evidence of the difficult situation of migrants – that is, the policy was not apt for coping with the migrants who remain in Morocco as a result of their failure to cross the borders to Europe. As it seems, there is a general consensus that Morocco's migration policies are ineffective and that the living conditions of migrants within Morocco need to be addressed.

Keeping that in view, the present study deems it necessary to explore the social and professional status of sub-Saharan Migrants in Morocco. The study draws on input from three migration theories which are often evoked: macro, meso, and micro. Macro theories relate to "push" and "pull" factors for migration. The theory of German-English geographer Ernst Georg Ravenstein (1885) is said to be the first academic involvement in the discussion of migration and integration. Ravenstein maintains that the request for labor in industrial zones is the leading reason for migration. In the same line of thought, Skeldon (1997) holds that a country's economic

---

[6] For example, in 2010, GADEM reports:

> From the point of view of Moroccan legislation, Law 02-03 is far from being in accordance with the international texts signed by Morocco and in fact contains guarantees that fall quite short of those provided for in the convention on Migrants' Rights, and contains provisions, such as the criminalization of migrants, that violate the principle international texts on human rights (p.5, cited in Jacobs, 2013, part 2, para. 7).

growth is contingent on attracting workers from underdeveloped countries. Hence, economic incentives are the main reasons behind migration and its continuation. Drawing on the stark economic hierarchies in the world, this classical theory introduced reliable insights into understanding migration and inspired neoclassical theorists.

The push-and-pull theory of migration could be best understood through stepping back to and embarking on the Australian migration policies before and after World War II. Before WWII, access to resourceful Australia was restricted. Australia's Immigration Restriction Act started in 1901 and lasted for 72 years. As it sought to create "an ethnically homogenous society", the act was racist; it refused entry to non-white peoples and *demanded* British peoples. Its main principle was to sustain British hegemony and dominance over the country (Jupp, 1995). However, after WWII, Australia adhered to "populate or perish" policy. At the heart of this policy was the axiom that Australia "must not be defended [by Britain] but [must] have enough human resources to defend itself" (Jupp, 2002). This could be summed up in one singe fact about migration: the welcoming reception of migrants occurs when they are needed for the building of economic and military power, but they face refusal, detention, and deportation when there is no need for them. Since "nowadays we are all on the move" (Bauman, 1998, p. 77).

Contrary to macro theories which focus on migration from a country to another for socio-economic incentives, meso theories focus on linkages between states. Neoclassical theories perceive migration as an outcome of spatial differences in the surplus of labor force in rural areas and the demand for workforce in urban industrial economies (Castles, et al., 2014; De Haas, 2003). According to these theories, migrants track the flow of growing capital. Harris and Todaro (1980) created a model to explain labor migration between rural and urban areas in developing countries. They hold that, "rural-urban migration will continue so long as the expected urban real income at the margin exceeds real agricultural product - i.e. prospective rural migrants behave as maximizers of expected utility" (p. 127). Migration ascends thanks to "push and pull factors" in areas of origin and destination places. These factors make people mobile because they denote that places in the country of origin are perceived as less attractive than the potential place of destination (Castles, et al., 2014; Dorigo and Tobler, 1983; Van der Velde, 2009). They "identify economic, environmental, and demographic factors which are assumed to push people out of places of origin and pull them into destination places" (Castles, et al., 2014, p. 28).

Micro theories stem from rational choice theory, and it focuses on individual decisions to migrate. The decisions of migrants are affected by their calculations of costs and benefits. Costs include financial resources involved in moving to another country while benefits relate to higher salary. These theories are concerned with how and why individuals migrate and can serve as a springboard for explaining migration in Morocco. Hence, to explore the social and professional status of sub-Saharan migrants in Morocco, the study relied on these theories; more specifically, the aspects it focused on are: factors that push migrants to leave their countries of origin; the factors that could push migrants to stay in Morocco or leave it; the factors that push

migrants to prefer a city to another within the same country; the exploitation of migrants, and the awareness of the Moroccan government of the role migrants could play for the growth of Morocco at all levels. It focused on these aspects for the collection of relevant data, as well for the discussion of the findings obtained.

Methodology

The study was carried out in the summer of 2019. To gather information on different attitudes, perceptions, testimonies, and ways of life towards the social and professional status of sub-Saharan migrants in Rabat and Nador, we employed a qualitative methodology, combining a set of observations with a series of interviews. The population of interest consisted of both authorized and unauthorized sub-Saharan migrants in both cities.

We started with observing migrants and Moroccan citizens, especially those who were in contact with migrants. The process of observation was periodical: a set of observations which were conducted through four weeks – two weeks in each city. We moved to different areas and observed migrants there over a period of time. In Nador, we moved to three principal areas: Selouane, a city without police stations, Farkhana, a hilly village, and Bni Nsar, a city which is close to Melilla. In Rabat, we observed migrants in three areas: Hay Doum, Hay EL Yousofia, and Hay Agdal. Observations were conducted according to a checklist (see Appendix A: Observation Checklist).

Based on the information collected through observations, we administered a series of discussions with both migrants and Moroccan citizens. We moved to the same areas mentioned above and managed to have 30 discussions with migrants and 33 with Moroccan citizens. The discussions contained open-ended questions (see Appendix B: Interviews with Migrants and Moroccan Citizens). Migrants were approached in workplaces, streets, places of lodging – in Hay Doum, for instance – and currency exchange points.

Areas of research were not selected randomly. Nador has recently received thousands of migrants from sub-Saharan countries due to its geographic proximity to the occupied city, Melilla. In Rabat, Hay Doum and Hay EL Youssoufi and Hay Agdal are places where many migrants live. The reason for choosing Rabat and Nador is to compare the two cities which are geographically different and that may come up with representative findings: Rabat is located in the North-West, whereas Nador is situated in the North-East of Morocco.

The number of respondents remained probable; it was not predetermined since it was expected that migrants would refuse to talk or to be interviewed. Even the number of Moroccan citizens to be included was not determined beforehand. Researchers managed to have multiple discussions with 30 migrants, the majority of whom were male.

We managed to collect important and relevant data despite some limitations. Firstly, many migrants did not accept to be interviewed. Secondly, we did not contact the stakeholders in the field of migration in Morocco to know their take on the findings

of the study. Thirdly, we felt that many responses from migrants and Moroccan citizens were discreet. That being said, we reached interesting findings which are summarized and discussed below.

Findings and Discussion

The study relied on a set of observations and a series of interviews/ discussions in Rabat (Hay Doum, Hay El Yousofia, and Hay Agdal) and Nador (Selouane, Farkhana, and Bni Nsar). Observations were conducted in conformity with a checklist that contained various areas related to the social and professional status of migrants: jobs, physical state, clothing, public transportation, children, housing, social interactions, and Moroccan citizens' attitudes towards migrants. The general conclusions drawn from observations are summarized as follows:

In Rabat:

- Sub-Saharan migrants work as shopkeepers, waiters in cafés, and street peddlers;

- Some migrants speak Moroccan Dialect 'Darija' fluently;

- Only some migrants look healthy and well-dressed;

- Some migrants are treated well, and they can interact with Moroccan citizens;

- And Moroccan citizens seem to accept sub-Saharan Migrants.

In Nador:

- Sub-Saharan migrants do not work; most of them beg, using children;

- The majority of migrants are isolated in groups, and they do not engage with Moroccan citizens;

- Only a few migrants speak Moroccan 'Darija' (they have learnt only the words to use for begging);

- Migrants are not well-dressed, and they live in the nearby forests;

- And Moroccan citizens in Nador do not seem to trust sub-Saharan migrants.

These conclusions reveal a preliminary finding: The social and professional conditions of migrants in both cities are divergent given that migrants in Rabat are – to some extent – integrated in society and that migrants in Rabat are still obviously marginalized.

To explain this preliminary finding, we conducted a series of question-answering interviews with both migrants and Moroccan citizens. While the interviews with migrants contained five questions, the interview with Moroccan citizens included four questions. The responses to the questions of both interviews are presented below.

The findings of the interviews with migrants in Rabat and Nador:

The interview contained 5 interrelated questions: (1) where do you from Morocco? (2) How do you live? (3) How do Moroccan citizens treat you? (4) Are you satisfied with life in Morocco? (5) What are your future plans?

As an answer to the first question, the migrants interviewed in both cities revealed their countries of origin, which are: Nigeria, Mali, Senegal, Cameron, Niger, Togo, Guinea, and Congo. Responding to the second question, the majority of the migrants interviewed in Rabat (11 out of 15) stated that they had been living there for a long time and had already made a living there depending on work and social relations with Moroccan citizens, whereas the majority of migrants interviewed in Nador (11 out of 15) declared that they had found it difficult to live in that city. In addition, the majority of migrants in Rabat showed willingness to remain in Morocco. As a response to the third question, the majority of migrants in Nador explained why it was difficult for them to live there – they stated that they did not have stable jobs and that the local population regarded them as thieves and woman attackers mainly because of their skin color. For these reasons, and as an answer to the fourth and fifth questions, migrants in Nador showed no tendency to settle in Morocco, and that they were just waiting for any chance to cross to Melilla, and then to Spain.

The findings of the interviews with Moroccan citizens in Rabat and Nador:

The interview included 4 questions: (1) how do sub-Saharan migrants act? (2) How do Moroccan citizens treat migrants here? (3) Can you imagine Morocco a place where Moroccan people and sub-Saharan migrants co-exist? (4) Do sub-Saharan migrants have respectable jobs?

For the first question, while almost all the Moroccan citizens interviewed in Rabat agreed that migrants were not trouble-makers, the majority of the Moroccan interviewees in Nador did not hold positive attitudes towards migrants. In their responses to the second question, they stated that due to some earlier incidents, they had lost trust in migrants, and they suspected them of being thieves and of assaulting women. Indeed, interviewees in both cities agreed that the jobs that migrants have in both cities were just to assure a basic living – that is to say, migrants did jobs like peddlers, waiters in cafés, etc. As for the last question, the majority of citizens in Rabat maintained that migrants were bound to co-exist with Moroccan citizens, but citizens in Nador declared that the only way for migrants was to migrate to Spain and that Nador was just a transit city for them.

In this research, we are not concerned with the train that comes on time but with the one that comes late. In other words, we are more concerned with the aches of some migrants in Rabat, as well as with the dire conditions migrants undergo in Nador. Hence, the findings showed that documented or not, sub-Saharan migrants are shunted to marginalization in both cities due to the stereotypical perceptions and attitudes from the Moroccan public, as well as to their limited access to basic services – education, health, jobs, and so on. Furthermore, undocumented migrants, especially in Nador, do not intend to remain in Morocco as they undergo dire living conditions; they are instead waiting anxiously for any possible chance to cross the Mediterranean

and go to Europe, and they are ready to risk their lives for that. In a nutshell, the findings confirm the gap that exists between Morocco's migration policies and on-the-ground conditions of migrants.

To contextualize this, it is important to note that the most remarkable change in Morocco's migration policy dates back to 2013 when King Mohamed VI instigated the New Migration Policy as a response to reports from migrant-rights groups and organizations such as GADEM, AMERM, and National Human Rights Council on the precarity experienced by sub-Saharan migrants. The policy regularized 24,000 migrants in 2014 and 28,000 others in 2017. Following the implementation of the new policy, especially in 2018 when Morocco joined the African Union, King Mohamed VI stated that "Morocco's commitment in advocating for the causes and interests of Africa is not new today, it is rather an immutable orientation that we inherited from our ancestors, and which we continue to reinforce with confidence and pride" (cited in EL Ghazouani, 2019, para. 11). The question that remains is: did the new policy succeed in streamlining the presence of sub-Saharan migrants in the Moroccan society?

By "streamlining" migrants' presence, we mean integrating them in society in an equal way as compared to the native-born public. Hence, a straightforward answer to this question is: no. This is due, as EL Ghazouani states, to the fact that "the services [which sub-Saharan migrants have access to] are stretched thin, and public perception of immigrants has become increasingly hostile" (2019, para. 4). EL Ghazouani adds:

> As the government seeks to integrate migrants into the workforce and broader society via the 2013 New Migration Policy framework, underlying tensions revolving around concerns over competition for limited economic and social opportunities will have to be managed with care […] it is a widely held view among sub-Saharan migrants that Moroccans dislike their presence and view them as inferior. Many Moroccans consider them to be poor, dangerous, easy to exploit, and carriers of disease. Many believe that the migrants' continued presence will destabilize the country's social systems. Moroccan citizens and institutions are ill-prepared to welcome and integrate large numbers of migrants, contradicting the country's image of diversity and coexistence.

Thus, we argue that the regularization of migrants without normalizing them in Moroccan society is an ineffective migration policy. We also call into serious question the results of EU cooperation on migration in Morocco[7].

---

[7] Examples of these results: 7,400 migrant women and girls have received social, medical and psychological support; 2,200 migrants receive information/ training in job search/ entrepreneurship; 1,400 minor migrants benefit from schooling; 600

Conclusion

The study concluded that Morocco's current migration system is ineffective owing mostly to being geopolitical rather than domestic and is therefore in desperate need of an overhaul; focusing on granting migrants temporal or permanent residence cards as a response to persistent calls pertaining to migrants' rights and the blockage of illegal human movements across the Mediterranean from the European Union and EU Member States, the Moroccan government does not administer feasible solutions to migrants' problems, be they social or professional, neglecting the role they could play to spur Morocco's social and economic future progress.

Thus, the study recommended that it is high time, since Morocco has become a default destination for seemingly unstoppable waves of sub-Saharan migrants, for the Moroccan government to rethink its migration policies and initiate a truly comprehensive reform for 'normalizing' migrants; the reform should address legal and illegal migration on equal footing, target several migrant-related life aspects such as labor, health, demography, education, and so on, search for fresh solutions to migrant's problems, provide well-educated and highly skilled migrants with opportunities to boost economic growth and be an added compliment to the native-born population, and most importantly use media to change the attitudes of the native-born public towards migrants. By having this reform, the Moroccan migration system can witness a shift from being geopolitical to being domestic – that is to say, from being determined by international drives to being inspired and oriented by Moroccan local realities/ needs and 'humanness'. That said, there remains a fundamental question:

Bibliography

Alami, Aida (2018). "Morocco Unleashes a Harsh Crackdown on Sub-Saharan Migrants." *New York Times*, October 22, 2018. https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/22/world/africa/morocco-crackdown-sub-saharan-migrants-spain.html

Association Marocaine d'Etudes et de Recherche en Migration (AMERM). (2008). *L'immigration Sub-Saharienne au Maroc: Analyse Socio-Économique.* Rabat: AMERM. http://amerm.ma/cgi-sys/suspendedpage.cgi

Bauman, Z. (1998). *Globalization: The Human Consequences.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Benjelloun, S. (2020). "Morocco's new migration policy: between geostrategic interests and incomplete implementation. https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13629387.2020.1800207?journalCode=fnas20

Castles, S., De Haas, H & Miller, M.J. (2014). *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World.* Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan.

---

migrant attend literacy classes; and 2,000 minor migrants were informed on their rights and have access to social services (European Commission, 2019).

De Haas, H. (2007). "Between courting and controlling: The Moroccan state and 'its' emigrants." Working paper No 54. Oxford: Centre on Migration, Policy and Society,

   University of Oxford, 2007

Dorigo, G. & Tobler, W. (1983). "Push-Pull Migration Laws". *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* 73 (1), pp. 1-17. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/2569342

Haas, H. de (2003)." Migration and Development in Southern Morocco: The Disparate Socio-Economic Impacts of Out-Migration on the Todgha Oasis Valle." (Diss) University of Nijmegen, Amsterdam.

Harris, J.R. & Todaro, M.P. (1970). "Migration, Unemployment and Development: A Two-Sector Analysis". *The American Economic Review,* 60 (1), pp. 126-142. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/1807860

Houtum, H. van (2010). "Human blacklisting: the global apartheid of the EU's external border regime." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, Vol. 10, 28, pp. 957-976. DOI: 10.1068/d1909

International Organization for Migration (IOM) & the Federal Office for Migration. (2005). *The Berne Initiative. International Agenda for Migration Management: Common Understandings and Effective Approach for a Planned, Balanced, and Comprehensive Approach to the Management of Migration.* Switzerland. Available on *https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/iamm.pdf*

Lagarde, C. (2015). "International Migration: A Global Issue in Need of a Global Solution". https://blogs.imf.org/2015/11/11/migration-a-global-issue-in-need-of-a-global-solution/

Lahlou, M. (2018). "Migration Dynamics in Play in Morocco: Trafficking and Political Relationships and their Implications at the Regional level." Menara Working Pages, N0. 26

Lavenex, S. &Schimmelfenning, F. (2009). "EU rules beyond EU borders: theorizing external governance in European politics." *Journal of European Public Policy*, 16 (6), pp. 791-812. DOI: 10.1080/13501760903087696

Lee, E.S. (1966). "A Theory of Migration." *Demography*, 3 (1), pp. 47-57. Retrieved from: http://www.jstor.org/stable/2060063

Martin. P, Widgern, J. (1996). "International Migration: a Global Challenge." https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/12320315/

Khandelwal, P. &Roitman, A. (2013). "The Economics of Political Transitions: Implications for the Arab Spring." *IMF Working Paper*, 13 (69). Retrieved from https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/wp/2013/wp1369.pdf

Jacobs, A. (2019). "Morocco's Migration Policy: Understanding the Contradiction between Policy and Reality." In International Conference to Adopt the Global

Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration, Marrakech, 10-11 December 2018. Available on https://mipa.institute/6872

Jacobs, A. (2013). "Sub-Saharan Irregular Migration in Morocco" – (Part 2). Retrieved from:

https://www.moroccoworldnews.com/2013/01/74071/sub-saharan-irregular-migration-in-morocco-part-2/#_ftn6

Jupp, J. "From 'White Australia' to 'Part of Asia': Recent Shifts in Australian Immigration Policy Towards the Region." *International Migration Review*, 29(1), 1995, p 208.

Ravenstein, E.G. (1885). "The Laws of Migration". *Journal of the Statistical Society*, 48 (2), pp. 167-235. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/2979181

Skeldon, R. (1997). *Migration and development: a global perspective*. Harlow: Addison Wesley Longman Limited.

Schapendonk, J. (2010). "Staying put in moving sands: The stepwise migration process of sub-Saharan African migrants heading north." In Engel, U. & Nugent, P. (Eds.), (2010). *Respacing Africa*. pp. 113-139. Leiden: Brill.

Schapendonk, J. & Steel, G. (2014). "Following Migrant Trajectories: The Im/Mobility of Sub-Saharan Africans en Route to the European Union." *Annals of Association of American Geographers*, 104 (2), pp. 262-270. DOI: 10.1080/00045608.2013.862135

Velde, M. van der (2009). "De-bordering: homogenization or differentiation" (COST Action IS0803 Working Paper). Retrieved from http://repository.ubn.ru.nl/bitstream/handle/2066/86719/86719.pdf?sequence=1

Appendix A: Observation Checklist

Observation Checklist

Title of the study	Exploring the social and professional status of sub-Saharan migrants in Rabat and Nador in Morocco
Population observed	Sub-Saharan Migrants and Moroccan Citizens in Rabat and Nador
Date	………………………………………………………………
Place/ Neighborhoods	………………………………………………………………
Observers	Lahbib LAMRID & Aziz Chanfouh

Observation Foci	Rabat Areas			Nador Areas		
	Doum	Agdal	El Youssofia	Selouane	Farkhana	Bni Nsar
Jobs						
Physical state						
Clothes						
How treated by Moroccan citizens						
Language						
Mingling with Moroccan citizens						
Housing						
Public transportation						
Children						
How they interact with each other						
How they interact with Moroccan citizens						

Concluding observation notes:

……………………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………...…………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………

Appendix B: Interviews with Migrants and Moroccan Citizens

Interview with Sub-Saharan Migrants and Moroccan Citizens
-   In Arabic, French, and English –

Interviewers: lahbib LAMRID & Aziz Chanfouh

Interviewees: Migrants ☐   Moroccan citizens ☐

Date:…………………………………………………………

Place: …………………………………………………….

Questions for Migrants

1. How have you come to Morocco?
2. How do you live?
3. How Moroccan citizens treat you?
4. Are you satisfied with life in Morocco? Why?
5. What are your plans?

Conclusions:

………

………

………

………

………

Questions for Moroccan citizens

1. How do sub-Saharan migrants act?
2. How do Moroccan citizens treat migrants here?
3. Can you imagine Morocco a place where Moroccan people and sub-Saharan migrants co-exist?
4. Do sub-Saharan migrants have respectable jobs?

Conclusions:

………

………

………

………