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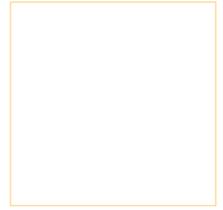
Migration Profile: Morocco

Françoise DE BEL-AIR

In September 2014, the total population of Morocco stood at 33,848,242, and only 0.2 per cent were foreign immigrants.¹ Morocco is, indeed, a major migrant-sending country. First-generation, Morocco-born migrants residing abroad stood at 2.8 million, of whom 2.4 million were in Europe as of 2011, the largest number from any Southern Mediterranean country. As for “Moroccans Residing Abroad” (“Marocains Résidant à l’Etranger”), who are first-generation migrants and born-abroad second and third generations, estimates vary between 4 and 4.5 million.²

Emigration flows to Europe have been continuous, and have gone through three phases. Until limitations were put on labour migration to Western Europe in the mid-1970s, Moroccan workers went mainly to France, and to a lesser extent to Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands. Morocco was pursuing an active policy of labour export and control of expatriates. From the 1980s to the late 2000s, the profiles and destinations of Moroccan migration flows diversified. Established Moroccan communities increased, but through family reunification. The entry of Spain into the EU in 1986 and the development of labour-intensive activities through the 1990s (in agriculture, construction and services) attracted large flows of low-skilled, often irregular Moroccans, to Spain as well as to Italy. Tertiary-educated students and highly-skilled workers found new outlets outside Europe, in the United States and Canada. Modest numbers also went to the Gulf States, among them women, who worked in everything from entertainment to management.

Managing employment abroad opportunities and maintaining a strong link with Moroccan expatriates was always a priority for the Kingdom. Royal Decrees established the Hassan II Foundation for



Moroccans Living Abroad (1990), the Ministry for the Moroccan Community Residing Abroad (2000), and the Council for the Moroccan Community Abroad (2007). In 2009, the Moroccan government set up a national “Strategy of Mobilisation of the Competences of Moroccans Residing Abroad”, for promoting the participation and implication of the scientific, economic and professional Moroccan diaspora in the country’s development process.³

Meanwhile, Morocco has been an immigration country since the 1990s. In the wake of the EU expansion and especially, of Spain’s incorporation into the Schengen area in 1995, Morocco’s proximity to Europe channelled growing numbers of ‘transit’ migrants to the country. Most are nationals from Sub-Saharan African states fleeing political and economic crises at home, and some of these countries have visa-free agreements with Morocco (Senegal, Mali for instance). Hoping to get to Europe, these migrants remain stranded at its borders for lack of an entry visa. Moreover, the financial crisis of the late 2000s dried up opportunities available to low-skilled migrants in Southern European countries, and flows of Moroccans started reversing to Morocco where unemployment rates remained consistently high over the period.⁴

Once Morocco had become a transit country, it was put under great pressure, from the 2000s, to control irregular migration to the EU. The Association Agreement between the European Union and Morocco entered into force in 2000, an important chapter of which refers to the question of migration. Morocco obtained an advanced status with the European Union in 2008. European economic aid and visa facilitation for Moroccan citizens are conditioned on Morocco’s ability to effectively control migration flows.⁵ To date the Kingdom has adamantly refused to sign readmission provisions with the EU, which would include irregular non-Moroccans (Third Country Nationals) who had passed through the country before entering the EU. It, nevertheless, concluded readmission agreements

for Moroccan nationals with some Member States: Spain, France, Italy and Germany.⁶

The country was little affected by the Arab uprisings. However, after public protests demanded democratic reforms, the new Constitution of 2011 introduced provisions for the protection of the rights of Moroccan expatriates (art. 16), as well as for their right to participate in Moroccan elections (art. 17). Moreover, faced with the need to facilitate mobility for its citizens, Morocco was the first Mediterranean country to sign a Mobility Partnership with the EU and nine Member States in June 2013, aiming to “strengthen cooperation in the area of migration and [the] management of migration flows.”⁷ The Partnership covers migration questions such as: mobility facilitation for Moroccan nationals; better recognition of professional qualifications and cooperation between employment services; support for the Moroccan diaspora in Europe wishing to invest in Morocco; as well as cooperation in the field of human trafficking and asylum.⁸ Readmission provisions, in return for visa facilitation for Moroccans to visit the EU, are still under discussion.

These moves meant a new phase for Morocco’s immigration policy. The new Constitution, indeed, introduced provisions regarding the non-discrimination of foreign migrants and the protection of their rights,⁹ which were ignored in the previous Constitution of 1996. In September 2013, a report on Morocco by the UN Committee on the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers and Members of their Families pointed out the need to amend Law n°02-03 of 11 November 2003 on the “entry and stay of foreigners in Morocco, irregular emigration and immigration.” The 2003’ law criminalises irregular exits from Morocco, as well as irregular sojourn in the country.¹⁰ The National Council for Human Rights also advocated changes to Morocco’s immigration policy. Among these were a halt to police violence against irregular migrants and their deportation to Morocco’s



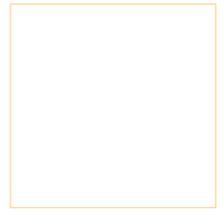
borders, the correction of discrimination against non-nationals, access to justice and basic services for irregular migrants. The Council also demanded the regularisation of several categories of migrants in Morocco.¹¹ Consequently, the government was asked by Royal Decree to proceed with the development of a global policy for immigration, around four focal points: asylum; immigration; the fight against human trafficking; and migrant and refugee integration.

Immediately after, in October, a new Department on Migration Affairs was created within the Ministry of Moroccan Residents Abroad (subsequently renamed “Ministry in Charge of Moroccans Abroad and of Migration Affairs”, MCMREAM), which took over the planning, coordination and implementation of the new policy.¹² The most notable initiative was the campaign of regularisation of undocumented immigrants carried out in 2014 (1 January-31 December). The total number of applications submitted as of 31 December 2014 was 27,332, of which 17,916 were accepted.¹³ Applications submitted by women and children, which were 10,178, were all accepted.¹⁴ The residence permits have been automatically renewed for 2015. In December 2014, a National Immigration and Asylum Strategy was launched,¹⁵ including eleven immigrant integration programmes in all relevant fields.¹⁶ Additionally, as of March 2016, 4,277 refugees were registered in Morocco by UNHCR, of a total of 6,187 persons of concern.¹⁷ There were 2,927 Syrian nationals, but their definitive status is still pending.¹⁸ Since the official conclusion of the regularisation campaign in February 2015, police operations have resumed in the north of the country. Migrants were arrested and displaced by force to other areas of the Kingdom, to Fes, Meknes, Kenitra and other cities.¹⁹

Current EU cooperation on migration matters focuses on the integration of immigrants, and on the mobilisation of Moroccan skills abroad, in line with the policy agenda of the Moroccan government. The

return and reintegration of Moroccans in Morocco, and of Third Country Nationals back to their origin country, is also a priority in the EU-Morocco policy cooperation. In August 2015, the European Union was funding no less than twenty-five different ongoing projects in the field of migration. Overall the implementation of the Mobility Partnership signed in June 2013 has translated into a more than doubling of EU resources for cooperation allocated in the field of migration in Morocco.

On 30 July 2015, King Mohammed’s Speech to the Nation also called for the implementation of the constitutional provisions relating to MRE’s representation in consultative institutions and participative democracy and governance bodies.²⁰ A series of reforms dedicated to strengthening the country’s relations with Moroccan expatriates are also underway. These include improving services provided by consulates abroad and specific administrative follow-up procedures dedicated to expatriates.²¹



OUTWARD MIGRATION

Stock

Around 2012, an estimated 2.8 million Moroccan migrants (i.e., first-generation, born in Morocco) were residing abroad, or 7.8 percent of the total population of the country. The vast majority were in Europe (87 per cent), France alone hosting 31 percent and Spain a quarter of these migrants.

Estimates of Moroccan migrants' stocks by region and selected countries of residence (c. 2012)				
	Source	Def.	Number	% of all emigrant
Europe 28+Switzerland+Norway			2,436,957	87%
Of which France			881,311	31%
Spain			716,679	25%
Italy			347,048	12%
Belgium	(1)	(A)	188,336	7%
Netherlands			154,885	5%
Germany			88,236	3%
UK			21,772	1%
North America			124,557	4%
USA			65,782	2%
Canada	(1)	(A)	58,775	2%
Arab countries			92,000	3%
Gulf countries			47,000	2%
Of which Saudi Arabia			20,000	1%
UAE	(2)	(B)	14,000	
Other Arab countries			45,000	2%
Of which Libya	(3)	(A)	18,839	1%
Other countries			158,000	6%
of which Israel			136,950	5%
Australia	(1)	(A)	1,567	
Total emigrants			around 2,812,000	100%

Sources:
 (1) OECD-DIOC database, 2011 revision.
 (2) national population registers and Moroccan embassies' estimates, <http://gulfmigration.eu/>
 (3) Destination countries' statistics (censuses and other records) <http://carim-south.eu/>
 Definition of migrant:
 (A) country of birth; (B) country of nationality.

As for the 4 to 4.5 million holders of Moroccan citizenship recorded by Moroccan consular services (first-generation migrants and born-abroad second and third generations together), 614,040 of them were naturalized in their European host countries between 2004 and 2013, more than half (57 percent) in France and in Spain (respectively, 240,406 and 107,193), according to Eurostat.

Beside these large communities of Moroccan migrants in Europe, small communities of Moroccan expatriates formed in North America, as well as in Gulf States, among whom highly-skilled women.²² In 2011, following the protocol to the 1981 bilateral agreement with Qatar,

INWARD MIGRATION

Stock

As of September 2014, non-nationals in Morocco numbered 86,206, or 0.26 percent of the 33,848,242 total resident population counted during the country's sixth census. This was a marked increase from the 51,435 foreign nationals recorded during the 2004 census.⁴¹

One of the reasons for the increase may be the upgrading of figures between the two censuses, for certain categories of foreign nationals who were residing and/or working irregularly.⁴² The regularization campaign conducted in 2014 could also have helped incorporate some foreign residents into the population records.

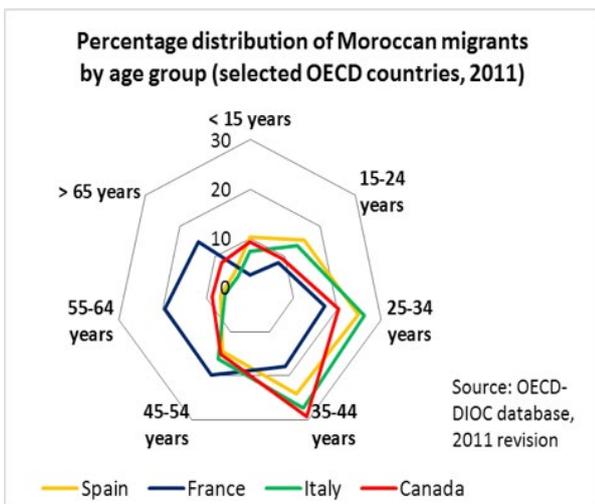
Among these, Sub-Saharan Africans made up the bulk. Estimates of irregular migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa in Morocco diverge⁴³ but the figures of the regularization campaign of 2013 offer a minimum: of the 27,332 applications filed, around 80 percent – meaning around 21,500 demands- concerned citizens of non-Arab African countries.⁴⁴

As regards the typical Sub-Saharan migrant profile, a survey conducted in 2007⁴⁵ on 1,000 mostly irregular Sub-Saharan transit migrants in Morocco, suggested that Nigerians may have been the best represented nationality in the late 2000s (16 percent of the migrants under survey), followed by migrants from Mali and Senegal (13 percent each), from Congo (10 percent), the Ivory Coast (9 percent), Cameroon (7 percent), and Guinea and Gambia with 5 percent each. They were prominently males (80 percent on average), although national discrepancies emerged: females made up 37 percent of Nigerians for instance. Most were in the age group 25-34 (66 percent), most often (82 percent) unmarried. Illiterates made up one-third of the survey sample, but 16 percent were university graduates. Stranded in Morocco, 60 percent of the migrants interviewed declared having no source of income, 19 percent had resorted to begging and 10 percent received aid from charity associations. Only 2.3 percent declared themselves employed, often in the building, retail trade and domestic service sectors. Most were living in rented rooms. The average duration of stay in Morocco was 2.5 years, and 73 percent were intending to leave to go to



900 Moroccan labourers were employed in the security and education sectors in the country.²³ The 136,950 first-generation Moroccan migrants in Israel are members of the once-large Moroccan Jewish community (estimated around 220,000- 300,000 persons in 1950), who made *aliyah* between 1948 and 1970.²⁴

Most Moroccan migrants are males (54 per cent of all migrants to the OECD countries) and 46 per cent are in working age groups. However, these aggregated figures cover a rather diverse demographic and socio-economic profile by country of destination, as emphasized in Figure 1. First, France is an exception, as it hosts older age-groups: 55 percent of the Morocco-born there are 45 and above, and 15 per cent in the age group 65 and above. France is also the country with the smallest proportion of migrant children (2.6 percent aged 0 to 14) and the most balanced sex ratio (105 males for 100 women, or 51 percent of males in the population). The second typical profile is found in Italy and Spain: a predominance of males (55 and 58 per cent respectively)²⁵ and an above-average share in working age groups (50 and 52 per cent in age group 25 to 44). Nonetheless, the two countries also host young families: in Spain, especially, 10 per cent of migrants from Morocco are below 15, but the older migrants (above 65) are only 4 per cent of the total (3 per cent in Italy).²⁶



A third profile of Moroccan migrants can be found in Canada. Migrant gender distribution is more balanced than in Southern Europe (53 per cent of men), and age group distribution suggests some degree of family

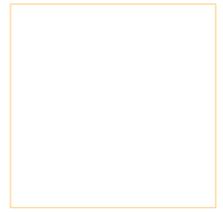
membership in a third country, 11 percent wanted to go back to their own country and only 2 percent intended to stay in Morocco.⁴⁶

Foreign population holding residence permits in Morocco by country of nationality, 2012		
Country of nationality	Number	% of total
African countries	29,650	38.1
of which Algeria	10,424	13.4
Senegal	2,889	3.7
Mauritania	1,956	2.5
European countries	31,483	40.5
of which France	22,683	29.2
Italy	1,595	2.1
Turkey	1,524	2
Other countries	16,665	21.4
of which US	1,648	2.1
China	1,319	1.7
Total	77,798	100

Source: Direction Générale de la Sûreté Nationale, Morocco.

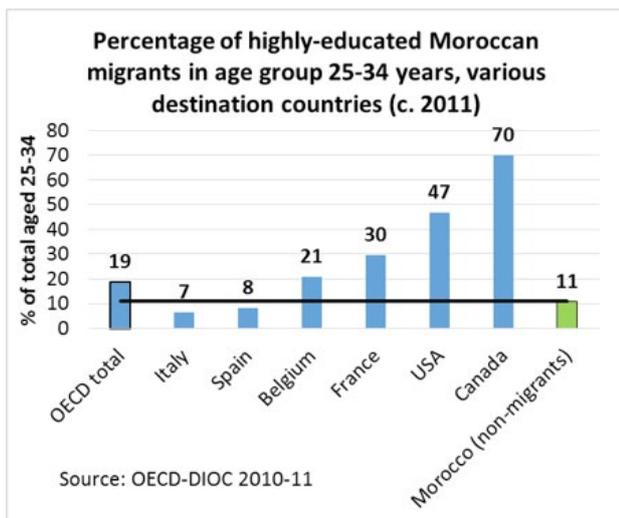
As of December 2012,⁴⁷ nationals from Senegal ranked first among the 14,000 Sub-Saharan Africans in a regular situation, with 2,889 persons. Last available data (census 2004) indicated that 65 percent of the residents from these countries were students that year. Higher education cooperation (scholarships, for instance) has been an important element in Morocco's African policy, and the development of international education, since the 1990s, attracted increasing numbers of students to Morocco.⁴⁸ Of the 10,000 foreign students recorded in Morocco in 2006-2007, about 70 percent were from non-Arab African countries.⁴⁹

Europeans, and among them the French, are the other main group of foreign nationals (respectively, 40.5 percent and 29.2 percent of all residency holders in 2012). No recent data is available on their profile but in the mid-2000s, the French resided predominantly in Rabat, Casablanca and Marrakech (70 percent of all French residents). Spanish nationals, the second European nationality, were mostly in the Northern provinces, namely Tangiers and Tetouan. Europeans were markedly older than other foreign groups: 22 percent of Europeans were aged 60 and above, double



reunion: a marked predominance of 35-44 year-olds, with children below 15 (9 per cent), as well as some older migrants (8 per cent are older than 65).

As regards education levels, Moroccan migrants have mostly low education (59 per cent of those aged 15 and above). Seventeen per cent of those only are highly educated.²⁷ Figure 2 emphasises the diversity of Moroccan migrants' educational profiles and the selectivity of the migration process by receiving countries' policies and socio-economic setup. In general, migrants are more educated than non-migrants are. However, Moroccans in Spain and Italy are less educated than non-migrant Moroccans in the same age group. The vast majority, meanwhile, of the 58,000 Moroccans in Canada are highly educated.



Unsurprisingly, Moroccans in Canada perform highly-skilled professions in general: the three top categories of professions (the “managers”, “professionals” and “technicians and associate professionals”) employ 55 per cent of them. By contrast, in Italy 50 per cent of employed Moroccans are in “elementary occupations” (33 per cent in Spain), and in “Craft and related trades” (respectively 20 and 17 per cent). In France, Moroccan migrants can be found in all categories of professions: 36 per cent are in the top three categories and 40 per cent in the three lowest-skilled ones.²⁸ In these four countries, Moroccans also often work in “services and trade”-related professions. The numbers range from between 12 (France) and 21 per cent (Spain) of employed migrants (OECD-DIOC data).

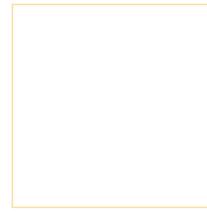
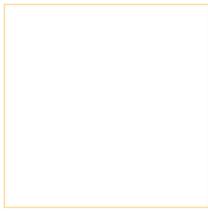
the share among Sub-Saharan Africans for instance. As a matter of facts, 16 per cent of all European residents were retired persons: Europeans made up 81 per cent of all foreign retired persons, of whom the French alone made up 57 per cent. 59 per cent of Europeans were in active age groups (15-59 years). These made up half of all employed foreign nationals, of whom 74 per cent were salaried workers.⁵⁰

Refugees and asylum seekers registered by UNHCR in Morocco by nationality (March 2016)	
Country	Refugees
Syria	2,927
Yemen	461
Ivory Coast	281
DR Congo	150
Iraq	131
Central African Rep.	95
Others	232
Total refugees	4,277
Asylum seekers	
Cameroon	410
DR Congo	318
Ivory Coast	308
Guinea	215
Mali	126
Central African Rep.	109
Others	424
Total asylum seekers	1,910

Source: UNHCR, Morocco Factsheet, March 2016

Besides these small numbers of stranded migrants, students, workers and retired people of diverse origins and profiles, 4,277 refugees were registered in Morocco by UNHCR, as of March 2016. Asylum seekers numbered 1,910, most of whom were from Sub-Saharan countries.⁵¹ However, registered refugees may be only a fraction of all de facto refugees in Morocco.⁵²

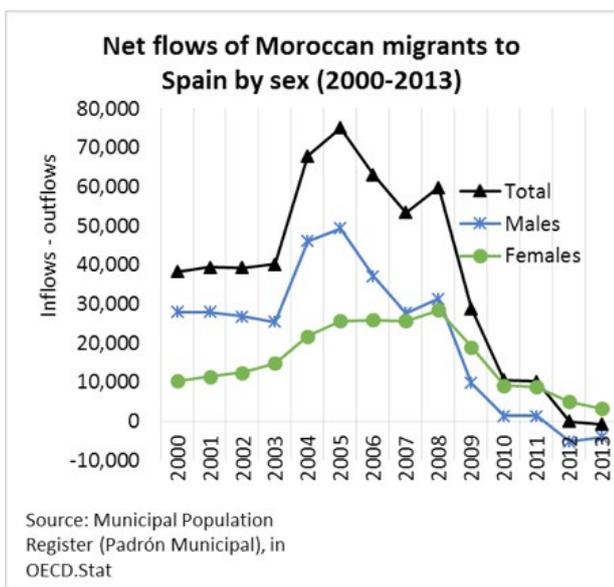
Recorded Syrian nationals numbered 2,927. As of September 2015, males made up 53 per cent of Syrian refugees and 51 per cent were younger than 18. The 453 families mostly originated from Homs (39 per cent), Hama and Damascus (12 per cent each). Forty-eight per cent gained income in the informal, tertiary sector (services, trade, etc.), while 37 per cent had no occupation in Morocco.⁵³



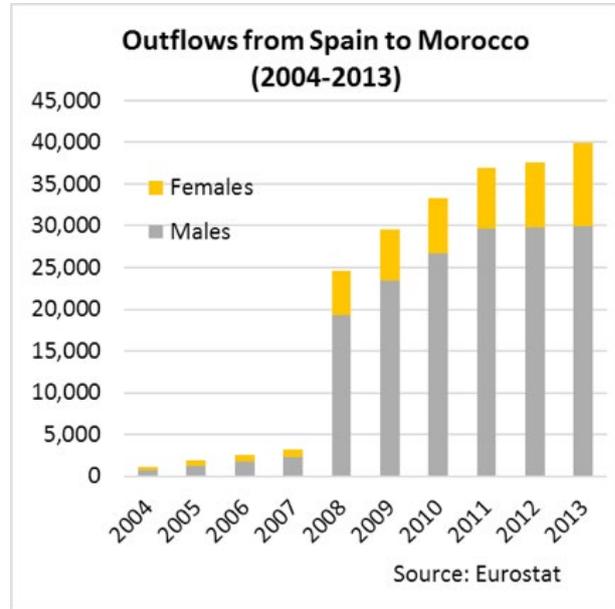
Flows

The propensity to migrate remains high in Morocco: in 2011–2012, 42 per cent of the population between 18 and 50 expressed the intention of migrating. Among young people aged 18 to 29 years, 69 per cent desired to emigrate.²⁹ Annual net migration flows from Morocco reached 86,000 persons in 2009–2010.³⁰ Data are missing for the Arab receiving countries, but OECD statistics emphasize the rapid development of Moroccan migrants’ total stocks in the region during the 2000s. In Europe and in North America, their numbers nearly doubled during the decade, from respectively 1,389,696 to 2,436,957 and from 63,023 to 124,557.³¹

However, the pace of growth was much quicker during the first half of the 2000s. Italy and Spain, especially, saw a doubling in the numbers of Moroccan residents during that five-year period: in Spain, they stood at 278,500 in 2000 and 539,049 in 2005, a stunning demographic growth rate of 13.2 annually (15.2 per cent in Italy). The financial crisis of 2008 put a halt to economic growth in the Southern European countries, however. Consequently, stocks continued increasing but at a much slower pace than in the early 2000s: 4 per cent annually for Europe as a whole, down from 7 per cent annually during the previous five years, 3.3 per cent in 2005–2010 in Italy and 5.7 in Spain. Canada is the only country where Moroccan migrant populations, though small, continued increasing steadily until 2011.



Flows



Since the late 2000s, migration flows to Morocco have, as noted before, undergone significant changes. The financial crisis of 2008 spurred outflows of Moroccans from Europe, back to Morocco. These flows, particularly from Spain, rose brutally in 2008 and remained high until 2013 (last available data), reaching almost 40,000 persons that year.⁵⁴ This suggests that some Moroccan migrants did return to Morocco following the financial crisis, because of its effects on Spanish, as well as the Italian economies.

Some of these returnees had been staying irregularly in Europe. Over the period 2008 to 2014, the numbers of the returned went down, from 13,555 to 9,405. Most of these migrants were expelled from Spain: 9,300 in 2008 to 6,365 in 2014 or 68 per cent of all irregular Moroccans expelled from an EU Member State to a Third State (Eurostat data). A survey conducted in the early 2010s on irregular migrants who returned to Morocco from Europe actually confirmed that the financial crisis, and hikes in unemployment in the sectors employing most Moroccans (construction especially), did force irregular workers back to Morocco, for they were more vulnerable to the loss of their income than workers in regular situations.⁵⁵ Increasing numbers, therefore, left “voluntarily” in 2008 and after, thus decreasing the share of those expelled by force. As a matter of facts,



Exemplified here in the case of Spain (Fig. 3), net flows of Moroccans to Southern European countries during the 2000s were effectively sustained until 2009, for men and for women. The sharp hike observed in 2004 may be due to several factors, among which the improvement of diplomatic relations between Morocco and Spain that may have favoured the relaxation of the visa policy, and the early announcement of the migrant regularization campaign conducted in 2005 that attracted a number of foreign labourers to Spain who hoped to benefit from the measure.³² Indeed, there were many irregular Moroccans in Southern European countries: 146,610 Moroccan migrants were regularized in Spain between 2001 and 2005.³³ Regularisation campaigns were also conducted in Italy during the 2000s, in 2002-2004 and 2009. Moroccans made 7.7 per cent of the 700,000 applicants to the first, and 12.3 per cent of applicants to the second campaign with 36,112 applications.³⁴ Since 1981, a total of about 445,000 Moroccans have been regularized in four EU countries (France, Belgium, Italy and Spain), something which highlights the scale of Moroccan irregular migration.³⁵

Since 2008 and the onset of the financial and economic crisis, certain sectors of Southern European economies were hit hard: for example, the construction and services sectors. As Moroccans were often employed in these sectors, they were disproportionately affected by the crisis. In Spain, the unemployment rates of Moroccan nationals surged from 17 per cent in 2007 to 48 per cent in 2011 for males, and from 32 to 56.3 per cent for women. In 2013, 60 per cent of the Moroccan work force in Spain was without a job.³⁶ Consequently, as seen in Figure 3, net flows started diminishing after 2009 and even became negative after 2012 for the men. This is due to a marked drop in inflows of Moroccan migrants to Spain (93,623 in 2009, 33,408 in 2013),³⁷ and to their growing outflows from that country (Fig. 6, “Inward Migration” section).

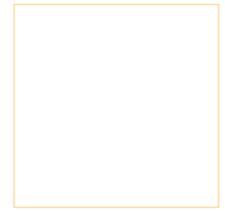
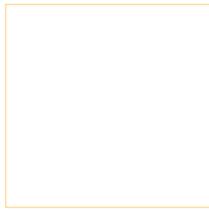
Unsurprisingly, the number of residency permits granted to new Moroccan migrants in Europe (first permits) has been decreasing since the late 2000s, while the total number of permits (first and renewals), did not at first go down. This would suggest a trend towards settling “old” migrants in the EU while preventing new

the proportion of men culminated at 80 percent in 2011, and has been decreasing since then. This suggests that men living alone as irregular labourers left Europe first, and that families settled in Europe eventually had to take the road back, too.

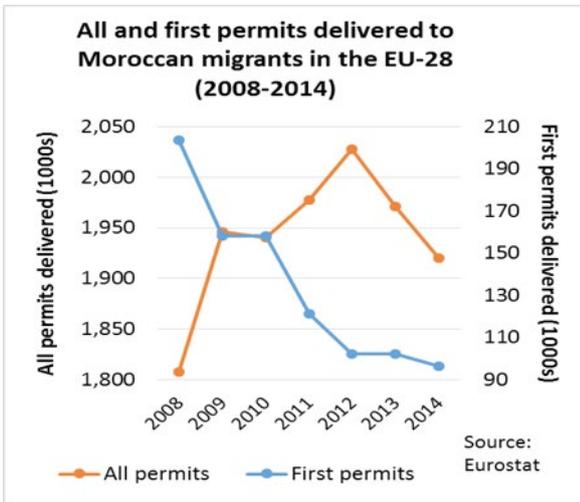
The crisis also had the unintended effect of increasing the inflows of European nationals to Morocco, especially from Spain.⁵⁶ The numbers of Spanish registered as residents in Morocco went up from 5,770 in 2009 to 8,003 in 2015,⁵⁷ of whom an unknown number may be Moroccans who were naturalised in Spain. More generally, “the number of authorizations granted to foreign nationals to do paid work in Morocco has increased from 6,236 in 2004 to 8,972 in 2011. This increase is explained in part by the expansion of foreign investment in Morocco, particularly in the building and construction sectors, hospitality, catering, aeronautics, relocation, and major retail outlets and franchises, and also by the shortage of particular skill profiles in the national labour market.”⁵⁸

The Arab uprisings and ensuing unrest and wars in many countries, as well as conflicts in Africa (the conflict of 2010-2011 in the Ivory Coast, the crisis in Mali ongoing since 2012, for example), also inflated the modest numbers of foreign residents in Morocco. The regularisation campaign of 2014, however, only benefitted 17,916 undocumented residents. Strict conditions were indeed imposed on applicants who had to fit into the following categories and detain documents supporting their request:

- Foreign spouses of Moroccan citizens, married and living together for two years and more (before 31 December 2011);
- Foreign spouses of other foreigners in a regular situation in Morocco, married and living together for four years and more (before 31 December 2009);
- Children of the two above categories, providing they hold a valid birth certificate;
- Foreign nationals holding a valid labour contract, employed at least for the past two years (since 1 January 2012);



ones from entering. However, since 2012, the total number of residencies also started going down: a “loss” of around 100,000 residencies in two years.



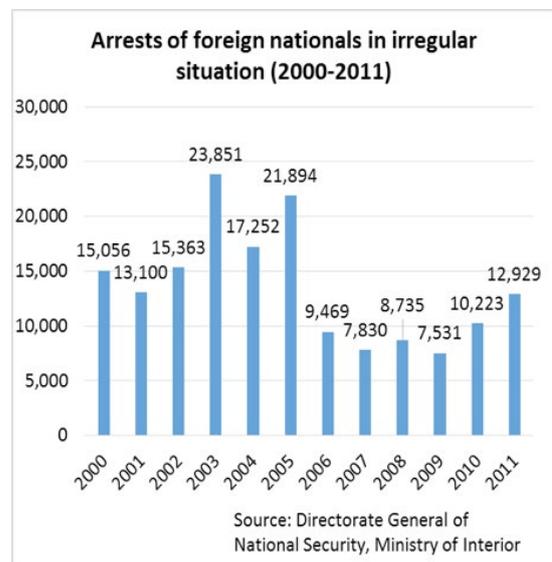
Part of this change may be due to a hike in naturalisations observed in Spain and Italy in 2013. With respectively 30,364 and 25,421 naturalisations of Moroccan citizens in 2013, the two countries granted 64 per cent of all naturalisations of Moroccans in Europe that year. France only naturalised 16,661 Moroccans, 19 per cent of the annual total. In 2008, by contrast, only 19 per cent of Moroccans had received citizenship in Spain and Italy, while France alone had granted 44 per cent of all naturalisations to Moroccans in the EU that year (28,699). At the level of the EU, the gender balance of the naturalised Moroccans remains stable, with males making up from 52 to 55 of the total (Eurostat data).

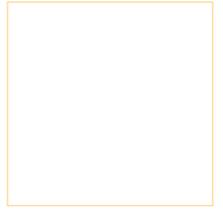
More generally, family reunion has become the most frequent pathway for Moroccans wishing to enter the EU since the late 2000s.

- Foreign nationals able to prove a five-year long continuous residence in Morocco;
- Chronically-ill persons receiving care in Morocco since 31 December 2013.

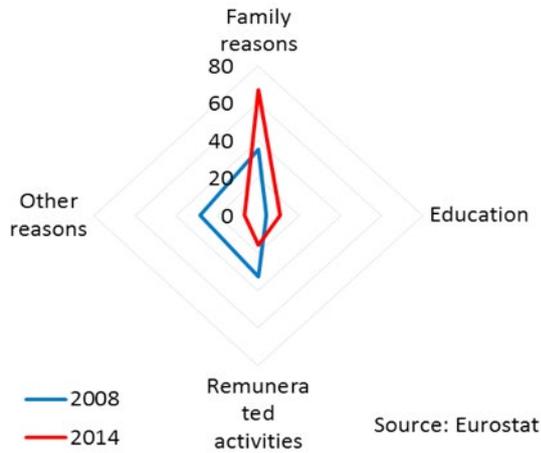
Beyond such restrictions, many belonged to one or more of the categories targeted but could not supply supporting documents, such as marriage and labour contracts. Therefore, only 65 percent of the 27,332 applications filed were accepted. The regularisation exercise benefited nationals of 116 countries, with the Senegalese forming the largest group (6,600 persons, or 27 percent of all successful applicants), followed by Syrians (5,250 persons), Nigerians (2,380) and Ivoirians (2,281). Nationals from Mali and Cameroon respectively made up only 5 and 4 percent of all accepted applications, and Filipinos just 3 percent. The vast majority of regularisations (64 percent) concerned persons having stayed in Morocco for five years and more. Two percent only were regularised through marriage with a Moroccan national.⁵⁹

The regularisation process happened in a context of growing inflows of irregulars, after a slowdown in the late 2000s: “the migration flux started to increase again (mainly from Tunisia, Libya and Egypt), initially slowly between 2011 and 2012, then more markedly from 2013, with, in particular, a large influx of Syrian refugees.” Arrests of foreign irregulars by Moroccan authorities also went up in 2010 and 2011 (last available data), as visible on Figure 7.⁶⁰





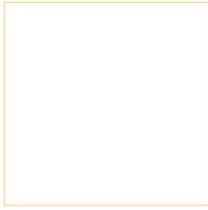
Evolution of the percent distribution of all first permits granted by reason (EU-28, 2008-2014)



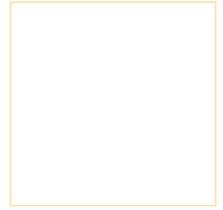
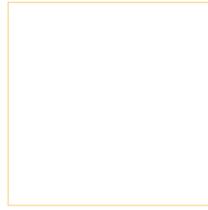
Growing numbers of Syrians and Palestinians from Syria are said to be gathering in Nador, for instance, from where they hope to cross to Melilla, the Spanish enclave, in order to avoid the dangers of a boat trip to Europe. These refugees usually come through the land border with Algeria, relying on smugglers.⁶¹ According to UNHCR data, in the first six months of 2015, 4,049 Syrians had entered Melilla, making up 83 per cent of all arrivals of Third Country Nationals from Morocco. In 2014, they were 3,098, up from 252 in 2013.⁶²

Of the 203,670 permits delivered for the first time in 2008, 66,438 were for “remunerated activities” (to Italy and Spain essentially) and 71,283 were for “family reasons”. As of 2014, the “remunerated activities” made up only 16 per cent (15,061 permits) of the 96,197 first permits delivered, while residency for family purposes was still frequent (64,269 permits). Of these family-related permits, the ones delivered for marriage purposes made up 30 to 60 per cent,³⁸ while the share of children reuniting with parents increased over the six years, from 21 to 43 per cent of the family-related first permits. Reunion with other family members of the holder became less frequent over the period (33 to 14 per cent). Interestingly, the gender balance within these various categories of permits is very diverse by destination country. In Spain, Moroccan males and females are in similar numbers in the family- and labour-related categories of permits. In 2014 for instance, women outnumbered men among workers: 75 males for 100 females.³⁹ As for Italy and France, the picture differs, with 55 males for 100 females residing as family member and about 5.5 males for every female among workers in 2014 in both countries. This suggests a very different distribution of power between genders in Spain, as compared with Italy, and with France where Moroccan migrant communities are older.

Between 2008 and 2014, another change has become evidence: the fall of the permits delivered for “other



reasons”. These mostly concern the elderly who settle for the purpose of “residence only” (they are barred from working), and for long-term residence (five years and more) with independent means.⁴⁰ There were 58,000 such permits in 2008 and only 6,664 in 2014, which confirms the tightening of entry regulations, especially in Italy and Spain, the main gateways to Europe for Moroccans until 2010. Education gains as a relative share (from 4 to 11 per cent of all permits delivered in the EU, mostly to France). But numbers of Moroccans students in the EU remain modest in view of the large Moroccan migrant community in the region: 4,919 in 2008 and 7,834 in 2014.



Footnote

1 <http://carim-south.eu/database/demo-eco-module/population-by-nationality-moroccan-foreign-national-at-census-dates-1994-2004-2014/>

2 ETF. “Migration et compétences au Maroc. Résultats de l’enquête 2011-12 sur la migration et le lien entre compétences, migration et développement”, in ETF Working Papers, August 2013, p. 7; Berriane, M. « Les nouvelles tendances de la migration marocaine », in : Berriane, M. (ed.). *Marocains de l’extérieur*, Rabat : Fondation Hassan II pour les Marocains Résidant à l’Étranger / IOM, 2014, p. 9.

The figure accounts for some of the many irregular Moroccan migrants in Europe (ETF, 2013: 8). Moreover, Morocco considers persons of Moroccan descent born abroad to be Moroccans, whether they are naturalised or not in the host country, hence the gap between estimates quoted by Moroccan official bodies (including first-generation migrants born in Morocco, as well as second and third generations of Moroccan descent, born abroad) and estimates only taking migrants into account (i.e., first-generation expatriates, born in Morocco) (Di Bartolomeo et al, 2013: 3).

3 For a recent description and appraisal of the institutional and policy apparatus pertaining to migration in the country, please see: ETF. *Migration et compétences au Maroc. Résultats de l’enquête 2011-12 sur la migration et le lien entre compétences, migration et développement*, Turin: ETF, 2013, pp. 10-12 and Garcia Andrade, P., Martin, I. and Mananashvili, S. *EU Cooperation with Third Countries in The Field of Migration*, Brussels: Directorate General For Internal Policies, Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs, 2015, pp. 127-130.

[http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2015/536469/IPOL_STU\(2015\)536469_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2015/536469/IPOL_STU(2015)536469_EN.pdf).

4 Unemployment rates before 2008 financial crisis: 2006 (rural + urban): 16.6 percent in the age group 15-24 and 14 percent in the age group 25-34. Urban: 31.7 and 21.2 percent respectively. In 2010, after the crisis, the rates (urban) had remained similar (31.3 and 19.1 percent respectively). HCP. *Le Maroc en chiffres*,

years 2006 and 2010, http://www.hcp.ma/downloads/Maroc-en-chiffres_t1353.html. As of 2014 (last data available to date), the total rates were respectively 20 and 13.9 percent (38 and 21 percent for the urban residents alone) (HCP. *Activité, emploi et chômage, résultats annuels, 2014* <http://www.hcp.ma/downloads/>).

5 Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Network. *Analysis of the Mobility Partnership signed between the Kingdom of Morocco, the European Union and nine Member States*, 7 June 2013, February 2014. http://euromedrights.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/PM-Morocco_Final-Version-EN.pdf

6 <http://www.statewatch.org/news/2013/mar/05eu-morocco.htm>. On recent moves between Morocco and Germany (February 2016): https://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/EN/Artikel/2016/02_en/2016-02-29-de-maiziere-maghreb-rueckfuehrungen-abgelehnte-asylbewerber_en.html

7 <http://enpi-info.eu/medportal/news/latest/39671/EU-and-Morocco-hold-talks-on-visa-facilitation-and-readmission-agreements>

8 http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/international-affairs/southern-mediterranean/index_en.htm.

9 Article 30 of the Constitution provides that “Foreigners under [Moroccan] jurisdiction [ressortissants étrangers] enjoy the fundamental freedoms recognized to Moroccan citizens [female] and citizens [male], in accordance with the law. Those among them who reside in Morocco can participate in local elections by virtue of the law, of the application of international conventions or of practices of reciprocity. The conditions of extradition and of granting of the right of asylum are defined by the law.” <http://carim-south.eu/database/legal-module/the-constitution-of-morocco-2011/>

10 <http://www.ohchr.org/en/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=13710&LangID=E>

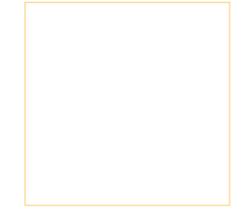
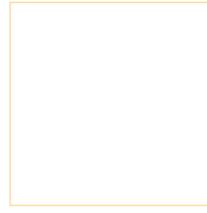
11 CNDH. “Étrangers et droits de l’homme au Maroc: pour une politique d’asile et d’immigration radicale nouvelle”, Rabat : CNDH http://cndh.ma/sites/default/files/etrangers_et_droits_de_lhomme.pdf



- 12 Garcia Andrade, P., Martin, I. and Mananashvili, S. (2015), EU Cooperation with Third Countries in The Field of Migration, Directorate General For Internal Policies, Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs, Brussels, p. 129. [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2015/536469/IPOLE_STU\(2015\)536469_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2015/536469/IPOLE_STU(2015)536469_EN.pdf).
- 13 Almost all were eventually agreed upon after recourse.
- 14 <http://www.processusderabat.net/web/index.php/news-and-events/towards-a-new-moroccan-immigration-policy>
- 15 <http://www.marocainsdumonde.gov.ma/sites/default/files/Fichiers/Pages/strat%C3%A9gie%20Nationale.pdf>
- 16 Garcia Andrade, P., Martin, I. and Mananashvili, S. (2015), EU Cooperation with Third Countries in The Field of Migration, Directorate General For Internal Policies, Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs, Brussels, p. 129. [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2015/536469/IPOLE_STU\(2015\)536469_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2015/536469/IPOLE_STU(2015)536469_EN.pdf).
- 17 Refugees as well as asylum seekers. UNHCR. Morocco Factsheet, December 2015 <http://www.unhcr.org/567162f79.html>
- 18 As stated by UNHCR, “Syrians who apply for asylum are interviewed by the ad hoc Commission and receive a receipt from the Moroccan authorities that confirm their registration and protect them against refoulement. The Government has not decided yet on their definitive status (temporary protection, other). Like other refugees, they have access to UNHCR assistance programs.”
- 19 Tyszler, E. Ceuta et Melilla, centres de tri à ciel ouvert aux portes de l’Afrique, Rapport conjoint GADEM, Migreurop, La Cimade, APDHA, December 2015, p. 11.
- 20 <http://www.ccme.org.ma/en/what-s-new/44999> and <http://www.ccme.org.ma/en/what-s-new/44998>
- 21 <http://www.ccme.org.ma/en/what-s-new?start=45>
- 22 Khachani, M. “La migration marocaine dans les pays du Golfe”, CARIM ASN 2009/34, Florence: Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies and European University Institute, 2009.
- 23 ETF. Migration et compétences au Maroc. Résultats de l’enquête 2011-12 sur la migration et le lien entre compétences, migration et développement, Turin : ETF, 2013, p. 10.
- 24 Arab, C.; Charef, M. and Simon, G. Article « Maroc », in: Simon, G. (ed.). Dictionnaire géo-historique des migrations internationales, Paris : Armand Colin, 2015, pp. 276-282, p. 279-280.
- 25 123 and 135 males for 100 females.
- 26 As of March 2016, last available data are from the 2010-2011 round of censuses, available in the OECD-DIOC database, 2011 revision. A selection of these data is processed in the OECD report Connecting with Emigrants A Global Profile of Diasporas 2015, published in November 2015 <http://www.oecd.org/fr/publications/connecting-with-emigrants-9789264239845-en.htm>
- 27 Low educated: ISCED levels 0, 1 and 2. Highly educated: ISCED levels 5 and 6 (OECD-DIOC database, 2011 revision).
- 28 According to the ISCO 08 classification, in the categories of “Craft and related trades workers”; “Plant and machine operators, and assemblers,” and “Elementary occupations”.
- 29 According to the survey conducted by the European Training Fund. ETF. “Migration et compétences au Maroc. Résultats de l’enquête 2011-12 sur la migration et le lien entre compétences, migration et développement”, in ETF Working Papers, August 2013, pp. 36-37, [http://www.etf.europa.eu/webatt.nsf/0/CC3D1360326C17DBC1257BBE004E9255/\\$file/Migration&competences_Maroc.pdf](http://www.etf.europa.eu/webatt.nsf/0/CC3D1360326C17DBC1257BBE004E9255/$file/Migration&competences_Maroc.pdf)
- 30 Last available data http://www.hcp.ma/Migration-internationale-evolution-du-solde-migratoire-annuel-1986-2010_a693.html. Inflows to the OECD countries reached around 95,000 Moroccan nationals as of 2013 (OECD data).
- 31 Except in France, which stands as an exception among the major receiving countries: the stocks of Moroccan migrants only increased from 686,284 to 881,311 persons between 2000 and 2010, a 2.5 average annual rate of growth (3.6 per cent during 2000-2005 and 1.4



- per cent during 2005-2010) (OECD-DIOC database, 2001; 2006; 2011 revisions).
- 32 Finotelli, C. and Arango, J. “Regularisation of unauthorised immigrants in Italy and Spain: determinants and effects”, Documents d’Anàlisi Geogràfica, vol. 57/3, 2011, pp. 495-515 (p. 508). On Spain-Morocco relations and migration, see also Lahlou, M. “Morocco’s Experience of Migration as a Sending, Transit and Receiving Country”, IAI Working Papers 15, 30 September 2015, pp. 6-7.
- 33 Finotelli, C. and Arango, J. “Regularisation of unauthorised immigrants in Italy and Spain: determinants and effects”, Documents d’Anàlisi Geogràfica, vol. 57/3, 2011, pp. 495-515 (p. 506).
These were incorporated in the population registers. The Municipal Population Register (Padrón Municipal) in Spain incorporates a good share of the population of irregular foreign residents in the country (PICUM. PICUM Submission to the UN Committee on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families-Day of General Discussion on the role of migration statistics for treaty reporting and migration policies, 22 April 2013, Geneva, p. 3-4).
- 34 Salis, E. “Labour migration governance in contemporary Europe. The case of Italy”, FIERI Working Papers, LabMigGov project, FIERI, Torino, Italy, April 2012 http://www.labmiggov.eu/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/LABMIGOV_WP1_Italy_Final-report.pdf
- 35 Di Bartolomeo et. al. MPC Migration Profile Morocco, MPC, June 2013.
- 36 Delezenne, L. « Vers la fin de l’immigration marocaine en Espagne », Hommes et migrations, 1303, 2013, pp. 75-82 (p. 78).
- 37 Recorded outflows seem to have remained stable since 2007 at around 24,000 men (9,000 women) annually. Outflows of foreign nationals from Spain are taken from the statistics on changes of usual residence, as recorded in the Municipal Register. The coverage of outflows may not be fully accurate, especially for non-Spanish nationals.
- 38 Interestingly, reunion with a spouse who is an EU citizen increases over the period, while reunions with non-EU citizens decrease.
- 39 A share of female migrants to Spain may be agricultural workers, who migrated alone.
- 40 Permits granted for all kinds of humanitarian purposes (asylum, victims of trafficking, unaccompanied minors, etc.) also fall under this category but their numbers are negligible for Moroccans in their three main countries of destination (France, Spain and Italy).
- 41 Foreign residents recorded during census 1994 were 50,181.
- 42 For instance, labour inspections conducted during 2007 brought to light more than 3,000 cases of foreign nationals working without permits in Morocco, of forty-five different nationalities. Among these, the Chinese and French were the most numerous. The irregulars were mainly employed in the hospitality sector (Khachani, M. « La migration irrégulière au Maroc- Un état des lieux », Cahiers du Plan, n°29, mai-juin 2010, p. 49-62). Evidence from the Spanish Embassy in Morocco also suggests that Spanish irregular labourers make the vast majority of the 12,000 registered Spanish residents today.
- 43 “[...] Maroc Hebdo cited Morocco’s Interior Ministry’s figures, putting the number of illegal sub-Saharan immigrants living in Morocco at 10,000, while human rights organizations put the number closer to 15,000. Other controversial estimates by the Moroccan Home Office estimates 25,000-45,000 irregular migrants are present in the country.” Elboubkri, N. “Uncertain Future: Racial Discrimination Against African Migrants in Morocco”, Fair Observer, September 5, 2014 http://www.fairobserver.com/region/middle-east_north_africa/uncertain-future-racial-discrimination-against-african-migrants-in-morocco-37612/. Others have considerably lower estimates; Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) determined, in a 2010 survey, that there were approximately 4,500 undocumented migrants in Morocco (quoted in: HRW. Abused and Expelled. Ill-Treatment of Sub-Saharan African Migrants in Morocco, 10 February 2014 <https://www.hrw.org/report/2014/02/10/abused-and-expelled/ill-treatment-sub-saharan-african-migrants-morocco>).



- 44 Another 17.6 percent were Syrians (about 5,000 persons) and 3.7 percent (about 900 persons) were from the Philippines (Ministère délégué à l'Intérieur, press conference held on 9 February 2015, figures as of 31 December 2014). FIDH/GADEM. Maroc : Entre rafles et régularisations- Bilan d'une politique migratoire indécise, Paris : FIDH, March 2015. https://www.fidh.org/IMG/pdf/rapport_maroc_migration_fr.pdf. It is worth noting that no mention is made of the possible attraction effect of the announcement of the campaign on new migrants.
- 45 Last available survey data.
- 46 Association Marocaine d'Etudes et de Recherche en Migrations (AMERM). L'immigration subsaharienne au Maroc : analyse socio-économique, June 2008. <http://amerm.ma/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/De-l%E2%80%99afrique-subsaharienne-au-Maroc-Les-r%C3%A9alites-de-la-migration-irreguli%C3%A8re.pdf>
- 47 The table is reproduced from Di Bartolomeo, A. et al. Morocco, MPC Migration Profile, June 2013. As of 15 February 2016, the results of 2014's census did not disclose the nationality breakdown of the foreign residents.
- 48 Arab, C.; Charef, M.; Simon, G. "Maroc", in: Simon, G. (ed.). Dictionnaire géo-historique des migrations internationales, Paris : Armand Colin, 2015, pp. 276-282, p. 277.
- 49 Charef, M. « Migration des compétences », Cahiers du Plan, n° 29, mai-juin 2010, pp. 63-93, p. 75. No more recent data could be found.
- 50 Processing of the data on foreign residents, 2004 Population and Housing census, in: Haut-Commissariat au Plan. Les résidents étrangers au Maroc- Profil démographique et socio-économique, Rabat : Direction de la Statistique, 2009.
- 51 Refugees as well as asylum seekers. UNHCR. Morocco Factsheet, December 2015 <http://www.unhcr.org/567162f79.html>
- 52 Tyszler, E. Ceuta et Melilla, centres de tri à ciel ouvert aux portes de l'Afrique, Rapport conjoint GADEM, Migreurop, La Cimade, APDHA, December 2015, p. 16 ; pp. 34-35.
- 53 UNHCR. Morocco Update- Information Note On Syrians Applying For Asylum In Morocco, September 2015 <http://ma.one.un.org/content/dam/unct/morocco/docs/UNCT-MA-Information%20Note%20on%20Syrians%20Applying%20for%20Asylum%20Morocco-%20September%202015.pdf>
- 54 Emigration by five year age group, sex and country of next usual residence [migr_emi3nxt]
According to the Eurostat definition, "“Emigration” denotes the action by which a person, having previously been usually resident in the territory of a Member State, ceases to have his or her usual residence in that Member State for a period that is, or is expected to be, of at least 12 months;” and "“Usual residence” is the place at which a person normally spends the daily period of rest, regardless of temporary absences for purposes of recreation, holiday, visits to friends and relatives, business, medical treatment or religious pilgrimage, or, in default, the place of legal or registered residence”. The data concern emigrants from Spain to Morocco of all nationalities and places of birth.
- 55 Cherti, M. ; Balaram, B. and Szilard, M. Retour des migrants irréguliers au Maroc. Quelles politiques de réintégration ?, London : Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR), juin 2013.
- 56 Hustad, K. "“The world upside down’: The rise of Spanish immigration to Morocco”, Christian Science Monitor, 21 March 2013. <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Africa/2013/0321/The-world-upside-down-The-rise-of-Spanish-immigration-to-Morocco> Spanish nationals are much less numerous in Morocco than in Latin America, Britain or Germany, however.
- 57 INE, Register of Spaniards Resident Abroad (PERE). 2009-2015 Series.
- 58 United Nations. International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families Consideration of reports submitted by States parties under article 73 of the Convention- Initial reports of States parties due in 2004- Morocco, CMW/C/MAR/1, 1 November 2012. www2.ohchr.org/English/bodies/cmw/docs/CMW.C.MAR.1_en.doc
- 59 Ministère délégué à l'Intérieur, press conference held



- on 9 February 2015, figures as of 31 December 2014. The figures and policy elements are taken from the report FIDH/GADEM. Maroc : Entre rafles et régularisations- Bilan d'une politique migratoire indécise, Paris : FIDH, March 2015. https://www.fidh.org/IMG/pdf/rapport_maroc_migration_fr.pdf; and from the Rabat Process webpage, Towards a new Moroccan immigration policy <http://www.processusderabat.net/web/index.php/news-and-events/towards-a-new-moroccan-immigration-policy>. Data on the regularization campaign can also be found here: Martín, I. "Ten Years Afterwards, Is Morocco an Immigration Trailblazer Again?," in MPC Blog, 25 February 2015, <https://blogs.eui.eu/migrationpolicycentre/ten-years-afterwards-is-morocco-an-immigration-trailblazer-again/>
- 60 UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), Committee on Migrant Workers (CMW), Consideration of reports submitted by States parties under article 73 of the Convention. Initial reports of States parties due in 2004: Morocco (CMW/C/MAR/1), 1 November 2012, p. 60, <http://undocs.org/CMW/C/MAR/1>.
- 61 Since the Algerian authorities started applying visa restrictions in March 2015 on Syrians landing by plane in Algiers, some Syrians turned to Mauritania where they can still enter visa-free, before crossing the Sahara through Mali and Algeria in order to reach Morocco. Höjje, K. "The Long Way Round, Syrians Through the Sahel," IRIN News, 9 November 2015, <http://newir.in.irinnews.org/the-long-way-round>
- 62 Respectively 57 and 10 percent of all arrivals. The figures are taken from Tyszler, E. Ceuta et Melilla, centres de tri à ciel ouvert aux portes de l'Afrique, Rapport conjoint GADEM, Migreurop, La Cimade, APDHA, December 2015, p. 16 ; pp. 34-35.

Migration Policy Centre

The Migration Policy Centre at the European University Institute, Florence, conducts advanced research on global migration to serve migration governance needs at European level, from developing, implementing and monitoring migration-related policies to assessing their impact on the wider economy and society. The Migration Policy Centre is co-financed by the European Union.

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