



# Talent Abroad: A Review of Moroccan Emigrants

MOROCCO



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# **Talent Abroad: A Review of Moroccan Emigrants**

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## *Foreword*

Emigrants are often considered a loss for their country of origin but they can also play an important role in fostering trade and economic development, notably through the skills and contacts they have acquired abroad. If they choose to return, their reintegration into the labour market and society will be facilitated by the fact that they speak the local language, have specific social capital and possess local qualifications that are readily recognised by employers.

Drawing on the human resources of emigrants, however, necessitates maintaining links with them and pursuing policies adapted to the specific needs of each expatriate community. This entails, as a prerequisite, being able to identify precisely where, when and why people have left and what their socio-demographic characteristics and skills are, as well as gaining a proper understanding of the dynamics of the phenomenon and the aspirations of emigrants.

Statistical systems in countries of origin are generally poorly equipped to undertake this monitoring exercise. It is therefore helpful, if not essential, to compile information directly from destination country data sources. This is particularly challenging because it requires collecting data, based on comparable definitions and concepts, from a large number of countries across which emigrants are scattered. The *OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries* (DIOC), which pools census and survey data, makes it possible to identify individuals over time by place of birth as well as by education and labour market status. It is a powerful tool for use in undertaking this mapping exercise, especially when complemented by available national sources (e.g. consular data, specific surveys, analyses of social networks) and many other international data sources.

This series of country reviews entitled “Talent abroad” aims at providing an accurate, updated and dynamic picture of diasporas by individual countries of origin. On this basis, and by building on cumulated experiences regarding the movements of diasporas, it is

possible to formulate public policy recommendations on how best to engage with emigrants and mobilise their skills to support economic development in their country of origin.

The second volume in this series focuses on Morocco which, in recent years, has experienced fast-moving and far-reaching economic development. In view of the massive level of emigration by the Moroccan population in the 20th century, and the emergence of labour needs, the Moroccan authorities are seeking to gain a better understanding of this pool of talent based abroad. This review was commissioned by the Ministry in Charge of Moroccans Living Abroad and Migration Affairs (MMREAM) and Expertise France in the framework of the SHARAKA project, financed by the European Commission and co-financed by France and the Netherlands.

The SHARAKA project is part of the Mobility Partnership signed in June 2013 between Morocco, the European Union and nine Member States of the European Union (Belgium, Germany, Spain, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Sweden and the United Kingdom). The Partnership for Mobility offers a privileged dialogue and cooperation framework between European countries and Morocco, covering a wide range of issues of common interest to migration – reflecting the four pillars of the Global Approach to Migration and Mobility. SHARAKA aims to accompany Moroccan policies on migration, development and mobility through enhanced cooperation between European and Moroccan administrations. The goal is to optimise the beneficial effects of migration, both for Morocco and for the European Union. SHARAKA mobilises expertise from the seven Member State partners in response to the needs of Moroccan institutions.

The in-depth analysis of the Moroccan diaspora presented in this OECD publication helps determine the economic potential of emigrants. How many emigrants are there, and where are they based? Are they of working age, and what is their level of education? What are the recent trends in terms of their number and socio-economic profile? What is their labour market presence in the host country and which occupations do they hold? What drives them to emigrate, and who are the ones who return? How do they contribute to the economic development of Morocco?

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## ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

CCME	Council of the Moroccan Community Abroad ( <i>Conseil de la Communauté Marocaine à l'Étranger</i> )
CERED	Center for Demographic Studies and Research ( <i>Centre d'Études et de Recherches Démographiques</i> )
DIOC	OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries
ETF	European Training Foundation
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HCP	High Commission for Planning ( <i>Haut-Commissariat au Plan</i> )
INED-INSEE	National Institute for Demographic Studies (INED) and National Institute for Statistics and Economic Studies (INSEE)
ISCED Education	International Standard Classification of Education
ISCO	International Standard Classification of Occupations
LFS	Labour Force Survey
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
PIAAC	Programme for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies
RGPH	General Census of Population and Habitat ( <i>Recensement général de la population et de l'habitat</i> )
TeO	“Trajectories and Origins” survey
UOE	UNESCO-OCDE-Eurostat





## Executive summary

### The Moroccan diaspora is the tenth largest in the world

In 2010/11, around 2.6 million native-born Moroccans, representing 10% of Morocco's total population, were living in OECD countries, making them the tenth largest emigrant group worldwide and the largest group of emigrants from a country in the MENA region. Between 2000/01 and 2010/11, the number of Moroccan emigrants rose by 890 000, with most of the increase occurring in the first half of the decade. There is also a large population of native-born children of Moroccan emigrants, especially in some European countries with a longstanding tradition of Moroccan immigration. In 2014, there were over 830 000 native-born children of Moroccan emigrants aged 15 and above in a selection of European countries for which data are available.

### Around 90% of Moroccan emigrants live in Europe, primarily in France

Almost all of the Moroccan emigrants (98%) living in the OECD in 2010/11 are based in just ten countries, and 90% of them live in European countries. France, with one third of the Moroccan emigrant population (860 000), is the leading host country, followed by Spain (640 000) and Italy (320 000). Most of the other emigrants live in Belgium, the Netherlands, and Israel. Between 2000/01 and 2010/11, the population of Moroccan origin in Spain and Italy more than doubled, which largely explains the growth of the Moroccan diaspora as a whole over the period. Only a minority of Moroccan emigrants have acquired the nationality of their host country, and naturalisation rates are particularly low in Spain and Italy.

### Migration for family reasons and employment is dominant, while the number of internationally mobile students is stagnating

More than half of the Moroccan emigrants in Europe say that they emigrated for family reasons. The second most common reason is employment, which concerns 33% of the Moroccan emigrants in the Union European. A high proportion of Moroccans in Spain and Italy emigrated for

professional reasons (45% and 53% respectively), compared to only 14% in France and 18% in Belgium, where a longer tradition of emigration has resulted in waves of family migration. The number of internationally mobile Moroccan students exceeded 51 000 in 2012. Despite the fact that this figure has barely increased since 2009, Morocco remains the MENA country with the second highest number of internationally mobile students.

### **A recent downturn in Moroccan emigration...**

Legal annual migration flows from Morocco to the OECD area increased after 2000 to almost 160 000 persons in 2008. Until 2013, Morocco was the MENA country with the highest migration flows towards OECD countries. However, from 2008 to 2014, annual flows towards the OECD area fell steadily, down to 80 000 persons in 2014 – half as many as in 2008. This was the lowest flow towards the OECD area recorded since 2000.

### **... due mainly to a decline in emigration to Spain**

The fall in migration flows is mainly due to a decline in flows to Spain, which was the leading destination for Moroccan emigrants between 2003 and 2008. During this period, annual flows to Spain rose by over 50 000 people – an increase of almost 130% compared to 2003 – before falling by over 60 000 people between 2008 and 2010. This downward trend probably mirrors employment prospects in Spain following the economic crisis. Sharp falls in flows to Italy, Belgium and the Netherlands were also observed. At the same time, new destinations appeared: Canada, the Nordic countries, Austria and Switzerland, and even Japan and Korea.

### **Flows include a sizeable number of seasonal workers**

In 2012, labour migrants (permanent workers) and seasonal workers alone accounted for almost half of migrant flows towards France and Italy. Seasonal workers make up a significant proportion of migrant flows towards Spain, France and Italy. In total, around 10 000 seasonal workers entered these three countries in 2012, with Spain and France receiving more Moroccan seasonal workers than permanent labour migrants. According to estimates, permanent migrant flows from Morocco to the main European destination countries in 2012 mainly comprised young people who were unemployed in Morocco, two thirds of whom were women.

## **Feminisation and ageing of the Moroccan diaspora**

Despite a slight increase in the proportion of female Moroccan emigrants to 46% in 2010/11, their number remains much lower than the percentage of women in the other large diasporas in OECD countries. Nine out of ten Moroccan emigrants are of working age (15-64 years old), and half of them are aged between 25 and 44. Despite the predominance of younger people in recent flows, available data reveal an ageing of the Moroccan diaspora linked to the high levels of past flows and the relatively low number of people returning to Morocco. Between 2000/01 and 2010/11, the proportion of 15-24 year-olds and people of working age fell slightly, whereas there was an increase in the proportion of Moroccan emigrants aged 65 and over, from 8% to almost 11%.

## **Low educational attainment of Moroccan emigrants compared to other emigrants ...**

Across all OECD countries, 58% of Moroccan emigrants have low educational attainment (lower secondary education), i.e. 1.5 million people. The proportion of poorly educated emigrants is high in comparison with other emigrants (37% of emigrants from other MENA countries have low educational attainment). Moreover, Morocco is the MENA country with the highest proportion of poorly educated emigrants. In France, Moroccan emigrants have lower educational attainment than native-born nationals. They are over three times more likely to be poorly educated (9% for native-born nationals versus 28% for Moroccan emigrants) while there is less of a disparity for university graduates.

## **...especially in Europe...**

The distribution of Moroccan emigrants by level of education varies according to country of residence, and reflects successive waves of emigration. European countries, including Spain and Italy, contain the highest proportions of poorly educated Moroccan emigrants. In Spain, three out of four Moroccan emigrants have low educational attainment. In Belgium and the Netherlands, over one out of two Moroccan emigrants are poorly educated. In France, the percentage is slightly below 50% but remains very high, whereas in North America, the proportion of low-skilled Moroccan emigrants is much lower.

### **...while there are proportionally more highly educated Moroccan emigrants in North America**

Fewer than half a million Moroccan emigrants in OECD countries have completed higher education, i.e. 17% of the total. In Canada, however, almost two thirds of Moroccan emigrants are higher education graduates, and this is the case for 46% of their number in the United States. Along with the United Kingdom, these three countries seem to attract the largest number of highly educated Moroccan emigrants, as well as featuring among the countries where emigrants as a whole have the highest educational attainment.

### **An upwards trend in educational attainment ...**

In 2000/01, over 200 000 Moroccan emigrants had a high level of educational attainment (i.e. had completed higher education). By 2010/11, this figure had more than doubled (425 000). The proportion of Moroccan emigrants with a higher education degree rose from 14% to 17% between 2000/01 and 2010/11, while the proportion of poorly educated Moroccan emigrants fell from 62% to 58%. The upturn in the educational attainment is particularly visible among emigrants who arrived in the past five years. Between 2000/01 and 2010/11, the proportion of recent Moroccan emigrants with a higher education degree rose by 17 percentage points and the proportion with low educational attainment fell by 21 percentage points. The economic difficulties experienced by Southern European countries in particular contributed to making migration less attractive for poorly educated individuals, but the upward trend also reflects the increase in the level of education of the Moroccan population in general, and young people in particular.

### **... notably among female Moroccan emigrants**

Between 2000/01 and 2010/11, the number of female Moroccan emigrants with a higher education degree more than doubled, from 80 000 to over 180 000. This 125% growth in the number of highly educated female emigrants is 30 percentage points higher than the increase in the number of their highly educated male counterparts, which rose from 125 000 in 2000/01 to 245 000 in 2010/11. Conversely, the proportion of poorly educated female Moroccan emigrants fell by almost 4 percentage points over the same period, from over 64% to under 61%.

## **The children of Moroccan emigrants are better educated than their parents**

The children of Moroccan emigrants are better qualified than their parents, and only slightly less likely to complete a course of higher education than native-born nationals. Of the 830 000 children of Moroccan emigrants in a selection of European countries for which data are available, almost 265 000 have a high level of education (32% of the total) and almost 260 000 have a low level of education (31% of the total). Compared to the children of emigrants from the MENA region, the children of Moroccan emigrants are slightly less qualified. France has the largest population of children of Moroccan emigrants, with over 330 000 individuals aged between 18 and 60. They are, on average, better qualified than their parents. Despite their younger age, 20% have completed a course of higher education, and have at least three years' post-secondary education, while this is the case for just 17% of Moroccan emigrants.

## **Relatively low employment rates and high unemployment**

Almost half a million Moroccan emigrants in OECD countries are unemployed, which is equal to 29% of the total active Moroccan population in these countries. Underlying the relatively high participation of Moroccan emigrants in the labour market (67% of Moroccan emigrants were active in the labour market of OECD countries in 2010/11) are relatively low employment rates and high unemployment rates by comparison with native-born persons and also by comparison with other migrant groups. The employment rate of Moroccan emigrants, which stood at 47% in the countries of the OECD in 2010/11, remains relatively low compared to that of emigrants as a whole, and is lower than that of emigrants from the MENA region. This outcome is largely attributable to the distribution of Moroccan emigrants' characteristics in the different destination countries compared to other migrant groups. With the exception of the United States, the employment rates of Moroccan emigrants are relatively low in all their main host countries.

## **Moroccan emigrants have been badly hit by the economic crisis**

In all OECD countries, Moroccan emigrants have been particularly badly affected by the economic crisis. Their unemployment rate grew by close to ten percentage points between 2005/06 and 2010/11 while that of emigrants from the MENA region rose by only two percentage points and by one percentage point for the native-born population. Spain, which has the second largest population of Moroccan emigrants, is fairly representative of

the consequences of the 2007-08 economic crisis on this group: the unemployment rate of Moroccan emigrants in that country surged from 19% in 2005/06 to 56% in 2010/11.

### **Low-skilled Moroccan emigrants have the worst outcomes and have been the hardest hit by the economic crisis**

In 2010/11, more than one out of three active Moroccan emigrants with a low level of education was unemployed, a figure over twice as high as that for all emigrants with a comparable level of education and for native-born nationals with this level of education. At the same time, the unemployment rate of Moroccan emigrants with a low level of education is more than twice as high as for graduates of higher education (38% compared to 16% for graduates) and the gap in terms of employment rates between the two groups is 31 percentage points (33% compared to 64% for graduates). The deterioration of the labour market caused by the economic crisis had a greater impact on active Moroccan emigrants with a low level of education, who saw their level of unemployment increase by a factor of 1.6 between 2005/06 and 2010/11.

### **Few women are active on the labour market but the gender gap is closing over time**

In 2010/11, the employment rate of women reached 31% in the countries of the OECD, while this figure was 53% for men. The rate of unemployment of Moroccan women is also higher than that of Moroccan men in European countries, with the exception of Germany and the Netherlands, where unemployed male Moroccan emigrants outnumber unemployed female Moroccan emigrants. In Spain, despite an unemployment rate of 64% among female Moroccan emigrants, the highest level among the countries considered, the gap with male Moroccan emigrants remains moderate. Between 2005/06 and 2010/11, the unemployment rate increased by ten percentage points for male Moroccan emigrants and nine percentage points for female Moroccan emigrants, so that the gender gap shrank.

### **Difficulties with labour market integration also affect emigrants' children**

Compared to other children of emigrants on the European labour market, the children of Moroccan emigrants are more likely to be unemployed: 24% of them are unemployed compared to 16% of all emigrants in European countries. There are stark differences according to the level of education. The unemployment rate for children of Moroccan

emigrants having completed a course of higher education in European countries reaches 10% but rises to 57% for those with a low level of education, a figure more than five times as high. However, the children of Moroccan emigrants are still better integrated in the labour market than their parents.

### **Moroccan emigrants mostly work in low-skilled jobs...**

In all OECD countries, around a third of Moroccan emigrants are in low-skilled work. Women are more likely to hold such jobs: 35% of female Moroccan emigrants have an elementary occupation compared to 31% of their male counterparts. Men tend to have low-skilled jobs in industry while women have low-skilled jobs in home care services, a sector in which 26% of them are employed. The situation varies from country to country, with the Southern European countries having a relatively greater share of Moroccan emigrants in low-skilled jobs.

### **...but thousands work in high-skilled, specialised jobs**

Despite the predominance of Moroccan emigrants in low-skilled sectors, in some OECD countries a considerable proportion of them are qualified specialists. Moroccan emigrants are, for example, more strongly represented in some professions than emigrants generally, such as medicine and teaching. In these professions, Moroccans emigrate in substantial numbers: one Moroccan doctor in four and one nurse in five practises in an OECD country, amounting to 7 000 doctors and 7 300 nurses in 2010/11. In Canada, for example, many Moroccan emigrants are employed as specialists (16 000) and account for more than half of the number currently in employment.

### **Higher levels of overqualification for Moroccan emigrants in all host countries**

Across OECD countries, the rate of overqualification reaches 38% for Moroccan emigrants compared to just 28% for their native-born counterparts. Similarly, overqualification is higher among Moroccan emigrants than among emigrants in general, by almost four percentage points. Among the main destination countries for Moroccan emigrants, Italy stands out as having the highest gap between native-born persons and Moroccan emigrants: 81% of Moroccan emigrants having completed higher education are in low-skilled work, while this figure is just 21% for the native-born population. In a selection of European countries, the children of Moroccan emigrants are also more likely to be over-qualified than those

without a migration background, exhibiting an overqualification rate of 21%.

### **Many Moroccans, especially young people, are intending to emigrate**

Between 2007 and 2013, almost one third (29%) of Moroccans living in their home country said that they would like to move abroad permanently if they were able to do so. This is one of the highest percentages recorded in MENA countries; only conflict-ridden Lebanon and Syria exhibited slightly higher results. Among young people in Morocco in the age group 15-24, 45% say that they intend to emigrate, a percentage second only to that in neighbouring Tunisia. These very high results are probably related to young people's employment prospects, but also more generally to the situation on the Moroccan labour market, since the availability of jobs in Morocco is the single most influential factor for emigration intentions. Given the country's demographic structure and the situation on the labour market, the emigration of young people seems likely to pose a challenge in the future for the country and the authorities.

### **There is also a considerable potential for return migration...**

In the major destination countries, a significant share of Moroccan emigrants seems to be mobile, and could return to Morocco at least temporarily, according to their responses to the Gallup World Poll. By contrast, Moroccan emigrants who study abroad are rather unlikely to return to Morocco. Moroccan emigrants who choose to return to Morocco do not seem to encounter any particular difficulties, according to the results of the 2014 Moroccan population census. According to further survey results, those who returned of their own volition cited a preference for life in Morocco (especially after retirement), family reasons, economic opportunities in Morocco, or problems encountered in the destination country as the main reasons for their return.

### **...and the increasing number of return migrants consists mainly of women and young people**

The 2014 Moroccan census identified 135 000 people who were born in Morocco and emigrated before returning to live in Morocco. In addition to this number, there were 75 000 Moroccan nationals who were born abroad to Moroccan parents. Both groups together combined to a total around 30% higher than ten years earlier. This increase is partly attributable to a growing number of women in the group of return migrants, which is itself the result of the larger number of women emigrating from Morocco in the last ten



years. In terms of age, return migrants aged under 15 constituted the fastest-growing group, which partly reflects the “return” of mostly young people of the second generation. Conversely, first-generation emigrants returning to Morocco tend to be older than the general population and include a large share of pensioners aged over 64. The time spent abroad by emigrants before returning has fallen over the last two decades. Emigrants more frequently leave for between one and four years than in the past, and it is rarer for them to leave for longer periods of time (over 12 years).

### **Many return migrants have a high level of education, become entrepreneurs or work in high-skilled jobs**

First-generation Moroccan emigrants returning to Morocco have a significantly higher level of education than the general population in the country, and the level of education of return migrants was higher in 2014 than ten years earlier. Second-generation return migrants, despite being young, also have a higher level of education than the general population. The share of entrepreneurs is more than twice as high among return migrants as in the general population, while the shares of self-employed and salaried workers are equivalent to those in the general population. Return migrants swell the ranks of skilled labour, since those who possess a high level of education have particularly high employment rates.

### **A growing, heterogeneous and dynamic diaspora which represents significant potential for Morocco and needs to be managed according to its needs and aspirations**

The Moroccan diaspora is currently one of the largest in the world, and is particularly heterogeneous as a result of successive waves of migration. It consists of fairly diverse groups such as first-generation emigrants (defined as people who were born in Morocco and live abroad), the second generation (i.e. children born abroad to Moroccan parents), recent emigrants and settled emigrants, Moroccan students in OECD countries, those with higher or lower qualifications, and those who have emigrated for work, to study or to join their family. These groups have fairly diverse profiles, not only in terms of their characteristics, but also their potential mobility, their integration into the economic and social life of the destination country, their links to Morocco, their intentions to return and their aspirations. Morocco has a long history of policies aimed at maintaining ties to its diaspora, forging closer links with its members, facilitating exchanges between the home country and Moroccans living abroad, leveraging and promoting skills and nurturing the impact of emigration on the economic and social development of the country. The success of public policies in this field

depends on their adaptation to the different profiles of the diaspora and the adjustments they make to account for its needs and aspirations. The results of this report can serve as an empirical base for such policies and pave the way for new policy measures. Despite a recent decline in emigration flows from Morocco to OECD countries following the economic crisis in Europe, it is likely that these flows will recover if the emigration intentions expressed by Moroccans today materialise and if the conditions for integrating young people into the labour market do not improve.

### **Recent, detailed data are necessary for a good understanding of the Moroccan diaspora**

In order to draw a complete, precise picture of the Moroccan diaspora by destination country, it is essential to make use of a plethora of data from surveys and censuses. The advantage of the data used in this report, particularly those relating to the levels of Moroccan emigrants, is their comparability across different destination countries and timeframes, which provides the basis for detailed analyses of the changing size of the diaspora as well as its composition in terms of gender, age, level of education, reasons for emigrating and duration of stay in the destination country. Given the dynamic, rapidly changing nature of the diaspora, as shown in this report, it is necessary to be in a position to update this picture fairly regularly. The seldom consulted register of Moroccan consulates could in fact constitute an excellent source of additional data, the use of which would in the future allow the Moroccan diaspora to be better observed over time. Furthermore, the reasons cited by Moroccan nationals for registering could be examined with a view to incentivising their registration.

## *Chapter 1*

### **Numbers and locations of Moroccan emigrants**

*This chapter establishes the total numbers of Moroccan-born emigrants residing in OECD countries. The main destination countries of Moroccan emigrants are identified, and the chapter determines their composition by age and gender. Changes in numbers and locations between 2000/01 and 2010/11 are discussed. Comparisons are made notably between Moroccan-born individuals and Moroccan citizens living abroad as well as between Moroccan emigrants and other emigrants from major origin countries or from the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region. The chapter also presents evidence on emigrants' reasons for migration and on international students.*

The statistical data for Israel are supplied by and under the responsibility of the relevant Israeli authorities. The use of such data by the OECD is without prejudice to the status of the Golan Heights, East Jerusalem and Israeli settlements in the West Bank under the terms of international law.

After several waves of emigration, the population of Moroccan emigrants residing in OECD countries has become very heterogeneous and geographically dispersed. Most surveys can therefore only cover a part of this diaspora – limited to some destination countries, to a low number of observations, to certain characteristics. The data used in this chapter are based on censuses in OECD countries and are thus representative for all Moroccan emigrants in these countries. This allows for analyses that are both detailed and comparable across destination countries. The results of these analyses can therefore serve as a reliable empirical basis for the development of initiatives and policies targeting the Moroccan diaspora.

### **The tenth largest emigrant population in OECD countries**

Several estimates for the total number of Moroccans abroad have been advanced in recent years. The figure necessarily depends on who is counted as a Moroccan abroad (see Box 1.1 for a discussion of competing definitions). In this review, the term “Moroccan emigrants” is reserved for persons who were born in Morocco but reside abroad. Censuses carried out across OECD countries establish that close to 2.6 million Moroccan emigrants aged 15 and above resided in the OECD in 2010/11 (see Box 1.2 for a description of this and other data sources used in the review). When 140 000 Moroccan-born children aged below 15 are also counted, the total of Moroccan emigrants of all ages reaches 2.7 million. However, these children cannot (yet) play a role for economic development in Morocco, and they are not systematically covered by the available data sources. Therefore, adult Moroccan emigrants (aged 15 or above) will be the reference group in this review’s analyses and in comparisons with other emigrant population.

Moroccan emigrants were the tenth largest group of emigrants residing in OECD countries, as shown in Figure 1.1. In 2010/11, they accounted for 2.5% of all emigrants in the OECD area (see Table 1.A1.2 in the annex). A comparable number of emigrants originated from Turkey or Romania (2.6 million and 2.7 million emigrants, respectively). If one excludes OECD origin countries (notably Mexico), Moroccan emigrants were the fifth largest group behind emigrants from China, India, the Philippines and Romania.

### **Box 1.1. Competing definitions for Moroccans abroad**

There is no single definition that captures all those who might reasonably be regarded as Moroccans abroad. The definition most frequently used in the context of emigration identifies Moroccans abroad as persons who were born in Morocco but reside abroad. The main alternative is to identify them as Moroccan citizens who reside abroad.

Both definitions have advantages and disadvantages. The group of Moroccan-born persons does not include persons who were born elsewhere but hold Moroccan citizenship, such as children of Moroccan citizens abroad or persons who acquired Moroccan citizenship but do not live in Morocco. This definition does include persons who were born in Morocco to foreign parents and who reside abroad. The definition based on Moroccan citizenship does not include persons who were born in Morocco but either never obtained Moroccan citizenship or later gave it up. In the case of Morocco, a country with a long history of emigration, the definition based on citizenship could possibly be more relevant than that based on country of birth because the former would allow covering the second generation of emigrants.

Due to reasons of data availability, this review employs the definition based on country of birth, but also presents a number of results for Moroccan citizens. To clarify in every case which definition is used, the review refers to “Moroccan emigrants” or “Moroccan-born persons” whenever the definition based on country of birth is used. Those who hold Moroccan citizenship are always referred to as “Moroccan citizens”. The two groups strongly overlap: many Moroccan citizens abroad were also born in Morocco, and vice versa.

With this terminology, the group of Moroccan emigrants represents the first generation of emigrants – those who were themselves born in Morocco. The second generation of emigrants is then identified as the children of the first generation: persons who were themselves born abroad but have at least one parent born in Morocco. Employing this definition, the review offers some analyses and insights on the second generation (see e.g. the end of this chapter).

The available data sources (see Box 1.2) provide much less information on Moroccan citizens than on Moroccan emigrants. In particular, Moroccan citizens who were not born in Morocco cannot be identified in all OECD countries. By consequence, the total number of Moroccan citizens who reside in OECD countries cannot be established. Only for countries in the European Union, it is possible to identify persons who hold no other citizenship than that of Morocco but were not born in Morocco. As this group is found to be small (see below), the total number of Moroccan emigrants and the total number of Moroccan citizens abroad might be very similar.

The available data do allow determining the composition by citizenship for the group of Moroccan emigrants (see below). Only one citizenship is recorded for each person. When a person is a citizen of the OECD country of residence, this citizenship is often recorded. It cannot be verified how many of these persons are also citizens of Morocco. However, one can assume that nearly all Moroccan emigrants are also Moroccan citizens because Moroccan citizenship is normally acquired at birth and can be lost or given up only in exceptional circumstances. This implies that Moroccan emigrants recorded as citizens of OECD countries normally hold dual nationality.

### **Box 1.1. Competing definitions for Moroccans abroad** *(cont.)*

A caveat arises from using the place of residence in these definitions: persons who were born in Morocco, live there, but work abroad are not counted as Moroccan emigrants; likewise for Moroccan citizens. This concerns in particular residents of Morocco who engage in temporary or seasonal work in OECD countries. While temporary and seasonal workers are rarely thought of as emigrants, their number can be large.

In general, figures depend considerably on the definition used for Moroccans abroad. Notably the figures presented by the Government of Morocco are often based on the registry at Moroccan consulates and substantially exceed the figures obtained in this review, which are based on censuses in OECD countries (see Box 1.2). For example, the overall number based on the latest estimations of the Ministry in Charge of Moroccans Living Abroad and Migration Affairs stands at 4.5 million persons in 2016, while a total of 2.7 million persons in 2010/11 (including for some countries children aged below 15 years) is obtained from the OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries and non-OECD Countries (DIOC).

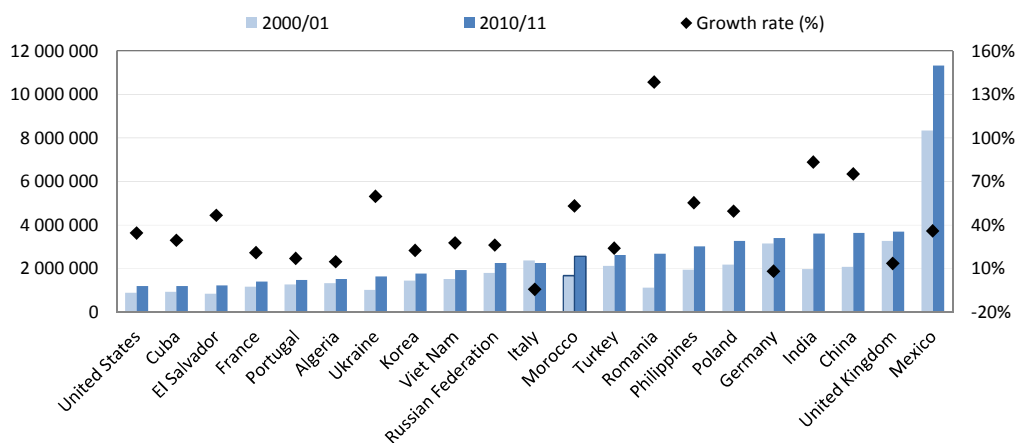
This difference probably arises from a number of factors, some of which are linked to the difference in definitions. The number based on the consular registry includes the descendants of Moroccan emigrants. By contrast, the Jews who emigrated from Morocco are not included (de Haas, 2007). Other factors relate to the characteristics of the data sets. The consular registry covers countries outside the OECD area, in particular in the MENA region. While not all Moroccans abroad are registered with the consulates, those who are often remain registered even after they have left again.

The definitions of other terms and variables used in this review are listed in Table 1.A1.1 in the annex.

From a level of close to 1.7 million in 2000/01, the number of Moroccan emigrants in the OECD has grown by 890 000 persons in the years to 2010/11, which translates into a growth rate of 53% (see Figure 1.1). During this period, it overtook the number of emigrants from Italy and from the Russian Federation. The growth rate of the Moroccan emigrant population was comparatively high, as significantly higher growth rates were only observed for emigrants from Romania (138%), India (83%) and China (75%). It was also well above the average growth rate (40%) for all origin countries shown in Figure 1.1. Most of the growth (590 000 persons) in the Moroccan emigrant population occurred between 2000/01 and 2005/06: a growth rate of 35% over this period raised the total number of Moroccan emigrants to 2.3 million by 2005/06, based on the same data (DIOC). Between 2005/06 and 2010/11, the Moroccan emigrant population grew by another 300 000 persons, or 13% of the level in 2005/06.

**Figure 1.1. Main countries of origin of migrants living in the OECD area, 2000/01 and 2010/11**

Total emigrant population aged 15 and above (left scale), growth 2000/01-2010/11 in percentages (right scale)



*Note:* The growth rate is the difference between the levels in 2000/01 and 2010/11, as a percentage of the level in 2000/01.

*Source:* OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2000/01 and 2010/11, [www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm](http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm).

### Box 1.2. Cross-country data sources

Since emigrants are scattered across many countries, comparative analyses on emigrants require cross-country data sets. To ensure that valid comparisons can be drawn between emigrants across countries, the definitions used and the standards of data collection must not differ too much from one country to another. Further, sample sizes must be large enough so that emigrants from one particular country are included in the sample although they typically represent a very small share of the destination country's population.

The often unique data sources used for the analyses in this review meet these requirements. Where sample sizes are too small, data will be aggregated across countries to allow at least some general inference. Each data source can provide information on a different aspect of emigration from Morocco, as described below for each cross-country data source. The cross-country analyses are complemented by analyses using detailed data sets on only one particular country. At the end of every chapter in this review, links to further information are given for the data sources that have been mentioned in the chapter.

### **Box 1.2. Cross-country data sources (cont.)**

#### **OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC), 2000/01, 2005/06 and 2010/11**

The Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) covers the OECD destination countries for which data were collected in 2000/01, 2005/06 and 2010/11. The principal sources of DIOC data are national administrative registers and population censuses. In the censuses carried out in 2000/01, virtually all OECD countries collected information on immigrants' country of origin, so that it became possible for the first time to gain a comprehensive overview of migrant stocks in OECD countries (for more background information on DIOC, see Dumont and Lemaître, 2005). When censuses were either unavailable or incomplete, data from labour force surveys were used as a substitute.

For three points in time, 2000/01, 2005/06 and 2010/11, DIOC contains information on the population aged 15 and above from over 200 origin countries who reside in OECD destination countries. The core variables are country of residence, country of birth, sex and educational attainment. Further variables – age, duration of stay, labour force status and occupation – can be cross-tabulated with the core variables, but not always with each other and not for the data from 2005/06. Data on employment and occupation are by and large available for the population aged 15 and above. In some sections of the review, the focus is on persons of working age, that is those aged between 15 and 64.

Information on citizenship is offered by two variables. One indicates whether a person is citizen of the country of residence or a foreigner; this variable is filled for most OECD countries, but notably not for Israel and Switzerland. A second variable provides more detailed information, but is filled for only ten OECD countries, including France, Spain, Italy and Belgium. Dual citizenship is not recorded. Further information on DIOC can be found in Arslan et al. (2014).

#### **OECD International Migration Database, 2000-14**

Largely based on the individual contributions of national correspondents (the OECD Expert Group on Migration), this database covers legal migration flows on a yearly basis. The network of correspondents covers most OECD member countries as well as the Baltic States, Bulgaria and Romania. The data have not necessarily been harmonised at the international level and should therefore be interpreted with caution. For example, flows to the United States include only permanent migrants, while others might also include temporary migrants such as seasonal workers, students, or refugees. In addition, the criteria for registering the population and conditions for granting residence permits vary across countries, so that measurements may differ greatly. Finally, irregular migrants are only partially covered.

#### **OECD Programme for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies (PIAAC)**

PIAAC is a survey of adults of working age (16 to 65 years) that aims to assess their competencies in an internationally comparable framework. Tests focus on competencies required to participate effectively in society and to function in the workplace. Competencies are tested in literacy, numeracy, and the ability to solve problems in a technology-rich



environment. This is complemented by survey questions on how the adults use their skills at home or at work. In 2011/12, the survey was simultaneously implemented in 24 countries, almost all of which are OECD members. In Belgium, only Flanders is covered, and only England and Northern Ireland in the United Kingdom. Seven research institutes have been entrusted with the implementation, and in most of the participating countries, samples included 5 000 individuals.

### **European Labour Force Survey (EU LFS)**

To produce the annual European Labour Force Survey, Eurostat merges household survey data from the 28 member countries of the European Union, three EFTA countries (Norway, Switzerland and Iceland), as well as Turkey and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. The stock data in the European Labour Force Survey notably cover the labour force status, age, sex, occupation and educational attainment of individuals aged 15 and above. For migrants, the elapsed duration of stay is recorded as years of residence in the current country of residence. Citizenship information from this data source also allows identifying Moroccan citizens who were not born in Morocco. Dual citizenship is not recorded and citizenship of an EU country is recorded whenever possible.

In two years (2008 and 2014), the European Labour Force Survey was extended by an ad-hoc module (AHM) that oversampled migrants and introduced a small number of additional questions specifically to explore the situation of migrants and their families. From these data, information on the category of migrants is available (labour migrant, family migrant, international student, humanitarian migrant) and can be cross-tabulated with several variables, including education, employment status and duration of stay. However, some European countries (Denmark, Ireland and the Netherlands) are not covered in the ad-hoc module in 2014 and the data for Germany were not available at the time when this review was written.

Based on information about the mother's and father's country of birth, children of Moroccan emigrants – the second emigrant generation – can be identified in the 2014 ad-hoc module. However, these data were obtained as aggregates across the EU countries covered, so that the number of second-generation Moroccan emigrants cannot be established by country. The total for the European Union is only an approximation to the true total of the second generation: members of the second generation who were born outside the EU country where they reside cannot be distinguished from persons born in Morocco to Moroccan parents.

### **Gallup World Poll Data**

The Gallup World Poll covers a large range of behavioural and economic topics. It is conducted in approximately 140 countries based on a common questionnaire, translated into the predominant language of each country. Each year since 2006, more than 100 questions have been asked of a representative sample of around 1 000 persons aged 15 and above. In some countries, Gallup collects oversamples in cities or regions of special interest. A total of 6 000 observations have been collected from Morocco (1 000 each in 2010 and 2013, and 2 000 each in 2011 and 2012). There are in total 550 observations on Moroccan emigrants who were surveyed in their destination countries between 2009 and 2014 (between 80 and 120 observations in each year); 340 of these observations were collected in OECD countries. Some countries account for many observations (Israel, United Arab Emirates, France, Belgium, Spain and Bahrain); hardly any observations were collected in Germany, the United States or the United Kingdom.

### **Box 1.2. Cross-country data sources (cont.)**

#### **International Students (UOE data collection)**

The UNESCO-OECD-Eurostat (UOE) data collection on education statistics is compiled from national administrative sources, as reported by ministries of education or national statistical offices. To capture student mobility, a distinction is made between resident foreign students – that is to say, foreign students who are resident in the country because of prior migration by themselves or their parents – and non-resident foreign students, who came to the country expressly to pursue their education. International students are defined as students with permanent residence outside the reporting country, and data on non-citizen students are used only where information on non-resident foreign students is unavailable. Data on international students are only available from 2004 onwards.

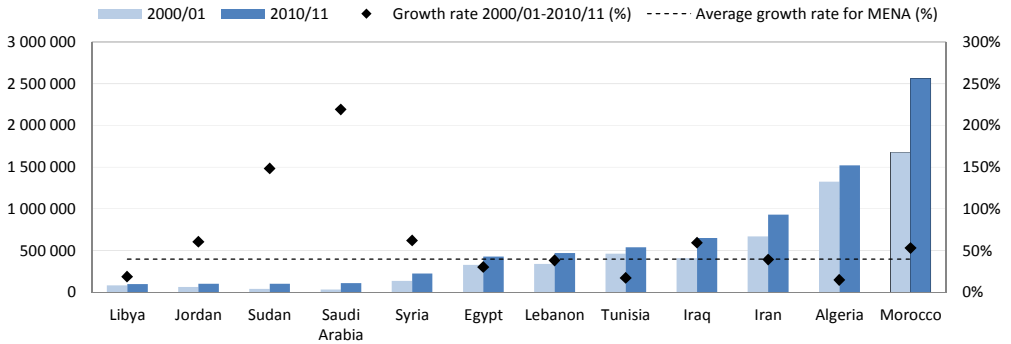
#### ***Morocco is the main origin of emigrants from the MENA region***

In the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, Morocco was by far the main origin country for emigrants in OECD countries in 2010/11 (see Figure 1.2). Moroccan emigrants alone accounted for one-third of the 8 million emigrants from the MENA region in 2010/11 (see OECD, 2015a). Already in 2000/01, the group of Moroccan emigrants was the largest from the MENA region, but the group of Algerian emigrants reached a comparable size (1.3 million persons). Between 2000/01 and 2010/11, however, the group of emigrants from Morocco grew at a rate above the average growth rate for the MENA region (which is 40%) while the group of Algerian emigrants grew by only 15%, creating a large difference between the two groups by 2010/11. The emigrant populations of all main origin countries in the MENA region have grown, in several cases at higher growth rates than observed for Moroccan emigrants. However, levels of these emigrant populations have remained much below the size of the emigrant population from Morocco.

The number of Moroccan emigrants also appears large in relation to the domestic population and economy of Morocco. In 2010/11, the emigrants accounted for 10% of the total population (see Figure 1.3). This emigration rate was twice that of neighbouring Algeria (5%). Among the main origin countries, higher emigration rates than for Morocco were only observed for El Salvador (23%), Portugal (14%), Romania (14%) and Mexico (12%). Compared to 2000/01, the emigration rate for Morocco had increased by two percentage points (see figures for Morocco in OECD, 2015a).

**Figure 1.2. Main MENA origin countries of migrants living in the OECD area, 2000/01 and 2010/11**

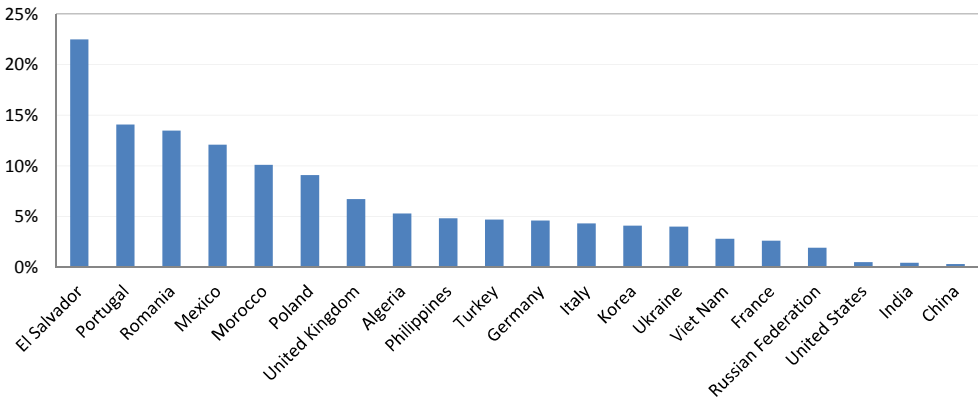
Total emigrant population aged 15 and above (left scale), growth 2000/01-2010/11 in percentages (right scale)



Note: The average growth rate for MENA countries is based on figures reported for the MENA region in OECD (2015), *Connecting with Emigrants: A Global Profile of Diasporas 2015*.

Source: OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2000/01 and 2010/11, [www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm](http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm).

**Figure 1.3. Emigration rates for main origin countries of emigration to the OECD area, 2010/11**



Note: A country’s emigration rate is defined as the number of persons born in the country and residing abroad, divided by the total number of persons born in the country, wherever they reside.

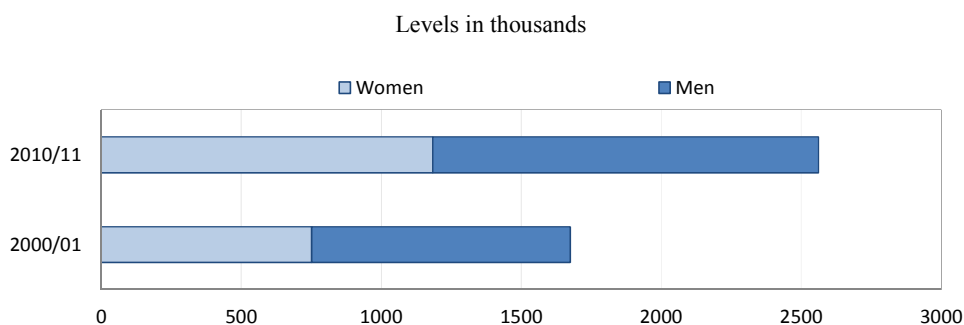
Source: OECD (2015), *Connecting with Emigrants: A Global Profile of Diasporas 2015*, OECD Publishing, Paris, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264239845-en>.

## The emigrants' demographic composition has hardly changed

Among Moroccan emigrants in the OECD area in 2010/11, there were significantly more men (1.4 million) than women (1.2 million), as shown in Figure 1.4. In 2000/01, the number of women had been 750 000 and that of men 920 000. The share of women has therefore increased slightly, from just below 45% in 2000/01 to just over 46% in 2010/11. This implies that especially women contributed more strongly towards the rise in the overall number of Moroccan emigrants: the number of women grew by 58% between 2000/01 and 2010/11, while the number of men grew by 49%.

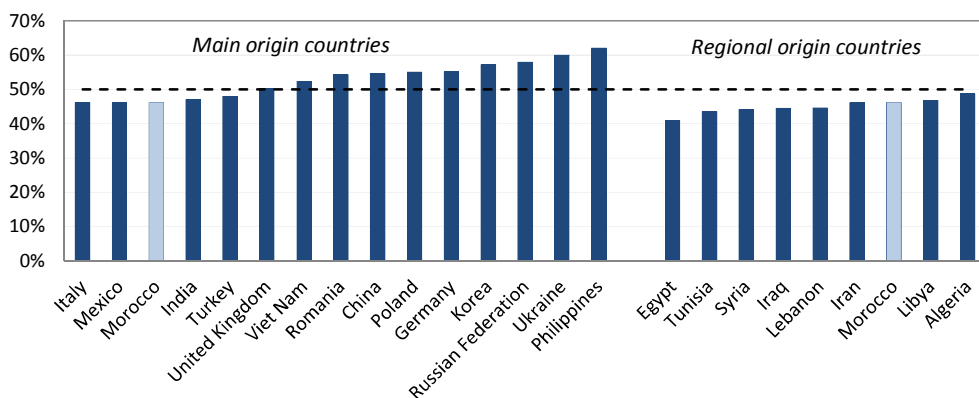
Nevertheless, the share of women among Moroccan emigrants remained low compared to emigrants from other main origin countries (see Figure 1.5). While women accounted for comparable shares among emigrants from Mexico, Italy and India, most main origin countries exhibited higher shares of women among the emigrants, even 60% and more in the case of Ukraine and the Philippines. Among emigrants from the main origin countries in the MENA region, shares of women were similarly low as among Moroccan emigrants, as Figure 1.5 also shows. Among emigrants from neighbouring Mali and Mauritania, women accounted for only 36% and 26%, respectively (see Table 1.A1.3 in the annex).

**Figure 1.4. Gender composition of Moroccan emigrants in OECD countries, 2000/01 and 2010/11**



Source: OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2000/01 and 2010/11, [www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm](http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm).

**Figure 1.5. Share of women among emigrants from main and regional origin countries, 2010/11**



Source: OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2000/01 and 2010/11, [www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm](http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm).

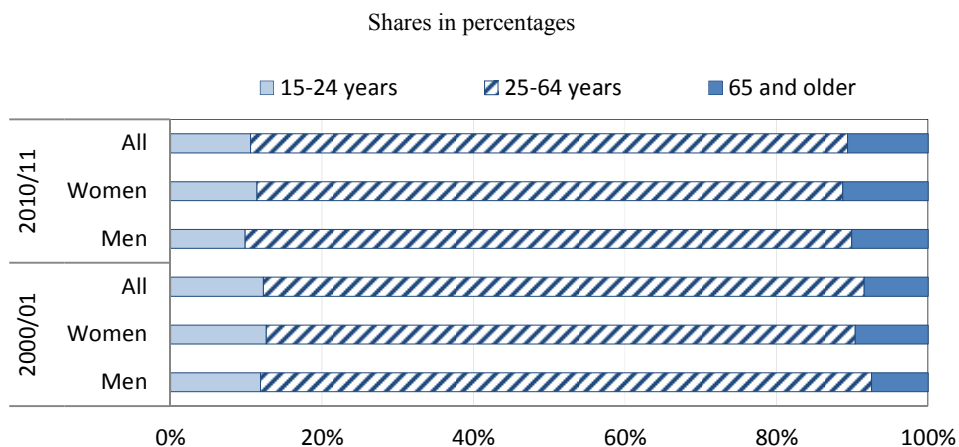
### ***Nine out of ten Moroccan emigrants are of working age***

Moroccan emigrants who are of working age (i.e. between 15 and 64 years old) may be most likely to play an economic role for development in Morocco, because they are available for jobs in Morocco or because they have acquired skills and networks through their current economic activities. In 2010/11, almost 90% of adult Moroccan emigrants in the OECD area were of working age, as shown in Figure 1.6. Those aged 15-24 alone accounted for 11%, while those aged 25-64 accounted for 79%. Because many in the former age group might still be in education, the latter age group may be regarded as prime working age. Within the group of prime working age, younger age groups dominate: age groups 25-34 and 35-44 represented 22% and 24% of Moroccan emigrants, respectively, while age groups 45-55 and 55-64 represented 19% and 14%.

Despite the predominance of younger age groups, Figure 1.6 also provides evidence of an ageing process among Moroccan emigrants between 2000/01 and 2010/11. The share of those aged 15-24 has fallen slightly over this time, from more than 12% to under 11%. The share of working-age Moroccan emigrants has also fallen – in 2000/01, it had approached 92%. The share of Moroccan emigrants aged 65 and above has grown accordingly, from 8% to close to 11%. This ageing process has been more pronounced for men, among whom the share aged 65 and above increased more than among women, and the share aged 15-24 decreased more than among women. In comparison to emigrants from some other main origin

countries or from other origin countries in the MENA region, the age distribution of Moroccan emigrants does not appear extreme (see Table 1.A1.2 and Table 1.A1.3 in the annex).

**Figure 1.6. Age distribution of Moroccan emigrants in OECD countries, 2000/01 and 2010/11**



*Note:* The base quantity does not include Moroccan emigrants aged below 15.

*Source:* OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2000/01 and 2010/11, [www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm](http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm).

### ***Women and youth are more frequent among recent emigrants***

Emigrants who arrived in their respective destination country within the past five years can be considered recent emigrants. They reflect more recent migration waves and usually are more mobile than settled migrants, often staying only for a few years before returning or moving on. Among the Moroccan emigrants, 16% were recent emigrants in 2010/11, the same share as in 2000/01 (based on DIOC data). Shares of recent emigrants are similar for most of the origin countries in the MENA region (see Table 1.A1.3 in the annex).

More detailed information on recent Moroccan emigrants is available for EU countries, based on the European Labour Force Survey (see Box 1.2 for a description). These data indicate that the share of recent emigrants among Moroccan emigrants in EU countries fell from 14% in 2010 to 9% in 2014, partly a result of much fewer Moroccan emigrants being counted as recent emigrants in Spain (45 000 in 2014, compared with almost 150 000 in 2010). Women appear to be more frequent among recent emigrants than

among settled emigrants: in 2014, 54% of the recent Moroccan emigrants in EU countries were female, compared to 47% of the settled emigrants. Chapter 2 finds that married women were particularly frequent in the migration flow from Morocco to EU countries in 2012, possibly indicating migration for the reason of family formation. Recent Moroccan emigrants in EU countries also tend to be younger than the settled emigrants: based on the same data for 2014, 28% of the recent emigrants were aged 15 to 24, compared to only 8% of the settled emigrants. Two-thirds of the recent emigrants were younger than 35, while only 28% of the settled emigrants were. These results are partly driven by high numbers of young recent emigrants in Spain and Italy (in total, 65 000 aged 15-34 in 2014), but it is frequently observed that younger persons are more mobile than older persons, so that they are overrepresented among recent emigrants.

### The distribution across destination countries

Almost all Moroccan emigrants (98%) observed in the OECD area in 2010/11 resided in only ten countries (see Table 1.1). France alone hosted one-third of all Moroccan emigrants in the OECD area: at 860 000, the number of Moroccan emigrants in France was considerably higher than in any other country. Large numbers of Moroccan emigrants also resided in Spain (640 000) and Italy (320 000). These three countries together accounted for more than 70% of Moroccan emigrants in the OECD area. Another three countries accounted for most of the remainder (19%): Belgium (180 000 Moroccan emigrants), the Netherlands (150 000) and Israel (140 000). Germany, the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom all hosted between 20 000 and 90 000 Moroccan emigrants in 2010/11. As far as the available data allow, Table 1.A1.4 in the annex gives the numbers of Moroccan emigrants across OECD countries, indicating further notable destination countries: Switzerland (12 000 Moroccan emigrants), Sweden (6 000), Denmark and Norway (about 5 000 each).

Figure 1.7 depicts how the numbers of Moroccan emigrants have changed in the main destination countries between 2000/01 and 2010/11. Levels in most of these countries have grown considerably, but they have risen most sharply in Spain and Italy, where already considerable numbers of Moroccan emigrants more than doubled over this period. In absolute terms, the number of Moroccan emigrants in Spain increased by 360 000 and by 180 000 in Italy. An increase of almost the same magnitude (170 000) was observed in France. France was already hosting 690 000 Moroccan emigrants in 2000/01 (then even accounting for 41% of all in the OECD area), so that the observed increase corresponds to growth by one-quarter. A fall in the number of Moroccan emigrants was only observed in Israel, reflecting that emigration to Israel mainly consisted of one large wave

decades ago (see Box 1.3). High growth rates but coupled with limited increases in absolute terms were observed in Belgium, Germany, the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom. In the case of Canada, the growth rate reached 114%, which mainly reflects strongly increasing emigration to the French-speaking province of Quebec (see de Haas, 2007). The results obtained by Aparicio-Fenoll and Kuehn (2016) underline more generally the importance of speaking the local language for the choice of destination country.

**Table 1.1. Main destination countries for Moroccan emigrants aged 15 and above, 2010/11 and 2000/01**

	2010/11			2000/01		
	Total (thousands)	% of all Moroccan emigrants	% recent (≤5 years)	Total (thousands)	% of all Moroccan emigrants	% recent (≤5 years)
France	858.2	33.5	7.3	686.3	41.0	4.4
Spain	643.4	25.1	25.2	278.5	16.6	38.6
Italy	321.4	12.5	23.8	137.7	8.2	34.0
Belgium	184.3	7.2	25.5	113.7	6.8	20.1
Netherlands	151.7	5.9	6.1	132.0	7.9	7.8
Israel	137.7	5.4	0.5	169.8	10.1	
Germany	87.9	3.4	10.7	52.8	3.2	0.0
United States	63.6	2.5	16.3	38.7	2.3	32.9
Canada	52.3	2.0	31.8	24.4	1.5	23.3
United Kingdom	21.3	0.8	22.5	11.9	0.7	

*Note:* Information on recent emigrants in 2000/01 is not available for Israel and the United Kingdom.

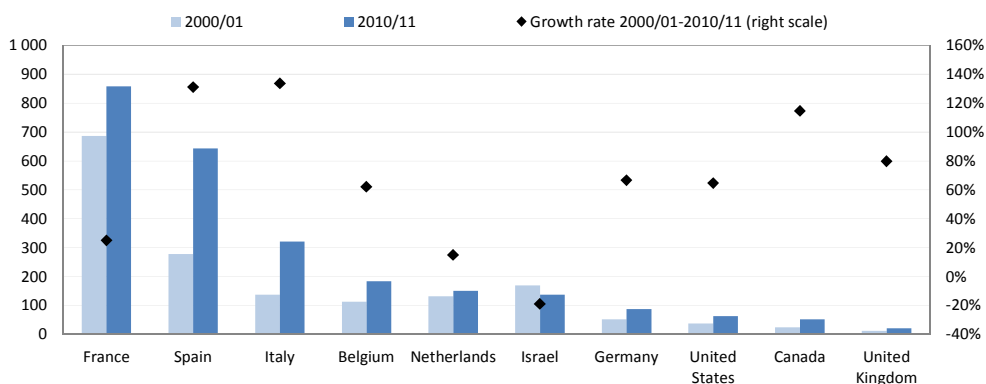
*Source:* OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2000/01 and 2010/11, [www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm](http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm).

The very strong increase in the number of Moroccan emigrants in Spain is likely associated with a number of factors. Strong growth in labour-intensive sectors such as construction, agriculture and domestic services attracted migrants in search of work, especially so in neighbouring Morocco where incomes were a fraction and youth unemployment was high (see OECD, 2003; and Izquierdo Escribano, 2008). Given this demand for labour and the existence of a considerable shadow economy, also low-qualified workers could find employment without too much difficulty (see OECD, 2003). Figures from Spain's Active Population Survey for 2005 (cited in Izquierdo Escribano, 2006) indicate that 44% of Moroccan citizens working in Spain were found in unskilled occupations, 28% worked in trade and industry and 11% were service workers. In addition, according to this study, 82 000 Moroccans in Spain were enrolled as students in the academic year 2005/06.



**Figure 1.7. Main destination countries of Moroccan emigrants in the OECD area, 2000/01 and 2010/11**

Moroccan emigrants aged 15 and above in thousands (left scale); change in the 2000/01-2010/11 period in percentages (right scale)



Source: OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2000/01 and 2010/11, [www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm](http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm).

Some of the same factors played a role for the strong rise of Moroccan emigrants in Italy. In addition to a certain geographical proximity, large numbers of migrants could over years enter Italy and find work, with or without legal permission (see OECD, 2005). Among 200 000 employed Moroccan citizens observed in Italy in 2008, 49% worked in industry, 43% in services and 7% in agriculture (see CENSIS, 2008). The number of self-employed Moroccan citizens rose from 25 000 in 2007 to 53 000 in 2011, and very many of them were active in trade and repair (see CENSIS, 2007 and 2011). The labour market situation of Moroccan emigrants, including those in Spain and Italy, is discussed in detail in Chapter 4 of this review. Over the years, Italian policy makers offered a series of regularisations, which also benefited large numbers of Moroccan emigrants (see OECD, 2005).

The rapid increases in the number of Moroccan emigrants are often reflected by a high share of recent emigrants (i.e. those who arrived within the previous five years), as shown in Table 1.1. Among those in Italy and Spain, about one-quarter were recent emigrants in 2010/11. A comparable share of recent emigrants in the United Kingdom and a share of 32% in Canada point to a new dynamic of Moroccan emigration to these countries – in 2000/01, there were hardly any recent emigrants from Morocco in these countries. The high share of recent emigrants in Belgium helps explain why

substantially more Moroccan emigrants were residing there in 2010/11 than in the Netherlands, although these two countries had hosted roughly similar numbers of Moroccan emigrants in 2000/01.

### **Box 1.3. Emigration from Morocco to Israel**

While about 250 000 Jews lived in Morocco in 1948, 220 000 of them had migrated to Israel by 1964, according to Laskier (1989). Immigration of Jews and their families to Israel was promoted through the “Law of Return”, which entitled them to receive Israeli citizenship upon arrival (see OECD, 2011). Their emigration to Israel began after 1945 but was initially clandestine and limited. When the growing struggle against the French colonial power spread in 1954 and also affected Jewish communities, the outflow of Jewish emigrants rose from about 8 000 in 1954 to 25 000 in 1955 and 36 000 in 1956, the year of Moroccan independence (see Laskier, 1989). Jews emigrated to Israel in large numbers during the following years, about 100 000 between 1961 and 1964 alone (see Trevisan Semi, 2010). In the early 1960s, Morocco was therefore one of the main origin countries of immigration to Israel (see OECD, 2011).

This background of Moroccan emigrants in Israel is strongly reflected in the Gallup World Poll data (see Box 1.2 for a description). More than 120 Moroccan emigrants were surveyed in Israel between November 2010 and October 2014. All of them declare to be of Jewish faith (and their faith is important to 60% of them). None of them indicate to be a recent emigrant (in line with the lack of recent emigrants shown in Table 1.1). Three-quarters are aged 55 and above, while almost no-one is younger than 35. More than one-half do not participate (anymore) in the labour market.

The Moroccan emigrants in Israel report overall high levels of life satisfaction: on a scale from 1 (worst) to 10 (best possible), 90% rate their “life today” at 6 or higher, and 61% are satisfied with the freedom to do what they want in their life. Van Oudenhoven and Eisses (1998) argue that, due to the shared faith, it was comparatively easy for Moroccan emigrants in Israel to be accepted by the majority of society. At the same time, there is no evidence in the Gallup World Poll data that Moroccan emigrants in Israel still have social ties to their country of birth or any intention of returning there. However, Trevisan Semi (2010) reports circumstantial evidence that an emotional bond remains and that many explore their family history as tourists.

In some destination countries, the number of Moroccan emigrants was large enough to make up a significant share of the total foreign-born population in these countries (see Table 1.A1.4 in the annex). In France, Spain and Belgium, 13% of the foreign-born population in 2010/11 were born in Morocco. In the Netherlands, Moroccan emigrants represented 10% of the foreign-born population, while they accounted for 8% and 7% in Israel and Italy, respectively. In all other destination countries, Moroccan emigrants did not make up more than 1% of the foreign-born population. Where emigrants from the same country are sufficiently frequent, an own expatriate community may be viable. Such communities support emigrants

by providing goods and services known from the country of origin, but they might slow down the acquisition of the host country language and integration more generally. Chapter 3 considers social ties of Moroccan emigrants as one indicator of their integration, and Chapter 4 examines their labour market performance.

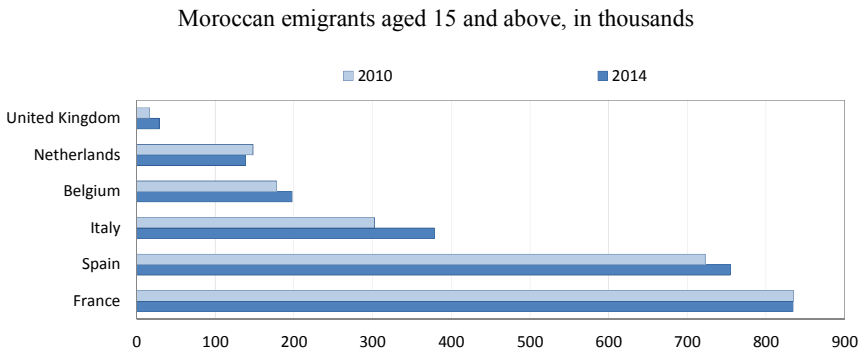
### ***Close to 90% of all Moroccan emigrants in the OECD area are in Europe***

Already in 2000/01, European OECD countries hosted the vast majority of Moroccan emigrants (86%), according to DIOC data. While the total number of Moroccan emigrants in non-European OECD countries has remained by and large stable between 2000/01 and 2010/11, the number has grown considerably in European OECD countries. By consequence, the share of Moroccan emigrants residing in Europe has increased further and approached 90% (corresponding to 2.3 million) in 2010/11. This shift has, however, not altered the importance of the ten main destination countries: collectively, they accounted for 98% of all Moroccan emigrants in the OECD in 2000/01 as much as in 2010/11. Among the main destination countries, especially the high growth rates observed in Spain and Italy drove the shift towards European OECD countries, as these rates exceeded the growth rates in the United States and Canada (see Figure 1.7). Another factor was the negative growth that occurred in Israel, the non-European OECD country with the largest number of Moroccan emigrants.

For most of the European countries among the ten main destination countries, the European Labour Force Survey (see Box 1.2) provides data on how the number of Moroccan emigrants has evolved after 2010, shown in Figure 1.8. The levels for 2010 in Figure 1.8 allow for comparisons to the levels given in Table 1.1, based on DIOC data: the latter are somewhat higher for most countries, but substantially lower for Spain. Such differences likely arise because methods of data collection differ between labour force surveys and censuses. While the levels derived from the two data sources therefore do not match, it is likely that both data sources have increases or decreases of significant magnitude in common.

Figure 1.8 then suggests that the number of Moroccan emigrants in Italy has increased substantially (+76 000, or one-quarter) between 2010 and 2014, while only slight increases appear to have occurred in Spain (+32 000) and Belgium (+20 000). Another slight increase in absolute terms in the United Kingdom (+12 000) constitutes a large increase in relative terms (+73%). In France, the number of Moroccan emigrants does not appear to have changed, while a slight fall (-9 000) is observed for the Netherlands. The European countries that were main destination countries of Moroccan emigrants in 2010 thus continued to be in 2014 and together likely hosted a higher number in 2014 than in 2010.

**Figure 1.8. Moroccan emigrants in the main European destination countries, 2010 and 2014**



*Note:* Figures by country of birth are not available for Germany from this data source.

*Source:* Labour Force Surveys (Eurostat) 2010 and 2014.

### Who is where? Differences between destination countries

There are notable differences across the main destination countries in the composition of Moroccan emigrants by age and gender (see Figure 1.9 and Table 1.A1.4 in the annex). At 53%, the share of women in 2010/11 was highest in Italy and Israel. In most main destination countries, women represented between 42% and 49% of all Moroccan-born emigrants. A lower share (40%) was only observed in Germany. While the share of women thus varied, men were the majority in almost all main destination countries.

Moroccan emigrants in the age group 15-24 were particularly frequent in Italy and Spain, where they respectively accounted for 15% and 17% of all Moroccan emigrants (see Figure 1.9 and Table 1.A1.4 in the annex). This partly arises from the high number of recent migrants in Italy and Spain: 27% and 33%, respectively, of the Moroccan emigrants aged 15-24 in Italy and Spain were recent emigrants, based on data from the European Labour Force Survey for 2011. By contrast, Moroccan emigrants aged 15-24 made up less than 5% in the Netherlands (see Figure 1.9 and Table 1.A1.4 in the annex). In Israel, virtually none of the Moroccan emigrants belonged to this age group; instead, those aged 65 and above represented a share of 40%. The age group 65 and above also accounted for substantial shares in France (15%) and Belgium (11%). Moroccan emigrants of working age (15 to 64) made up the largest majorities in the Netherlands (93%), the United Kingdom (87%) and Germany (86%). Table 1.A1.5 in the annex presents

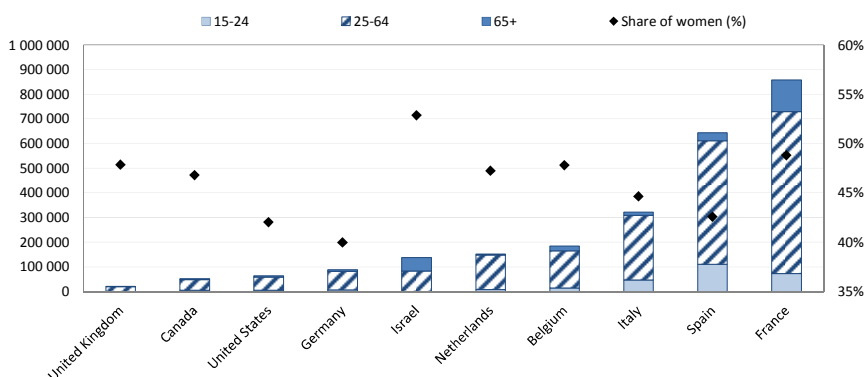
detailed figures by age group and shows that children (aged below 15 years) are relatively frequent in Spain, Canada and Italy.

An alternative approach to differences between destination countries is to examine whether the ranking of destination countries differs across groups of Moroccan emigrants. For example, do women emigrate to other countries than men? This does not appear to be the case: the set of ten main destination countries in 2010/11 was the same for men and women, according to the DIOC data, and their rankings of these ten countries hardly differed.

There are more pronounced differences between the rankings of destination countries for recent emigrants and settled emigrants. In 2010/11, the largest number of recent Moroccan emigrants resided in Spain and Italy, followed by France (based on DIOC data). Belgium and Canada were in fourth and fifth position, respectively. Among settled migrants, however, France ranked first followed by Spain and Italy, while the Netherlands were in fourth position ahead of Belgium. At the same time, the set of the ten main destination countries differed by only one country between recent and settled emigrants: Israel was not among the ten main destination countries of recent Moroccan emigrants, as emigration from Morocco to Israel by and large occurred decades ago (see Box 1.3). Instead, Switzerland was in tenth position in the ranking for recent Moroccan emigrants, hosting approximately 4 000. Further trends and developments among Moroccan emigrants are examined in Chapter 2 of this review.

**Figure 1.9. Moroccan emigrants in the main destination countries by gender and age, 2010/11**

Moroccan emigrants aged 15 and above (left scale); share of women in percentages (right scale)



*Note:* The underlying figures can be found in Tables 1.A1.4 and 1.A1.5 in the annex.

*Source:* OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2010/11, [www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm](http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm).

## Most Moroccan emigrants are family or labour migrants

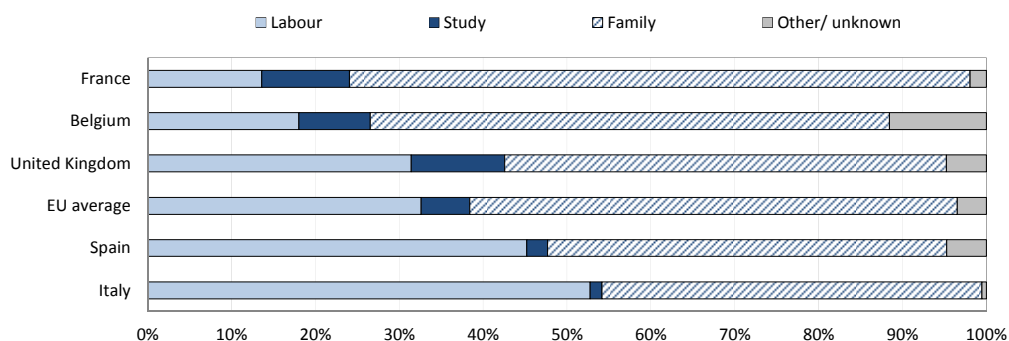
For Moroccan emigrants in the EU (except Denmark, Germany, Ireland and the Netherlands), the motive for migration can be determined from the 2014 ad-hoc module of the European Labour Force Survey (see Box 1.2). Figure 1.10 shows the main reason for migration given by Moroccan emigrants in main European destination countries and in the European Union as a whole. These self-declared reasons do not correspond to migration channels, but also include responses from those who have arrived as irregular migrants. One also has to keep in mind that these distributions do not necessarily reflect the motives that brought Moroccan emigrants to the respective destination country, but rather the motives of those who still resided in the destination country in 2014. The available information on migration flows to the main destination countries is presented in Chapter 2.

Family reasons were given most often, by 58% of the Moroccan emigrants in the European Union and by 74% of those in France (see Figure 1.10). Labour was the second most-frequent reason given, accounting for 33% across the European Union. High shares of labour migrants in Spain and Italy (45% and 53%, respectively) contrast with low shares in France and Belgium (14% and 18%). This likely reflects that Moroccan emigration to Spain and Italy is more recent than that to France and Belgium: labour migration may initially be the predominant motive, but family reasons become more frequent as the early migrants reunite with their families or form families with partners from their home country. The reasons given by principal migrants (those who took the decision to migrate) confirm this impression: almost all of them cite work as their motive in a survey by the Haut-Commissariat au Plan (2006).

Together, family reasons and labour account for more than 90% of the Moroccan emigrants in the European Union (see Figure 1.10). Accordingly, other motives including humanitarian reasons and unknown motives only account for small shares. Very few Moroccan emigrants in Italy and France cite other motives for their migration, while they account for 12% in Belgium. For substantial shares of Moroccan emigrants in the United Kingdom, France and Belgium (11%, 10% and 9%, respectively), study was the main reason for migration. In the other EU countries, this reason is also given in some cases, so that the share of Moroccan emigrants with this motive approaches 6% for the European Union as a whole.

**Figure 1.10. Moroccan emigrants by main reason given for migration, 2014**

Moroccan emigrants aged 15 and above



*Note:* Figures are based on the main reason that Moroccan-born respondents in the respective destination country indicate for their last migration. This information is not available for Denmark, Ireland, the Netherlands and Germany, which are therefore not included in the EU average. The category “family” includes accompanying family, family reunification and family formation. The category “other/unknown” includes humanitarian reasons.

*Source:* Labour Force Survey (Eurostat) ad-hoc module 2014 on the labour market situation of migrants and their immediate descendants.

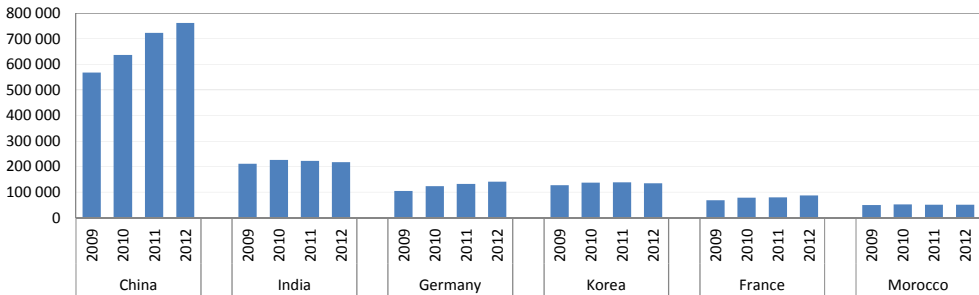
### ***The number of international students from Morocco is stagnating***

The total number of international students from Morocco exceeded 51 000 in 2012, as shown in Figure 1.11. While the corresponding numbers were much higher for the five main origin countries of international students, included in Figure 1.11, Morocco ranked 12<sup>th</sup> in 2012 ahead of all MENA countries except Saudi Arabia (see Figure 1.9 in OECD, 2015b). The number of international students from Morocco has hardly increased since 2009, when it was just over 50 000. By contrast, numbers of international students from China, Germany and France increased significantly over this period. However, in relation to the population of the origin country, the number of international students from Morocco is higher than for China, India or France.

By far the largest group of international students from Morocco – close to 29 000 in 2012 – was enrolled in France, followed by 6 000 in Spain, 5 600 in Germany and 4 300 in Canada (see Figure 1.12). The same data for previous years show that numbers of international students from Morocco were stable over the period 2007-12 in the main destination countries in Figure 1.12, except for a fall in Germany (from 8 100 in 2007) and for increases from a low level in the United Kingdom and Switzerland. The stable numbers across a range of countries suggest that developments in

Morocco explain the overall stagnation of the number of international students from Morocco: such developments might well have uniform effects across destination countries, in contrast to developments in the destination countries.

**Figure 1.11. International students in OECD countries from selected countries of origin, 2009-12**

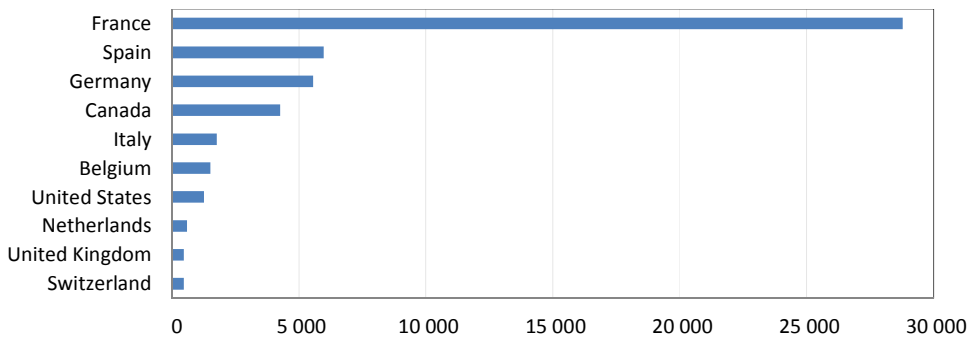


*Note:* Apart from Morocco, the origin countries of the largest numbers of international students in 2012 were selected.

*Source:* Tables C4.7 in OECD (2012), OECD (2013) and OECD (2014).

**Figure 1.12. Main destination countries of international students from Morocco, 2012**

Enrolled Moroccan citizens (who are not citizens of the destination country)



*Note:* In the case of the United States, figures refer to students who are normally resident outside the United States (non-residents).

*Source:* International Students Database, UNESCO-OECD-Eurostat (UOE) database on education, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/edu-data-en>.



## The majority of Moroccan emigrants are not citizens of their host country

The vast majority of Moroccan emigrants likely retained Moroccan citizenship after it was acquired at birth in Morocco. In the available cross-country data sets, however, Moroccan citizenship is often only recorded when an emigrant does not also hold the citizenship of the host country or – in the case of the European Labour Force Survey – of another EU country (see Box 1.2). Only more detailed data for particular destination countries offer information on multiple citizenships. While the total number of Moroccan citizens who reside outside Morocco therefore cannot be established, some insights can be obtained on the citizenship of those who were born in Morocco.

According to DIOC data for 2010/11, about one million Moroccan-born persons (i.e. 38% of all Moroccan emigrants aged 15 and above) were citizens of the country where they resided. It is unknown for 150 000 Moroccan emigrants (6%) whether or not they were citizens of their host country. This includes notably Moroccan emigrants in Switzerland and Israel; most of those in Israel, however, can be expected to have acquired Israeli citizenship upon arrival (see Box 1.3). For about 1.4 million Moroccan emigrants (56%), however, it is known that they were not citizens of their host country in 2010/11.

It is very likely that Moroccan emigrants who do not have the citizenship of their host country only hold Moroccan citizenship. Additional information in the DIOC data allows to verify this hypothesis for ten countries (Belgium, France, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Norway, Portugal, Spain and Sweden), hosting a total of 2 million Moroccan emigrants in 2010/11: 37% of Moroccan emigrants in these countries were citizens of their host country, 62% appeared to hold no other citizenship than that of Morocco, and only 1% could be identified as citizens of a country that is neither Morocco nor their host country.

Data from the European Labour Force Survey confirm the findings that most Moroccan emigrants are not citizens of their host country and that only very few hold another non-Moroccan citizenship. An important further insight provided by the EU LFS data concerns persons holding only Moroccan citizenship but who were *not* born in Morocco (a group that cannot be identified in the DIOC data). In EU countries, this group numbered 92 000 in 2010 and 84 000 in 2014. Given the very limited size of this group in the European Union, it is likely that the corresponding number is small also in the OECD area. By consequence, analyses on Moroccan-born persons in this review cover the vast majority of Moroccan citizens. The Moroccan citizens who were born abroad are typically children of

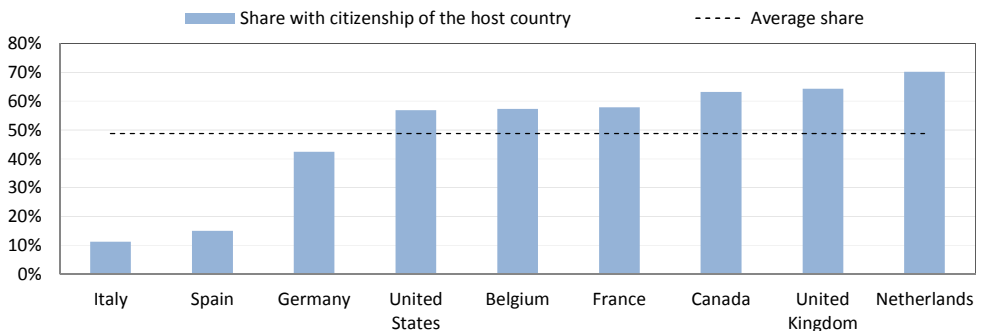
Moroccan-born persons, and more details on this “second generation” of Moroccan emigrants are provided in later sections and chapters.

### *Comparatively few Moroccan emigrants are citizens of Spain or Italy*

Across the main destination countries, the share of Moroccan emigrants who held the citizenship of their destination country in 2010/11 varied widely, from 11% in Italy and 15% in Spain to 70% in the Netherlands (see Figure 1.13). While the share is not available for Israel, it is likely to approach 100% because immigrating Jews normally obtain Israeli citizenship on arrival (see Box 1.3). In most main destination countries including France, a clear majority of Moroccan emigrants are citizens of their host country. One reason for the low shares in Italy and Spain is the high proportion of recent emigrants among the Moroccan emigrants in these two countries, so that many are not yet eligible for naturalisation.

**Figure 1.13. Moroccan emigrants’ citizenship of main destination countries, 2010/11**

Moroccan emigrants aged 15 and above who are citizens of their host country, in percentages



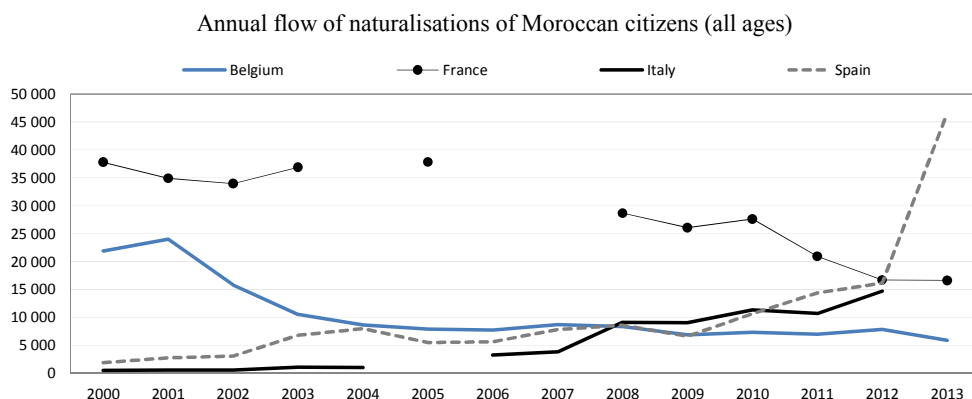
*Note:* Citizenship information for Israel is not available in the DIOC data, but due to the Israeli “Law of Return” (see Box 1.3), it is likely that the vast majority of Moroccan emigrants in Israel hold Israeli citizenship. The average is an unweighted arithmetic average across the nine countries shown.

*Source:* OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2010/11, [www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm](http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm).

However, Figure 1.14 shows that the annual number of naturalisations of Moroccan citizens in Italy and Spain is rising quickly, based on data from the International Migration Database (see Box 1.2 for a description). In Italy, the annual number has grown steadily from 600 in 2000 to 15 000 in 2012. After evolving similarly over these years, the annual number in Spain increased sharply from 2012 to 2013, approaching 47 000. By contrast,

naturalisations of Moroccan citizens in France have fallen substantially over this period, from 38 000 in 2000 to 17 000 in 2013. At a much lower level, they also roughly halved in Germany (see Table 1.A1.6 for figures on all main destination countries except Israel). Naturalisations in Belgium and the Netherlands have fallen more strongly – from 22 000 in 2000 to 6 000 in 2013 in Belgium, and from 13 000 to 4 000 in the Netherlands. In the remaining main destination countries, the corresponding numbers increased over this period.

**Figure 1.14. Naturalisations of Moroccan citizens in selected OECD countries, 2000-13**



*Note:* Figures for France in 2004, 2006 and 2007 as well as for Italy in 2005 and 2013 are not (yet) available. Figures for all main destination countries except Israel are provided in Table 1.A1.6.

*Source:* OECD International Migration Database, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00342-en>.

The sharp rise in naturalisations of Moroccan citizens in Spain between 2012 and 2013 reflects large improvements in the processing of applications for naturalisation, following an initiative of the Spanish Ministry of Justice that digitised, centralised and streamlined the procedure (see Spanish Ministry of Employment and Social Security, 2013). In 2013, a large number of applications made years earlier could therefore be decided. As other groups of migrants in Spain, many Moroccan citizens had lodged applications in the preceding years, for at least two reasons. Firstly, their number had grown quickly so that, after several years of legal residence, many had become eligible for naturalisation. Secondly, Spanish citizenship would allow Moroccan citizens to stay in Spain, while growing unemployment in the wake of the financial crisis made it difficult to renew or change residence permits (see CENSIS, 2011).

### *More settled emigrants are more often citizens of the host country*

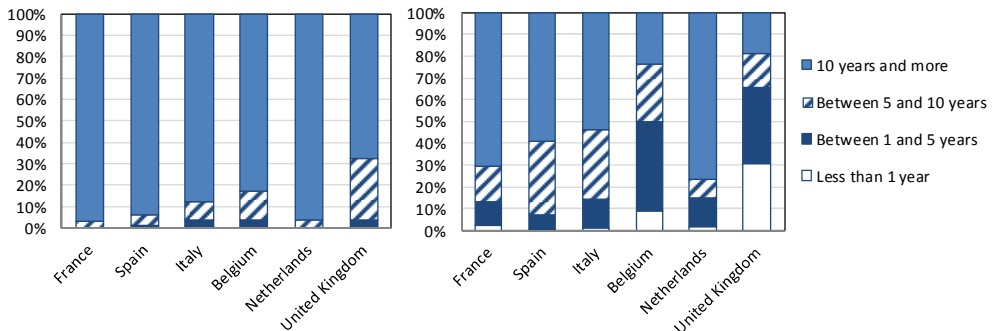
This section explores how Moroccan emigrants who are citizens of their host country differ from those who are not. A significant difference may be expected in terms of the duration of stay in the host country, as emigrants who have stayed longer have had more time to integrate and naturalise, while many of those who never intended to follow this path may have left again. Figure 1.15 is limited to six main destination countries of Moroccan emigrants in Europe, for which data are available from the European Labour Force Survey. For each of these countries, a comparison of duration of stay between Moroccan emigrants with and without host-country citizenship indicates that Moroccan emigrants with host-country citizenship have stayed in the country for longer, i.e. if they are more “settled” in the host country. A similar analysis based on the same data shows that those with host-country citizenship tend to be older, which suggests that Moroccan emigrants become more likely with age to acquire citizenship of the host country.

**Figure 1.15. Moroccan emigrants’ duration of stay by citizenship, selected OECD countries, 2014**

Moroccan emigrants aged 15 and above who have resided in the destination country for a given duration

A. With citizenship of the host country

B. Without citizenship of the host country



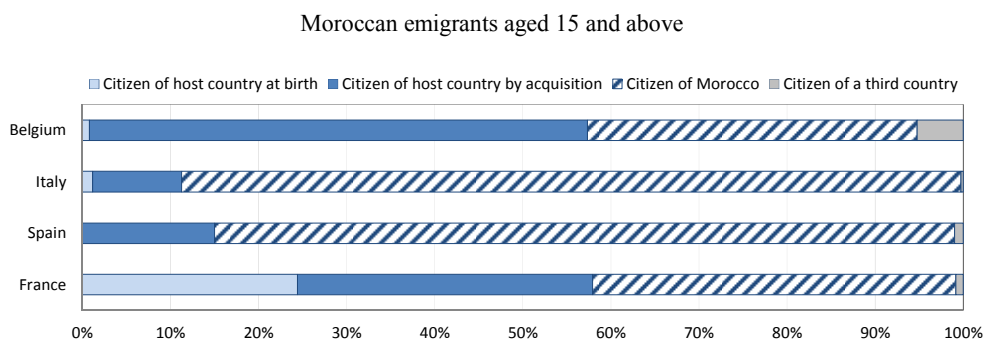
*Note:* This information is only available for the countries shown.

*Source:* Labour Force Surveys (Eurostat) 2014.

Additional information from the DIOC data, albeit available only for four main destination countries, offers further details on the citizenship of Moroccan emigrants in 2010/11 (see Figure 1.16). Among Moroccan emigrants in France, one-quarter had obtained French citizenship at birth in

Morocco, so that they were likely born to parents who were French citizens. The corresponding shares were insignificant in Spain, Italy and Belgium. The majority of Moroccan emigrants in Belgium had obtained Belgian citizenship through naturalisation, and a significant share were citizens of a third country. While naturalised citizens also accounted for about one-third of the Moroccan emigrants in France, corresponding shares in Italy and Spain were substantially lower.

**Figure 1.16. Moroccan emigrants' acquisition of citizenship, selected OECD countries, 2010/11**



*Note:* This information is available in DIOC only for the four countries shown.

*Source:* OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2010/11, [www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm](http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm).

Finally, it is possible to differentiate the information in Figure 1.16 by age group, as shown in Figure 1.A1.1 in the annex. Comparing the age distributions within each country, it emerges for each country that the citizens of Morocco tend to be the youngest of the four groups. The Moroccan emigrants in France who were already born as French citizens are the oldest of the four groups – many of these persons were likely among emigrating French citizens around the time of Moroccan independence. In both France and Italy, those who acquired host-country citizenship through naturalisation or who are citizens of a third country take a middle position, but they represent the oldest group in Belgium. Some of these differences reflect the factors identified in this section – higher age and duration of stay make acquisition of host-country citizenship more likely – but they also highlight different policy approaches to naturalisation in destination countries as well as differences in the demographic composition of the Moroccan emigrants.

## A large majority of the second generation in Europe is still young

For the purposes of this review, the second generation of Moroccan emigrants comprises persons who were born outside Morocco but had at least one Moroccan-born parent. Among the available cross-country data sources, only the special module of the European Labour Force Survey provides information on parents' country of birth (see Box 1.2). From these data, those members of the second generation in EU countries can be identified who were born in the EU country where they reside. Their total number therefore constitutes a lower bound for the total of the second generation. In 2014, it reached 830 000 persons aged 15 and above.

Among the identifiable second-generation Moroccan emigrants in the European Union, close to 370 000 persons (representing 44%) had parents who were both born in Morocco. In the case of roughly 280 000 persons (33%), only the father was born in Morocco; in the case of 190 000 (23%), only the mother was born there. Two-thirds were aged from 15 to 34, while 31% were aged from 35 to 54 and only 2% were aged 55 and above. The data from the special module of the EU LFS do not include those younger than 15. If they were counted towards the total, the majority of those younger than 35 would become larger.

From national data sources of specific destination countries, total numbers and some characteristics of the second generation can be established for some countries. Based on the survey "Trajectoires et Origines", the second generation of Moroccan emigrants in France exceeded 330 000 persons aged 18-60 in 2008, of whom a large majority (73%) were younger than 35. The total represented 8% of all second-generation emigrants residing in France. About three-quarters of the second generation of Moroccan emigrants in France had one Moroccan-born and one French-born parent, while some had an Algerian-born parent.

In conclusion, emigrants from Morocco represented the tenth largest group of emigrants in OECD countries in 2010/11, and the largest group of emigrants from a country in the MENA region. Between 2000/01 and 2010/11, their number has grown by 890 000 to reach 2.6 million. Most of this growth occurred between 2000/01 and 2005/06. The composition of Moroccan emigrants has hardly changed: the share of women has grown slightly to 46%, and an ageing process can be observed among the emigrants, but still 90% of them are of working age. European OECD countries accounted for 90% of all Moroccan emigrants in the OECD area in 2010/11, and two-thirds resided in France, Spain or Italy. The growth in their numbers was especially high in Italy and Spain, largely driven by young and recent emigrants. While most Moroccan emigrants are not citizens of their host country, naturalisations in Spain and Italy have recently

risen strongly, while they have fallen in France. The number of the second generation of Moroccan emigrants in EU countries likely approaches one million in total, and a majority of them is still less than 35 years old.

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*Annex 1.A1***Additional figures and tables****Table 1.A1.1. Terms and definitions**

	Definitions
Low education level	Low education level according to the International Standard Classification of Education 1997 (ISCED 0/1/2)
Medium education level	Medium education level according to the International Standard Classification of Education 1997 (ISCED 3/4)
Tertiary educated/ high education level	High education level according to the International Standard Classification of Education 1997 (ISCED 5/6)
Emigration rate	Share of the native-born population that resides abroad
Emigration rate of the tertiary educated	The emigration rate of the tertiary educated is calculated by applying the same formula to the tertiary educated only
Recent emigrant	Foreign-born person who has resided in the destination country for up to 5 years
Second-generation Moroccan emigrant	Person born outside Morocco who has at least one parent born in Morocco
Immigrant	Foreign-born person not of Moroccan nationality who resides in Morocco
Moroccan return migrant	Person of Moroccan nationality who resides in Morocco and whose last residence was abroad
Working-age population	Population aged 15-64 years
Employment rate	The number of persons in employment as a share of the working-age population
Unemployment rate	The number of persons in unemployment as a percentage of the active population (i.e. those in employment or unemployment)
Participation rate / activity rate	The number of active persons (i.e. those in employment or unemployment) as a share of the working-age population
High-skill occupations	The occupational group of managers and senior officials, intellectual and academic occupations and the intermediate occupations using physics and technology are considered high-skill occupations
Tertiary educated in medium or low-skill occupations	Percentage of employed tertiary-educated persons who work in occupations that are not considered high-skill

**Table 1.A1.2. Composition of emigrant populations in the OECD area, main origin countries, 2010/11**

	Total in 2010/11		Percentage of the 2010/11 emigrant population that was... (%)						Total in 2000/01	
	Thousands	% of all immigrants in OECD area	Recent (≤5 years)	Female	15-24 years	25-64 years	Highly-educated	Medium-level educated	Thousands	% of all immigrants in OECD area
Mexico	11 319.7	11.2	7.8	46.1	15.4	78.4	7.8	33.4	8 330.8	11.4
United Kingdom	3 694.2	3.6	11.3	50.2	6.4	66.0	39.8	37.3	3 257.9	4.5
China	3 628.1	3.6	21.2	54.6	18.5	69.2	42.2	27.8	2 071.2	2.8
India	3 610.7	3.6	24.8	47.0	9.8	78.6	62.0	19.2	1 971.3	2.7
Germany	3 401.4	3.4	14.5	55.3	11.1	68.0	35.7	42.7	3 148.5	4.3
Poland	3 264.0	3.2	24.3	55.0	8.6	77.3	30.6	45.7	2 184.9	3.0
Philippines	3 011.3	3.0	16.3	62.1	9.7	78.4	51.3	33.8	1 938.5	2.7
Romania	2 682.5	2.6	28.6	54.4	13.5	75.4	20.7	45.8	1 125.2	1.5
Turkey	2 619.8	2.6	7.0	48.0	6.9	82.2	10.1	24.4	2 113.5	2.9
Morocco	2 562.4	2.5	16.0	46.2	10.6	78.8	16.6	24.2	1 674.9	2.3
Italy	2 259.0	2.2	7.9	46.1	3.4	58.1	18.9	29.7	2 363.9	3.2
Russian Federation	2 257.4	2.2	8.7	57.9	14.6	69.8	37.1	38.2	1 789.1	2.5
Viet Nam	1 937.2	1.9	7.6	52.4	8.2	80.8	27.8	37.0	1 518.2	2.1
Korea	1 770.8	1.7	13.9	57.3	13.5	73.2	45.7	36.3	1 446.6	2.0
Ukraine	1 633.1	1.6	12.1	60.0	11.2	61.8	39.7	34.7	1 022.8	1.4

Source: OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2000/01 and 2010/11, [www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm](http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm).

**Table 1.A1.3. Composition of emigrant populations in the OECD area, regional origin countries, 2010/11**

	Total in 2010/11		Percentage of the 2010/11 emigrant population that was... (%)						Total in 2000/01	
	Thousands	% of all emigrants in OECD area	Recent (≤5 years)	Female	15-24 years	25-64 years	Highly-educated	Medium-level educated	Thousands	% of all emigrants in OECD area
Morocco	2 562.4	2.5	16.0	46.2	10.6	78.8	16.6	24.2	1 674.9	2.3
Algeria	1 519.7	1.5	8.5	48.7	5.6	68.0	21.1	29.4	1 325.4	1.8
Iran	930.8	0.9	14.8	46.1	8.1	77.8	50.5	31.2	669.2	0.9
Iraq	651.6	0.6	24.6	44.5	17.3	70.4	27.8	28.4	409.3	0.6
Tunisia	540.5	0.5	10.6	43.5	5.4	72.2	20.0	29.7	461.3	0.6
Lebanon	470.6	0.5	9.4	44.6	7.8	80.3	35.0	31.2	340.8	0.5
Egypt	427.1	0.4	15.0	40.9	8.0	71.6	50.1	31.6	328.1	0.4
Syria	223.3	0.2	16.2	44.2	10.3	75.5	33.0	30.0	137.9	0.2
Saudi Arabia	108.7	0.1	47.4	39.1	45.0	54.5	50.3	36.5	34.1	0.0
Sudan	104.8	0.1	19.3	40.0	19.0	77.2	35.4	34.9	42.2	0.1
Jordan	102.9	0.1	14.8	41.4	12.9	78.7	44.6	36.9	64.1	0.1
Libya	97.2	0.1	14.2	46.7	5.6	64.0	32.1	28.8	82.0	0.1
Mali	81.9	0.1	13.4	36.3	10.3	85.0	14.4	20.0	45.3	0.1
Mauritania	26.9	0.0	21.2	26.3	12.8	83.4	17.5	20.8	15.2	0.0

Source: OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2000/01 and 2010/11, [www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm](http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm).

**Table 1.A1.4. Moroccan emigrants by destination country, 2010/11**

	Total	25-64 years	Moroccan-born share of foreign-born population (%)	Share of women (%)
France	858 200	656 600	12.8	48.8
Spain	643 400	500 800	12.7	42.6
Italy	321 400	262 300	7.4	44.7
Belgium	184 300	150 100	13.4	47.8
Netherlands	151 700	140 700	10.2	47.2
Israel	137 700	82 800	8.0	52.9
Germany	87 900	75 800	1.0	40.0
United States	63 600	54 300	0.2	42.0
Canada	52 300	41 900	0.8	46.8
United Kingdom	21 300	18 500	0.3	47.8
Switzerland	12 100	10 900	0.8	53.6
Sweden	6 300	5 600	0.6	49.0
Denmark	5 000	4 300	1.2	47.5
Norway	4 700	4 100	1.0	42.4
Portugal	2 100	1 600	0.3	44.6
Greece	2 000	1 600	0.2	26.7
Finland	1 600	1 500	1.0	26.2
Australia	1 400	1 100	0.0	41.9
Austria	1 200	900	0.1	55.8
Luxembourg	1 000	900	0.6	52.0
Mexico	800	200	0.2	80.7
Ireland	700	600	0.1	35.4
Turkey	600	600	0.1	64.1
Poland	300	300	0.1	15.5
Czech Republic	300	200	0.0	17.3
Japan	200	200	0.0	22.0
Hungary	100	100	0.0	28.2
Iceland	100	100	0.5	38.0
Slovak Republic	<50	<50	0.0	19.2
Estonia	<50	<50	0.0	16.7
Slovenia	<50	<50	0.0	20.0

*Note:* Includes only observations for which information on both age and sex is available. Moroccan-born persons are not observed in Chile, Korea, Latvia and New Zealand. Levels below 50 are not reported.

*Source:* OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2010/11, [www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm](http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm).

**Table 1.A1.5. Composition of Moroccan emigrants by age group, main destination countries and OECD area, 2010/11**

	0-15 years	15-24 years	25-34 years	35-44 years	45-54 years	55-64 years	65 years and above	Share aged 0-15 years (%)
France	22 939	72 012	150 339	158 441	175 321	172 726	129 572	2.6
Spain	73 240	110 190	177 070	172 050	103 015	48 760	32 320	10.2
Italy	25 517	46 878	90 952	94 910	56 431	20 134	12 243	7.4
Belgium	4 669	14 373	41 426	49 710	38 292	20 800	19 867	2.5
Netherlands	3 141	6 924	38 358	55 671	33 549	13 096	4 146	2.0
Israel		143	189	2 091	27 687	52 810	54 754	
Germany	416	5 913	27 049	27 430	12 309	9 037	6 192	0.5
United States	1 985	4 776	16 538	19 207	12 969	5 711	4 596	3.0
Canada	5 410	5 510	11 860	17 110	8 920	5 150	4 815	9.2
United Kingdom	534	1 264	4 423	6 147	5 310	2 651	1 551	2.4
OECD	13 8787	270 793	567 907	615 608	482 804	355 362	272 999	5.1

Note: For Israel, data for the age group 0-15 years are not available.

Source: OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2010/11, [www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm](http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm).

**Table 1.A1.6. Naturalisations of Moroccan citizens in main destination countries, 2000-13**

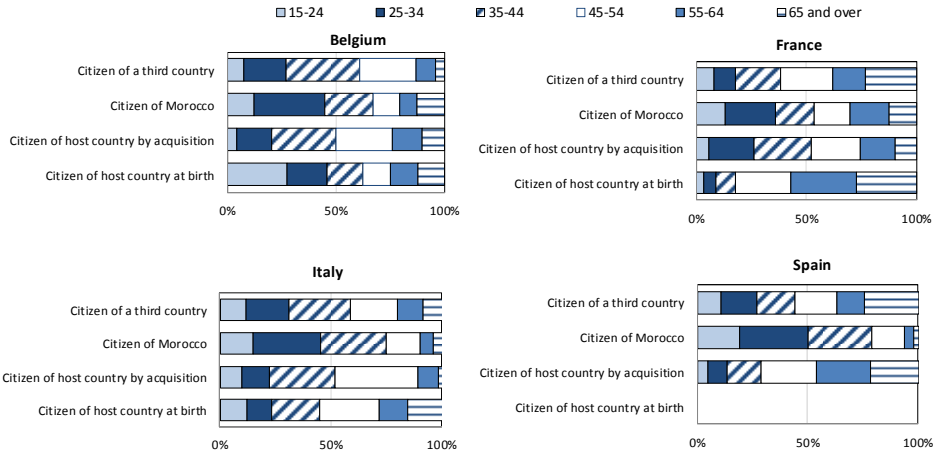
	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Belgium	21 917	24 018	15 832	10 565	8 704	7 977	7 753	8 722	8 427	6 919	7 380	7 035	7 879	5 926
Canada	996	924	922	1 347	1 190	2 338	3 871	2 728	2 225	3 371	2 031	2 732	1 476	1 893
France	37 795	34 922	33 967	36 875		37 848			28 699	26 097	27 637	20 965	16 720	16 662
Germany	5 008	4 425	3 800	4 118	3 820	3 684	3 546	3 489	3 130	3 042	2 806	3 011	2 852	2 710
Italy	573	579	624	1 132	1 046		3 295	3 850	9 156	9 096	11 350	10 732	14 728	
Netherlands	13 471	12 721	12 033	7 126	5 873	7 086	6 896	6 409	5 034	5 508	5 797	6 824		3 886
Spain	1 921	2 822	3 111	6 831	8 036	5 555	5 690	7 864	8 615	6 683	10 703	14 427	16 163	46 547
United Kingdom	721	708	805	745	617	702	520	549	541	750	721	693	871	1 027
United States	1 197	1 247	1 274	1 283	1 841	2 628	3 643	2 684	3 383	4 556	3 710	3 656	3 872	3 768

Note: Figures refer to the annual number of naturalisations of persons with a previous Moroccan citizenship. All age groups are included. Figures are not (yet) available for Israel, for Italy in 2005 and 2013, for the Netherlands in 2012 and for France in 2004, 2006 and 2007.

Source: OECD International Migration Database, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00342-en>.

**Figure 1.A1.1. Moroccan emigrants' acquisition of citizenship by age, selected OECD countries, 2010/11**

Moroccan emigrants aged 15 and above



Note: This information is available in DIOC only for the four countries shown.

Source: OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2010/11, [www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm](http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm).





## Chapter 2

### Recent trends in emigration from Morocco

*This chapter analyses recent migration flows from Morocco as well as the intentions to emigrate observed in the Moroccan population. The total migration flow from Morocco to OECD countries is compared to the flows from other Middle Eastern and North African (MENA) countries, and its evolution is related to changes in flows to particular destination countries. Using international survey data, the chapter then presents results on intentions to emigrate from Morocco, also for specific groups in the population and in comparison to other countries in the MENA region. Special attention is given to the link between emigration intentions and the labour market situation in Morocco.*

The statistical data for Israel are supplied by and under the responsibility of the relevant Israeli authorities. The use of such data by the OECD is without prejudice to the status of the Golan Heights, East Jerusalem and Israeli settlements in the West Bank under the terms of international law.

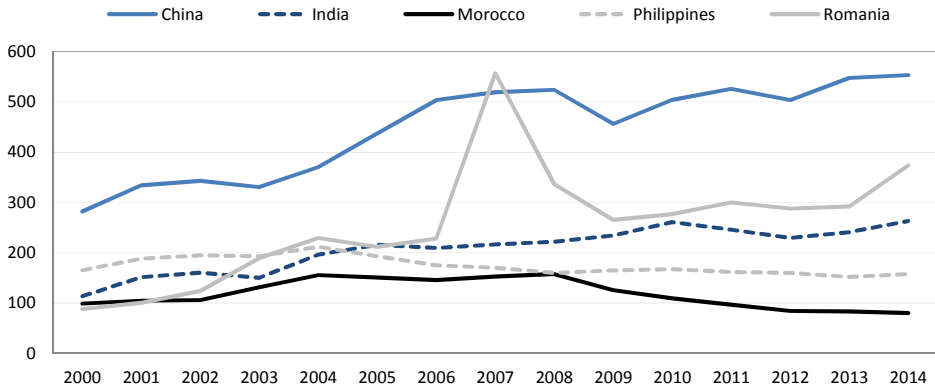
This chapter uses data on annual migration flows to present the trends in emigration from Morocco in recent years. As these flows are produced by recently taken decisions to emigrate, they reflect trends in emigration behaviour. By contrast, the stocks discussed in the previous chapter accumulated through emigration flows over a long time period and often resulted from a particular historical context. To better understand the drivers of recent emigration flows, the chapter further presents evidence on the demographic and socio-economic composition of flows in 2012. A detailed discussion of survey evidence on the population's intentions to emigrate from Morocco offers insights on the potential for future migration flows, especially from certain demographic groups. While the intentions to emigrate are most often not carried out, they are linked to observed emigration flows and allow for comparing emigration intentions among specific groups in the population.

### Falling flows of emigrants from Morocco

The *OECD International Migration Database* provides annual data on legal migration flows that include both permanent and temporary migrants (only permanent migrants in the case of the United States, see Box 1.2 in Chapter 1). As irregular migration flows are unobserved and cannot be included, legal migration flows are necessarily smaller than total real migration flows. In the case of Morocco, irregular migration flows may have been substantial, especially to European countries. The Moroccan authorities have implemented measures at the national level and in co-operation with the European Union to reduce irregular migration flows; Natter (2013) and Lahlou (2015) give an overview of these policies. It is possible, however, that irregular migration flows have rebounded in 2014/15: Moroccan citizens could legally travel to Turkey without a visa and then join the mass migration flow on the Balkan route, often declaring Syrian citizenship (FRONTEX, 2016).

Annual legal migration flows from Morocco to the OECD area rose after 2000 to reach a peak of almost 160 000 persons in 2008 (see Figure 2.1). From 2008 to 2014, however, annual flows to the OECD area have steadily fallen and reached the level of 80 000 persons in 2014 – only half the level in 2008. By 2014, the flow to the OECD area was the lowest in any year from 2000. It therefore appears that a long-term trend of falling migration flows from Morocco to the OECD area has replaced the rising long-term trend observed until 2008. Most recently however, in the years 2012 to 2014, the decline of the annual flow has slowed down.

**Figure 2.1. Migration flows from selected source countries to the OECD area, 2000-14**  
Annual inflow by citizenship (all ages), in thousands



*Note:* Figures for 2013 and 2014 are preliminary, as the relevant information is not yet available from all OECD countries. All figures are obtained as the sum of standardised gross flows for countries where they are available.

*Source:* OECD International Migration Database, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00342-en>.

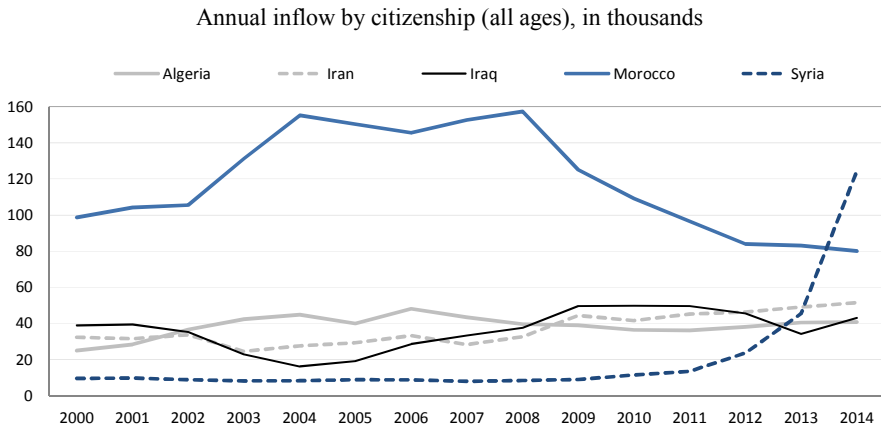
While the emigration flows from Morocco have fallen by 20% over the period 2000-14, emigration flows from other major source countries have risen strongly (see Figure 2.1). For emigration flows from China and India, increases by 100% and 130%, respectively, have been observed over this period. Romania constitutes a special case: its emigration flows have more than tripled between 2000 and 2014, at least partly driven by its accession to the European Union – as exemplified by unusually high emigration flows in 2007, the year Romania joined the European Union.

By consequence, Morocco has ceased to be one of the ten main countries of origin of emigration flows to the OECD countries. According to the data underlying Figure 2.1, only five countries exhibited higher flows to OECD countries in 2000 than Morocco: China, Mexico, the Philippines, India and Poland. By 2014, also the flows from Romania, Italy, Viet Nam, the United Kingdom and Germany had grown larger than the flow from Morocco. However, growing emigration flows were not universal to all major source countries: like in the case of Morocco, emigration flows from the Philippines were among the highest in 2000 but exhibited a tendency to fall (by 4% over the period 2000-14).

### ***Morocco is not anymore the MENA country with the highest emigration flows to the OECD***

Until 2013, Morocco was the MENA country with the highest migration flows to OECD countries. Between 2001 and 2008, between 100 000 and 160 000 Moroccan citizens emigrated to an OECD country every year, while the flows from other MENA countries were all below 50 000 per annum (see Figure 2.2). But since the emigration flows from Morocco have fallen over the period 2000-14 while emigration flows from other countries in the MENA region rose, the levels of these flows have been converging. In 2014, the flows from Morocco were roughly twice as high as the flows from Algeria and Egypt. When the flows from Morocco peaked in 2008, they were about four times as high as the flows from Algeria and six times as high as the flows from Egypt. Similarly, the flows from Morocco in 2008 were more than seven times the flows from Tunisia, but only about three times the flows from Tunisia in 2014.

**Figure 2.2. Migration flows from selected MENA countries to the OECD area, 2000-14**



*Note:* All figures are obtained as the sum of standardised gross flows for countries where they are available. Figures for 2013 and 2014 are preliminary, as the relevant information is not yet available from all OECD countries.

*Source:* OECD International Migration Database, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00342-en>.

By 2014, the flows from Morocco had been overtaken by those from Syria (see Figure 2.2), which have grown rapidly since 2011 as a direct result of conflict and violence in Syria. However, emigration flows have grown strongly across countries in the MENA region, albeit at a slower pace than the flows from Syria: in 2014, 51 000 persons came to the OECD area from Iran (+60% compared to 2000), 43 000 from Iraq (+11%), 41 000 from

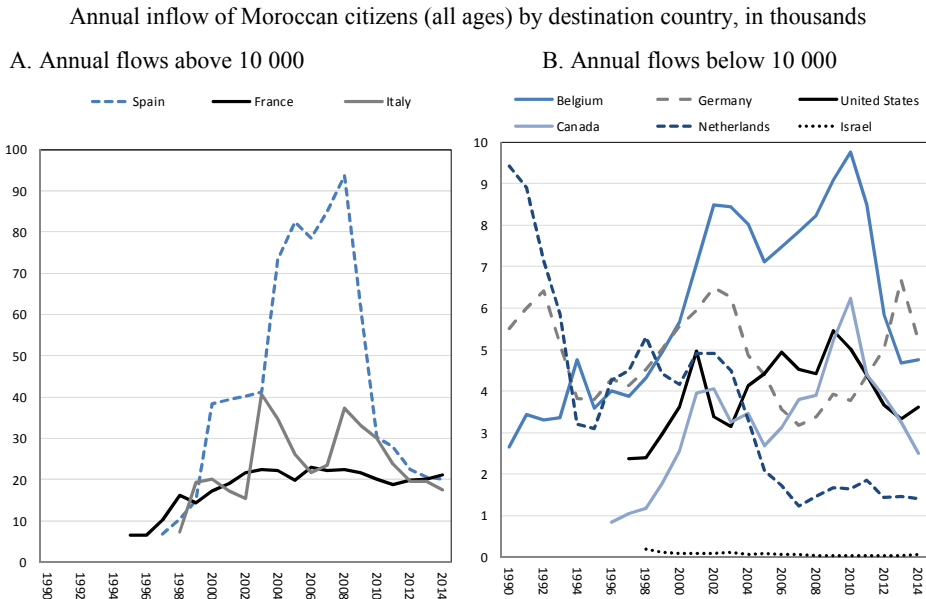
Algeria (+64%), 25 000 from Tunisia (+76%) and 15 000 from Lebanon (+28%), based on the same data as shown in Figure 2.2. The highest growth rate after Syria was observed for Egypt (38 000 persons in 2014, +130% compared to 2000), likely also a result of turmoil in the country. According to Fargues and Fandrich (2012), rising emigration flows from countries in the MENA region are not primarily a consequence of the Arab Spring, but mostly reflect continuing upward trends. However, it is worth noting that the main flows from the MENA region are not necessarily subject to the same trends, as shown in Figure 2.2. To some extent, emigration flows from Morocco exhibit a similar pattern as emigration flows from Algeria, and emigration flows from Iran and Iraq seem to follow roughly the same trend.

### ***Falling flows to Spain dominate stable or rising flows to other destinations***

Figure 2.3 shows the flows from Morocco to the main destination countries that were identified in Chapter 1 as the ten OECD countries that host the largest numbers of Moroccan emigrants. The same countries have also received the largest flows of Moroccan citizens in recent years, with two exceptions. Data on flows to the United Kingdom are not available and the flows from Morocco to Israel have been very low since 1998 (below 200 persons). As explained in Chapter 1 (see Box 1.3), Moroccan emigration to Israel largely happened decades ago. By and large, however, the OECD countries hosting the largest numbers of Moroccan emigrants continue to attract the largest emigration flows from Morocco.

The most salient development in the flows from Morocco to the main destination countries is the dramatic rise and subsequent fall of migrant flows to Spain over the years 2002-10 (see Panel A of Figure 2.3). From 2003 to 2008, annual flows to Spain increased by more than 50 000 persons – an increase by almost 130% over the 2003 level – then decreased by more than 60 000 persons from 2008 to 2010. The decrease was likely a result of worsening job prospects in Spain in the wake of the economic crisis, so that moving to Spain became less attractive (see Arango and González Quiñones, 2009). Given their absolute size, the falling emigration flows from Morocco to Spain are the main driving force behind the pattern shown by the total emigration flows from Morocco to the OECD (see Figure 2.2). Strong decreases are also observed in the flows to Italy, Belgium and Netherlands, but the absolute size of these changes was much smaller than the changes in the flows to Spain. Beyond the ten main destination countries, three groups of new destinations have emerged: the Nordic countries (except Iceland), Austria and Switzerland, and Japan and Korea. These countries attract small but growing numbers of Moroccan emigrants (see Table 2.A1.1 in the annex).

**Figure 2.3. Migration flows of Moroccan citizens to the main destination countries, 1990-2014**



*Note:* Figures refer to gross inflows. This information is not available for the United Kingdom. Parts of a series are not shown when the underlying information is missing for some years. Figures for the United States do not include temporary migrants.

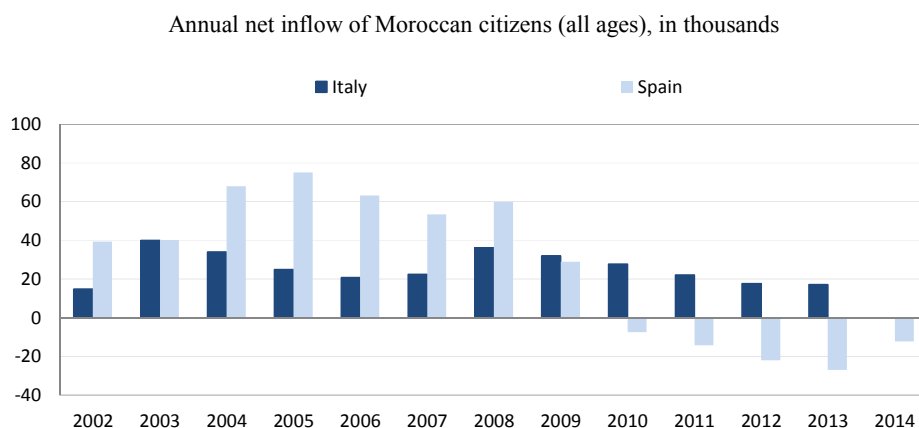
*Source:* OECD International Migration Database, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00342-en>.

For a number of OECD countries, data are available both on the migration flows from Morocco and the migration flows to Morocco. In these cases – which include half of the main destination countries – it is possible to determine net migration flows of Moroccan citizens by subtracting the flow of Moroccan citizens to Morocco from the flow of Moroccan citizens from Morocco. Net flows from Morocco are positive whenever more Moroccan citizens emigrate to a particular OECD country than return from there; in the reverse case, net flows are negative. Table 2.A1.2 in the annex shows the available information on net migration flows from Morocco to OECD countries; by far the largest net flows are observed for Spain and Italy.

After relatively high net migration flows from Morocco to Spain between 2002 and 2009, the direction of the net flow reversed (see Figure 2.4). Over the years 2010 to 2014, the flow from Spain to Morocco was higher than the flow from Morocco to Spain, by up to 27 000 persons

(in 2013). Net flows to Spain started falling in 2008, mainly driven by the fall of gross flows from Morocco from 2008 onwards. Observed outflows of Moroccan citizens from Spain increased comparatively slowly, from 34 000 in 2008 to 38 000 in 2010 (according to the *International Migration Database*). By 2013, these outflows had reached 47 000 but fell back to 32 000 in 2014. Reporting survey evidence on migrants in Spain in 2007, Arango and González Quiñones (2009) emphasise that particularly few emigrants from Morocco indicated an intention to leave Spain, and none of them participated in an assisted return programme in 2008. Wahba (2013) confirms that Spanish assisted return programmes are rarely used by Moroccan emigrants. However, it might be that not the entire outflow of Moroccan citizens from Spain has been observed in these years.

**Figure 2.4. Net migration flows of Moroccan citizens to Italy and Spain, 2002-14**



*Note:* Figures refer to the difference between the annual gross inflow and the annual gross outflow of Moroccan citizens of all ages. The 2014 figure for Italy is not yet available. Levels are reported in Table 2.A1.2 in the annex.

*Source:* OECD *International Migration Database*, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00342-en>.

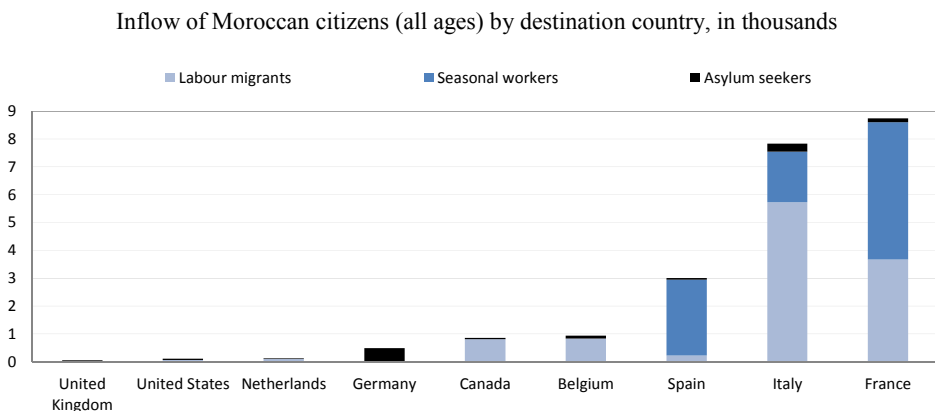
Net flows from Morocco to Italy were generally lower between 2002 and 2008 than net flows to Spain (see Figure 2.4). While net flows to Italy have also fallen substantially below their level in 2008, they remained positive. The same applies to net flows from Morocco to Belgium, while net flows to the Netherlands have overall remained stable in recent years (see Table 2.A1.2 in the annex). Only the net flows to Germany have increased substantially in recent years, from a low of 600 in 2008 to 3 700 and 2 500 in 2013 and 2014, respectively. This likely reflects that job prospects in Germany were much less affected by the economic crisis than in many other European countries, notably Spain and Italy.

The positive net flows to Italy are in line with the increase in the total number of Moroccan emigrants in Italy between 2010 and 2014 (see Figure 1.8 in Chapter 1). By contrast, the negative net flows in the case of Spain seem to be at odds with a small increase in the total number over the same period. This discrepancy could be explained by irregular migration flows to Spain that are not captured by data based on permits. It is also possible that, as stocks, the total numbers primarily reflect the evolution of the number of emigrants who have been residing in Spain for some time, while very recent emigrants are less well covered by the data. In this case, the fall in net flows to Spain would not yet be reflected in data on the stocks.

### ***Flows include substantial numbers of seasonal workers and few who were previously employed***

Figure 2.5 presents the evidence collected from national sources on the composition of annual gross migration flows from Morocco to the main destination countries in 2012 (2011 for asylum seekers). While little is known about the composition of the flows to the United Kingdom, the United States, the Netherlands and Germany, Figure 2.5 shows that (permanent) labour migrants and seasonal workers can together account for close to half of the migration flows to France and Italy in 2012. In the case of Canada and Belgium, labour migrants accounted for about one-fourth and one-fifth, respectively, of the migration flow in 2012.

**Figure 2.5. Migration flows of Moroccans by selected migration category, main destination countries in 2012**



*Note:* Figures refer to gross inflows. This information is not available for Israel, and figures for the United States do not include temporary migrants.

*Source:* OECD International Migration Database, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00342-en>, and UNHCR (on asylum seekers).



In the three largest migration flows from Morocco – to Spain, France and Italy – seasonal workers play an important role (see Figure 2.5): in total, almost 10 000 seasonal workers went to these three countries in 2012. Spain and France received more seasonal workers than (permanent) labour migrants in 2012: the flow to Spain included 2 700 seasonal workers compared with 200 labour migrants, and 4 900 compared with 3 700 in the case of France. By contrast, the numbers of asylum seekers from Morocco in 2011 were comparatively small, but reached 500 in Germany, 300 in Italy and more than 100 in France and Belgium. Asylum seekers thereby accounted for at most 10% (observed in Germany) in any of the migration flows to the main destination countries.

The information collected on migration flows typically covers at best some basic demographic variables. It is therefore rarely possible to analyse the composition of migration flows with respect to key socio-economic variables such as education or labour force status before migration. In order to provide some first results, the inflow from Morocco can be approximated as citizens of a North African country who resided in Morocco the year before they are observed in a destination country (following an approach used by Ette and Sauer, 2010). For 2012, a sample of 22 300 new arrivals from Morocco can thus be identified in the EU Labour Force Survey (see Box 1.2 in Chapter 1 for a detailed description of this data source) based on a question on the country of residence one year earlier, and the data also record their labour market status one year earlier and their education.

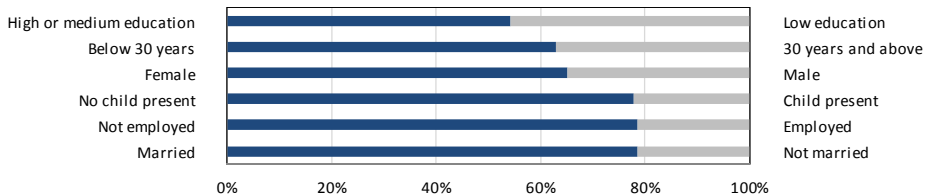
Results on the composition of the new arrivals from Morocco are shown in Figure 2.6. Two-thirds of the new arrivals in 2012 were women, and 63% were younger than 30. While a majority had a medium or high level of education, 46% were low-educated. Close to 80% of the new arrivals had not been employed in Morocco. Equally large majorities among the new arrivals were made up by those living in a household without children and by married persons. The high share of married persons may be linked to the high share of women among the new arrivals in 2012. Essentially the same results are obtained when the sample consists of persons who were born in a North African country and who resided in Morocco one year earlier. One can conclude that the migration flows from Morocco to the main destination countries in Europe in 2012 largely represented young persons who did not have a job in Morocco. Given the high share of women and married persons in the migration flow, many may have come through family reunification with men who already resided in the European destination countries (see for example Lievens, 1999).

Khachani (2011) highlights that women have become more frequent year after year among the Moroccan emigrants in main European destination countries. He argues that this trend reflects the growing

participation of Moroccan women in the labour market and in paid employment: as women increasingly enter these domains, they also become more likely to seek and take up employment opportunities abroad. For the case of Algeria, Bouklier-Hassane and Talahite (2015) conclude that the share of women in migration flows to OECD countries grew following changes in migration policies of destination countries. They also identify a particularly high gender gap in unemployment in Algeria as a driver of this development, while the stronger discounting of women's skills in destination countries is found to discourage the emigration of women.

**Figure 2.6. Composition of migration flows of Moroccans to main European destination countries, 2012**

Estimated composition of newly arrived Moroccan citizens (all ages) in France, Spain, Italy, Belgium and Germany



*Note:* The inflow of Moroccan citizens is approximated as persons whose residence one year earlier was Morocco and who are citizens of a North African country (the available data do not allow for more detail). No-one with these characteristics is observed in the Netherlands or the United Kingdom in 2012. Missing values are rare and are not included in the distributions shown.

*Source:* OECD Secretariat calculations based on the EU Labour Force Survey (Eurostat), <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/lfs/overview>.

### High emigration intentions in Morocco, especially among the young

It remains to be seen to what extent the trends observed in recent migration flows from Morocco continue into the future. To shed some light on this, one can use data on the potential for future emigration from Morocco obtained through self-reported intentions to emigrate, as expressed in the Gallup World Poll (see Box 1.2 in Chapter 1). This data source can be used to analyse the intentions to emigrate among the native-born population in Morocco. The Gallup World Poll also includes demographic variables, education and a number of job-related indicators, so that correlations between these characteristics and intentions to emigrate can be investigated.

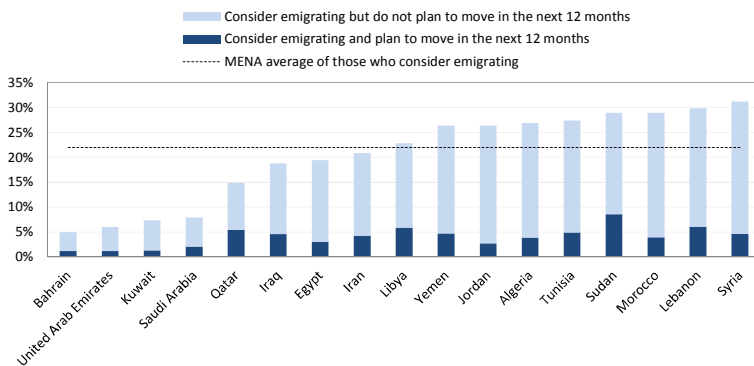
Self-reported emigration intentions are high in the native-born population in Morocco. When asked whether they would like to move permanently to another country if they had the opportunity, 29% of those surveyed between 2007 and 2013 indicated that they would like to (see

Figure 2.7). This percentage was one of the highest observed in the MENA countries; only slightly higher shares were found in Lebanon (30%) and in conflict-ridden Syria (31%). The average for the MENA countries was 22%, reflecting comparatively low intentions to emigrate in populous countries such as Egypt, Iran and Saudi Arabia. However, the population in neighbouring countries of Morocco exhibited similar emigration intentions: in both Algeria and Tunisia, 27% would like to move permanently to another country.

Yet intentions are not always put into practice. Among those with the intention to emigrate, only a fraction have made concrete plans to emigrate within the following 12 months (see Figure 2.7). This hints at a discrepancy between self-reported intentions and eventual actions, which is a reason to take results based on self-reported intentions with caution (see Box 2.1). In the case of Morocco, the contrast between those who report an intention to emigrate and those who have made concrete plans is stark: notwithstanding the third-highest percentage with emigration intentions in the MENA region, Morocco exhibits the second-lowest percentage with concrete plans (a lower percentage is only observed in Jordan). While, in Morocco, 14% of those with emigration intentions have made concrete plans, 18% of those in Tunisia have done so and 26% of those in Libya. The average for the MENA region reaches 19%. In Algeria, however, the share of those with concrete plans is as low as in Morocco.

**Figure 2.7. Emigration intentions in the MENA countries, 2007-13**

Share of the native-born population (aged 15 and above) who consider emigrating, in percent



*Note:* Considering emigration means answering “yes” to: “Ideally, if you had the opportunity, would you like to move permanently to another country?” Having concrete plans means answering “yes” to: “Are you planning to move permanently to another country in the next 12 months?” Information for Morocco is based on responses given in 2010-13.

*Source:* Gallup World Poll data, [www.oecd.org/std/43017172.pdf](http://www.oecd.org/std/43017172.pdf)

Among women in the MENA countries, the shares of those with emigration intentions tend to be somewhat lower (based on the Gallup World Poll data). Across MENA countries, the average for women is 17%, compared to 22% for the whole population. In Morocco, 23% of surveyed women declared an intention to emigrate, 6 percentage points below the overall share in Morocco. Similar shares are again observed among women in neighbouring countries, e.g. 21% in Libya and 19% in Algeria. The ordering of countries according to the women's emigration intentions is similar to the ordering in Figure 2.7. The percentage of women with emigration intentions in Morocco is again one of the highest among MENA countries.

The percentage of young persons (aged 15-24 years) with an intention to emigrate is shown in Figure 2.8. In this age group, percentages are typically higher than in the total population, leading to an average across MENA countries of 30%. In Morocco, 45% of youth express an intention to emigrate, the second highest after neighbouring Tunisia (46%). These very high levels of intentions to emigrate are likely linked to labour market prospects for young persons. Kabbani and Kothari (2005) point out that youth unemployment rates in MENA countries are the highest in the world. For Morocco, they report an average unemployment duration of three years among young persons, which applied equally to young persons with or without a university degree. Boudarbat (2008) finds that some of this unemployment arises as graduates wait for an opportunity to enter well-paid jobs in the public sector. Limited opportunities for young people in Morocco, especially for the highly educated ones, may be one of the factors that have led the European Union to set up scholarships for students from Morocco and to discuss a Mobility Partnership with the Moroccan government (see Fargues and Fandrich, 2012).

A survey of emigration intentions in Morocco by the European Training Foundation used different data, but produced similar conclusions as the above results based on the Gallup World Poll data. In the sample analysed by the European Training Foundation (ETF, 2013a), the share of women with an intention to emigrate was lower than that of men (35% compared with 48%). Shares with intentions to emigrate were high among young people, while shares were comparatively low among married persons and those with children. The study also produces evidence of a particularly large discrepancy in Morocco between emigration intentions and the ability to put these intentions into practice (see ETF, 2013b).

### **Box 2.1. The reliability of self-reported intentions to emigrate**

Survey evidence that records self-reported intentions to emigrate encounters the problem that intentions might say little about actual migration decisions (see Manski, 1990 for a general discussion). The discrepancy can arise from two sources. Firstly, many of those who declare an intention to emigrate might never emigrate. Secondly, others who did not declare an intention to emigrate might do so, because they flee from conflict or because they are sent abroad as intra-company transfers, for example. Using German panel data, Liebau and Schupp (2011) can compare the self-reported emigration intentions of an individual to actual migration behaviour over the following years. They find that only 4% of those who declared an intention to emigrate in 1998 had in fact emigrated by 2009.

As a complicating factor, those who first declare an intention to emigrate and then do emigrate might not be a random selection among those with emigration intentions. Instead of the intention to emigrate, the opportunity to emigrate might be the strongest determinant of actual emigration. Such opportunities arise through job offers from abroad or through family networks across borders, for example, and some groups in the population are more likely to receive such offers or to have such networks. In OECD (2012), it is observed that the discrepancy between emigration intentions and actual emigration tends to be smaller for the highly educated than for the average across educational groups. This indicates that highly-educated persons might have greater opportunities to put their emigration intentions into practice.

Similarly, since employers value work experience and primarily come into contact with employees, persons who are employed are more likely to receive a job offer from abroad than persons who are unemployed or not in the labour force. While reported emigration intentions can be expected to be high among the unemployed due to their frustration with the local labour market, actual emigration might be particularly low in this group because their opportunities to emigrate are very limited. In many cases, emigration intentions are based on individual expectations about life abroad, and these expectations may be false, leading to failed attempts to put emigration intentions into practice. In response to the challenges with self-reported emigration intentions, Morwitz (2001) lays out methods for removing biases and suggests placing more weight on the intentions of those who have successfully emigrated before.

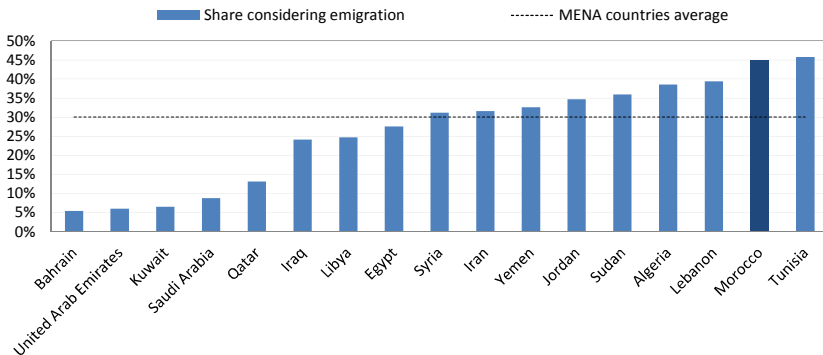
A bias can already arise at the stage when the survey is carried out: whether or not a person responds to the question on emigration intentions may be correlated with having (comparatively) strong emigration intentions. The Gallup World Poll data, for example, also record refusals to answer or the answer “do not know”. Assumptions on how to count these answers, if at all, can matter for the results. (The figures on emigration intentions presented in this chapter are percentages of a base total that includes those refusing to answer or answering “do not know”.)

By relating emigration intentions to individual characteristics and opinions given in the survey, some indications can be found of the motives behind emigration. However, it is rarely possible to compare these indications to the motives that led to actual emigration: those who emigrate virtually always drop out of the survey sample, and tracking down enough of them abroad would be very costly (see Schupp et al., 2008). The Gallup World Poll does not allow either to determine how the characteristics or opinions of a given person change following emigration. Due to the international reach of the survey, however, the characteristics and opinions of emigrants can be compared to persons who report intentions to emigrate, and to those who report intentions to stay (see Figure 2.10).

In the same survey, France was named especially often as the desired destination country, followed by Spain and Italy (see ETF, 2013a). Closely corresponding results are also obtained from the Gallup World Poll for the years 2007-13: when those who indicate an intention to emigrate are asked where they would like to go, 29% of respondents name France, 15% name Italy and 14% name Spain (see OECD, 2015). These results suggest that the strong orientation towards European destination countries in the past (see Chapter 1) is echoed by the favourite destinations of the Moroccan population. By contrast, for the MENA region as a whole, OECD (2015) reports that the three most frequently named destination countries are Saudi Arabia (14%), France (12%) and the United States (9%).

**Figure 2.8. Emigration intentions among 15-24 year-olds in the MENA countries, 2007-13**

Share of the native-born population aged 15-24 who consider emigrating, in percent



*Note:* Considering emigration means answering “yes” to: “Ideally, if you had the opportunity, would you like to move permanently to another country?” Information for Morocco is based on responses given in 2010-13.

*Source:* Gallup World Poll data, [www.oecd.org/std/43017172.pdf](http://www.oecd.org/std/43017172.pdf).

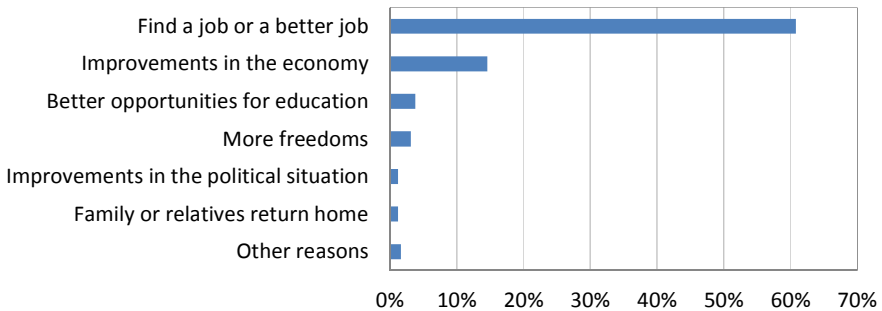
### ***The labour market situation in Morocco is the main reason behind high intentions to emigrate***

As one of the questions posed to those who indicate an intention to emigrate, the Gallup World Poll asks respondents what would have to change in their home country for them to stay. The responses given in Morocco are shown in Figure 2.9 and highlight the role of the economic and labour market conditions: more than 60% of the responses suggest that a greater availability of jobs or better jobs in Morocco would make them reconsider their intention to emigrate. The dominating weight of this

response is reinforced further because the second most frequent answer, given by 15% of the respondents, points to improvements in the economic situation, which is arguably related to the availability and quality of jobs. A lack of opportunities for education and of individual freedoms is also cited by some respondents.

**Figure 2.9. Change needed in Morocco for potential emigrants to stay, 2010-13**

Survey responses in percent of the native-born population aged 15 and above



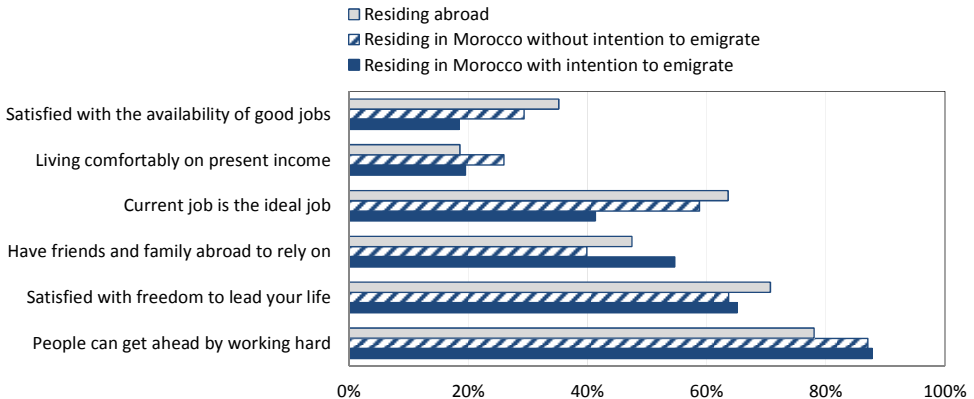
*Note:* Based on interviews with native-born persons in Morocco (N=260, 36 of whom did not answer the question).

*Source:* Gallup World Poll data, [www.oecd.org/std/43017172.pdf](http://www.oecd.org/std/43017172.pdf).

A range of findings from the Gallup World Poll appears in line with the high importance of job prospects for those in Morocco who declare the intention to emigrate. Figure 2.10 shows how responses to job-related questions differ between persons with and without intentions to emigrate. Among those with an intention to emigrate, comparatively low shares of respondents are satisfied with their current job (41%), the availability of good jobs (18%) or their income (20%). Figure 2.10 includes the responses of Moroccan emigrants to the same questions, and comparatively high shares among them are satisfied with their job and the availability of jobs – although not with their income. While Moroccan emigrants are also more satisfied with the freedom they have to lead their lives, there is no difference in this respect between respondents with or without intentions to emigrate from Morocco. By contrast, higher shares of the respondents in Morocco than among Moroccan emigrants believe that they can improve their situation through hard work. Overall, respondents in Morocco with intentions to emigrate tend to be less satisfied than respondents in Morocco without intentions to emigrate and Moroccan emigrants.

**Figure 2.10. Opinions of Moroccan-born persons in Morocco and abroad, 2010-13**

Survey responses of Moroccan-born persons (aged 15 and above) in percent



*Note:* Based on interviews with native-born persons who reside in Morocco and indicate an intention to emigrate (N varies between 1 100 and 1 600 except for the question on the ideal job, where N=550); native-born persons who reside in Morocco but do not indicate an intention to emigrate (N varies between 3 500 and 4 300 except for the question on the ideal job, where N=1 700); and Moroccan-born persons abroad (N varies between 400 and 550 except for the question on the ideal job and for the question on the availability of good jobs, where N=200 and N=300, respectively).

*Source:* Gallup World Poll data, <http://www.oecd.org/std/43017172.pdf>.

Figure 2.10 also indicates responses to the question whether there are friends or family networks abroad. The share of respondents indicating to have such networks is highest among those who reside in Morocco and have intentions to emigrate (55%), and lowest among those in Morocco who do not have intentions to emigrate (40%). This link between networks abroad and intentions to emigrate might arise in several ways: the presence of such networks might instil the idea to also move abroad, and the absence of such networks might also discourage any intentions to emigrate, as they could be difficult to implement without help abroad. Heering et al. (2004) find that family networks abroad have an especially strong effect on the intentions to emigrate of Moroccan women. While the effect is also positive for Moroccan men, their intentions to emigrate seem to reflect more strongly whether or not it is considered normal in their region to move abroad.

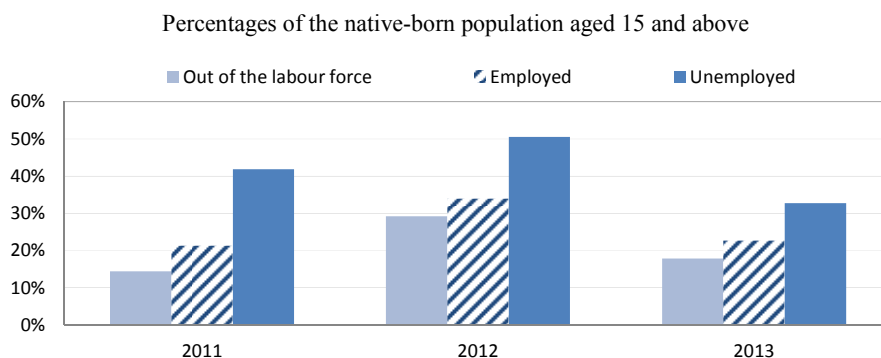
Figure 2.11 shows the shares that respondents with emigration intentions account for in the groups of employed, unemployed, and non-participating persons. As might be expected, unemployed persons most frequently indicate an intention to emigrate. The employed appear to indicate such intentions less



frequently, and those not in the labour force least frequently. However, as argued in Box 2.1, employed persons likely are best placed to encounter opportunities for emigration, while the comparatively high intentions of unemployed persons might in practice meet with strong limitations. Compared to other MENA countries, the share of employed people with emigration intentions does not appear particularly high: at 27% for 2007-13, it is not far from the average for MENA countries (23%) and roughly equal to shares in Tunisia (27%) and Algeria (26%).

The intention to emigrate varies greatly with the level of education. Persons with medium levels of education exhibit the highest intentions to emigrate, followed by the highly-educated ones (see Figure 2.12). The pattern for the educational groups may be linked to job prospects in Morocco: the comparatively high intentions among those with medium levels of education might reflect that they experience frustrating difficulties in the labour market despite the qualifications they have obtained. Those with low education levels are especially likely to encounter such difficulties, but their outcomes might be more in line with their expectations. Those with high education levels would likely also be frustrated, but might be more optimistic about eventually finding employment than those with medium levels of education.

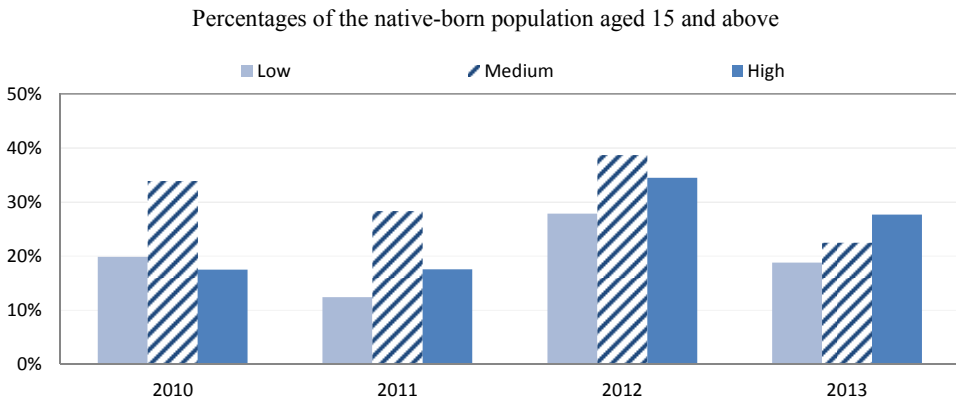
**Figure 2.11. Moroccan-born persons who consider emigrating from Morocco, by employment status, 2011-13**



*Note:* Figures are based on interviews with native-born persons in Morocco in the years 2011-13, while this information is not available for 2010. Considering emigration means answering “yes” to: “Ideally, if you had the opportunity, would you like to move permanently to another country?” N=1 300 for employed, N=500 for unemployed, and N=2 700 for out of the labour force. Answers recorded as “Do not know” or “Refused” are counted towards N and the base of the percentage.

*Source:* Gallup World Poll data, [www.oecd.org/std/43017172.pdf](http://www.oecd.org/std/43017172.pdf).

**Figure 2.12. Moroccan-born persons who consider emigrating from Morocco, by educational attainment, 2010-13**



*Note:* Based on interviews with native-born persons in Morocco in the years 2010-13. Considering emigration means answering “yes” to: “Ideally, if you had the opportunity, would you like to move permanently to another country?” Low education refers to completed elementary education or less (up to eight years of basic education). A medium level of education is between some secondary education and up to three years of tertiary education (9 to 15 years of education). High education refers to at least four years of completed education beyond high school, or a four-year college degree. N=3 500 for low education, N=2 050 for medium education, and N=400 for high education. Answers recorded as “Do not know” or “Refused” are counted towards N and the base of the percentage.

*Source:* Gallup World Poll data, [www.oecd.org/std/43017172.pdf](http://www.oecd.org/std/43017172.pdf).

However, as for employed individuals, the emigration intentions reported by highly-educated persons might not be a good indicator of their actual emigration behaviour. In terms of emigration intentions in this group, Morocco exhibits the seventh highest percentage (30% for the years 2007-13, see OECD, 2015) in the MENA region, not far from the regional average (27%). By contrast, the actual emigration rate for highly-educated persons in Morocco in 2010/11 was the second-highest in the MENA region – only behind the corresponding rate for Syria – and exceeded the overall emigration rate for Morocco (see OECD, 2015). This suggests that emigrants are positively selected on education, to a greater extent than indicated by the findings based on emigration intentions but in line with some empirical results on the self-selection of emigrants (see for example Borjas et al., 2015).

The correlations between intentions to emigrate and variables capturing job prospects, employment status or education level arose similarly in ETF (2013a). Those with a medium level of education were found to have the highest intentions to emigrate, while those with a high education level in

this case had the lowest intentions to emigrate. However, responses suggested that the ability to implement such plans increases with the level of education, while household income did not appear to be a constraint. Although persons not in employment exhibited somewhat lower intentions to emigrate than employed persons, ETF (2013a) emphasises job-related factors: reasons given by respondents with intentions to emigrate were expected improvements to their economic situation (indicated by 30%), not having a job (23%) or the wish to find a better paid job (12%). Around 90% of respondents with intentions to emigrate expect financial improvements in the event of emigration, hope to acquire skills abroad and believe to have better employment opportunities in Morocco after returning. While only few respondents expressed the wish to study abroad, this appeared to be another important motive for more highly-educated persons.

In conclusion, total migration flows from Morocco to the OECD area have fallen in recent years, driven primarily by falling flows to Spain. While flows to most of the main destination countries of Moroccan emigrants have likewise fallen, flows to other destination countries have grown from a low level. To a large extent, the flows to the main European destination countries in 2012 are made up of seasonal workers or labour migrants, while few emigrants in these flows had previously been employed in Morocco. This indicates that work is a strong motive for emigration flows to Europe. The potential for further emigration from Morocco appears large, based on comparatively high shares of the native-born Moroccan population who indicate an intention to emigrate. This intention is particularly frequent among young persons and among the unemployed, again highlighting the work motive for emigration. Survey responses also suggest that the availability of jobs in Morocco is the factor that influences emigration intentions most strongly.

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## Annex 2.A1

### Additional figures and tables

**Table 2.A1.1. Gross migration flows of Moroccan citizens to OECD destination countries, 2002-14**

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Australia	29	41	40	36	48	48	60	48	41	67	56	87	75
Austria	132	135	178	153	132	139	178	184	167	194	194	250	249
Belgium	8 495	8 444	8 014	7 106	7 488	7 831	8 221	9 093	9 754	8 491	5 852	4 687	4 767
Canada	4 057	3 243	3 471	2 692	3 110	3 789	3 907	5 222	6 242	4 399	3 878	3 261	2 492
Chile	1	7	7	4	5	6	12	11	11	14	17	18	0
Czech Republic	0	24	19	19	29	34	21	25	14	9	15	20	25
Denmark	102	67	52	49	66	102	92	104	93	84	57	103	114
Finland	50	60	73	61	82	77	92	101	63	87	81	112	119
France	21 778	22 554	22 162	19 976	23 012	22 084	22 558	21 603	20 110	18 765	19 790	20 049	21 104
Germany	6 490	6 272	4 868	4 390	3 570	3 179	3 374	3 925	3 762	4 370	5 024	6 666	5 223
Hungary	0	0	0	8	12	4	22	33	14	26	17	14	21
Iceland	15	6	7	20	18	8	14	7	5	8	7	8	6
Israel	87	115	69	75	53	48	42	25	35	40	45	37	48
Italy	15 327	40 821	34 792	26 057	21 784	23 483	37 275	33 128	29 960	23 885	19 590	19 568	17 637
Japan	0	0	0	0	119	127	163	142	164	121	182	156	247
Korea	95	103	62	49	40	39	74	80	65	89	90	139	186
Luxembourg	48	56	45	50	51	72	78	56	80	56	78	82	97
Mexico	0	0	0	0	0	6	14	27	19	26	15	35	33
Netherlands	4 919	4 497	3 301	2 077	1 713	1 233	1 465	1 680	1 632	1 841	1 432	1 469	1 405
New Zealand	7	10	8	10	4	11	7	9	4	10	7	7	6
Norway	189	135	131	130	129	133	122	114	123	123	121	139	123
Poland	0	0	0	65	84	88	144	181	156	175	217	168	107
Portugal	0	0	0	0	0	0	190	109	259	242	173	166	127
Slovak Republic	0	3	7	3	9	3	12	3	8	10	2	2	1
Slovenia	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	4	3	1	3	1
Spain	40 172	41 171	73 380	82 519	78 512	84 978	93 623	61 766	30 169	27 978	22 444	20 516	20 163
Sweden	218	263	239	234	345	376	459	400	421	416	475	521	541
Switzerland	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	730	619	505	542	492
United States	3 387	3 137	4 128	4 411	4 949	4 513	4 425	5 447	5 013	4 399	3 656	3 336	3 605
<b>Total</b>	<b>105 598</b>	<b>131 164</b>	<b>155 053</b>	<b>150 194</b>	<b>145 364</b>	<b>152 411</b>	<b>176 647</b>	<b>143 524</b>	<b>109 118</b>	<b>96 547</b>	<b>84 021</b>	<b>82 161</b>	<b>79 014</b>

*Note:* Figures refer to the annual gross inflow of Moroccan citizens of all ages. Blank cells in the table indicate missing values. Information was not available for Estonia, Greece, Ireland, Latvia, Turkey and the United Kingdom.

*Source:* OECD International Migration Database, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00342-en>.

**Table 2.A1.2. Net migration flows of Moroccan citizens to selected OECD destination countries, 2002-14**

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Australia			25	16	30	26	37	24	30	43	33	60	
Austria	85	85	127	84	52	53	67	48	22	72	72	120	67
Belgium	8 068	7 858	7 277	6 303	6 854	7 109	7 376	8 300	9 028	7 477	4 338	2 839	3 245
Czech Republic									12		13	12	14
Denmark	88	42	26	33	42	81	57	87	70	60	16	81	
Finland	35	52	63	56	77	65	81	88	57	82	77	103	107
Germany	3 585	3 123	1 353	1 266	1 513	1 040	609	1 273	1 336	2 095	2 651	3 673	2 456
Hungary				8	10	3	21	33	8	14	14	10	21
Iceland	15	2	6	20	18	1	1	3		3	5	6	4
Italy	14 724	40 066	34 015	25 028	20 686	22 473	36 229	31 950	27 781	22 124	17 630	17 150	
Japan					29	22	35	15	150	20	34	26	29
Korea		31							- 4	30		56	74
Luxembourg	31	44	27	36	40	53	63	36	66	41	56	55	70
Netherlands	4 026	3 498	2 307	1 079	706	413	604	1 051	1 024	1 340	702	966	923
New Zealand			7	9	2			5	3	10	6	7	5
Norway	166	92	66	78	100	106	103	114	98	89	82	109	97
Slovak Republic		1	2	3	8	2	8	- 5		8	1		
Spain	39 388	40 237	67 945	75 119	63 194	53 410	59 849	28 922	- 7 493	- 14 253	- 21 979	- 26 947	- 12 314
Sweden	195	229	209	211	307	319	425	368	372	385	423	461	482
Switzerland									547	392	324	356	318

*Note:* Figures refer to the difference between the annual gross inflow and the annual gross outflow of Moroccan citizens of all ages. Blank cells in the table indicate missing values.

*Source:* OECD International Migration Database, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00342-en>.



### *Chapter 3*

## **The socio-demographic characteristics of the Moroccan diaspora**

*This chapter examines the socio-demographic characteristics of Moroccan emigrants and their children. The dimensions explored primarily include their education levels and skills. Results point out the relatively low level of education of Moroccan emigrants compared to other groups of emigrants, in particular in the main European destination countries. Conversely, North American countries mainly host highly educated Moroccan emigrants. Over time, the level of education of Moroccan emigrants has increased. Finally, comparisons over time highlight some key changes in the characteristics of the Moroccan diaspora and its ties with Morocco.*

The statistical data for Israel are supplied by and under the responsibility of the relevant Israeli authorities. The use of such data by the OECD is without prejudice to the status of the Golan Heights, East Jerusalem and Israeli settlements in the West Bank under the terms of international law.

This chapter begins with an in-depth analysis of the education levels of Moroccan emigrants in OECD countries. These are then broken down by destination country and gender. Similar analyses are presented for the children of Moroccan emigrants in European countries for which data are available. The skill levels of Moroccan emigrants are presented, based on PIAAC data. Some features of the ties that the Moroccan emigrants maintain with their country of origin are described, notably through remittance flows.

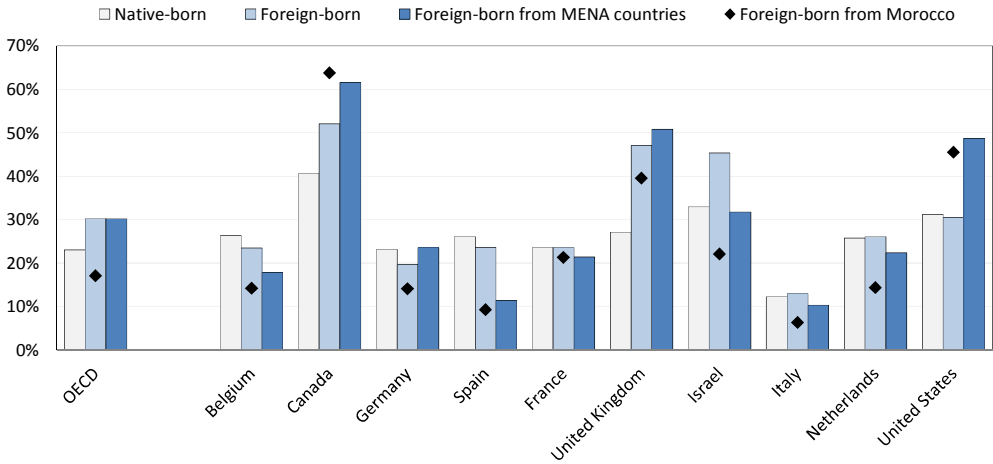
### **Relatively low levels of educational attainment for Moroccan emigrants**

On average, the education level of Moroccan emigrants is relatively low compared to other emigrants. In OECD countries, 58% of Moroccan emigrants had a low level of education in 2010/11, i.e. 1.5 million persons (Figure 3.1). This number of low-educated emigrants is relatively high, especially compared with other MENA emigrants, around 2.8 million of whom have a low education level (37%), and other emigrants (32% of whom have low educational attainment).

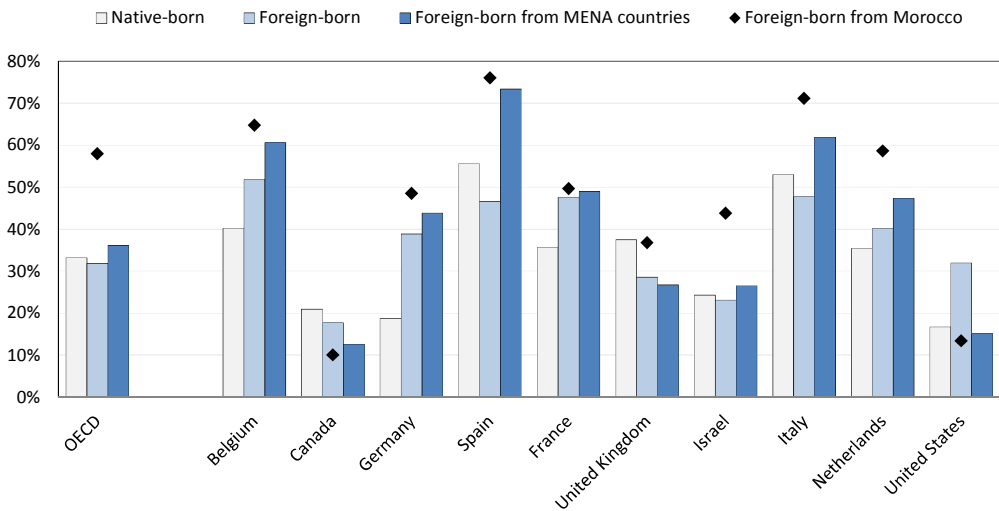
The proportion of Moroccan emigrants with low education is the highest of the MENA region (Figure 3.3). In terms of the number of emigrants in OECD countries, Morocco is the leading MENA country (see Chapter 1), and these emigrants are also, for the most part, low educated. In 2010/11, only 17% of Moroccan emigrants were highly educated, and 25% of them had an intermediate level of education. Even if the stock of Moroccan emigrants with high educational attainment is greater than the corresponding populations in MENA countries, Moroccan emigrants have the lowest proportion of graduates of higher education among MENA countries (Figure 3.3). The results can be linked to the relatively low-performing education system of Morocco compared to the ones of other MENA countries (TIMSS2011 and PIRLS2011 evaluations consolidate this observation (Ibourk, 2016), as well as the implementation by the World Bank of the *Second Education Development Policy Loan* project, one of the pillars of which is to improve educational quality), and to the structure of the working population that has accordingly a low level of educational attainment that is only rising slowly.

**Figure 3.1. Moroccan emigrants’ education level and place of birth in the ten main OECD destination countries, 2010/11**

Panel A. Proportion of the population with high educational attainment by place of birth

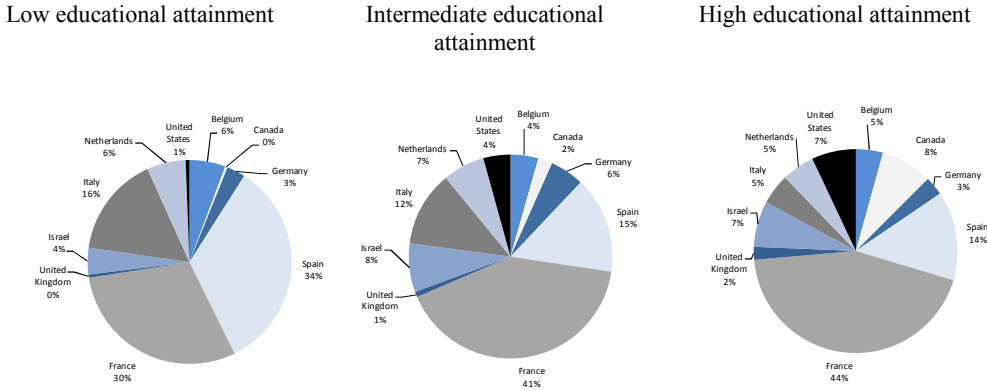


Panel B. Proportion of the population with low educational attainment by place of birth



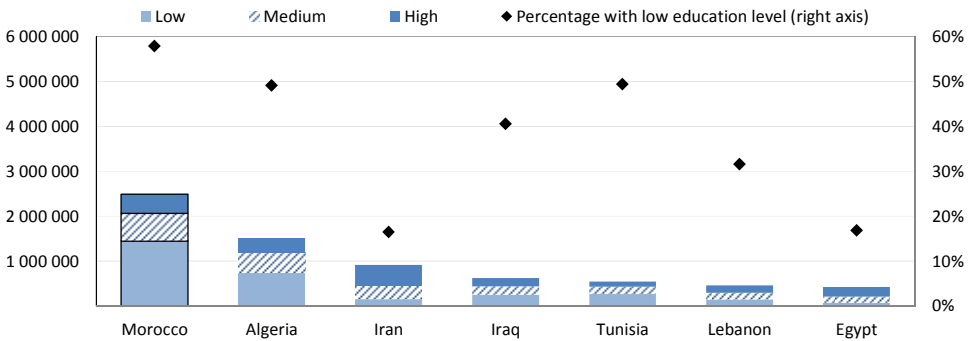
Source: OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2010/11, [www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm](http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm).

**Figure 3.2. Distribution of Moroccan emigrants across destination countries by education level, 2010/11**



Source: *OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2010/11*, [www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm](http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm).

**Figure 3.3. Education level of emigrants from Morocco and other MENA countries in OECD countries, 2010/11**



Source: *Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2010/11*, [www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm](http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm).

There are significant variations across destination countries in terms of education level, particularly according to Moroccan emigration waves (Figures 3.1 and 3.2). In Europe, Spain and Italy are recent immigration countries and host the highest proportions of low-educated Moroccan emigrants, who represent 76% and 71% of the Moroccan emigrant population in these countries respectively, in 2010/11. One third of all Moroccan emigrants in the OECD area with low educational attainment live

in Spain. In France, almost half of Moroccan emigrants have a low level of educational attainment whereas there are few low-educated Moroccan emigrants in North American countries (10% of Moroccan emigrants in Canada have a low level of educational attainment, and 13% in the United States, representing a total of less than 14 000 individuals in the two countries). Europe therefore welcomes the majority of low-educated Moroccan emigrants. The differences in the migratory policies of European countries and North American countries might contribute to explaining the differences in education levels.

In OECD countries, fewer than half a million Moroccan emigrants have a high level of education, i.e. a higher education degree. Among Moroccan emigrants in destination countries, the highest proportion of highly educated people can be found in Canada and the United States (Figures 3.1 and 3.2). In Canada, 64% of Moroccan emigrants are highly educated versus 46% in the United States. Of the ten main destination countries, a relatively high share of Moroccan emigrants is highly educated in the United Kingdom. These three English-speaking countries, which account for 17% of Moroccan emigrants with a higher education degree, seem to be the most attractive for this population and they are also the countries where the level of education among emigrants as a whole is highest. Moreover, in these three countries, the proportion of Moroccan emigrants with a higher education degree is higher than the corresponding proportion among native-born persons.

Most Moroccan immigrants with a high level of education live in European countries, despite their relatively low proportion among Moroccan emigrants in this region. Figure 3.3 illustrates that over 182 000 Moroccan emigrants with a high education level are in France, i.e. 43%, followed by over 58 000, or 14%, in Spain. Overall, over half of all highly educated Moroccan emigrants live in these two countries. The two North American countries, the United States and Canada, only host 15% of highly educated Moroccan emigrants, i.e. around 63 000 emigrants.

The migration of Moroccans to North America is more recent. For example, Chapter 1 highlighted the rise of emigration from Morocco to Canada between 2000/01 and 2010/11, while stocks of Moroccan emigrants in this country are comparatively low. Moreover, emigration flows have also changed in terms of education levels. The Moroccan emigrants who make up the current flows are on average more educated, and the North American countries are benefiting from this higher educated workforce. Conversely, the waves of 20th century emigration towards European countries (France, Spain, Italy) were primarily intended to meet labour market needs for a low-skilled workforce to support reconstruction, industry during the post-war boom in France, and agriculture in Southern European countries.

As a result, the proportion of emigrants in Europe with a higher education degree varies from 6% in Italy to 21% in France – which is close to the figure for Israel (22%). In Spain, Italy, Belgium and the Netherlands, Moroccan emigrants are less often highly educated. In Spain, the proportion of Moroccan emigrants with a higher education degree is 2.8 times lower than the corresponding share of persons born in Spain. In Italy, native-born persons are twice as likely to have a higher education degree as Moroccan emigrants (12% versus 6%). Overall, European countries, especially in Southern Europe, attract very few Moroccan emigrants with a higher education degree.

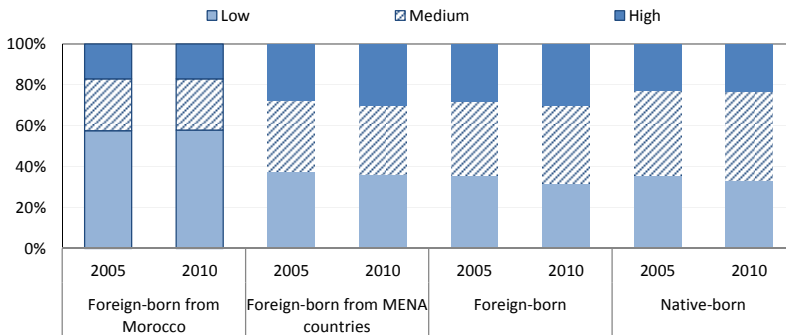
### ***An upward trend in educational attainment***

In 2000/01, over 200 000 Moroccan emigrants had a high level of educational attainment. In 2010/11, this figure had risen to 420 000, representing an increase of over 100%. At the same time, between 2000/01 and 2010/11, the proportion of Moroccan emigrants with a low level of educational attainment fell from 63% to 58% (Figure 3.4). This fall coincides with the increase from 14% to 17% in the proportion of Moroccan emigrants with a high level of educational attainment. Given that emigrants as a whole include both new emigrants and emigrants from previous waves, even a slight increase in the level of educational attainment of the stock reflects sharper increases among recent migrants. Nevertheless, the improvement in educational attainment of Moroccan emigrants remains below the increase in the educational attainment of MENA emigrants and emigrants as a whole.

The comparison between recent emigrants (i.e. those that have been in the country for no more than five years) and settled emigrants confirms this rise in educational attainment. On average, recent Moroccan emigrants have higher levels of educational attainment. In 2010/11, 27.9% of recent emigrants had a higher education degree compared to 23.8% for settled emigrants (Figure 3.5). Among the main destination countries, the rise in the level of education is more pronounced in European countries, and is particularly striking in France (Figure 3.A1.2 in the annex). Between 2000/01 and 2010/11, the proportion of recent emigrants with a high education level grew by 7 percentage points, from 18% to 25%, and from nearly 5 500 emigrants to more than 15 500 emigrants. This increase in the education level of recent emigrants also concerns Southern European countries, such as Spain and Italy. These two countries have seen a decrease in the proportion of the low educated among recent emigrants. These proportions decreased respectively from 85% to 76% in Spain between 2000/01 and 2010/11 and from 79% to 76% in Italy over the same period. The economic difficulties experienced by countries in Southern Europe in

particular have made migration less beneficial for the least qualified, who were the first in Europe to be affected by the crisis (see Chapter 4). Moreover, the higher education level of women may also be a factor behind the upward trend in the general education level.

**Figure 3.4. Education level of emigrants aged 15 and over in OECD destination countries by country of birth, 2000/01 and 2010/11**

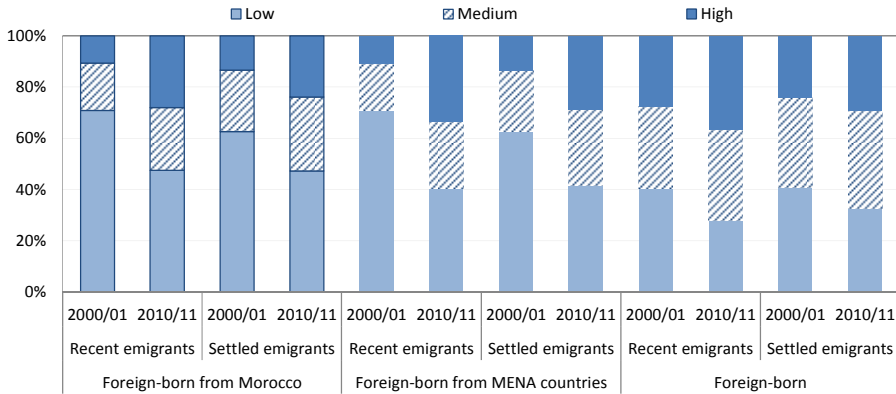


*Note:* The population refers to the population aged 15 and above.

*Source:* OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2000/01 and 2010/11, <http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm>.

The education level of female Moroccan emigrants rose between 2000/01 and 2010/11. The marked difference between men and women has therefore declined as women's educational attainment improved, even if their average level of education remains lower than that of their male counterparts. Figure 3.6 illustrates this upward trend for female Moroccan emigrants: in 2010/11, 15% had a higher education degree compared to 13% in 2000/01. The number of female Moroccan emigrants with a higher education degree more than doubled between 2000/01 and 2010/11, from 80 000 in 2000/01 to over 180 000 in 2010/11. This 125% growth in the number of female emigrants with a high level of educational attainment is 30 percentage points higher than the corresponding growth rate for male emigrants, whose number increased from 125 000 in 2000/01 to 245 000 in 2010/11. The gender gap is slightly less visible when it comes to intermediate levels of education, as men are only 2.3 percentage points more likely than women to have an intermediate education level. Among Moroccan emigrants in OECD countries, there are more women than men with a low level of education. These results reflect the general improvement in the average education level of Moroccan women, as well as in their empowerment (CCME, 2015). Female Moroccan emigrants in OECD countries with a higher education degree therefore represent a growing potential for the labour market.

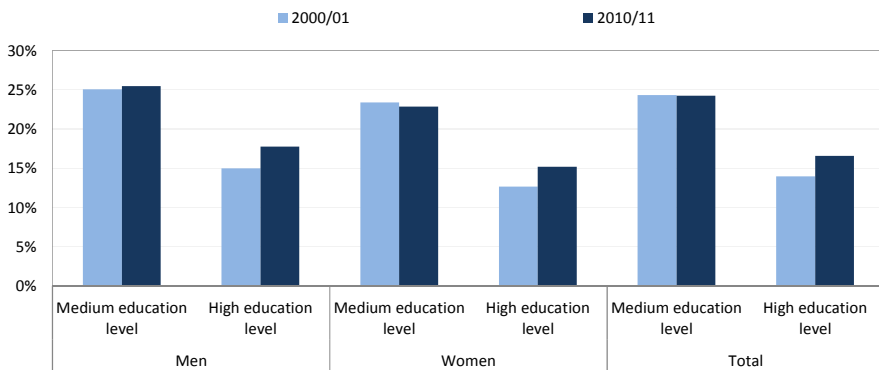
**Figure 3.5. Education of emigrants by place of birth and duration of residence in OECD countries, 2000/01 and 2010/11**



*Note:* Recent emigrants are defined as being in the host country for no more than five years, and settled emigrants as being in the host country for over five years. The population refers to the population aged 15 and above.

*Source:* OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2000/01 and 2010/11, <http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm>.

**Figure 3.6. Moroccan emigrants by gender and education level in OECD countries, 2000/01 and 2010/11**



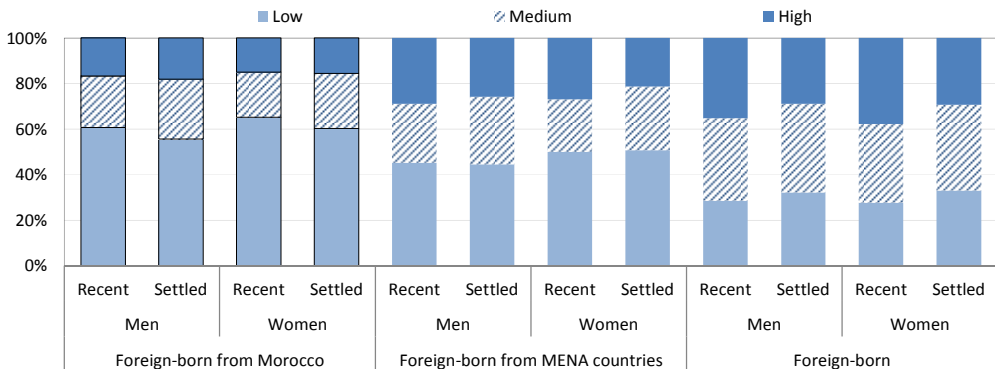
*Note:* The population refers to the population aged 15 and above.

*Source:* OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2000/01 and 2010/11, <http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm>.



The improved level of education of women can also be seen in the reduced gender gap in terms of education levels between recent Moroccan emigrants. Figure 3.7 shows that the gender gap between Moroccan emigrants with a higher education degree falls from 2.4 percentage points for settled emigrants to 1.8 percentage points for recent Moroccan emigrants, even if women remain less educated than men. This upward trend in the level of education of emigrant women is nevertheless general and not limited to the Moroccan diaspora. The gender gap for recent MENA emigrants is 2 percentage points compared with 4 percentage points for MENA emigrants settled for at least five years. Compared with the emigrant population as a whole, the gender gap in education is greater among both Moroccan emigrants and MENA emigrants. Among recent emigrants in OECD countries, women are less likely than men to have a low level of educational attainment (by 0.8 percentage points) and they are more likely than men to have a higher education degree (by 2.5 percentage points).

**Figure 3.7. Education level of Moroccan emigrants and other emigrants (aged 15 and over) by gender and duration of residence in OECD countries, 2010/11**



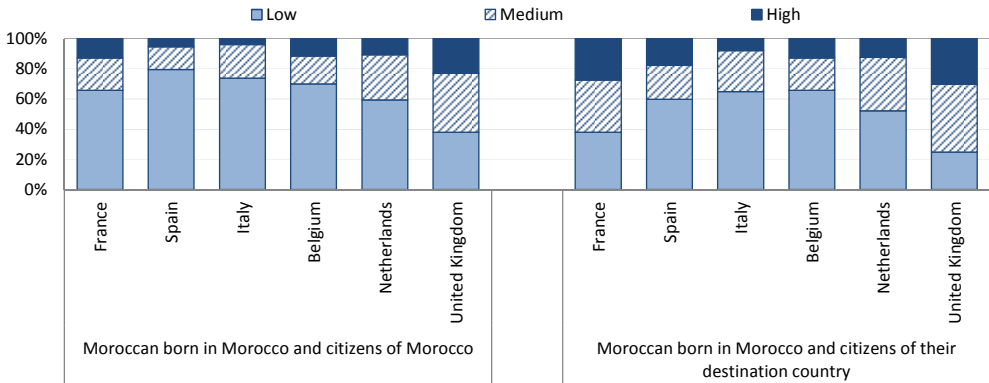
*Note:* The population refers to the population aged 15 and above.

*Source:* OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2010/11, [www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm](http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm).

Nevertheless, the educational attainment of recent female Moroccan emigrants is lower than the educational attainment of female Moroccan emigrants who have settled in the host country for over five years (Figure 3.7). This is mainly age-related, as there is only a low probability that individuals who migrated at an early age will have high educational attainment as they will not have had time to complete their studies. On average, emigrants who pursue their studies in the host country have a better chance of successfully integrating into its labour market (OECD, 2015b).

The education level of Moroccan emigrants also varies according to whether they have obtained the nationality of the host country (Figure 3.8). In all European OECD countries for which data are available, emigrants born in Morocco who have the nationality of their host country have a higher level of education than those who only have Moroccan nationality.

**Figure 3.8. Education level of Moroccan emigrants by nationality in selected European OECD countries, 2014**



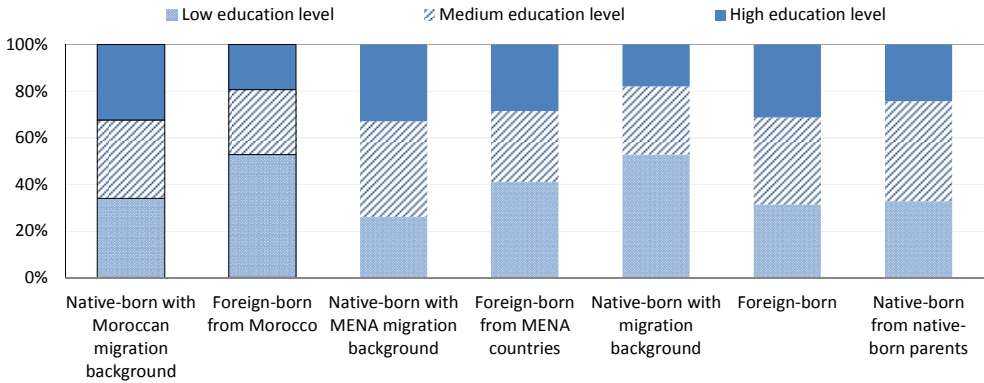
*Note:* The population refers to the population aged 15 and above.

*Source:* European Labour Force Survey (Eurostat) 2014 ad-hoc module on the labour market situation of immigrants and their immediate descendants.

### The children of Moroccan immigrants: higher educational attainment than their parents

In 2014, the children of Moroccan emigrants<sup>1</sup> were significantly better educated than Moroccan immigrants and slightly better educated than native-born persons in a selection of European countries for which data are available<sup>2</sup> (Figure 3.9). Of the 833 000 children of Moroccan immigrants in these countries, over 265 000 have a high level of education (32% of the total) and around 260 000 have low educational attainment (31% of the total). Therefore, the children of Moroccan immigrants are more often better educated than Moroccan emigrants, only 19% of whom are highly educated. Similarly, the share of the low educated among Moroccan emigrants is almost 20 percentage points higher than among the children of Moroccan immigrants. Compared to the children of MENA immigrants, the children of Moroccan immigrants are somewhat more likely to be low educated.

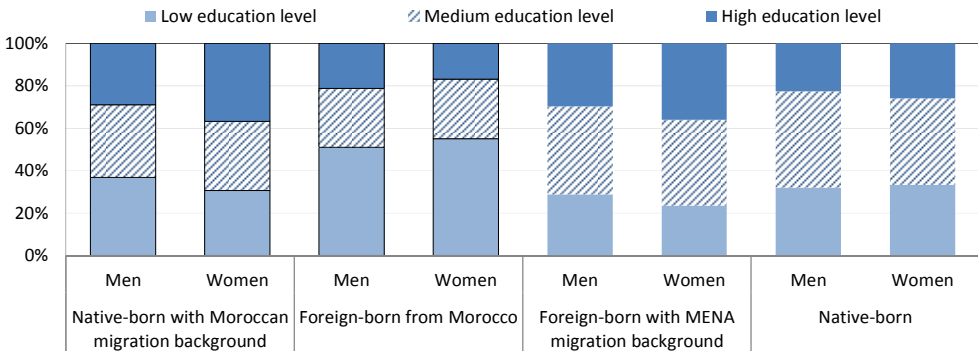
**Figure 3.9. Education level of emigrants, children of immigrants and native-born persons in European OECD countries, 2014**



Note: The population refers to the population aged 15 and above.

Source: European Labour Force Survey 2014, ad-hoc module on the labour market situation of immigrants and their immediate descendants.

**Figure 3.10. Education level of emigrants, children of immigrants and native-born persons in European OECD countries by gender, 2014**



Note: The population refers to the population aged 15 and above.

Source: European Labour Force Survey (Eurostat) 2014 ad-hoc module on the labour market situation of immigrants and their immediate descendants.

Unlike Moroccan emigrants, the male children of Moroccan immigrants have lower levels of education than their female counterparts (Figure 3.10). The share of the highly educated among the female children of Moroccan immigrants is almost 7 percentage points higher than that for their male counterparts. Women from the second generation of the Moroccan diaspora in European Union countries have therefore gained ground compared to the

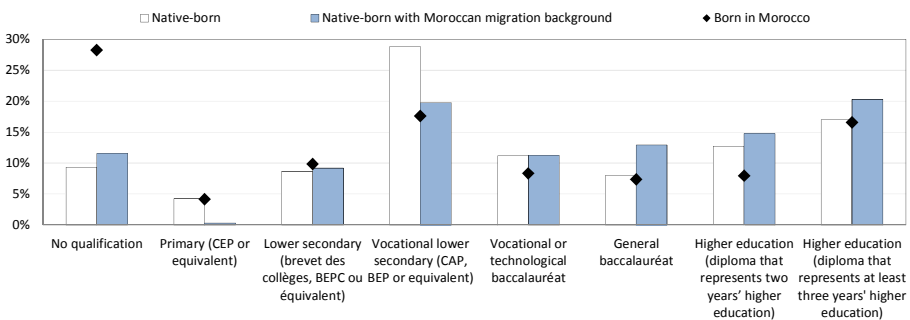
first generation of female Moroccan emigrants. The education level of the female children of Moroccan immigrants is even higher than for native-born women.

### *The children of Moroccan immigrants in France are catching up*

This section looks more closely at the characteristics and the situation of second generation Moroccan emigrants in France, the main host country for the Moroccan diaspora, and highlights the differences with both their parents and persons with native-born parents. Compared with native-born persons, Moroccan emigrants in France are more strongly represented at both ends of the education distribution. They are more than three times more likely than native-born persons to have a low level of education (9% for native-born persons and 28% for Moroccan emigrants). This gap between native-born persons and Moroccan emigrants disappears at the top of the education ladder, with Moroccan emigrants only 0.5 percentage points less to obtain a qualification higher than an associate degree (Figure 3.11).

On average, the children of Moroccan immigrants are more educated than their parents. 12% of them have no qualifications (10% for native-born persons) and 20% have completed higher education with at least a bachelor's degree, whereas this is the case for only 17% of Moroccan emigrants and native-born persons.

**Figure 3.11. Education level by place of birth, in France, 2008**



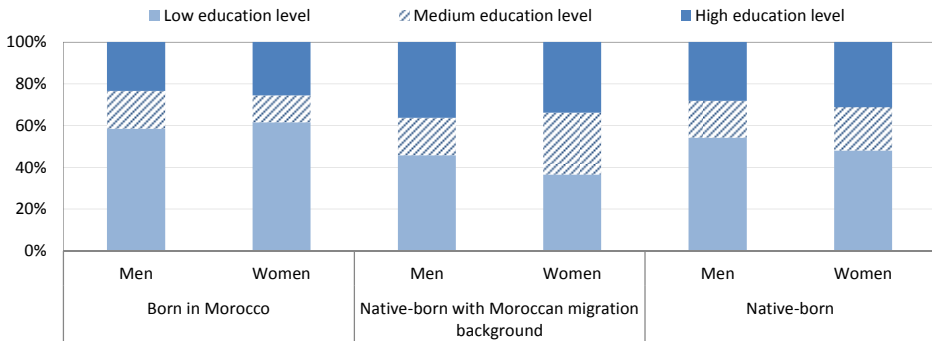
*Note:* The population refers to the population aged 18 to 60.

*Source:* Trajectories and Origins Survey (INED-INSEE), 2008.

The female children of Moroccan immigrants in France have high educational attainment compared to both emigrants and native-born women (Figure 3.12). While 36% of them have a low level of education compared

to 61% of female Moroccan emigrants, 34% of them have a higher education degree compared to only 26% of female Moroccan emigrants and 31% of native-born women. Overall, the female children of Moroccan immigrants seem to be very well integrated into the French educational system. As for men whose parents are Moroccan immigrants, 36% of them have a higher education degree, 8.2 percentage points more than their native-born male counterparts.

**Figure 3.12. Education level by place of birth and gender, in France, 2008**



*Note:* The population refers to the population aged 18 to 60.

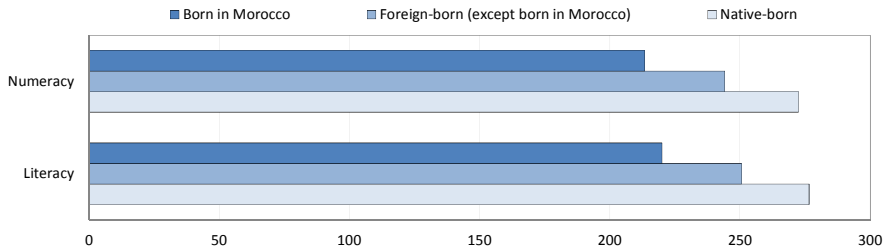
*Source:* Trajectories and Origins Survey (INED-INSEE), 2008.

### ***Proficiency***

The literacy and numeracy proficiency skills of Moroccan emigrants are on average lower than for native-born persons and other emigrants, according to data from the Programme for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies (PIAAC) (Figure 3.13). The gap is particularly large between Moroccan emigrants and native-born persons and larger than that between other emigrants and native-born persons. The proficiency level of Moroccan emigrants is at least 50 points lower than the level of native-born persons, for both numeracy and literacy skills.

The gap is especially wide when it comes to numeracy skills, with 60 points separating native-born persons and Moroccan emigrants. Similarly, the numeracy proficiency levels of Moroccan emigrants are around 30 points lower than the levels of other emigrants. The difference in literacy proficiency between native-born persons and Moroccan emigrants is slightly lower (56 points) than the gap in numeracy proficiency (Figure 3.13). The average literacy proficiency of Moroccan emigrants is 30 points lower than for other emigrants.

**Figure 3.13. Literacy and numeracy proficiency of Moroccan emigrants in OECD countries, 2012**



*Note:* The population refers to the population aged 16 to 65.

*Source:* Programme for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies (PIAAC 2012), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00342-en>.

### Box 3.1. PIAAC and assessment of competencies

The Programme for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies (PIAAC) collects the responses from around 166 000 adults, representing 724 million adults aged 16-65. In 2012, they were surveyed in 24 countries and sub-national regions in the official languages of each participating country. The PIAAC Survey of Adult Skills goes beyond formal qualifications to assess literacy proficiency by testing individuals' abilities to read a text.

The direct-assessment component studied in this report evaluates the skills of adults in three fundamental domains. These are considered to constitute "key" information processing skills in the sense that they provide a foundation for the development of other, higher-order cognitive skills and are prerequisites for gaining access to, and understanding of, specific domains of knowledge. In addition, these skills are necessary in a broad range of contexts, from education through work to everyday life. The competencies assessed are:

#### Literacy

Literacy is the ability to understand and use information from written texts in a variety of contexts to achieve goals and develop knowledge and potential. This is a core requirement for developing higher-order skills and for positive economic and social outcomes. Previous studies have shown reading literacy to be closely linked to positive outcomes at work, to social participation, and to lifelong learning. Unlike previous assessments of literacy, the survey evaluates adults' ability to read digital texts (e.g. texts containing hyper-text and navigation features, such as scrolling or clicking on links) as well as traditional print-based texts.

#### Numeracy

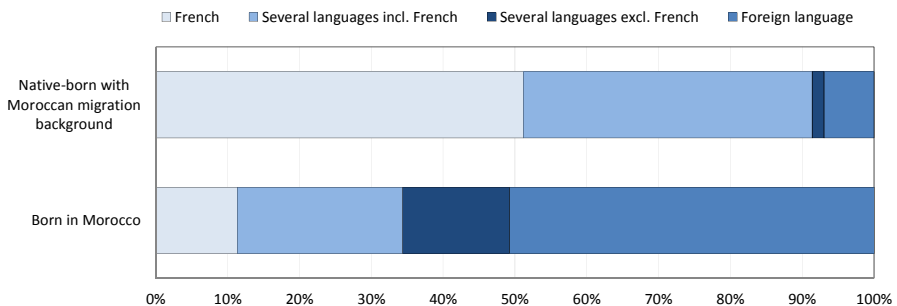
Numeracy is the ability to use, apply, interpret, and communicate mathematical information and ideas. It is an essential skill in an age when individuals encounter an increasing amount and wide range of quantitative and mathematical information in their daily lives. Numeracy is a skill parallel to reading literacy, and it is important to assess how these competencies interact, since they are distributed differently across subgroups of the population.

### *The proficiency in French of the Moroccan diaspora in France*

Knowledge of the host-country language is a vital factor in migrant integration. Fluency in the host-country language facilitates not only the acquisition of formal qualifications but also labour market integration. Accordingly, the age of arrival in the host country has an important bearing on learning and success in the education system (OECD, 2014; OECD, 2015b).

According to the 2008 survey “Trajectoires et Origines” in France, only 34% of Moroccan emigrants in France grew up speaking French (among other languages) compared with 91% of the children of Moroccan emigrants (Figure 3.14). This significant difference between the two groups in terms of language exposure during childhood reflects migration patterns. Migrants, regardless of their origin, often grow up in their home country rather than their host country, and migrate at a later age. The relatively high proportion of children of immigrants speaking French at home, moreover, implies an appropriation of the host-country language, and therefore an integration of the diaspora. Nevertheless, for the remaining 9% of children of immigrants and the other 66% of Moroccan emigrants who do not speak French at home in France, the chances of academic and labour market success can be lowered by potentially poorer proficiency in French, even if it is something that can be acquired later.

**Figure 3.14. Languages spoken at home by Moroccan emigrants and their children in France, 2008**



*Note:* The population refers to the population aged 18 to 60.

*Source:* Trajectories and Origins Survey (INED-INSEE), 2008.

## Relatively successful social integration in host countries

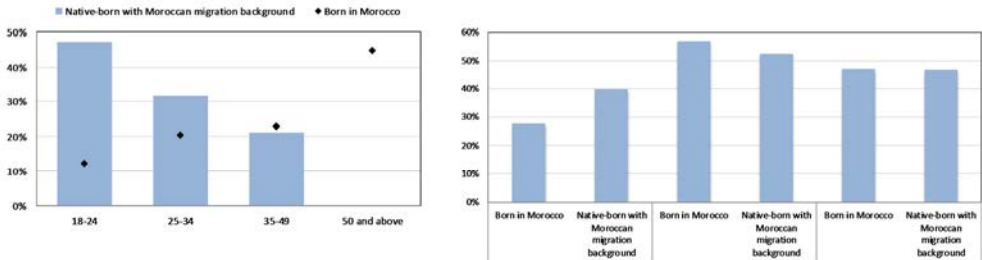
The nationality of the spouses of both Moroccan emigrants in France and their children reflects the level of integration of the Moroccan diaspora in France. According to the *Trajectoires et Origines* survey, in 2008, 67% of Moroccan emigrants had Moroccan partners whereas this figure falls to 27% for the partners of the children of Moroccan immigrants. Whereas only 27% of Moroccan emigrants in France have spouses who were born in France, this figure increases to 60% among the children of Moroccan immigrants. This trend towards mixed marriages coincides with a relatively high proportion of couples in the Moroccan diaspora in France in which the partner was born in Algeria (3% for Moroccan emigrants and 6% for the children of Moroccan immigrants).

According to these same data, almost half of the Moroccan-born population have adopted French nationality, with 46% of Moroccan emigrants holding dual nationality. The majority of their children (around 60%), however, only have French citizenship, with around 40% holding dual nationality.<sup>3</sup>

Very few Moroccan emigrants, only 12% in 2008, want to leave France (Figure 3.15). Nevertheless, the desire to leave France varies with age and educational attainment. Figure 3.15 shows that it is the oldest emigrants who most express the desire to return to Morocco, and in 2008 almost one out of two Moroccan emigrants aged 50 or over wanted to leave France. This result may suggest that they intend to retire in their country of origin. At the same time, it is not necessarily the low educated who tend to be overwhelmingly in favour of leaving France. Indeed, just under one out of two Moroccan emigrants with a higher education degree, or children of Moroccan immigrants with a higher education degree, profess a desire to leave France. This figure falls to 28% for low-educated Moroccan emigrants. Despite the fact that the low educated have the most problems in the labour market (see Chapter 4), they do not seem to be the ones most intent on leaving. Lastly, there are proportionally more low-educated children of Moroccan immigrants than low-educated Moroccan immigrants expressing a desire to leave France. This may be due in part to the greater sense of discrimination felt by the children of Moroccan immigrants with low educational attainment compared to Moroccan emigrants with low educational attainment, with 35% of the poorly qualified children of Moroccan immigrants stating in the *Trajectoires et Origines* survey that they have sometimes or often experienced discrimination compared to only 23% of low-educated Moroccan emigrants.



**Figure 3.15. Desire to leave France by age and educational attainment of the Moroccan diaspora in France, 2008**



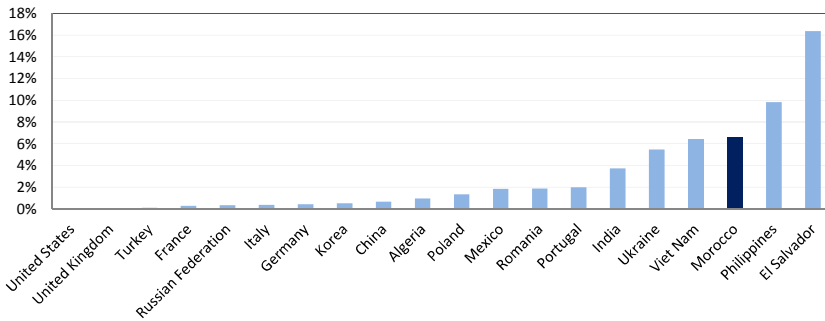
*Note:* The population refers to the population aged 18 to 60.

*Source:* Trajectories and Origins Survey (INED-INSEE), 2008.

## Remittances and ties with Morocco

The strong ties that Moroccan emigrants maintain with their country of origin are reflected in remittance flows to Morocco. In 2014, Moroccan emigrants' transfers reached USD 6.8 billion, representing the equivalent of around 7% of the country's GDP. The contribution of Moroccan remittances to Moroccan GDP is particularly high compared to other countries of origin (Figure 3.16). Morocco displayed the third largest remittance flow by percentage of GDP in 2013, behind only the Philippines (10%) and El Salvador (16%). Remittance flows by percentage of Moroccan GDP have been stable overall in recent years (Figure 3.17), despite the increase in numbers of Moroccan emigrants. They have been a reliable source of foreign currency, which has exceeded the combined total of foreign direct investment and of official development assistance. However, the current stagnation of these levels of remittances recalls an earlier unexpected stagnation in the 1990s (de Haas, 2007). The ageing of Moroccan emigrants, especially the first wave arriving in European countries, might lead to a weakening of the ties with Morocco. In addition, changes in the composition of the Moroccan emigrant population (reasons for migration, level of education) may be linked to the downward trend in remittances.

**Figure 3.16. Remittances as a percentage of GDP, 2013**

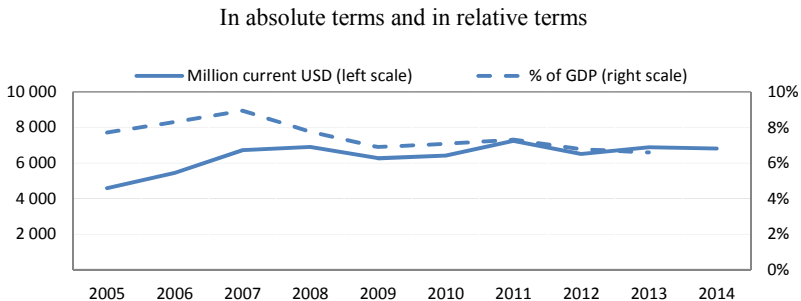


*Note:* Migrants’ remittances are defined as the sum of all the amounts sent by migrant workers, wages of those in employment and migrants’ transfers.

*Source:* World Bank.

These changes coincide with a shifting perception of the diaspora. Greater public action in Morocco has led to a change in the perception of the migrant’s role. Previously considered as a loss to the country, or at best a source of financial inflows, emigrants are now seen as a resource for the country. Their skills, their international networks, information and investment have become resources that can be mobilised for the country’s development projects. This is why elected officials, including those at local level, are looking to strengthen ties with “their” diasporas, and to harness these resources for development projects in their constituencies. These simultaneous shifts within the diaspora and the regions have therefore led from a context of emigrants supporting the regions to a situation in which regional actors are leveraging the contribution of their diasporas.

**Figure 3.17. Total annual remittances to Morocco by Moroccan emigrants, 2005-14**



*Source:* OECD (2015a).

## Conclusion

On average, the educational attainment of the Moroccan diaspora in OECD countries is low. 58% of Moroccan emigrants in all OECD countries have a low level of educational attainment, but most of these low-educated Moroccan emigrants are located in only a small number of European countries. The three main host countries for this diaspora, France, Italy and Spain, are the three countries where most of the poorly qualified Moroccan emigrants are based. By contrast, the United States and Canada attract proportionally more Moroccan emigrants with high educational attainment. The recent upward trend in the educational attainment of Moroccan emigrants concerns women more than men, allowing the former to slightly close the gender gap in terms of educational attainment. The children of Moroccan emigrants in OECD countries are more qualified than Moroccan emigrants themselves, and women in the former group have higher education levels than men. Lastly, the Moroccan diaspora is noteworthy for the strong ties it maintains with Morocco, especially via remittances.

## Notes

1. The term “children of immigrants” refers, for the countries in question, to children born in the country of residence with at least one parent born in Morocco.
2. The European countries which include the characteristics of the children of immigrants in their EU-LFS data are: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus\*,\*\*, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Finland, France, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, the Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom.

\* Note by Turkey : The information in this document with reference to “Cyprus” relates to the southern part of the Island. There is no single authority representing both Turkish and Greek Cypriot people on the Island. Turkey recognises the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC). Until a lasting and equitable solution is found within the context of the United Nations, Turkey shall preserve its position concerning the “Cyprus issue”.

\*\*Note by all the European Union Member States of the OECD and the European Union: The Republic of Cyprus is recognised by all members of the United Nations with the exception of Turkey. The information in this document relates to the area under the effective control of the Government of the Republic of Cyprus.

3. Declaration data are however limited by the non-registration of all nationalities held. On this basis, the figures should be interpreted with caution. Moreover, Moroccan nationality cannot be forfeited and is automatically granted under Moroccan law, so individuals who do not hold it have probably not launched the necessary administrative process.

## *References*

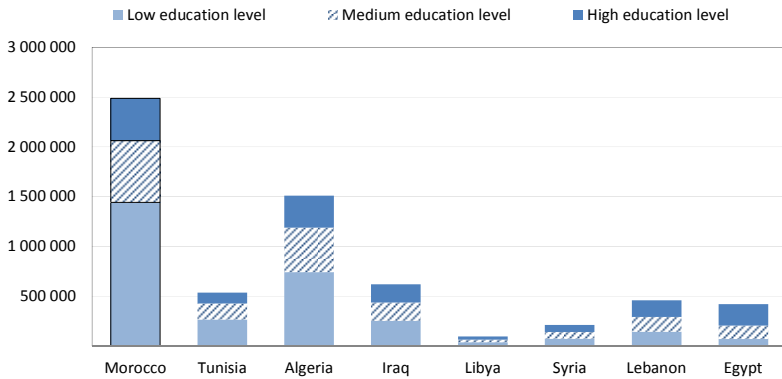
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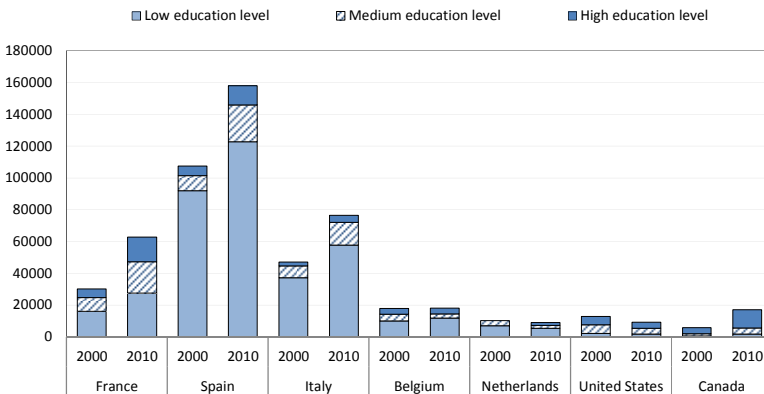
### Annex 3.A1 Additional figures

**Figure 3.A1.1. MENA emigrants in OECD countries by country of birth and education level, 2010/11**



Source: Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2010/11, [www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm](http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm).

**Figure 3.A1.2. Recent Moroccan emigrants in main OECD destination countries by education level, 2000/01 and 2010/11**



Source: OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2000/01 and 2010/11, [www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm](http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm).

## Chapter 4

### Labour market outcomes of Moroccan emigrants

*This chapter examines the labour market situation of working-age Moroccan emigrants through several key indicators and compares it to the situation of other groups of emigrants. Moroccan emigrants have a relatively low employment rate and a high unemployment rate in their main OECD destination countries, except Canada and the United States. A closer look focuses on developments over time, including changes in labour market integration due to the economic crisis (especially in Spain, where the deterioration of the labour market during the economic crisis was pronounced). Distinguishing by gender and level of education highlights the situation of particular groups. Low-educated Moroccan emigrants face more difficulties in the labour market. The industries and occupations in which Moroccan emigrants work tend to be unskilled, except for a few specific occupations. Finally, the high rate of overqualification among emigrants indicates lower job quality.*

The statistical data for Israel are supplied by and under the responsibility of the relevant Israeli authorities. The use of such data by the OECD is without prejudice to the status of the Golan Heights, East Jerusalem and Israeli settlements in the West Bank under the terms of international law.

This chapter deals with the labour market integration of Moroccan emigrants. The indicators of labour market participation, employment and unemployment are presented for all Moroccan emigrants. These results are then displayed by destination country and plotted against time, to take into account the impact of the economic crisis, which has hit the main European destination countries, on the labour market integration of Moroccan emigrants. A more detailed analysis is devoted to labour market integration by gender, level of education and reason for migration. The situation of the children of Moroccan immigrants is then examined. Finally, the sectors and occupations of Moroccan emigrants are described, as well as their job quality.

### **Labour market integration is comparatively difficult**

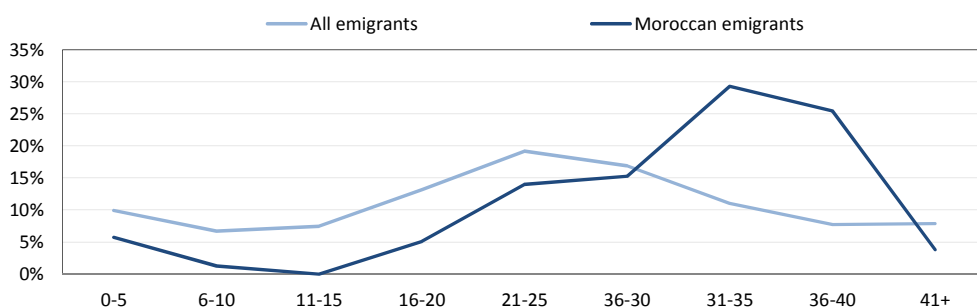
Almost half a million Moroccan emigrants in OECD countries are unemployed, i.e. almost 30% of the Moroccan labour force in these countries, according to DIOC data for 2010/11. The problem of labour market integration faced by Moroccan emigrants also faces their children, but to a lesser extent. The issue of mass unemployment co-exists alongside low employment rates, as fewer than one in two Moroccan emigrants is in work.

#### ***The determinants of labour market integration***

Labour market outcomes for migrants depend on several factors. Firstly, personal characteristics, especially in terms of level of education, determine the labour market opportunities and integration levels of emigrants. The previous chapters revealed the lower average education level of Moroccan emigrants in comparison to other emigrants and, more markedly, native-born persons (see Chapter 3). Educational attainment also influences the sectors and types of occupation held. The country in which diplomas are awarded is another factor of labour market integration as, on average, individuals educated in the host country have better results (Bonfanti and Xenogiani, 2014). Labour market integration also depends on the age of emigrants (and their children), with younger people finding it more difficult to enter the labour market. On average, Moroccan emigrants emigrated at an older age than other emigrants (Figure 4.1).



**Figure 4.1. Distribution of immigrants by age (16-65) upon arrival in the OECD destination countries by country of birth, 2012**



Source: Programme for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies (PIAAC 2012).

The reasons for migration may also explain variations in labour market integration among emigrants. Labour migrants are better integrated into the labour market than migrants coming for family and humanitarian reasons (OECD, 2016). The entry category, along with the duration of residence and the age of arrival in the country, can influence employment opportunities. In addition, a large part of the difference in labour market outcomes between different countries may be related to the migration policies that determine the composition of the migrant population, and to the policies for integrating emigrants. The labour market needs of host countries have a significant bearing on the labour market integration of Moroccan emigrants, in both quantitative and qualitative terms (for example, needs for specific skills).

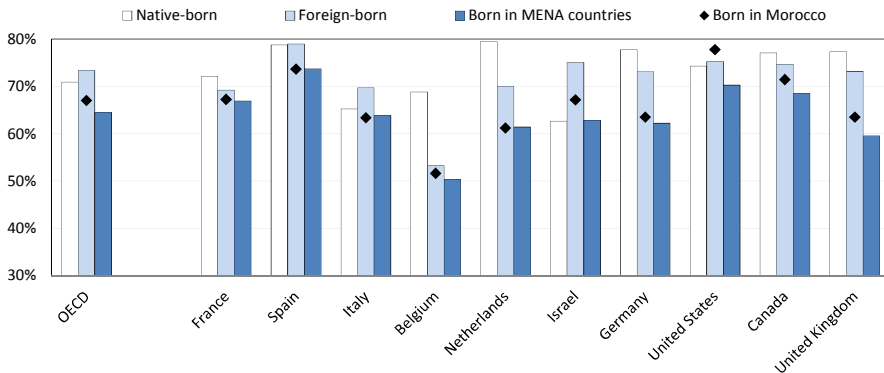
The fact that labour market participation is lower for women than for men among Moroccan emigrants, and that Moroccan emigrant women are on the whole less successful in integrating the labour market, can be also explained by socio-cultural norms, demographics and household compositions in Morocco (Chicha, 2013). Accordingly, indicators of labour market integration will vary depending on the proportion of women among Moroccan emigrants.

### ***Labour market participation differs across countries***

In 2010/11, two thirds of Moroccan emigrants participated in the labour markets of OECD countries, a rate<sup>1</sup> lower (by almost 4 percentage points) than that of the native-born population (Figure 4.2). This rate of labour market participation is more than 2 percentage points higher than for MENA emigrants. However, it is more than 6 percentage points lower than the general participation rate for emigrants.

In 2010/11, the labour market participation of Moroccan emigrants in the main destination countries varied by over 25 percentage points (Figure 4.2). It was particularly low in Belgium (52%) and very high in the United States (78%) and in Spain (74%). Generally speaking, labour market participation is higher in North American countries (United States, Canada) while it is lower in European host countries, except for Spain.

**Figure 4.2. Participation rates of the 15-64 age group by country of destination and place of birth, in OECD countries, 2010/11**



*Note:* This figure features the top ten OECD destination countries for Moroccan emigrants. The population refers to the working-age population (15-64).

*Source:* OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2010/11, [www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm](http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm).

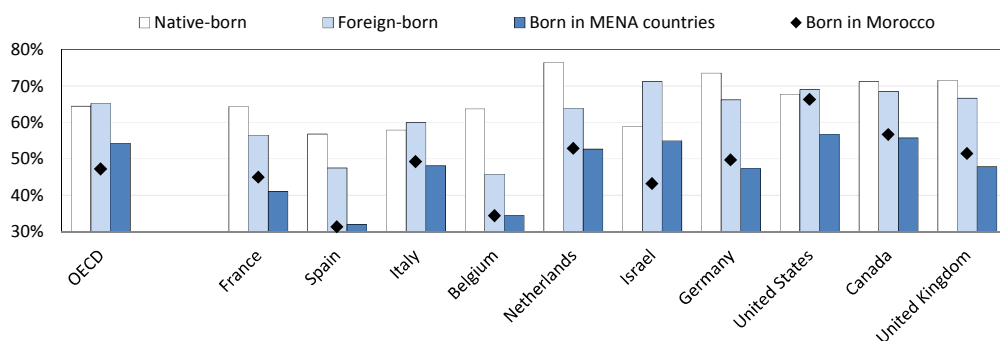
In addition, the differences in labour market participation between native-born persons and Moroccan emigrants are higher than in the United States, where Moroccan emigrants might be more strongly selected, as well as in Spain and in Italy, where the participation rate of native-born persons is relatively low. In the United States, the level of educational attainment of Moroccan emigrants is particularly high (see Chapter 3), which may partially explain this outcome. The United States is an exception, as Moroccan emigrants participate more in the labour market than the three other groups of emigrants and native-born persons. Similarly, the participation rate of Moroccan emigrants in Canada exceeds that of emigrants from the MENA region, and emigrants as a whole. In both these countries, Moroccan emigrants have a high level of educational attainment (see Chapter 3), on a par with native-born persons without immigrant parents. In addition, Moroccan emigrants in the United States often settle in urban regions where there is easy access to skilled employment (Di Bartolomeo, 2015).

### *Relatively low employment rates and high unemployment*

The relatively high labour market participation of Moroccan emigrants hides a relatively low rate of employment and a high rate of unemployment in comparison to native-born persons and other groups of emigrants.

The employment rate of Moroccan emigrants, which was 47% in OECD countries in 2010/11, is 7 percentage points lower than the rate for MENA emigrants (Figure 4.3). It is, moreover, almost 18 percentage points lower than the employment rate for emigrants as a whole. Similarly, there is a 17 percentage point difference between the employment rate of native-born persons and that of Moroccan emigrants.

**Figure 4.3. Employment rates of MENA emigrants in the 15-64 age group in OECD countries, 2010/11**



*Note:* This figure features the top ten OECD destination countries for Moroccan emigrants. The population refers to the working-age population (15-64).

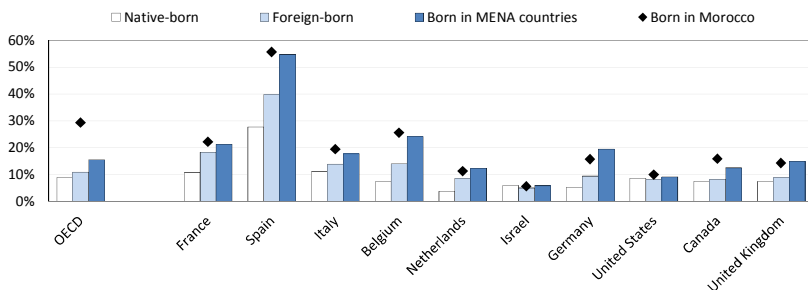
*Source:* OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2010/11, [www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm](http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm).

Relatively low employment rates can be observed in all the main host countries for Moroccan emigrants, with the exception of the United States (Figure 4.3). The lowest employment rate arises in Spain, the second-ranked destination for Moroccan emigrants. In 2010/11, 31% of Moroccan emigrants were in employment in this country, compared to 66% in the United States. Differences in the education level of Moroccan emigrants in these countries may provide a partial explanation for this. 46% of Moroccan emigrants in the United States have a high level of educational attainment compared to 9% in Spain (see Chapter 3 and the discussion below in this chapter). The gap between the employment rate of Moroccan emigrants and their native-born counterparts is relatively wide in Belgium, the Netherlands and Germany. In most countries, the employment rate for Moroccan emigrants is lower than for emigrants in general, from OECD countries and non-OECD countries.

There were around 450 000 unemployed Moroccan emigrants in OECD countries in 2010/11. Unemployment among Moroccan emigrants has become an increasingly serious issue because of the sharp increase between 2000/01 and 2010/11 (Figure 4.5). Over this decade, the unemployment rate of Moroccan emigrants rose by close to 10 percentage points, to 29% in 2010/11, while labour market participation fell over the same period. By comparison, in OECD countries, unemployment among MENA emigrants decreased by close to 1 percentage point over this decade (from 16.4% to 15.6%), and unemployment among native-born persons rose by only 1.7 percentage points (from 7.2% to 8.9%). The economic crisis has therefore significantly affected Moroccan emigrants in their main destination countries.

The unemployment level of Moroccan emigrants considerably exceeds that of their native-born counterparts (Figure 4.4). The average unemployment rate among Moroccan emigrants in OECD countries was 29% compared to 9% for native-born persons in 2010/11. Like the rates themselves, the gaps between rates differ significantly between OECD countries. In Germany, the unemployment rate among Moroccan emigrants is almost three times higher than that of their native-born counterparts. In France, Spain, Canada and the United Kingdom, unemployment among Moroccan emigrants is twice as high as among their native-born counterparts. These significant differences with the native-born population do not exist in Israel and the United States. In the United States however, the unemployment rate of Moroccan emigrants is higher than among other emigrants (from the MENA region or for all emigrants). Their unemployment rate is only slightly higher than that of native-born persons. Conversely, in Spain, the gap with native-born persons is significant and the unemployment rate of Moroccan emigrants is around 56% (see discussion of Spain below).

**Figure 4.4. Unemployment rates of emigrants aged 15-64 in OECD countries, 2010/11**



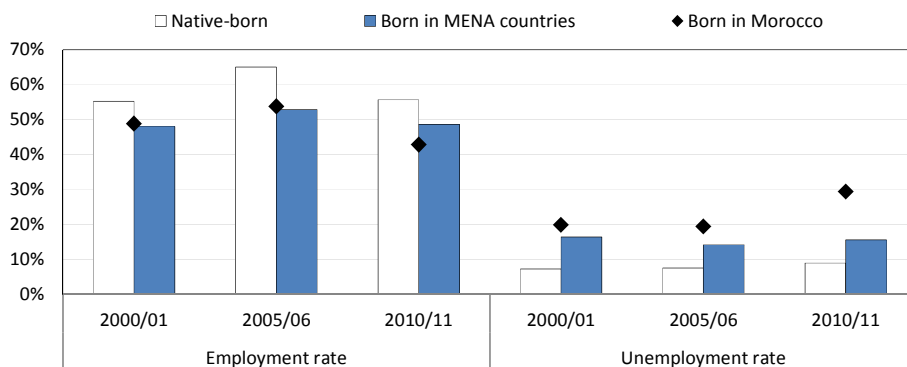
*Note:* This figure features the top ten OECD destination countries for Moroccan emigrants. The population refers to the working-age population (15-64).

*Source:* OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2010/11, [www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm](http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm).

### *Moroccan emigrants were seriously affected by the economic crisis*

Moroccan emigrants in all OECD countries were particularly affected by the crisis (Figure 4.5), with unemployment in this group (for age 15 and above) rising by 10 percentage points between 2005/06 and 2010/11, whereas unemployment among MENA emigrants and native-born persons rose by only one percentage point.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the employment rate of Moroccan emigrants fell by 11 percentage points over these five years, i.e. 6.5 percentage points more than the employment rate of MENA emigrants and 1.5 percentage points more than that of native-born persons.

**Figure 4.5. Labour market outcomes before and during the crisis, 2000/01, 2005/06, 2010/11**



Note: The population refers to the population aged 15 and above.

Source: OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2000/01, 2005/06 and 2010/11, <http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm> www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm.

The economic crisis did not affect countries in the same way, with European countries, especially Southern European countries, being more affected than others. Spain, the second-ranked destination for Moroccan emigrants, is a good illustration of the consequences of the economic crisis for Moroccan emigrants. Their unemployment rate rose from 19% in 2005/06 to almost 56% in 2010/11. The combination of the economic crisis and the reduction in the need for low-skilled labour in Spain seriously worsened the labour market integration of low-educated Moroccan emigrants. The relatively high number of low-educated emigrants in Spain were the worst hit by unemployment, mainly because they worked in the most precarious and least stable jobs, which are easier to lose in the event of economic slowdown (see Table 4.2 for the distribution of unemployment levels by education level). More specifically, Spain experienced particularly

high migration flows from Morocco before the economic crisis (see Chapter 2), especially in terms of labour migration. Relatively high numbers of Moroccan emigrants work in the construction sector, which was also the sector to be first hit, and worst hit, by the economic crisis (Arango and González Quiñones, 2009). The economic crisis also led workers who lost their jobs in the construction sector to switch to the agricultural sector (González Enríquez and Reynés Ramón, 2011). Moroccan emigrants working in the agricultural sector were consequently replaced by non-migrant workers and many became unemployed.

### ***Low labour market integration of women but the gap with men is decreasing with time***

Significant differences can be observed between Moroccan emigrant men and women. The unemployment rates in Table 4.1 highlight the extent of the difficulties encountered by Moroccan emigrants in the labour market, especially for women. In 2010/11, the unemployment rate for Moroccan emigrant women aged 15 and above across OECD countries was 34% compared to 27% for men, respectively three times and twice as high as unemployment among emigrants in general. Moreover, in 2010/11, the employment rate of men was 1.7 times higher than that for women (53% versus 31%).

Unemployment among Moroccan emigrant men and women aged 15 and above increased between 2005/06 and 2010/11, by 10 percentage points for men and by 9 points for women (Table 4.1), leaving the men the worst hit, partly given the kind of occupations they tend to hold (Figure 4.12). The increase was not so high for the other groups but, for both emigrants in general and native-born persons, women were less affected than men by the economic crisis. Nevertheless, the fall in the employment rate of women between 2005/06 and 2010/11 coincides with an increase in their labour market participation during the crisis period.

**Table 4.1. Levels of employment and unemployment of Moroccan emigrants in OECD countries by gender, 2005/06 and 2010/11**

Percentages

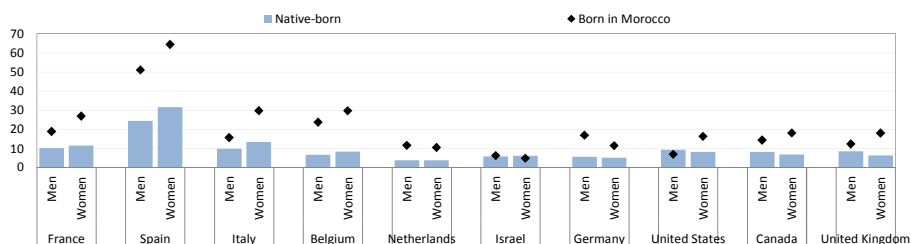
	Employment rate				Unemployment rate			
	Males		Females		Males		Females	
	2005/06	2010/11	2005/06	2010/11	2005/06	2010/11	2005/06	2010/11
Moroccan emigrants	63.0	53.3	34.0	30.6	16.3	26.6	25.5	34.3
Emigrants from MENA countries	55.6	56.6	33.3	39.7	12.9	14.8	16.1	16.9
All emigrants	68.1	66.6	48.6	49.8	8.3	10.4	10.5	11.8
Native-born	64.1	63.5	48.4	48.3	7.1	9.0	8.0	8.8

*Note:* The population refers to the population aged 15 and above.

*Source:* OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2005/06 and 2010/11, [www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm](http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm).

The difference in terms of unemployment rates between men and women was relatively heterogeneous across countries in 2010/11. Unemployment rates among women aged 15 and above were very high in European countries, with the exception of Germany and the Netherlands, where unemployment was higher among Moroccan emigrant men than Moroccan emigrant women (Figure 4.6). In Spain, where unemployment for Moroccan emigrant women reached 64%, i.e. the highest rate in the countries considered, unemployment was also very high for men, reaching 51% (see the discussion about Spain). In the United States, Moroccan emigrant men were twice as likely to be unemployed as Moroccan emigrant women. This wide difference in the unemployment rate by gender can be partially explained by the lower level of labour market participation of Moroccan emigrant women, as well as by the higher proportion of women with lower education levels (see Chapter 3).

**Figure 4.6. Unemployment rates by gender and country of birth in the OECD's ten main host countries, 2010/11**



*Note:* This figure features the top ten OECD destination countries for Moroccan emigrants. The population refers to the active population (15-64).

*Source:* OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2010/11, [www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm](http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm).

### ***Low-skilled emigrants have the worst outcomes and were the most affected by the economic crisis***

Labour market integration depends heavily on educational attainment, with the least educated facing the greatest difficulties on the labour market in terms of unemployment. Table 4.2 reveals that in 2010/11, the unemployment rate of Moroccan emigrants aged 15 and above with low educational attainment was twice as high as for graduates of higher education (38% versus 16% for graduates) and the employment rate varied almost as much (33% versus 64% for graduates). The gap in terms of educational attainment, however, remains comparable to those observed among other groups.

Regardless of educational attainment, the employment rate of Moroccan emigrants fell between 2005/06 and 2010/11 (Table 4.2), by 4.6 percentage points for well-educated Moroccan emigrants and by 7.8 percentage points for Moroccan emigrants with a low level of education. The downturn has been steeper for low-educated individuals. Beyond short-term trends, Moroccan emigrants remain more disadvantaged in terms of employment compared with MENA emigrants, emigrants as a whole, and native-born persons. The decline in the employment rate for individuals with a low education level was almost half as high for native-born persons, whereas the employment rates for the native-born with a medium or high education level only fell by only one percentage point over the period.

**Table 4.2. Emigrant employment and unemployment rates by level of educational attainment and country of birth, OECD countries, 2005/06 and 2010/11**

Percentages

	Low education level		Medium education level		High education level	
	2005/06	2010/11	2005/06	2010/11	2005/06	2010/11
<b>Employment rate</b>						
Moroccan emigrants	41.2	33.4	57.0	51.7	68.5	63.9
Emigrants from MENA countries	30.7	29.6	52.9	52.1	71.0	68.8
All emigrants	46.0	43.9	61.6	60.6	71.5	70.4
Native-born	39.7	35.7	60.8	60.0	76.1	75.2
<b>Unemployment rate</b>						
Moroccan emigrants	23.5	38.2	18.2	23.8	11.8	16.3
Emigrants from MENA countries	22.9	28.4	14.4	13.9	7.8	8.8
All emigrants	12.8	16.3	9.3	11.1	6.2	7.3
Native-born	10.0	14.2	8.4	9.5	4.1	5.1

*Note:* The population refers to the population aged 15 and above.

*Source:* OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2005/06 and 2010/11, [www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm](http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm).

Unemployment among active Moroccan emigrants aged 15 and above with a low education level increased by a factor of 1.6 between 2005/06 and 2010/11 in OECD countries, (15 percentage points). In 2010/11, over one in three low-educated active Moroccan emigrants aged 15 or over were unemployed, i.e. more than twice as many as among all low-educated emigrants and 2.7 times more than low-educated native-born persons.

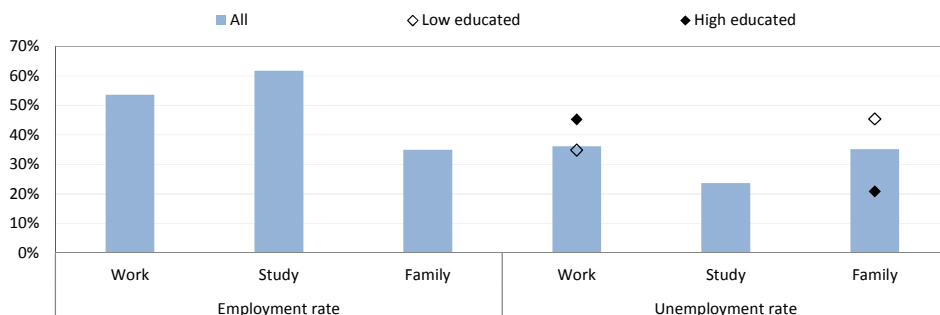
Unemployment levels also rose for Moroccan emigrants with a medium or high education level between 2005/06 and 2010/11, by 5.6 and 4.5 percentage points, respectively, which was much higher than for native-born persons (for whom the increase was 1.1 percentage points in each group). Factors explaining the higher unemployment rises during the crisis include the type of contract held by Moroccan emigrants and the sectors in which they work (see Figures 4.10 and 4.11 for example).



The labour market integration of Moroccan emigrants also varies depending on the reasons for their migration. Emigrants who left their country of birth to continue studying had the best labour market outcomes in 2014 (Figure 4.7).

Their employment rate of 62% was even higher than for people who emigrated for work purposes. The employment rate is relatively low in cases of migration for family reasons. And, compared to emigrants as a whole, there is a proportionally higher level of family-related migration among Moroccan emigrants (see Chapter 3 and the discussion on the reasons for migration). The fact that more Moroccan women than men migrate for family-related reasons (see Chapter 3) can partly explain why they are less integrated into the labour market. Men, who proportionally migrate more for work reasons, have more opportunities to enter the labour market (Figure 4.A1.2).

**Figure 4.7. Labour market outcomes of Moroccan emigrants by reason for migration in a selection of European countries, 2014**



*Note:* The destination countries included are Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Cyprus\* \*\*, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Finland, France, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, the Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom. The population refers to the active population (15-64) for unemployment rates and to the working-age population (15-64) for employment rates. Only the results meeting the countries' thresholds are presented in this figure.

*\*Note by Turkey:* The information in this document with reference to "Cyprus" relates to the southern part of the Island. There is no single authority representing both Turkish and Greek Cypriot people on the Island. Turkey recognises the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC). Until a lasting and equitable solution is found within the context of the United Nations, Turkey shall preserve its position concerning the "Cyprus issue".

*\*\*Note by all the European Union Member States of the OECD and the European Union:* The Republic of Cyprus is recognised by all members of the United Nations with the exception of Turkey. The information in this document relates to the area under the effective control of the Government of the Republic of Cyprus.

*Source:* European Labour Force Survey (Eurostat) 2014 ad-hoc module on the labour market situation of immigrants and their immediate descendants.

### ***Labour market integration is also a challenge for the children of immigrants***

The children of Moroccan immigrants, i.e. children born in the country of residence with at least one parent born in Morocco, are also faced with labour market challenges, especially in Europe. Unemployment among the children of Moroccan immigrants is higher than unemployment among the children of other emigrants, at 24% versus 16% for the children of other emigrants in European countries in 2014 (Figure 4.8). Similarly, their employment rate remains lower than for the children of immigrants as a whole (46% versus 66%). Nevertheless, the children of Moroccan immigrants are better integrated into the labour market than their parents (for whom the unemployment rate reaches 35% and the employment rate is 42% in the European Union).

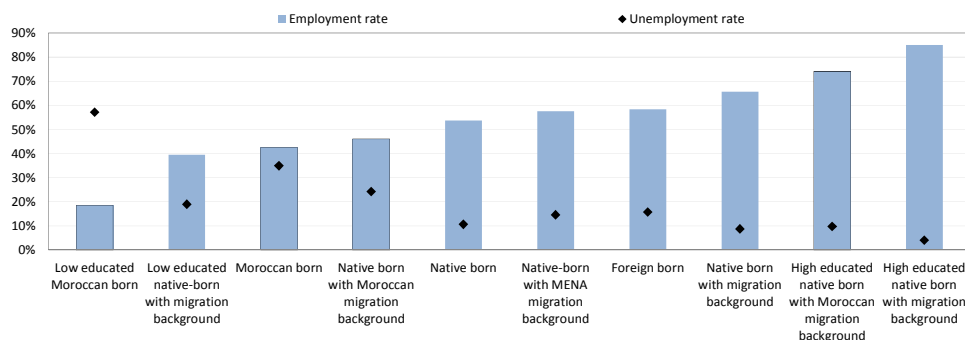
There are also differences for the children of immigrants depending on their education level. Figure 4.8 shows that the unemployment rate among the children of Moroccan immigrants with a higher education degree in European countries was 10% in 2014, rising to 57% for low-educated children of Moroccan immigrants. Moreover, the unemployment rate among all highly educated children of immigrants is 4%, less than half the rate for the highly educated children of Moroccan immigrants.

In France, according to the *Trajectoires et Origines* survey, the labour market outcomes for Moroccan emigrants and their children are mixed, although they are unfavourable for both groups. Around two-thirds of Moroccan emigrants and their children were employed in 2008, which is 11 percentage points lower than for French nationals without a migration background (Figure 4.9). Moreover, unemployment is slightly lower for Moroccan emigrants than for their children. In 2008, 15% of Moroccan emigrants in France were unemployed, compared with 18% of immigrants' children and 9% of native-born persons.

In France, the unemployment rate is significantly higher for the low-educated children of Moroccan immigrants than for the low-educated children of all immigrants (Figure 4.9). 32% of the former were unemployed in 2008 compared to 21% of the latter. Moreover, unemployment among low-educated children of Moroccan immigrants is higher than for Moroccan emigrants with a low education level (18%) and for native-born persons with a low education level (14%). The differences are less visible for the highly educated. At 9%, the unemployment rate of children of Moroccan immigrants with a higher education degree is similar to the rate for the children of all immigrants with a higher education degree (8%) but 3 percentage points lower than the rate for Moroccan emigrants with the same education level (for whom unemployment is 12%). From this

perspective, the integration of the children of immigrants into the French labour market seems relatively successful.

**Figure 4.8. Labour market outcomes for the children of Moroccan immigrant in a selection of European countries, 2014**



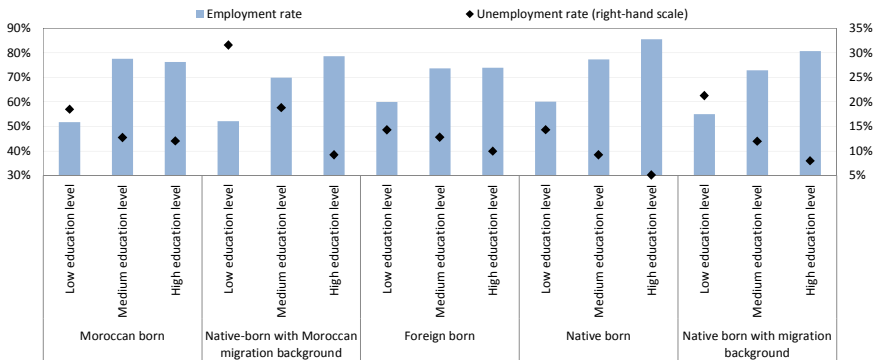
*Note:* The children of immigrants are defined as having at least one immigrant parent, i.e. born in another country. The destination countries included are Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Cyprus\*, \*\*, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Finland, France, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, the Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom. The population refers to the active population (15-64).

*\*Note by Turkey:* The information in this document with reference to “Cyprus” relates to the southern part of the Island. There is no single authority representing both Turkish and Greek Cypriot people on the Island. Turkey recognises the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC). Until a lasting and equitable solution is found within the context of the United Nations, Turkey shall preserve its position concerning the “Cyprus issue”.

*\*\*Note by all the European Union Member States of the OECD and the European Union:* The Republic of Cyprus is recognised by all members of the United Nations with the exception of Turkey. The information in this document relates to the area under the effective control of the Government of the Republic of Cyprus.

*Source:* European Labour Force Survey (Eurostat) 2014 ad-hoc module on the labour market situation of immigrants and their immediate descendants.

**Figure 4.9. Labour market outcomes by country of birth for Moroccan immigrants and their children in France, 2008**



*Note:* The population refers to the active population.

*Source:* Trajectories and Origins Survey (INED-INSEE), 2008.

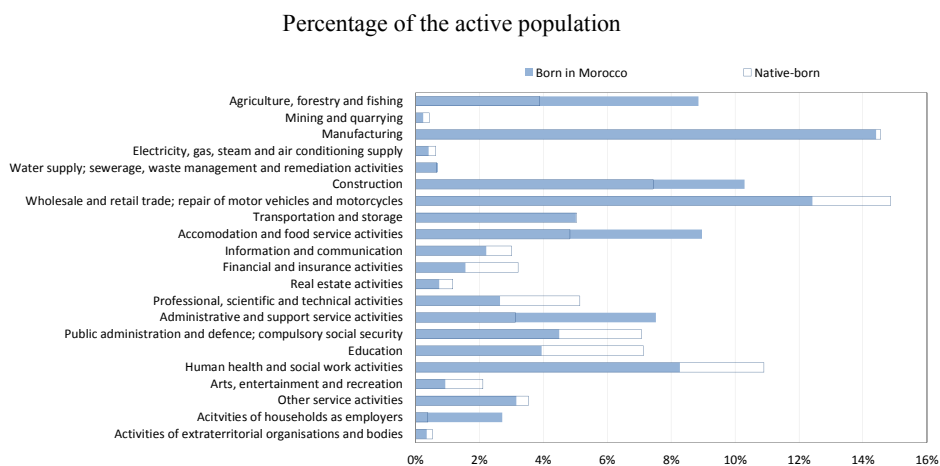
### Occupations in relatively low-skilled sectors and professions

#### *Relative overrepresentation in sectors of activity with low-skilled occupations...*

Many Moroccan emigrants work in sectors where the majority of occupations are low skilled (Figure 4.10). For example, in 2010/11, they were overrepresented relative to native-born persons in construction, agriculture, forestry and fishing, accommodation and catering, as well as in administrative and support services, and in private household activities involving the employment of domestic staff. Moroccan emigrants are more than twice as likely as native-born persons to work in agriculture, forestry and fishing, with 9% of Moroccan emigrants working in this sector, mainly in Southern European countries like Spain and Italy.

On the other hand, there are proportionally fewer Moroccan emigrants in sectors where jobs tend to be more skilled, for example education and professional technical and scientific activities. Less than 3% of Moroccan emigrants worked in this sector in 2010/11 compared with 5% of native-born persons. This sectoral distribution of the Moroccan emigrant population can be explained by the emigrants' education, i.e. the relatively high proportion of low-educated migrants (see Chapter 3). In many countries, moreover, Moroccan emigrants are there to fill labour needs – especially unqualified labour in some European countries. Consequently, the sectors in which they are significantly present are also the sectors with significant labour needs and in which they have developed a professional network (Paparusso et al., 2016; Fokkema and de Haas, 2015).

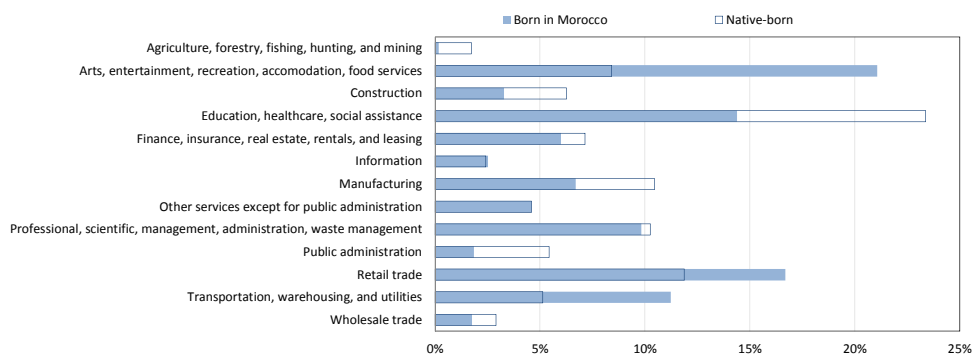
**Figure 4.10. Sectoral distribution of Moroccan emigrants and native-born persons in some OECD countries, 2010/11**



*Note:* This breakdown does not include data from Australia, Austria, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Mexico, New Zealand, Switzerland, Spain, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

*Source:* OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2010/11, [www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm](http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm).

**Figure 4.11. Sectoral distribution of Moroccan emigrants and native-born persons in the United States, 2010/11**



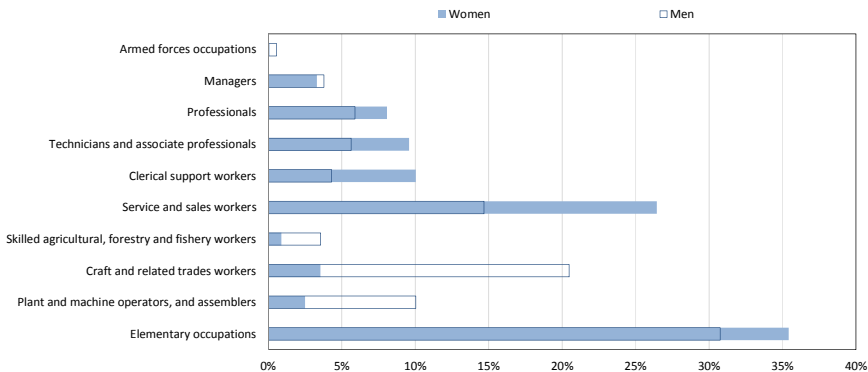
*Note:* The population refers to the active population (15 to 64).

*Source:* OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2010/11, [www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm](http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm).

Around one third of Moroccan emigrants in OECD countries had an elementary occupation in 2010/11, with a higher proportion of women (35%) than men (31%) holding this kind of occupation (Figure 4.12). For the most part, Moroccan men hold low- or medium-skilled jobs. They are not only substantially represented in elementary occupations, but also in industry occupations. 10% of them are plant and machine operators and assemblers versus less than 3% of women. In addition to being overrepresented in low-skilled industry jobs, they are also overrepresented in high-skilled jobs in industry and craft trades. A fifth of Moroccan emigrant men hold occupations of this sort, compared to less than 4% of Moroccan emigrant women.

The low-skilled jobs held by women are mainly in service-related sectors, especially personal services, in which 26% of them worked in 2010/11. The medium-skilled jobs held by women are mainly clerical support (10% versus 4% of their male counterparts) and work as technicians or associate professionals (10% versus 6% of their male counterparts). Moroccan emigrant women are more likely than Moroccan emigrant men to work in intellectual and scientific professions (8% versus 6%).

**Figure 4.12. Distribution of Moroccan emigrants by profession and gender in OECD countries, 2010/11**



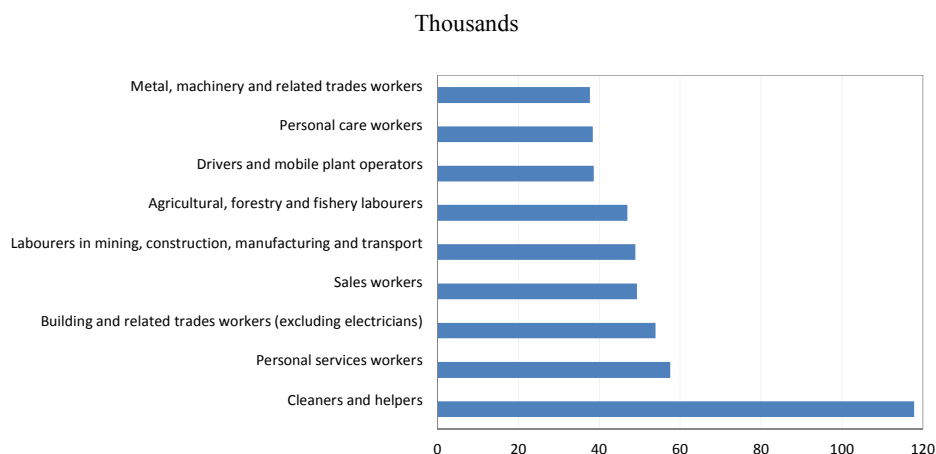
*Note:* The distribution does not include data for the United States. The population refers to the active population (15 to 64).

*Source:* OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2010/11, [www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm](http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm).

Services dominate the low- and medium-skilled occupations, with Figure 4.13 revealing the prevalence of cleaning and care services. In 2014, almost 120 000 Moroccan emigrants worked in this domain in the

European Union. In general, service-related occupations account for a large proportion of the jobs held by Moroccan emigrants in a selection of European countries. Accordingly, 57 500 Moroccan emigrants in the EU work in personal services and 38 400 in personal care. For the most part, these jobs are held by women (Ouali, 2003). Other groups of occupations also account for large numbers of Moroccan emigrants: 53 900 work in construction and 48 900 in industry and transport. These predominantly male sectors were significantly affected by the economic crisis (Arango et al., 2009), and their decline contributed to the rising unemployment among Moroccan emigrants. Lastly, Moroccan emigrants also account for a large number of sales workers, with 49 300 of them holding occupations of this kind.

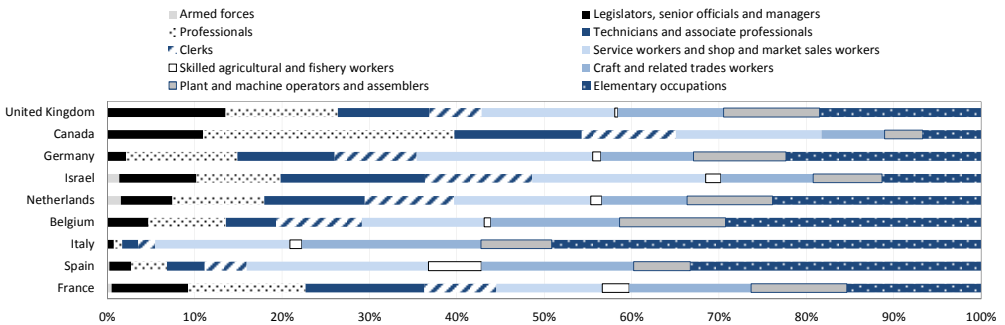
**Figure 4.13. Professions with the highest proportion of Moroccan emigrants in a selection of European countries, 2014**



*Source:* European Labour Force Survey (Eurostat) 2014 ad-hoc module on the labour market situation of immigrants and their immediate descendants.

The situation varies from country to country, with proportionally more Moroccan emigrants in low-skilled professions in Southern European countries (Figure 4.14). In Italy, almost all (96%) of Moroccan emigrants held elementary or medium-skilled occupations in 2010/11. France lies somewhere in the middle, with 36% of the occupations held by Moroccan emigrants considered to be skilled, representing almost 138 000 workers. In Belgium, the rate of highly-skilled occupations is only 19%, representing under 15 000 workers. These results can be explained in part by the labour needs of these countries as well as by the composition of the emigrant population in terms of educational attainment.

**Figure 4.14. Distribution of Moroccan emigrants by profession in the main OECD destination countries, 2010/11**



Note: The population refers to the active population (15 to 64).

Source: OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2010/11, [www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm](http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm).

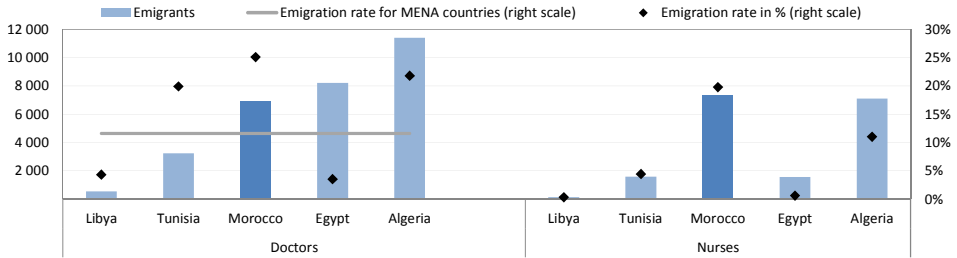
### *...with a high incidence of certain skilled professions*

Despite the prevalence of Moroccan emigrants in low-skilled professions, a high proportion of qualified specialists can be observed in some OECD countries. In Canada, for example, there are 16 000 specialists (including legislators, senior officials and managers, professionals and technicians and associate professionals), who accounted for over half (54%) of Moroccan emigrants in work in 2010/11.

Moroccan emigrants are particularly overrepresented in certain professions requiring skilled workers, such as medicine and teaching. A particularly high number of Moroccan doctors and nurses emigrate (Figure 4.15). In comparison with MENA emigrants in the medical profession, a proportionally high number of Moroccans have emigrated, with one in four Moroccan doctors and one in five Moroccan nurses working in an OECD country in 2010/11, so that 7 000 Moroccan doctors and 7 300 Moroccan nurses resided abroad in an OECD country. These high levels reflect both the attraction of working abroad for members of the Moroccan medical profession as well as the need for medical professionals in OECD countries. Some of them are also trained in the country of destination. In France, of the 5 500 doctors who were born in Morocco, only 1 000 trained outside France.



**Figure 4.15. Emigrant health professionals by country of origin, in OECD countries, 2010/11**

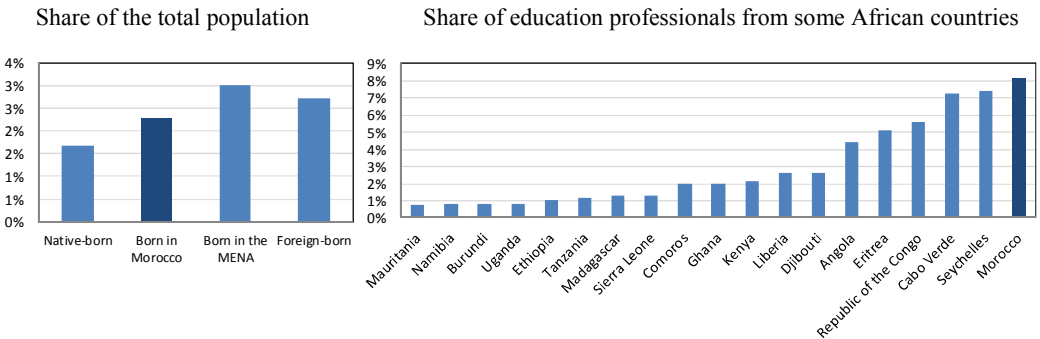


Note: The population refers to the active population (15 to 64).

Source: OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2010/11, [www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm](http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm).

Teaching (at any level of instruction) is among the professions which are highly represented in the Moroccan emigrant population. Moroccan teachers have the highest emigration rate to the OECD of all African countries (over 8% in 2010/11) (Figure 4.16). Like emigrant medical professionals, Moroccan emigrants with a background in teaching seem to be drawn by the possibility of working in OECD countries. They are also more likely to migrate to countries where they speak the language, such as French-speaking countries. In addition, a large proportion of Moroccan students, trained in the teaching methods of the host country, decide to stay in the country where they studied after completing their studies.

**Figure 4.16. Emigrant teaching professionals by country of birth in OECD countries, 2010/11**



Note: The population refers to the active population (15 to 64).

Source: OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2010/11, [www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm](http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm).

## Higher levels of overqualification for Moroccan emigrants in all host countries

Despite being important indicators for describing labour market outcomes, employment rates and levels are not the only indicators of labour market integration. The match between an individual's education and skills, and the education and skills required for their employment are just as important in explaining the utilisation of the human capital of the Moroccan diaspora in the host countries (OECD/EU, 2015).

The rate of overqualification for all Moroccan emigrants living in OECD countries, defined as the proportion of persons with a high level of educational attainment but holding a medium- or low-skilled occupation (Box 4.1), was 38% in 2010/11 compared to 28% for their native-born counterparts (Figure 4.17). In all OECD countries, there is a higher level of overqualification among Moroccan emigrants than among native-born persons, but the extent of the difference between the two populations nevertheless varies across countries. There are very visible differences in Northern European countries such as the Netherlands, where 36% of Moroccan emigrants hold occupations for which they are overqualified (compared to only 13% for their native-born Dutch counterparts), or Belgium, where 47% of Moroccan emigrants hold jobs for which they are overqualified, compared to 21% of native-born Belgians. Of the main destination countries for Moroccan emigrants, the gap between native-born persons and Moroccan emigrants is widest in Italy, where 81% of the jobs held by Moroccan emigrants are jobs for which they are overqualified, compared to only 21% of the jobs held by their Italian counterparts.

On the other hand, the difference between native-born persons and Moroccan emigrants is relatively small in France, Israel and Canada. In France, 28% of Moroccan emigrants were overqualified for the occupations they held in 2010/11, only 6 percentage points more than their native-born French counterparts. The difference is similar in Israel, at 6 percentage points (31% for Moroccan emigrants versus 25% for native-born Israelis). The smallest gap between native-born persons and Moroccan emigrants arises in Canada, despite the fact that the level of overqualification for native-born persons is close to the OECD average: 32% of native-born Canadians hold jobs for which they are overqualified compared to 36% of Moroccan emigrants.

These outcomes might reflect relatively little knowledge of the language spoken in the host country, limited access to professional networks or the difficult formal recognition of diplomas and skills acquired abroad, to cite some factors among many. Moroccan emigrants who graduated in Morocco are therefore more affected by overqualification than individuals who graduated in the host countries.

### Box 4.1. Reference information

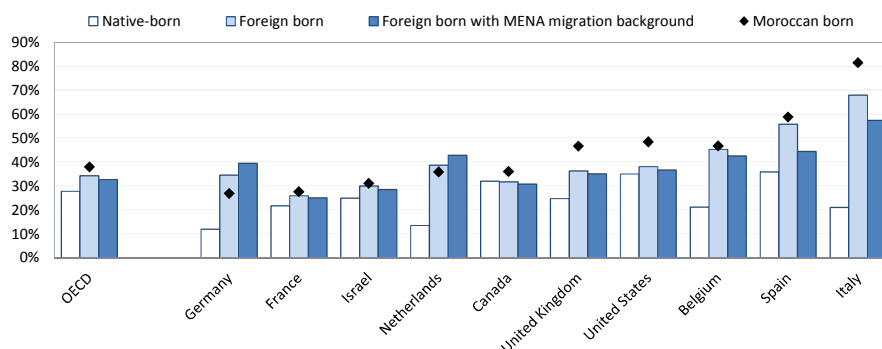
Indicator: overqualification occurs when an individual's level of formal education is higher than required for the occupation held. The level of overqualification estimated here is the proportion of persons with a higher education degree and holding a low- or medium-skilled occupation. The level of educational attainment is measured using the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED), with graduates of higher education classified in levels 5 and 6. The skill level of the occupations is measured using the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO), with very highly-skilled professions covered by ISCO groups 1, 2 and 3.

Among immigrants, overqualification is an indicator for the degree of transferability of human capital across countries, as the qualifications and linguistic skills acquired in the country of origin are not always readily transferable in the host country.

Scope: the working population aged between 15 and 64 with a high level of educational attainment (ISCED 5-6), not including the armed forces (ISCO 0), for which the skill level is not referenced.

Across all OECD countries, overqualification among Moroccan emigrants in 2010/11 was 4 percentage points higher than for emigrants as a whole (Figure 4.17). These differences vary between countries. The gaps are substantial in the United Kingdom and in the United States (Moroccan emigrants are by 10 percentage points more often overqualified than emigrants as a whole in those two countries). Conversely, Moroccan emigrants have similar rates of overqualification to other emigrants in Belgium and Israel. In the Netherlands, Moroccan emigrants even exhibit lower overqualification rates than other emigrants, by 3 percentage points.

Figure 4.17. Rate of overqualification by place of birth in OECD countries, 2010/11



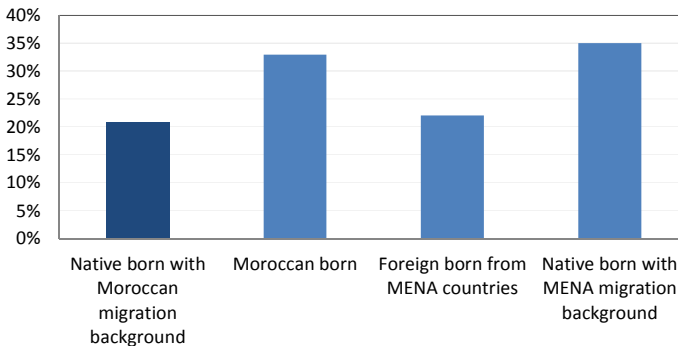
Note: The population refers to the active and highly educated population (15-64).

Source: OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2010/11, [www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm](http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm).

The children of Moroccan immigrants are not significantly affected by overqualification: 21% were overqualified in European countries in 2014 (Figure 4.18). They are half as often overqualified as Moroccan emigrants in these countries, and less often than the children of immigrants from MENA countries (22% of whom are overqualified).

In France, overqualification affects the children of Moroccan immigrants more than native-born persons but slightly less than Moroccan emigrants, according to the survey *Trajectoires et Origines* (Figure 4.19), as 29% were in a job for which they were overqualified in 2008, compared to 22% of native-born persons and 31% of Moroccan emigrants. Among children of immigrants, those with Moroccan parents are by 5 percentage points more often affected by overqualification than the average.

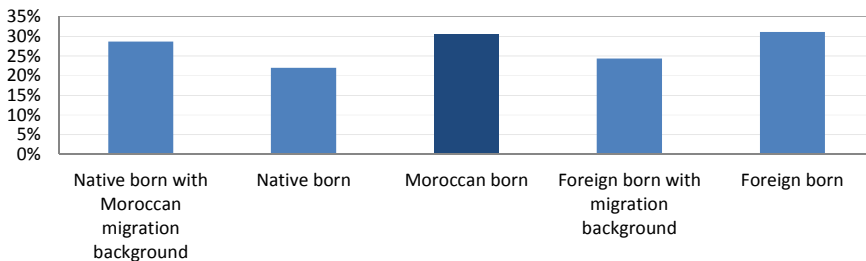
**Figure 4.18. Rate of overqualification in European OECD countries by origin, 2014**



*Note:* The population refers to the active and highly educated population.

*Source:* European Labour Force Survey (Eurostat) 2014 ad-hoc module on the labour market situation of immigrants and their immediate descendants.

**Figure 4.19. Rate of overqualification in France by origin, 2008**



*Note:* The population refers to the active and highly educated population.

*Source:* Trajectories and Origins Survey (INED-INSEE), 2008.

## Conclusion

The labour market integration of the Moroccan diaspora in OECD countries is, on the whole, complicated. Their high levels of unemployment are for the most part due to the economic problems faced by some of the main host countries, especially in Southern Europe. Low-educated Moroccan emigrants were hit hard by the economic crisis, and they are highly concentrated in Spain and Italy. Moreover, the main occupations held by Moroccan emigrants in Europe are in sectors which were especially affected by the economic crisis. Their children also face challenges on the labour market. They are better integrated into the labour market than their parents (with lower unemployment rates, for example) but they still exhibit overqualification. Nevertheless, the labour market integration of Moroccan immigrants and their children has been successful in North America (United States, Canada), due to the fact that their selection policies attract highly educated individuals, and this also fills their labour market needs. Lastly, diplomas obtained in Morocco seem to be rarely recognised in the host countries, leading to higher levels of overqualification for Moroccan emigrants.

## *Notes*

1. The participation rate is calculated by dividing the number of active (i.e. unemployed and employed persons) by the total working-age population. All definitions of terms and measures used in this chapter can be found in Table 1.A1.1 of Annex 1.A1 of Chapter 1.
2. The figures presented in this comparison over time concern individuals aged 15 and above. They may differ slightly from the figures presented above for 2010/11, because of more restrictive information for 2000/01 and 2005/06.

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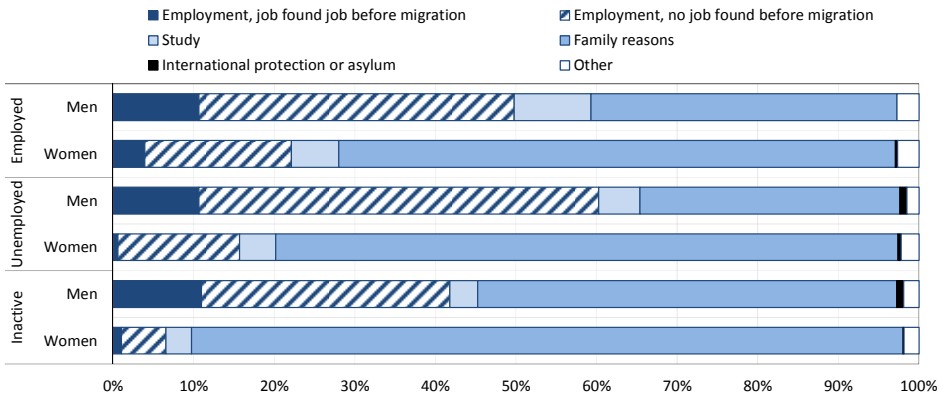
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## Annex 4.A1

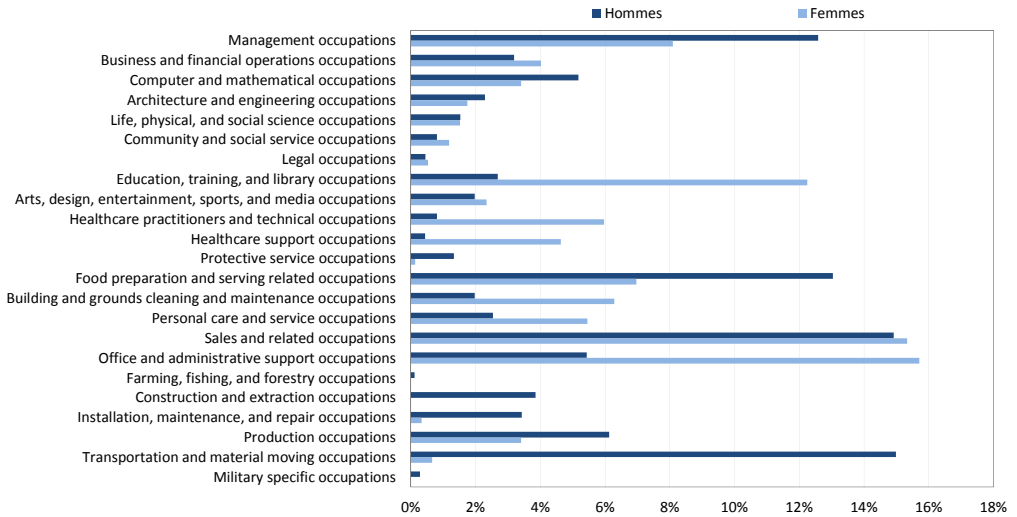
### Additional figures

**Figure 4.A1.1. Reasons for migration by gender and labour market outcomes in European OECD countries, 2014**



Source: European Labour Force Survey (Eurostat) 2014 ad-hoc module on the labour market situation of immigrants and their immediate descendants.

**Figure 4.A1.2. Distribution of Moroccan emigrants in employment by profession and gender in the United States, 2010/11**



Source: *OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2010/11*, [www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm](http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm).

## Chapter 5

### Return migration to Morocco

*This chapter examines the links that Moroccan emigrants maintain with their country of origin and presents the main trends in their return migration, based on the latest Moroccan census of 2014. The characteristics of return migrants in terms of age, gender and educational attainment are presented as well as their integration in the labour market once back in Morocco. Various channels are identified through which not only those who return, but Moroccan emigrants in general can support economic development in Morocco. On this background, the chapter discusses the policy challenges that Morocco faces in seeking to maintain links with the Moroccan emigrants, mobilise their potential economic contribution and support their reintegration in case they return.*

The statistical data for Israel are supplied by and under the responsibility of the relevant Israeli authorities. The use of such data by the OECD is without prejudice to the status of the Golan Heights, East Jerusalem and Israeli settlements in the West Bank under the terms of international law.

Moroccan emigrants represent an economic resource for Morocco. Following a short characterisation of how Moroccan emigrants remain connected with their country of origin, this chapter presents evidence from several sources on the potential and the reasons for return migration. Based on the Moroccan census of 2014, the chapter then examines characteristics and labour market outcomes of return migrants in comparison to the total population in Morocco. The results suggest that return migrants contribute notably to the supply of skilled labour and entrepreneurship, but other material and immaterial contributions from the Moroccan diaspora are considered as well. The chapter then reviews the main challenges for Morocco's policies towards the return migrants and the diaspora.

### Enduring links with Morocco

Notwithstanding the prospect of settling permanently in the host country, members of the Moroccan diaspora maintain strong links with the country where they or their parents originated. For example, the stability of remittances to Morocco attests to these links. But as the involvement of early emigrants notably diminishes and new generations of the diaspora are more detached from the origin country, these links have become associated with questions of identity: more or less emphatically, members of the diaspora claim their identity and origin, their double cultural background, and possibly two nationalities.

Means of communication through the internet have substantially affected the link with the origin country. Long gone seems the time when Moroccan emigrants asked friends or paid someone to write a letter that would be delivered by a trusted person travelling to Morocco, often together with money in foreign currency. Next came the time when emigrants recorded messages for their families in the origin country on audio tapes, after providing the family with a cassette player. The tapes then travelled the same way as the letters. Emigrants often waited several weeks for a response. But the familiar voices instead of written words brought emigrants closer to the families who had stayed behind. Then came the landline telephone, but calls were rare and short because of their high costs. With mobile phones, free channels of communication opened up, and one could communicate on a daily basis. In many Moroccan households, a portable computer with a camera is permanently running. This creates a continuous virtual presence of the family: conversations, the noise of the children and the family atmosphere make it possible for emigrants to share time with their families from a distance.

The “connected migrant” is thus a phenomenon that emerged over the last decade, driven by the use of internet-based means of communication

and by emigrants' rising level of education. In several ways, a diaspora seems to adapt to changing contexts, creating new types of links through new technologies as well as the associated new modes of social interaction. These new practices can in turn provide a basis for the diaspora to set up new initiatives. To highlight one such initiative, the association "Migrations & Développement" (M&D; <http://www.migdev.org>) has launched the creation of a "Solidary Development Group" (Communauté de Développement Solidaire, CDS-Maroc), backed by a digital platform that aims at bringing together emigrants' aspirations to remain connected with Morocco beyond family links, in order to contribute to the development of their country of origin and to respond to local needs for know-how, crowdfunding, information and networks.

One characteristic of this group is that it operates online and does not take action at the national level but rather in the local context of main regions of emigration. In the case of M&D, this region is Souss-Massa-Drâa in south-central Morocco. A number of local officials and stakeholders have come to consider emigration not as a loss (or simply as a source of financial transfers) but as a valuable resource for the local community that offers know-how, international networks, information and investment to be mobilised for local development projects. Both the emigrants themselves and new generations born in the destination country are often known by local stakeholders, especially when they regularly come to visit. A number of local stakeholders therefore wish to strengthen the links with "their" emigrants and look for ways to access this resource to the benefit of development projects in their local community.

Beyond links at the local level, emigrants seek to maintain contacts with the authorities of the country of origin, at least to request or renew documents at the consulate, or to obtain other administrative information. There are also several initiatives that create links between members of the diaspora who work in specific occupations (for example engineers, health professionals and those working in information and communication technologies). Other initiatives are set up at regional or transnational levels along the lines of languages, based on involvement in a social movement as seen at the beginning of the Arab revolutions after 2010, or defined by other common interests. These initiatives are all borne by civil society. Whether they are transitory or permanent, they are a product of shifting trends, appear and disappear over time, and can reach across borders, including those arising between the global North and the global South.

## Return intentions among Moroccan emigrants

A substantial share of Moroccan emigrants included in the Gallup World Poll indicates an intention to move from their destination country to another country. Between 2009 and 2013, this question was posed to almost 500 Moroccan emigrants, and 17% responded that they would like to move permanently to another country while 79% preferred to stay where they are (and 4% did not indicate either). For destination countries where sample sizes are large enough, Figure 5.1 shows the share of Moroccan emigrants with an intention to leave. While this share was below 5% in Israel, it reached 16% in France and 20% in Spain. This pattern aligns with the share of recent emigrants in these destination countries, which was below 1% in Israel in 2010/11 but reached 7% in France and 25% in Spain (see Table 1.1 in Chapter 1). For a number of reasons, recent migrants can be expected to be more mobile, so that they more frequently report an intention to leave.

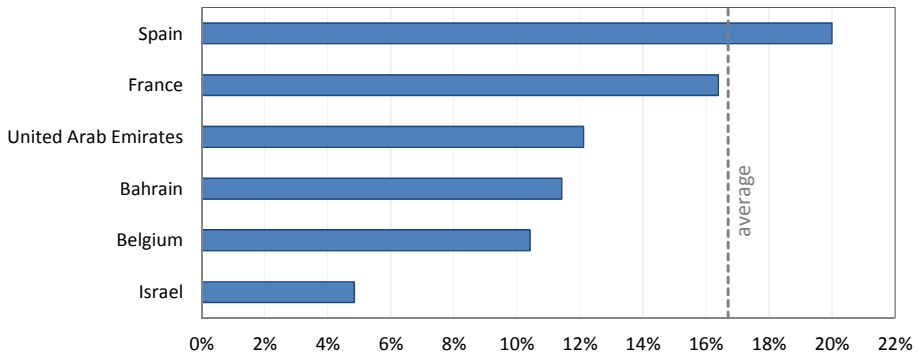
However, among the Moroccan emigrants with an intention to leave the destination country, only 16% declared plans to leave within the following 12 months (based on responses observed for 78% of those with an intention to leave). While they consider a range of countries as new destinations, Morocco is named most frequently (by 28% of those with an intention to leave) as the desired destination, followed by France (14%), Canada and the United States (9% each). Responses of Moroccan emigrants to another question in the Gallup World Poll suggest that they are more prepared to work in another country for a limited time than to move there permanently: 27% would like to temporarily work abroad (based on N=121 observations). While Morocco was only reported as one among a range of desired destinations for temporary work, responses could be quite different if Moroccan emigrants were asked whether they would like to temporarily live or study in another country, rather than work there.

From a survey among 1 000 emigrants from Turkey and the Maghreb (including 215 from Morocco) interviewed in France, Bouoiyour and Miftah (2013) derive the shares of the Moroccan respondents who intend to return to Morocco at some point: 24% indicated that they definitely plan to return and another 16% responded that they probably will, while almost 40% were certain not to return. The intention to return to Morocco appeared to fall with educational attainment (in contrast to the intention to leave France for some unspecified destination, see Chapter 3). Women among the Moroccan emigrants were less likely than men to express an intention to return. Comparable survey data from a Spanish survey of Moroccan residents in 2009 highlights the contrast between return intentions of the first and second emigrant generation (see González Enríquez and Reynés Ramón, 2011). Almost 70% of first-generation emigrants included in this

survey intended to return to Morocco for retirement, while only 5% of the second-generation emigrants intended to move to Morocco permanently.

**Figure 5.1. Intentions of Moroccan emigrants to leave the destination country, selected destination countries, 2010-13**

Percentage of Moroccan emigrants who consider emigrating from their destination country



*Note:* The average refers to all observed Moroccan emigrants. Considering emigration means answering “yes” to: “Ideally, if you had the opportunity, would you like to move permanently to another country?”. Countries were selected by sample sizes (N=124 for Israel, N=48 for Belgium, N=35 for Bahrain, N=66 for the United Arab Emirates, N=61 for France and N=45 for Spain). Answers recorded as “Do not know” or “Refused” are counted towards N and the base of the percentage.

*Source:* Gallup World Poll data, [www.oecd.org/std/43017172.pdf](http://www.oecd.org/std/43017172.pdf).

In practice, both permanent and temporary returns to Morocco may be constrained by the residence status that Moroccan emigrants have abroad. As documented in Chapter 1, the majority of Moroccan emigrants are not citizens of their host country, so that a sufficiently long stay outside the host country can result in the loss of their residence status in the host country. In that event, returning to the host country may become difficult or impossible. Magris and Russo (2009) study how the likelihood of migrants to leave their destination country may depend on the restrictions placed on re-entering it. Figure 5.A1.1 in the annex shows that Moroccan citizens residing in EU countries in 2013 held by far the highest number of long-term residence permits (close to 1.1 million), compared with other non-EU nationals. The status of long-term resident does allow for stays in another country, but may be lost if the duration of the stay reaches several years. This means that, in addition to naturalised Moroccan emigrants, there is a large potential in EU countries of Moroccan emigrants who could return to Morocco for some time without losing their residence status.

### *The reasons why Moroccan emigrants return*

In general, emigrants' reasons to return to their country of origin can largely be classified in four groups (see OECD, 2008). Firstly, emigrants might return to take up economic opportunities, which might in some cases only be open to them due to experience or skills acquired abroad. Secondly, emigrants' aim may have been to work abroad only until they have saved enough money to implement some project in their country of origin. Thirdly, emigrants may have a preference for life in their country of origin, which leads them to return in particular phases of their lives (such as retirement or for the formation of a family). Finally, return can be attractive for emigrants who fail to integrate in the host country and therefore do not have the life abroad that they expected.

To collect evidence on return migrants in Morocco, the Rabat-based Centre d'Études et des Recherches Démographiques (CERED) in 2003/04 administered a comprehensive survey to almost 1 500 Moroccan return migrants in the regions of greater Casablanca and Souss-Massa-Drâa. Return migrants were identified as those who, when interviewed for the Moroccan census, indicated that their last place of residence was abroad. While this definition includes immigrants to Morocco, their number seems quite small. The survey distinguished between principal migrants and members of their households. Principal migrants were defined as the person in the household who drives the household's migration behaviour, typically by taking the migration decisions. Only 0.3% of principal migrants were immigrants in the sense that they were born outside Morocco. Household members born abroad were typically young, which suggests that they belonged to the second emigrant generation.

A rich set of results from the CERED survey is presented in a document published by the Haut-Commissariat au Plan (2006), including the information on reasons for return shown in Figure 5.2. About one-quarter of principal migrants cited retirement as one of three reasons they could indicate, followed by problems in the family (cited by 17%) and a difficult social situation in the destination country (cited by 14%). The intention to implement some project in Morocco, health problems or a difficult employment situation in the destination country was each indicated by around one-tenth of the respondents. Most of these reasons for return relate to factors in the destination country, and comparatively few return explicitly to implement projects in Morocco. However, problems in the family and health problems may be linked to factors in Morocco, in so far as family members reside in Morocco and life in Morocco is expected to be healthier – for example, persons with rheumatism may prefer the warmer climate (see de Haas and Fokkema, 2010).



CERED carried out a second survey by interviewing Moroccan emigrants who came to visit Morocco in the summer of 2005, passing through one of four port cities (see Haut-Commissariat au Plan, 2007). Information was collected on 2 800 households, thereby covering almost 11 000 persons. Figures on return intentions drawn from this sample are probably biased upwards because those who return for the summer are more likely than others to also return more permanently. However, differences in return intentions between groups in the sample may still provide reliable information. Analysing the results, Hamdouch and Wahba (2013) find that return intentions were more frequent among Moroccan emigrants who indicated a sense of belonging to Morocco, compared with those indicating a sense of belonging to their destination country. Similarly, return intentions were more frequent among Moroccan emigrants who did not feel integrated in their destination country, compared with those who felt integrated.

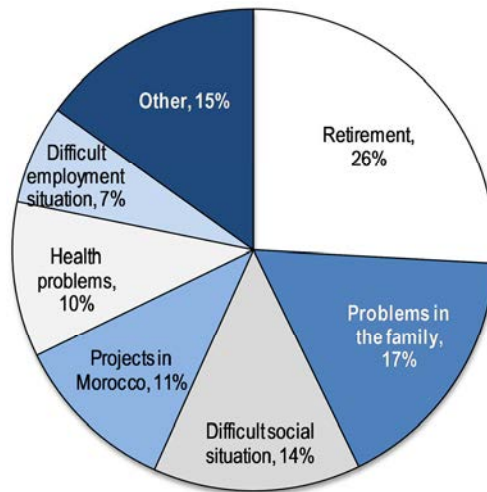
Another detailed survey was undertaken in 2006/07 to study return migrants in Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia. The findings from this survey, called MIREM project, were published by Cassarino (2008). This study defines return migrants as persons who, in the ten years preceding the survey, have spent some time abroad and then returned to their country of birth, even if only temporarily. Of almost 1 000 interviews in total, 330 interviews were held in Morocco, mainly in the regions of Tadla Azilal and Casablanca, but also in Chaouia-Ourdigha and Rabat-Salé-Zemmour-Zaër. Interviews were typically conducted in Arabic and in some cases in French.

Among return migrants in Morocco, the MIREM project distinguished between those who preferred to return and those who had to (see Cassarino, 2008). Respondents who preferred to return mainly came to Morocco to create or manage a business (13% and 15% of respondents in this group, respectively). Other important reasons were that life in Morocco is missed (12%) or problems in the family still residing in Morocco (10%). Respondents who had to return mainly cited a removal order in the destination country (57% of respondents in this group), tax or administrative problems (20%), family problems (17%), expiration of their residence permit abroad (16%) and serious health problems (8%).

Return migrants in Morocco were again surveyed in 2013 in the context of the MEDMA2 project (see Boulahcen and Taki, 2014). A random sample of 390 return migrants was drawn from three Moroccan regions – Oriental, Tadla Azilal and Souss-Massa-Drâa. When the reasons for return were recorded, this survey also distinguished whether migrants chose to return or had to: only 44% indicated to have chosen their return, while 56% said that they had to return. Among the latter group, two-thirds cited instable employment or difficulties of finding employment abroad. This suggests that low job prospects in destination countries following the economic crisis

explain the high share of respondents who had to return. Others had to return for legal reasons. Among those who chose to return, about half indicated plans to invest in Morocco as the reason why they returned and another quarter returned for retirement.

**Figure 5.2. Reasons given by Moroccan emigrants for returning to Morocco, 2003/04**



*Note:* Return migrants were identified as persons who declared that their last residence before their current residence was abroad. Respondents are the principal migrants, i.e. those household members who made the migration decisions. A share of 0.3% of principal migrants was born outside Morocco. Respondents could indicate three reasons, and figures reported here are shares that were calculated based on all these indications.

*Source:* Table 3 in chapter 3 of Haut-Commissariat au Plan (2006): “La Réinsertion des migrants de retour au Maroc: analyse des résultats de l’Enquête sur la Migration de Retour des Marocains Résidant à l’Étranger de 2003-2004”, [http://www.hcp.ma/Etude-sur-la-migration-de-retour-des-Marocains-residant-a-l-etranger\\_a789.html](http://www.hcp.ma/Etude-sur-la-migration-de-retour-des-Marocains-residant-a-l-etranger_a789.html).

The evidence from the two CERED surveys, the MIREM project and the MEDMA2 project therefore highlight the role played by three main reasons for return: economic opportunities in the country of origin, preference for life in the country of origin (notably retirement), and difficulties to integrate or settle permanently in the destination country. By contrast, these studies do not support that Moroccan emigrants return once they have accumulated a certain level of savings. Instead, in addition to the reasons classified in OECD (2008), problems in the family appear in many cases to prompt the return to Morocco, which includes family problems that arise in the destination country as well as family problems in the country of origin.

## Characteristics of Moroccan emigrants who returned to Morocco

This section characterises Moroccan return migrants using information from the latest Moroccan census, the Recensement Général de la Population et de l'Habitat (RGPH), conducted in 2014. In order to document changes among return migrants, the 2014 figures are compared with figures based on censuses in 2004 and 1994. The figures on return migrants obtained from the 1994 and 2004 censuses refer not only to persons who were born in Morocco and who were back in Morocco at the time of the census (while living abroad for some time in-between), but also to their descendants who were born abroad, i.e. return migrants from the second emigrant generation. The information from the 2014 census distinguishes between these two groups but the two groups typically need to be combined where comparisons are made between censuses. Details on the identification of Moroccan return migrants are presented in Box 5.1.

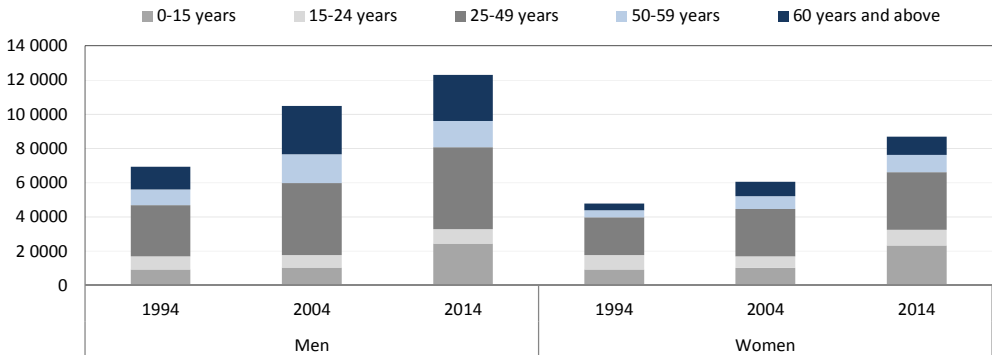
### **Box 5.1. Identifying return migrants in the Moroccan census**

In the 2014 *Recensement Général de la Population et de l'Habitat* (RGPH), return migrants are identified using several variables: nationality, current place of residence, previous place of residence and place of birth. In general, return migrants are Moroccan nationals whose last place of residence (i.e. prior to the current place of residence in Morocco) was abroad. Based on the place of birth, two groups of return migrants are distinguished throughout this chapter: those born in Morocco (i.e. return migrants in the strict sense) and those born abroad to Moroccan parents. This allows analysing return migrants from the first and later emigrant generations separately. Yet it also complicates comparisons with results on return migrants from earlier census rounds (in 2004 and 1994) or from the CERED survey carried out in 2003/04, where the distinction by place of birth was not made.

The information recorded in the census reflects what is declared by the respondent and does not require proof. A respondent is considered currently resident in Morocco if he/she either claims to have resided in Morocco for more than six months or declares an intention to stay for more than six months. As previous place of residence, respondents can declare a region, district or city in Morocco as well as another country. Therefore, Moroccan emigrants or their descendants who returned from abroad and then moved within Morocco are not identified as return migrants and hence are not counted as such in this chapter. By consequence, an unknown but possibly large share of return migrants is not covered by the data. Those who have returned to Morocco only recently are more likely to be covered by the data, while considerable heterogeneity can be expected among the identified return migrants with respect to the year of their return.

According to the RGPH, 210 000 return migrants could be identified in Morocco in 2014, up from 165 000 in 2004 (see Kateb and Rallu, 2012) and 117 000 in 1994 (see Khachani, 2006). While these numbers indicate substantial growth over the last two decades, one has to keep in mind that many return migrants might not be counted in because they could not be identified (see Box 5.1). This may at least partly explain why the number of identified return migrants is low compared to the 2.7 million Moroccan-born persons living abroad. Of all those identified as return migrants in the RGPH 2014, almost two-thirds (135 000) were born in Morocco, while the remainder (75 000) were persons born abroad to Moroccan parents. The share of women was 41% in 1994, then fell to 37% in 2004 and rebounded to 41% in 2014. Figure 5.3 shows that the growth in the number of female return migrants accelerated over time and, between 2004 and 2014, drove the overall increase in the number of return migrants. By contrast, the growth of the number of male return migrants slowed down over time, after driving the overall increase between 1994 and 2004.

**Figure 5.3. Moroccan return migrants by gender and age, 1994, 2004 and 2014**



*Note:* The data on return migrants do not include those who moved within Morocco after their return. All Moroccan citizens identified as return migrants are included, whether born in Morocco or abroad.

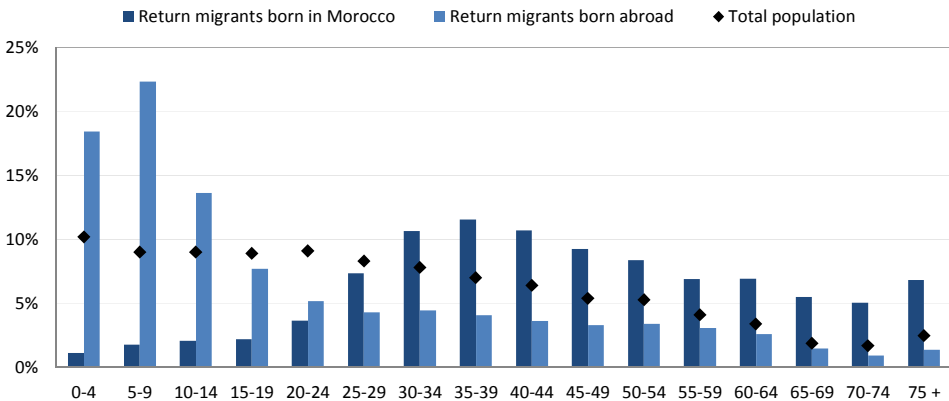
*Source:* Recensement Général de la Population et de l’Habitat (RGPH) 2014, <http://rgph2014.hcp.ma>, OECD Secretariat calculations based on RGPH 2004 figures reported in Kateb, K. and J. L. Rallu (2012), “Profil des migrants de retour et politiques migratoires” in M. S. Musette, S. Souam and A. Bourgeot (eds.), *Les migrations africaines: droits et politiques*, CREAD, Algiers, and Table 3 in Khachani, M. (2006), “Statistiques sur les migrants de retour en Maroc” based on the RGPH 1994, [http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/21518/MIREM\\_Khachani.pdf?sequence=1](http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/21518/MIREM_Khachani.pdf?sequence=1).

Figure 5.3 also depicts the size of age groups among the Moroccan return migrants. Compared to 1994 and 2004, especially the number of return migrants aged below 15 has increased, equally among male and

female return migrants. This highlights the quickly growing role of second-generation emigrants who return to Morocco with their parents. Over the period 1994-2014 as a whole, relatively large increases were also observed for return migrants aged 60 and above. However, this development might have started to reverse for male return migrants: their number was slightly lower in 2014 than in 2004. Over the same time, the number of female return migrants in this age group has continued to rise. This differential development could reflect that men were initially strongly overrepresented in emigration from Morocco during the post-war period and did not always reunite with families from Morocco but rather returned eventually to retire.

Many return migrants aged below 15 were born abroad (see Figure 5.4). These second-generation emigrants who “return” to Morocco are more concentrated in age groups up to 15 years than the population in Morocco, while all age groups above 19 years are much less frequently encountered among second-generation return migrants than in the total population. By contrast, return migrants born in Morocco – from the first emigrant generation – are more concentrated in all age groups above 29 years than the total population, and especially in the age groups above 64 years. Retired persons therefore continue to represent a considerable share of all return migrants. The levels for each age group are provided in Table 5.A.1 in the annex, separately for return migrants from the first and second generations of emigrants. How the civil status of return migrants evolved between 1994 and 2014 is depicted in Figure 5.A1.2 in the annex.

**Figure 5.4. Age distribution of Moroccan return migrants, 2014**



*Note:* The data on return migrants do not include those who moved within Morocco after their return.

*Source:* Recensement Général de la Population et de l’Habitat (RGPH) 2014, <http://rgph2014.hcp.ma>.

The educational attainment of Moroccan return migrants is presented in Figure 5.5. Panel A shows that both male and female return migrants who were born in Morocco tend to be better educated than the total population in Morocco: the shares of return migrants without education or with education only at primary level are comparatively low, while the shares with upper secondary or tertiary education are higher than in the total population.

One factor contributing to these differences is the acquisition of education abroad. This applies notably to international students who return to Morocco (see Box 5.2) but also more generally: 45% of return migrants surveyed in the MEDMA2 project indicate to have acquired education or training in their destination country, primarily through the companies they worked for (see Boulahcen and Taki, 2014). According to the survey by ETF (2013), 30% of return migrants received training abroad. Overall, male return migrants tend to be better educated than female return migrants, a finding which also holds for the educational attainment of men and women in the total population of Morocco (see Panel A of Figure 5.5).

Panel A of Figure 5.5 also reports the educational attainment of return migrants born abroad. Although disproportionately many of these return migrants are still very young and have therefore not yet attained higher levels of education, they have already a higher educational attainment than the total population: a comparatively low share of the return migrants born abroad does not have any education, while comparatively high shares have an upper secondary or tertiary education.

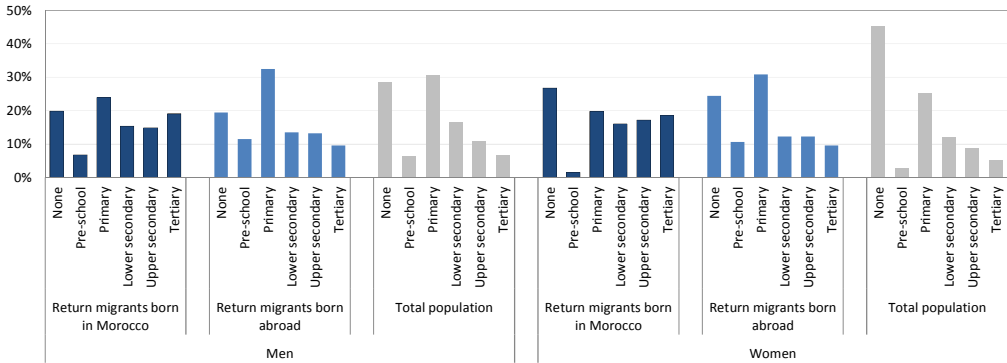
However, the return migrants born abroad still appear to have a lower educational level than the return migrants born in Morocco. But it is worth noting that the educational attainment of return migrants born abroad hardly differs between men and women, indicating that women in the second migrant generation benefit as much as men from the education systems in destination countries.

It is likely that Moroccan return migrants are not representative of Moroccan emigrants as a whole because the decision to return to Morocco may be linked to certain characteristics. As a result, these characteristics will be more frequent among the return migrants than among the Moroccan emigrants on the whole (see Borjas and Bratsberg, 1996).

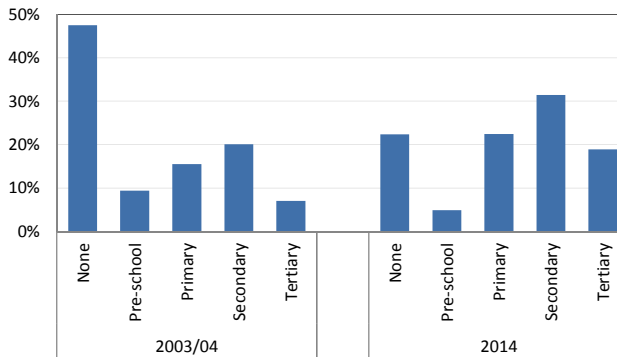
However, it is not clear from Figure 5.5 whether higher educational attainment is linked to the decision to return – mainly because information on the education of return migrants and on the education of Moroccan emigrants is not available for the same year.

**Figure 5.5. Return migrants by educational attainment and gender, 2003/04 and 2014**

Panel A. 2014



Panel B. Educational attainment of return migrants, 2003/04 and 2014



*Note:* All age groups are included. Panel B includes only return migrants born in Morocco for 2014, while both persons born abroad and in Morocco are included among return migrants in 2003/04. Secondary education in Panel B includes lower and upper secondary levels. The data on return migrants do not include those who moved within Morocco after their return.

*Source:* Recensement Général de la Population et de l'Habitat (RGPH) 2014, <http://rgph2014.hcp.ma> and Table 30 in Chapter 1 of Haut-Commissariat au Plan (2006): “La Réinsertion des migrants de retour au Maroc: analyse des résultats de l'Enquête sur la Migration de Retour des Marocains Résidant à l'Étranger de 2003-2004”, CERED, [http://www.hcp.ma/Etude-sur-la-migration-de-retour-des-Marocains-residant-a-l-etranger\\_a789.html](http://www.hcp.ma/Etude-sur-la-migration-de-retour-des-Marocains-residant-a-l-etranger_a789.html).

### Box 5.2. Return of Moroccan students

Comparatively detailed information is available on the return behaviour of international students from Morocco. Weisser (2016) uses Eurostat data on residence permits to estimate how many of the international students graduating in EU countries changed to another status during 2010-12. For international students from Morocco, an estimated stay rate of 45% is reported, corresponding to about 3 000 students who stayed after graduation – the largest number among all non-EU countries of origin except China. Country-specific stay rates are estimated for France (57%) and Italy (34%). Bijwaard (2010) finds a stay rate of 29% for the Netherlands in the short run. Another estimate for the stay rate in France (88%) reported in Bouoiyour et al. (2014) confirms that the stay rates of international students from Morocco appear to be especially high in France. Among the return migrants surveyed in Morocco for the MIREM project, less than 5% indicated that they were students just before they returned (see Cassarino, 2008).

In general, the reasons of international students to stay abroad or to return can be divided in three groups (see Weisser, 2016 for an overview of the literature). Firstly, economic factors matter, notably job and earnings prospects in the destination country compared with the country of origin. In addition, fewer economic and political freedoms in the country of origin appear to prevent especially female international students from returning. Secondly, social ties also have a strong influence: marriage, the family residing in the destination country and comparatively long stays all appear to make return less likely. A third group is made up of institutional factors. International students on scholarships from their country of origin are more likely to return. Greater proximity in terms of language or culture appears associated with greater likelihood of staying in the destination country, and stay rates are naturally affected by immigration policies of the destination country.

According to Panel B in Figure 5.5, 72% of return migrants born in Morocco had a low education level in 2003/04 (counting no schooling, pre-school and primary education), 20% had a medium education level (secondary) and only about 7% had a high education level (tertiary). By 2014, the educational attainment of return migrants had improved substantially: 50% had a low level, 31% a medium level and 19% a high level of education.

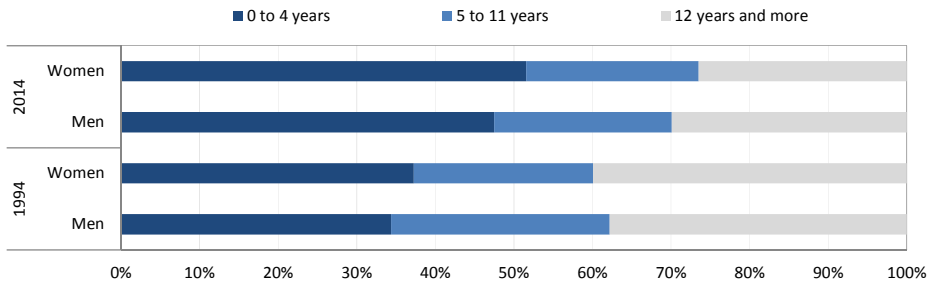
Among Moroccan emigrants as a whole, 58% had a low level, 25% a medium level and 17% a high level of education in 2010/11 (see Chapter 3). Taking the figures for 2010/11 as a benchmark, Moroccan return migrants were less well educated in 2003/04 but better educated in 2014, a trend which is in line with improvements in educational attainment among the Moroccan emigrant population over time (see Chapter 3).

Compared with 1994, Moroccan return migrants in 2014 have been abroad for shorter durations, as shown in Figure 5.6. Stays abroad of up to four years have become substantially more frequent among both male and female return migrants. Stays abroad of 12 years or more have become less



frequent, especially for female return migrants. However, this does not necessarily imply a tendency that Moroccan return migrants spend less time abroad, as these results could also reflect a growing incidence of circular or repeat migration. It may also reflect the movement of young persons who study abroad, return to Morocco for a short period and then leave again.

**Figure 5.6. Moroccan return migrants' duration of stay abroad, 1994 and 2014**



*Note:* All identified return migrants are included, whether born in Morocco or abroad. The data on return migrants do not include those who moved within Morocco after their return.

*Source:* Recensement Général de la Population et de l'Habitat (RGPH) 2014, <http://rgph2014.hcp.ma> and Table 1 in chapter 1 of Haut-Commissariat au Plan (2006): “La Réinsertion des migrants de retour au Maroc: analyse des résultats de l'Enquête sur la Migration de Retour des Marocains Résidant à l'Étranger de 2003-2004”, [http://www.hcp.ma/Etude-sur-la-migration-de-retour-des-Marocains-residant-a-l-etranger\\_a789.html](http://www.hcp.ma/Etude-sur-la-migration-de-retour-des-Marocains-residant-a-l-etranger_a789.html).

## How Moroccan emigrants support economic development in Morocco

In a number of ways, Moroccan emigrants can contribute to economic development in their country of origin. These mechanisms range from the supply of their labour and skills to their return and settlement in Morocco. While some mechanisms – such as the supply of skilled labour, entrepreneurship and the transfer of know-how – normally require Moroccan emigrants to return to Morocco at least temporarily, the Moroccan emigrants can also exert a positive influence from abroad through mechanisms such as remittances, trade and business networks. This section discusses the available evidence for some of the main mechanisms through which emigrants can contribute to Morocco's development.

### *Labour supply and skill transfer*

Whenever Moroccan emigrants return and find work, they contribute to labour supply in Morocco. Panel A in Figure 5.7 shows their labour market status in 2014. At 66%, the employment rate of male return migrants born in

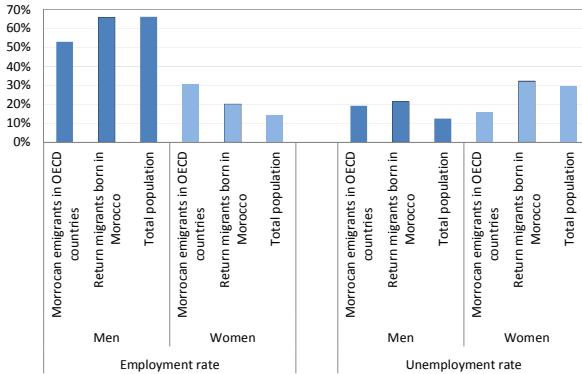
Morocco matched that in the total male population but substantially exceeded the employment rate of male Moroccan emigrants in OECD countries (53%) observed in 2010/11. Among women, employment rates were generally lower, but higher for female return migrants (20%) than for the total female population (14%). Both employment rates were substantially lower than the employment rate of female Moroccan emigrants in OECD countries (31%).

Among return migrants, the unemployment rate for women (32%) was considerably higher than for men (21%), but this difference was less pronounced than in the total population (see Panel A of Figure 5.7). In the case of male return migrants, their unemployment rate significantly exceeded that of the male population. The shares of return migrants (including all ages) in unemployment have increased substantially in comparison with 1994, while shares in employment have been roughly stable (see Panel B). By contrast, the unemployment rate in Morocco has decreased over this period, indicating that return migrants do not necessarily benefit from an improving labour market in Morocco. The increase in the share of return migrants in unemployment might reflect a higher incidence of unemployment already in the destination country, as a consequence of the economic crisis. However, the number of return migrants who came to Morocco after becoming unemployed in the destination country likely remained relatively limited: the MEDMA2 survey in 2013 found that 71% of principal return migrants had been in employment immediately prior to their return, and this employment had been informal in only one-fifth of the cases (see Boulahcen and Taki, 2014).

While employment and unemployment seem about as frequent among return migrants as in the total population, the return migrants likely contribute disproportionately to the supply of skilled labour. Their educational attainment does not only tend to be higher than in the total population (Figure 5.5), but those with tertiary education are also especially likely to be employed (Figure 5.8). This finding applies to both male and female return migrants. The unemployment rate is however particularly high for persons with medium levels of education, for both men and women. For instance, the unemployment rate of female return migrants born in Morocco with lower secondary education is 48%, while this rate falls to 21% for female return migrants with tertiary education. This pattern also holds for men, albeit at lower unemployment levels. Their unemployment rate reaches 28% for those with lower secondary education, compared with 13% for those with tertiary education.

**Figure 5.7. Labour market outcomes of return migrants by gender, 2014**

Panel A. Labour market outcomes of return migrants in comparison with the total population



Panel B. Change from 1994 to 2014 for return migrants born in Morocco (all ages), in percentage points

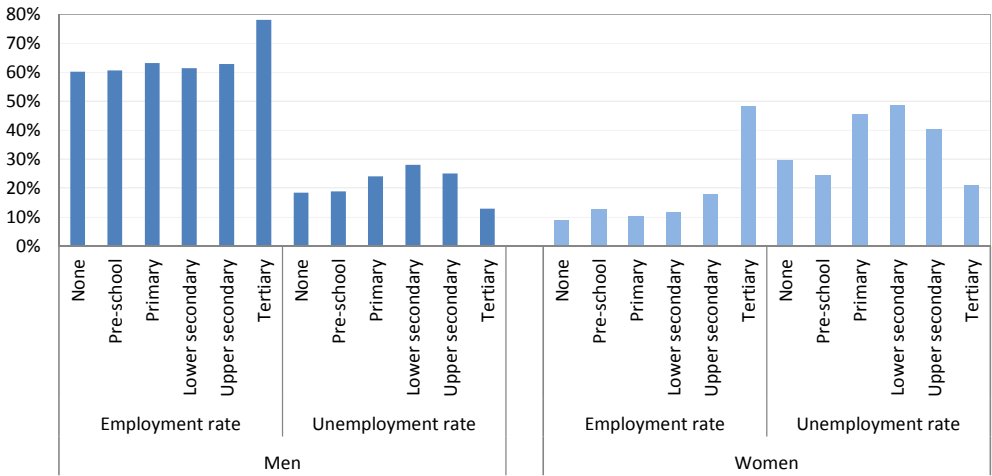


*Note:* Data for Moroccan emigrants in OECD countries refer to 2010/11. The data on return migrants do not include those who moved within Morocco after their return. The employment rate is calculated as a percentage of the population aged 15-64, and the unemployment rate as percentage of the active population aged 15-64.

*Source:* Recensement Général de la Population et de l'Habitat (RGPH) 2014, <http://rgph2014.hcp.ma> and Table 5 in Khachani, M. (2006), "Statistiques sur les migrants de retour en Maroc" based on the RGPH in 1994, [http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/21518/MIREM\\_Khachani.pdf?sequence=1](http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/21518/MIREM_Khachani.pdf?sequence=1), and *OECD Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC) 2010/11*, [www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm](http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm).

The employment of skilled return migrants is likely associated with a transfer of skills that Moroccan emigrants have acquired abroad, to the benefit of their employers, colleagues or business partners in Morocco. While many factors can help or undermine the transfer of skills and know-how through return migrants, Wang (2015) reports evidence that the extent to which return migrants are embedded in structures in Morocco matters greatly, alongside the presence of other return migrants. This highlights the importance of successful reintegration in Morocco (which is discussed below). The 2003/04 CERED survey provides some evidence that benefits from experience gained abroad also extend to return migrants themselves: three-quarters of principal return migrants believed that it gives them an advantage (see Haut-Commissariat au Plan, 2006). Across all return migrants, 60 % indicate that the experience acquired abroad has improved their job prospects (ETF, 2013).

**Figure 5.8. Labour market outcomes of return migrants born in Morocco (aged 15-64) by gender and educational attainment, 2014**



*Note:* Only persons of working age (15-64) are included. The data on return migrants do not include those who moved within Morocco after their return.

*Source:* Recensement Général de la Population et de l'Habitat (RGPH) 2014, <http://rgph2014.hcp.ma>.

### ***Remittances***

Through remittances, Moroccan emigrants contributed about 7% to the GDP of Morocco in 2014 – a high share in comparison to other origin countries (see the discussion in Chapter 3). Karam (2010) argues that a drop in remittances would affect the entire Moroccan economy because of linkages between sectors: remittances support the real estate sector, which draws on inputs from many other sectors. According to Fargues (2011), a scenario of falling remittances could materialise in case of changes in the demographic composition of Moroccan emigrants. If the share of Moroccan emigrants who were never married increases over time, remittances could fall as those who do not leave behind a spouse or an entire family may have much less reason to send money to Morocco.

As a by-product, the remittances of Moroccan emigrants can add to the volatility of the Moroccan economy. Building on the work of Bouhga-Hagbe (2004), Elkhider et al. (2008) find that the flow of remittances is positively linked to the agricultural part of Moroccan GDP (an indicator of the rural economic situation). For remittances to MENA countries as well as a number of other countries, Abdih et al. (2012) document that remittances

rise and fall with economic conditions in the destination countries, so that economic fluctuations in destination countries can be transmitted to origin countries. However, Bouoiyour et al. (2016) emphasise that remittances to Morocco have proven less volatile than foreign direct investment.

Remittances to Morocco appear to be unaffected by policies targeting exchange rates, according to Elkhider et al. (2008). But transaction costs remain an issue: an analysis in OECD (2016) on the costs of transferring EUR 345 from the European Union suggests that transfers to countries in the MENA region cost at least 3%-5% but typically even reach 5% or more. Together with Sub-Saharan Africa, the MENA region thus exhibits higher transfer costs for remittances than those observed for other regions of the world, where some transfers can be arranged at a cost of below 3%.

### *Investment*

The likelihood and extent to which Moroccan emigrants invest in Morocco was one of the main topics in the aforementioned survey carried out by CERED among those visiting Morocco in the summer of 2005 (see Haut-Commissariat au Plan, 2007). The results show that 44% of surveyed households have made at least one investment in Morocco. Investments were mostly made in real estate (81%) followed by business (8 %). Moroccan emigrants living in Italy or France invest much more in Morocco than in their host country – close to two-thirds of all their investments take place in Morocco (and the remainder in the host country).

Most of surveyed households' investments in real estate (70 %) are also made in Morocco rather than in the host country. Beyond investments in real estate, other investments are instead concerned with the transfer of know-how, with a tendency for investments to reflect the emigrants' specific skills. Becoming owner of a residence in Morocco is a fundamental component of the attachment of Moroccan emigrants to their country of origin: the savings they accumulate during their stay abroad often seem to be intended for buying real estate in Morocco, sometimes prior to their own return (ETF, 2013). Such an investment also allows them to realise capital gains from their savings as the Moroccan economy grows.

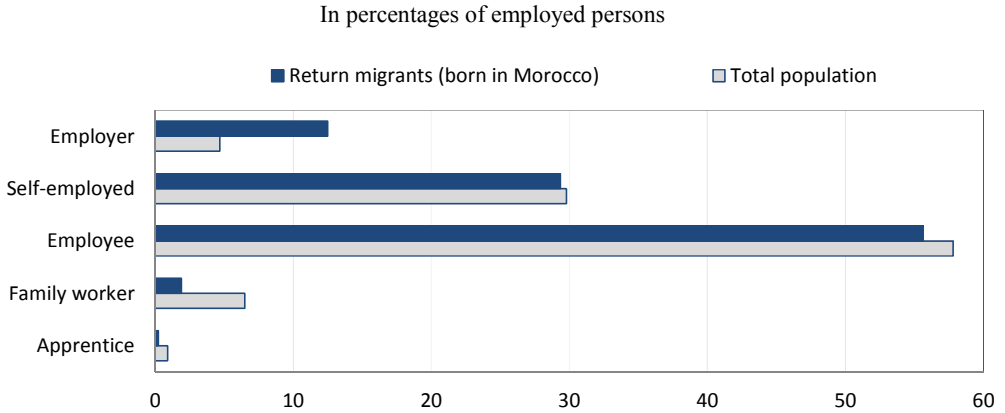
Moroccan emigrants who were born in rural communities tend to invest more in Morocco than those who were born in urban communities, and substantially more than the emigrants' descendants (see Haut-Commissariat au Plan, 2007). Further, while Moroccan emigrants with a high level of education exhibit a greater capacity and a larger probability to invest, the likelihood that these investments are made in Morocco decreases with the level of educational attainment. Moroccan emigrants from the early waves of emigration in the 1960s and 1970s are those who invest most in

Morocco. In their empirical analysis, Hamdouch and Wahba (2013) account for factors such as age that differ between emigrant generations. Nevertheless, they can confirm that the second or third emigrant generations are less likely to invest in Morocco than the first emigrant generation. With regards to investment, the economic links between Morocco and its diaspora therefore have a tendency to fade over time.

### *Entrepreneurship*

The particular skills and networks that return migrants have acquired abroad can provide them with the means to set up a business, introduce new products to the Moroccan market and create employment. Evaluating evidence from return migration to Albania, Piracha and Vadean (2010) find that the likelihood of return migrants to become entrepreneurs depends primarily on their education, savings, and foreign language proficiency. The latter factor suggests that access to and knowledge of foreign markets might give these entrepreneurs a competitive edge. For the case of Morocco, Gubert and Nordman (2011) and Hamdouch and Wahba (2015) also highlight the role played by individual characteristics of the return migrants. Their results suggest that return migrants are more likely to become entrepreneurs if they are young, possess a high level of education, or have already been self-employed before. The stay in the destination country can have a positive effect on entrepreneurship, as return migrants also seem more likely to become entrepreneurs if they acquired training abroad or resided abroad in urban areas. On the other hand, return migrants who become entrepreneurs might find it more difficult than other entrepreneurs in Morocco to deal with local challenges such as corruption (see Schaeffer, 2001, for example).

Figure 5.9 shows the professional status of return migrants who were in employment in Morocco in 2014, compared with the total population in Morocco. In 2014, employers were significantly more frequent among return migrants than in the total population in Morocco: the share of employers was more than twice as high among return migrants as in the total population. Self-employed persons and employees were about as frequent among return migrants as in the total population, while family workers and apprentices were comparatively rare among return migrants.

**Figure 5.9. Professional status of Moroccan emigrants after return, 2014**

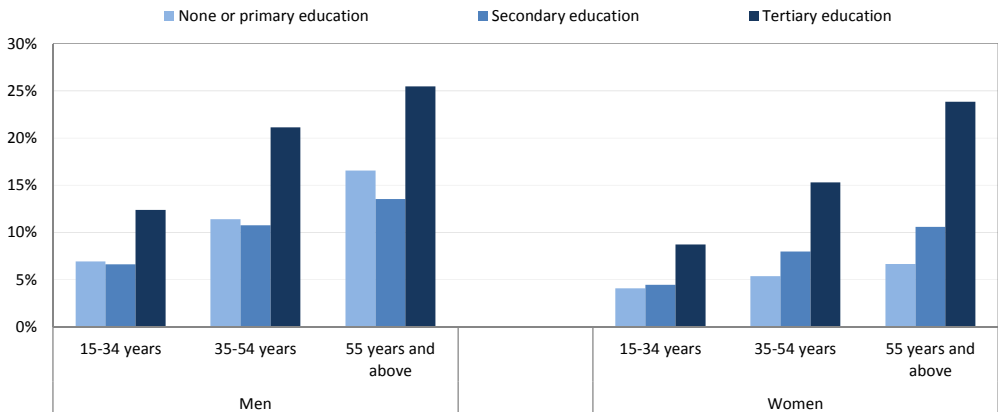
*Note:* Members of co-operatives, associates and partners are counted as employers. Employed persons of all ages are included. The data on return migrants do not include those who moved within Morocco after their return.

*Source:* Recensement Général de la Population et de l'Habitat (RGPH) 2014, <http://rgph2014.hcp.ma> and Hamdouch and Wahba (2015).

Older and more highly educated return migrants are particularly likely to become employers in Morocco (see Figure 5.10). For both male and female return migrants born in Morocco, the share of employers exhibits a clear tendency to be higher for older age groups. It also has a tendency to rise with the level of educational attainment, driven by much higher shares of employers among tertiary-educated return migrants (while shares appear slightly lower among male return migrants with a secondary education than among those with none or a primary education). The share of employers is generally lower among female return migrants than among male return migrants, with the notable exception of tertiary-educated persons aged 55 and above: for both men and women in this group, the share of employers reaches about 25%, exceeding the shares of employers in all other groups.

**Figure 5.10. Employers among return migrants by gender, age and educational attainment, 2014**

In percentages of employed persons



*Note:* Only return migrants born in Morocco are included. Members of co-operatives, associates and partners are counted as employers. “None or primary education” includes pre-school education, and “secondary education” includes “Secondaire Collégial” and “Secondaire Qualifiant”. The data on return migrants do not include those who moved within Morocco after their return.

*Source:* Recensement Général de la Population et de l’Habitat (RGPH) 2014, <http://rgph2014.hcp.ma>.

### ***Contributions to civil society and local communities***

While it is easy to imagine that return migrants play a distinctive role in Moroccan society due to their often long stays in quite different societies, such influences are hard to measure. A very recent study by Tuccio et al. (2016) based its results on the opinions of return migrants, recorded in 2013 through a survey of 1 200 households across Morocco (the “Investigation on the Impact of International Migration on Development of Morocco”). Responses to five questions on opinions were turned into a composite measure of the respondent’s desire for social and political change. Among the surveyed households, about 230 included at least one person who had returned to Morocco after some stay abroad. The sample was limited to respondents aged between 15 and 65.

Tuccio et al. (2016) could then compare the level of the composite measure between households of return migrants and households without a migrant member, while accounting for a range of observable characteristics. They find that households of return migrants express a significantly higher desire for social and political change. Their result is driven by return migrants from European or North American countries but not by return



migrants from Arab countries, which suggests that the return migrant's experience with a different society induces greater desire for change in Morocco. The result remains the same when Tuccio et al. (2016) account for the possibility that Moroccans who are more open-minded are more likely to migrate to Europe or North America than to another Arab country.

Apart from return migration, the emigration of male heads of households might have a particular effect on the position of women in Moroccan society. De Haas and van Rooij (2010) draw conclusions from a survey of 500 households in the Todgha oasis (conducted in 1998-2000) and from 43 more in-depth interviews (conducted in 1999-2005). They report that both male and female household members of international migrants are more likely to have attended school. This is found for almost all age groups, and the difference is particularly large for women aged 15-24. However, de Haas and van Rooij (2010) stress the context of an overall development towards more wide-spread school attendance, observed among households of migrants and non-migrants alike. Similarly, they report qualitative findings that, while women's workloads have generally decreased over time, those of women in households of migrants have decreased especially strongly.

It has also been argued that birth rates in Morocco may have been affected by emigration: Moroccan emigrants in destination countries with low birth rates might adapt to local customs. Through the links they maintained with family, friends and local communities in Morocco, they might have helped spread preferences for fewer children. Fargues (2006) contrasts the case of Morocco with that of Egypt: taking remittances as a measure of the interaction that emigrants have with their country of origin, he argues that increasingly close interaction was associated with falling birth rates in Morocco but – at least temporarily – with rising birth rates in Egypt. This is interpreted as a consequence of the different destination countries of the migrants from Morocco and Egypt: while Moroccan emigrants went primarily to European societies with low birth rates, many Egyptian emigrants went to more traditional societies in the Gulf countries where birth rates were high. Beine et al. (2013) provide general empirical evidence on a link between low birth rates in destination countries and the decline of birth rates in emigrants' countries of origin.

The possible effects that emigration and return have on Morocco's economic and social lives should be seen in the context of ongoing developments in the country that also change the local communities migrants originated from. Given the rise in education levels, given the political will of the Moroccan Government to make public goods available across the entire country (for example rural electrification, the provision of drinking water and the construction of roads) and given the build-up of a

decentralised national administration, local stakeholders have appeared all over the country, including in peripheral regions that were the main sources of emigration. These new stakeholders are more and more in a position to assume responsibility for regional development. The number of leaders of associations, entrepreneurs, persons holding a local office, representatives of the community, and officials in decentralised administrations has multiplied, and the country's layer of organisations and institutions has grown accordingly.

These changes have modified the role of emigrants: while emigrants were a main driving force in regions where actions by the state were limited or absent, a situation has emerged in which emigrants are only “one stakeholder among others”. But despite their reduced role for local development, the emigrants continue to occupy a particular position in their region of origin. According to the CERED survey (see Haut-Commissariat au Plan, 2006), substantial shares of principal return migrants contributed to common projects at the local level such as mosques (50%), roads (29%), wells (28%), irrigation (14%) and electricity supply (13%). Hamdouch and Wahba (2015) point out that these shares are driven by the contributions of those who return from Western countries, while only small shares of migrants returning from Arab countries contributed to common projects (except a share of 20% who contributed to mosques). Some of this difference might again arise from different experiences in the societies of emigrants' host countries.

## Policies towards Moroccan emigrants

The role that Moroccan emigrants play for economic development in Morocco, as well as the potential for greater contributions from their side, have long assured them a place among the target groups of Moroccan policies. Since the beginning of the 1960s, the Moroccan authorities have pursued a development strategy that gave a central place to migration. The rural population accounted for 80% of the total population, a large majority occupied in family farming and reliant on its own produce for consumption. The authorities intended to make the agricultural sector centralised and efficient, less labour-intensive and more export-oriented. To reduce social and political pressure fuelled by the exodus from rural areas, and to deal with the inflows of job seekers into cities where they could not be absorbed by industry, the authorities therefore encouraged emigration among the rural population.

As Morocco did not have exportable goods that could be sold on the world market, the inflow of hard currency sent by emigrants constituted a response to the need for foreign exchange (Souiah, 2013). A number of

recruitment agreements were signed with European and Arab countries. Along with this export of labour, the Moroccan authorities installed a network of banks in places where Moroccan emigrants concentrated heavily (see Belguendouz, 2006), while associations called “Amicales” maintained tight political control over the diaspora (Iskander, 2010 and 2013). Morocco thus became one of the first countries of the global South to set up a coherent public policy towards its diaspora.

### ***Several public institutions deal specifically with Moroccan emigrants***

Morocco is equipped with a set of institutions at the national level that are instrumental for addressing issues of the diaspora (see Belguendouz, 2006 for a detailed presentation). Historically, the Foundation Hassan II for Moroccans Residing Abroad, created in 1990, has the mission to support Moroccans residing abroad in maintaining their links to Morocco, as well as to help them overcome difficulties they encounter because of their emigration. A dedicated ministry, the Ministry in Charge of Moroccans Living Abroad (MCMRE), was created in 1992 and became the Ministry in Charge of Moroccans Living Abroad and Migration Affairs (MCMREAM) in 2013 in light of the need to deal with the inflow of sub-Saharan migrants who settle permanently in Morocco (see Box 5.3 for more information on immigration to Morocco).

The ministry faces certain challenges: most of its “clientele” consists precisely of Moroccans who are absent from the country, scattered over the four corners of the earth, difficult to mobilise. The ministry is currently setting up “Houses of Moroccans residing abroad and of migration affairs”, a string of establishments in Moroccan regions that exhibit high emigration. Its goal is to raise the number of these establishments that will serve as decentralised departments of the ministry. Thus far, four such houses of migration have been created in Nador (Oriental Province), Beni Mellal (Tadla Azilal), Tiznit (Souss Massa) and Khouribga (Chaouia-Ouardigha).

A Council of the Moroccan Community Abroad (CCME) was created in 2007 and charged with monitoring and evaluating Morocco’s public policies towards its citizens abroad, as well as with giving advice on how to “ensure the defence of the interests of Moroccans abroad and strengthen their contribution to domestic development”. Given its wide remit, the CCME for example supports the pursuit of scientific research and cultural initiatives, but also encourages reflections on the place of Islam in Europe or on Moroccan citizenship.

### *Mobilising the skills of Moroccan emigrants*

Coming from a policy managing a population surplus, the approach of the Moroccan State towards the diaspora has turned into a policy of mobilising Moroccan emigrants for the development of Morocco. However, a way of operating and steering this new policy has not yet been fully established. Towards the end of the last decade, the Moroccan authorities came to the conclusion that most Moroccan emigrants will not return to live in Morocco. The authorities therefore attach greater importance to dual nationality and also the dual ties that matter for the vast majority of the diaspora's members.

Exemplifying this new approach, the Ministry in Charge of Moroccans Living Abroad launched a programme in France in 2010 under the title « Enracinement sans déracinement » that serves to encourage Moroccans in France to organise themselves in associations, to become involved in various initiatives, and to integrate in French society – while maintaining a strong connection with their roots in Morocco. As another example, the Moroccan authorities seek to organise the diaspora's contribution to Morocco's development by providing dedicated online platforms such as FINCOME (International Forum of Moroccan Skills Abroad) and *Maghribcom*. The goal of these websites is to take advantage of the skills of Moroccans abroad for Morocco's development. The French embassy and the French Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Morocco have created the website *clubfrancemaroc.com* to match Moroccan students in France with jobs in Morocco. A crucial role of such websites is also to raise emigrants' awareness of opportunities in Morocco, bridging an informational gap (see CCME, 2012 and Ministère français des Affaires Étrangères, 2012).

In the framework of the Mobility Partnership signed between Morocco, the European Union and nine of its Member States (Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom) in June 2013, the SHARAKA project has been running since April 2014. This project is financed by the European Union, France and the Netherlands and is implemented by Expertise France. It supports Moroccan institutions in the field of migration and development through a comprehensive approach, in order to better account for migration issues in national policies and strategies. The co-operation in the context of SHARAKA concerns a string of topics related to human mobility. This includes the mobilisation of skills, strategies for the reintegration of Moroccan return migrants, labour migration of Moroccans, and the economic integration of regularised immigrants in Morocco (see Box 5.3 for more information on immigration to Morocco).

### ***Supporting the reintegration of Moroccan emigrants who return***

When Moroccan emigrants who have returned are asked about their reintegration in Morocco, only a minority indicate to have encountered difficulties, and very few have received assistance with reintegration. According to the CERED survey of return migrants in 2003/04, 71% of the principal migrants surveyed reported that they did not encounter difficulties with reintegration (see Haut-Commissariat au Plan, 2006). Administrative hassle is cited by 10% of respondents, followed by low local wages (9%) and weak sanitary and health standards (4%). Respectively less than 2% of respondents confirm that their reintegration was assisted by the Moroccan administration, the local community, an NGO or by friends and family. The weak role for assistance is confirmed by the finding in the 2006/07 MIREM project that less than 4% of return migrants drew on support from Moroccan institutions (see Cassarino, 2008). Boulahcen and Taki (2014) provide an overview of initiatives that were set up to better support the reintegration of return migrants.

However, these results are based on those Moroccan emigrants who have returned, while many of those who would have substantial problems with reintegration in Morocco might choose not to return. Therefore, the responses from return migrants likely do not reflect the true impact of reintegration problems. Some evidence for this reasoning surfaced in the MIREM project (see Cassarino, 2008): 69% of return migrants who chose to return were satisfied being back in Morocco (against 10% who were dissatisfied), while only 29% of those whose return was compulsory were satisfied (against 58% who were dissatisfied). Some of this difference could reflect that emigrants who expect to have few reintegration difficulties self-select into return and are hence happy with their decision. De Haas and Fokkema (2010) point out that many emigrants choose to return because their families live in Morocco, which makes it less likely that reintegration problems arise.

Only very little is known about the reintegration challenges that emigrants who do not return consider important in their decisions to return to their home country or remain abroad. Klaver et al. (2010) asked a small number of highly-educated first and second-generation Moroccan emigrants in the Netherlands about their reasons *not* to move to Morocco. Responses highlighted insufficient language abilities in Arabic and French as well as a lack of networks in Morocco, which were considered major obstacles to finding employment. Some stated that they would be treated as foreigners in Morocco and would not be able to feel at home.

Reintegration challenges might also be concentrated in certain groups of return migrants. One such group may be those who stayed abroad for long durations. Young return migrants who have been abroad for a long time might have had little experience of life in Morocco before they left, so that

they lack a basis for reintegration upon return. Likewise, older return migrants might find it difficult to adapt their chosen lifestyle to Moroccan society. For example, they might be unable to adjust when they come in contact with corruption or tight traditional family structures. Figure 5.11 depicts the age groups among return migrants with certain durations of stay abroad, based on information from the 2014 census. While most return migrants with duration of stay abroad up to 5 years should have little difficulty with reintegration, Panel A shows that one-third of these return migrants are aged below 15 – who were either born abroad or might not remember much from their early years in Morocco. Therefore, return migrants in this age group could have substantial difficulties adjusting to life in Morocco, irrespectively of the duration of stay abroad. For return migrants who stayed abroad for 6-10 years, the same logic also carries over to the age group 15-24. As one-third of return migrants who stayed abroad for 6-10 years are aged below 25 (see Panel B), one can again conclude that a large share of return migrants might encounter substantial difficulties.

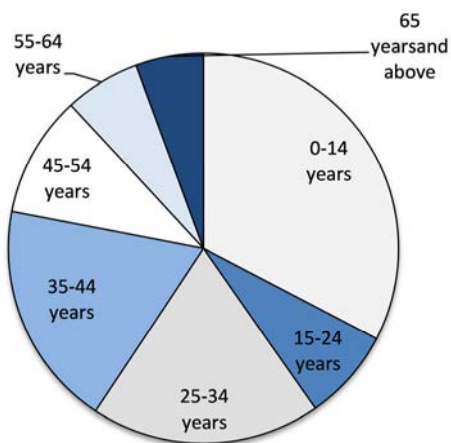
Where the duration of stay abroad exceeds ten years, reintegration problems may be expected to arise across age groups. Naturally, those with long durations of stay abroad are essentially older people, so they face a double challenge. Not only have they spent a long time away from Morocco, making reintegration difficult, but they are also older, so that their labour market opportunities may be more limited. Reintegration problems linked to long absence from Morocco could thus be especially frequent among return migrants aged 55 or above.

Older return migrants can encounter difficulties not only in case of long absence. Schaeffer (2001) points out that access to health services and medication would be a key concern in this group. Having become used to the health services in destination countries, they might be dissatisfied with public health care in Morocco, while unable to afford private health care. As another example, income (notably pensions) that these return migrants expect to receive from abroad may be delayed or cut off in case of problems with banks or the public administration in either the destination country or in Morocco. In some cases, they could be compelled to apply for tourist visas only to sort out such problems in the destination country.

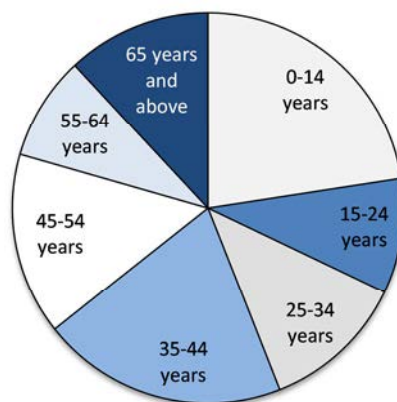
Cassarino (2014) emphasises that some migrants may be much less able to prepare their return to the country of origin and might therefore encounter more difficulties with reintegration. In cases where migrants have to return at short notice because of an unforeseen reason, he argues, they are unlikely to have the savings and contacts that would be optimal for reintegration in Morocco. This can arise especially when migrants are expelled from their destination country, their residence permit is not renewed, they or their families are affected by bad health, or they flee a conflict.

**Figure 5.11. Moroccan return migrants' duration of stay abroad, by age group, 2014**

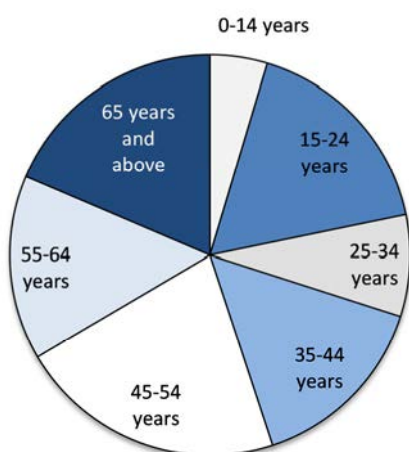
Panel A. Duration of stay up to 5 years



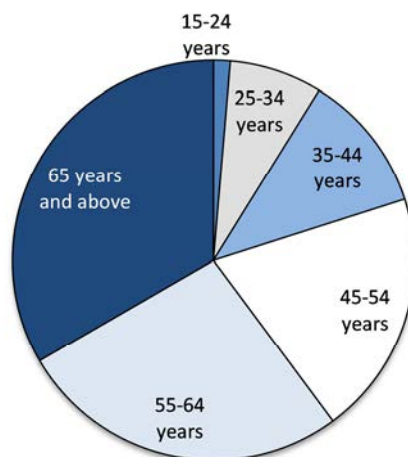
Panel B. Duration of stay from 6 to 10 years



Panel C. Duration of stay from 11 to 20 years



Panel D. Duration of stay of more than 20 years



*Note:* All identified return migrants are included, whether born in Morocco or abroad. The data on return migrants do not include those who moved within Morocco after their return.

*Source:* Recensement Général de la Population et de l'Habitat (RGPH) 2014, <http://rgph2014.hcp.ma>.

Based on the CERED survey, only 4% of the principal migrants surveyed considered their return forced rather than voluntary (see Haut-Commissariat au Plan, 2006). But also returns due to unemployment in the destination country or due to family problems are possibly less well prepared than returns that migrants planned after achieving the objectives they pursued, such as a savings target, the finalisation of some professional project, or the completion of a degree. By consequence, the MIREM project finds that 30% of those returning to Morocco were “compelled” to return (see Cassarino, 2008). Following the economic crisis, many Moroccan emigrants seem to have returned from Italy and Spain in recent years, likely due to worsening job prospects in these countries. Therefore, the number of poorly prepared return migrants may well have grown in the wake of the economic crisis.

Another particular group are those return migrants who make some investment in Morocco, which involves challenges that other return migrants might not encounter. In the CERED survey, 28% of principal return migrants are found to have made an investment following their return (see Haut-Commissariat au Plan, 2006). Less than half of them report not to have had any difficulties implementing the investment, while one-third cite administrative constraints. Others indicate a lack of experience (7%), report problems with fierce competition (5%) or lack of capital (4%). In three-quarters of the cases, the investments of return migrants were not facilitated, while 14% were facilitated at the administrative level and 10% were supported by private or bank loans.

### **Box 5.3. Immigration to Morocco: Policies towards immigrants and some figures**

From 2013, the Moroccan authorities have had to deal with substantial inflows of immigrants from sub-Saharan countries whose irregular migration came to a hold at the southern borders of Europe. Tens of thousands of African migrants from sub-Saharan countries enter Europe through Spain every year. Most migrants consider Morocco a country they transit before they find an irregular way into Europe via the South of Spain or the Canary Islands, but a growing number of migrants who do not manage to enter Europe prefer to settle in Morocco, rather than to return to home countries that are poorer and politically instable (see Alioua, 2005; Barros et al., 2002).

The migrants from sub-Saharan countries are scattered across most Moroccan provinces and begin to integrate in Moroccan society. Thousands or possibly tens of thousands thus reside – temporarily or more permanently – in cities such as Tangier, Casablanca and Rabat. Some find employment there in retail trade, construction or the informal service sector while others try to enrol in studies in Morocco. These migrants encounter xenophobia and have trouble to find accommodation and to obtain refugee status. In some cases, their situation benefits from the presence of international students from their home countries who have long been attending Moroccan universities.



**Box 5.3. Immigration to Morocco: Policies towards immigrants and some figures**  
*(cont.)*

Moroccan society and authorities have thus been confronted with a new set of questions relating to the presence of persons trying to establish themselves in Morocco, while migration issues had thus far always concerned Moroccans migrating to the rest of the world. Within a few years, Morocco has thus turned from a country of emigration into a transit country on the way to Europe and then a country of immigration. With regards to immigration from West African countries, the authorities' approach is linked to a political strategy of rapprochement with the African neighbours. This strategy combines diplomatic initiatives with economic ones (through investments of Moroccan firms in West Africa). A programme of regularisation for undocumented immigrants was undertaken in 2013 that granted formal rights to about 25 000 of these migrants, raising the total of migrants known to be residing in Morocco to about 80 000. To prevent irregular migration towards Europe, a new law enacted in 2016 requires that migrants who do not have a valid residence permit obtain an authorisation before leaving Morocco.

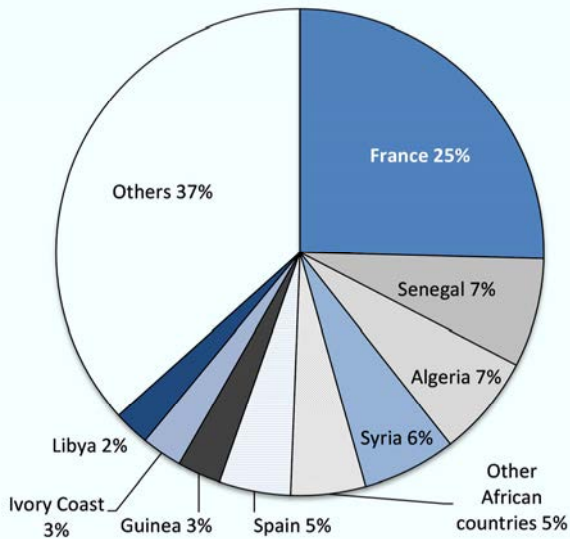
Refugees and asylum seekers from Syria or Iraq have also come to Morocco in a long detour on the way to Europe. Morocco has been developing into a transit country since the mid-1990s, but this tendency was reinforced by the current refugee crisis, notably concerning Syrian nationals. These migrants are largely irregular and enter Morocco from Algeria after crossing the Sahara. Civil conflicts had also driven earlier migration movements of this kind, then originating from Congo, Sierra Leone, Liberia or the Ivory Coast. Already since the 2000s, Morocco has hosted more and more immigrants – the majority being labour migrants – from a growing range of origin countries including Mali, Nigeria, Senegal and Burkina Faso (de Haas, 2007).

In 2014, about 84 000 immigrants were counted in the Moroccan census (RGPH), identified as persons born abroad who do not hold Moroccan citizenship but reside in Morocco. One-quarter of them originated from France, followed by groups of immigrants mainly from African origin countries such as Senegal, Algeria or the Ivory Coast (see Figure 5.12). The group of immigrants Morocco attracts from France notably consists of retirees and labour migrants. That apart, the strong presence of French immigrants in Morocco also reflects the growing number of firm relocations from France to Morocco. Overall, 40% of immigrants in Morocco have a European nationality.

According to the census data, immigrants in Morocco are primarily persons of working age, and a majority (59%) is male. Persons in employment account for 41% of all immigrants in Morocco. These results indicate the attractiveness of Morocco to workers from abroad, notable Europe, but also that the potential of the immigrants in Morocco is put to use. Among those in employment, more than half (57%) are employees in the private sector while 20% are self-employed.

### Box 5.3. Immigration to Morocco: Policies towards immigrants and some figures (cont.)

Figure 5.12. Origin countries of immigrants in Morocco, 2014



Source: Recensement Général de la Population et de l'Habitat (RGPH) 2014, <http://rgph2014.hcp.ma>.

Tertiary educated persons account for 42% of the immigrants in Morocco, 19% have a medium level of education and 39% have a low education level. The immigrants in Morocco also tend to have a higher level of education than the Moroccan emigrants. Young immigrants in Morocco overall tend to be more highly educated than older immigrants. Similarly, young immigrants exhibit a greater aptitude to read and write. While only 4% in the age group 25-59 years cannot read or write, this share reaches 22% for immigrants aged above 75. The rising skill level of immigrants in Morocco reflects the dynamism of this francophone country close to Europe that attracts workers and firms. The Moroccan authorities seem to support hosting immigrants, notably from France, for example through a tax convention that limits double taxation. However, the Moroccan Migrant Employment Service (SEM) henceforth requires employers of migrants to obtain a document certifying that domestic candidates were not available to fill the position offered to a foreign worker.

### *Addressing a number of specific policy challenges*

Many Moroccan women emigrate to OECD countries due to family reunification. The MISMES programme (Migrant Support Measures from an Employment and Skills Perspective) gives particular attention to female emigrants and their economic integration. For example, the programme supports activities for the economic development of communities, and in particular assists women leading these communities (ETF, 2015). Moreover, a programme was launched in 2006 that comprehensively manages seasonal migration between Morocco and Spain. Its objective was to respond to the demand for seasonal workers picking strawberries in the Spanish province of Huelva, after several previous initiatives had failed to reduce irregular migration, to protect migrants' rights and to improve their working conditions in Spain. This temporary migration programme is circular in character, i.e. employers enter in an individual contract directly with the female workers who were initially selected in the framework of the programme. A number of further measures are taken to support the female seasonal workers, especially with regards to the preparation and the organisation of departure and return, informing candidates about their rights or the verification of working conditions in the destination country (ETF, 2015).

One of the major issues for Morocco is political because it concerns the diaspora's right to vote (see Souiah, 2013). Although Moroccan emigrants have the right to vote in any election in their country of origin, they cannot exercise this right from a distance but have to travel to the relevant constituency in Morocco in order to vote (Belguendouz, 2006). The Moroccan Constitution of 2011 provides for greater citizen involvement (OECD, 2015). Initiatives for more involvement of the diaspora in the civil society of Morocco have been set up, as well as mechanisms of "virtual consultation" intended to consult Moroccan emigrants to better target their needs. At the same time, such consultation encourages dialogue, builds trust in the new Constitution and contributes to the reduction of corruption (OECD, 2011).

Some challenges, such as the issue of pension portability, have emerged only recently with the demographic change of the diaspora. The first waves of Moroccan emigrants have now reached old age (they are called "chibanis"). These emigrants are now in retirement and encounter trouble with transferring the social benefits they acquired in the destination country to their country of origin, notably with regards to their and their heirs' rights to a pension. The portability of social benefits depends on the co-operation between Morocco and the destination countries. Although several agreements were signed with destination countries or with the European

Union, transferring a pension or health insurance coverage still creates problems (see Belguendouz, 2006 and Wahba, 2013). For example, the pension or the health insurance coverage might be more limited in Morocco than in the destination country, or their portability becomes possible only after contributing for a certain number of years (see Hamdouch, 2006 and Schaeffer, 2001). According to the survey of return migrants in Morocco evaluated by ETF (2013), two-thirds of the male respondents and 80% of the female respondents do not benefit from social welfare entitlements acquired in the destination country, including the entitlement to a pension. While limited portability of social benefits constitutes a potential hurdle to the return of Moroccan emigrants, most of these problems can be resolved through appropriate policies.

## Conclusion

Morocco's policy towards the diaspora stands at the crossroads for several reasons. The policies aiming at the mobilisation of the Moroccan diaspora are generally intended to support economic development but do not determine precisely how and where the diaspora comes in. These policies are formulated at the national level, so that their success depends on very thorough coordination and knowledge of supply and demand, which has often proven difficult in comparable circumstances. Thus far, one can observe a lack of concrete offers towards the diaspora as well as a lack of incentives and specific tools to mobilise selected groups from the diaspora based on their particular profiles (see CCME, 2012).

An effective policy towards Moroccan emigrants and their descendants can unlock their potential for the Moroccan economy. This potential appears considerable, not least because the Moroccan diaspora corresponds to about 10% of the population in Morocco. The significant contribution of Moroccan emigrants' remittances to the Moroccan GDP suggests that they could also strongly support the Moroccan economy through other channels. Based on the evidence presented in this chapter, large numbers could return to Morocco, while many more might engage with Morocco from abroad. Those who do return tend to be better educated than the population in Morocco and increase the supply of skilled labour. They are also much more likely to become entrepreneurs, and a large share of the return migrants appears to undertake investments in Morocco. Together with the transfer of know-how and an influence on the development of Moroccan society, this can spur economic dynamics within Morocco that eventually grow independently of the Moroccan diaspora.

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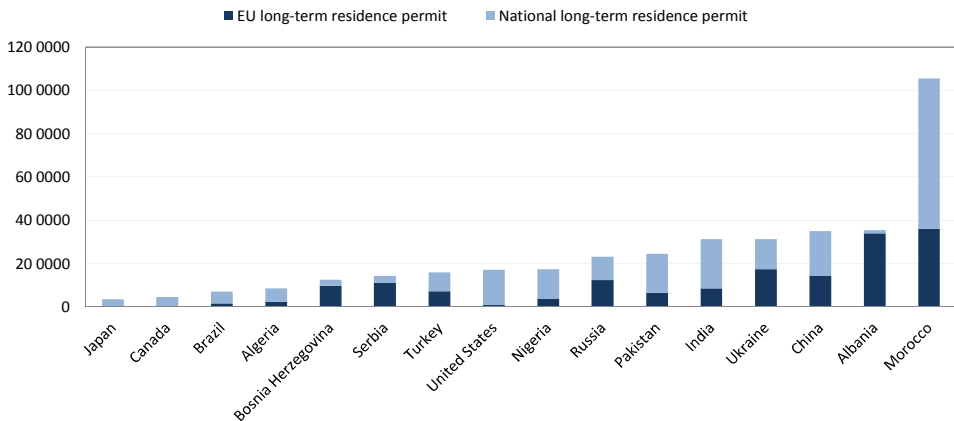
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## Annex 5.A1

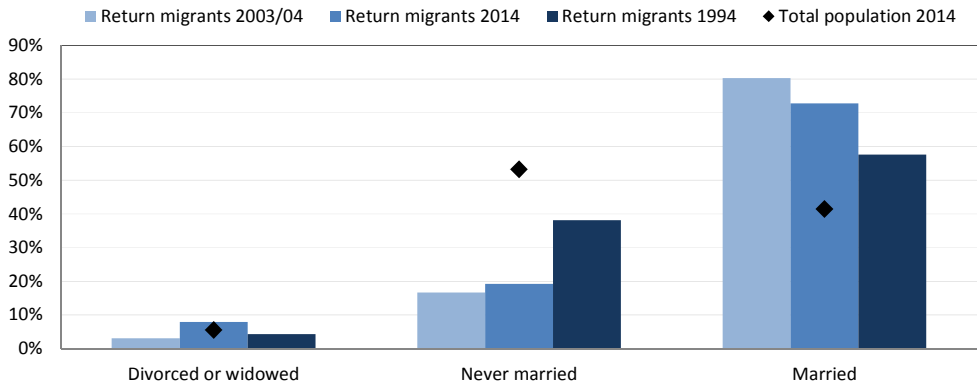
### Additional figures and tables

**Figure 5.A1.1. Holders of long-term resident permits in the EU by citizenship, selected nationalities, 2013**



Note: Figures refer to all long-term resident permits valid on December 31st, 2013.

Source: Residence permit data collection (Eurostat), [http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Residence\\_permits\\_statistics](http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Residence_permits_statistics).

**Figure 5.A1.2. Moroccan return migrants by civil status, 1994, 2003/04 and 2014**

*Note:* Return migrants in 2014 include only those born in Morocco, while both those born in Morocco and abroad are included in 2003/04 and 1994. The data on return migrants do not include those who moved within Morocco after their return.

*Source:* Recensement Général de la Population et de l’Habitat (RGPH) 2014, <http://rgph2014.hcp.ma>, Table 17 in chapter 1 of Haut-Commissariat au Plan (2006): “La Réinsertion des migrants de retour au Maroc: analyse des résultats de l’Enquête sur la Migration de Retour des Marocains Résidant à l’Étranger de 2003-2004”, [http://www.hcp.ma/Etude-sur-la-migration-de-retour-des-Marocains-residant-a-l-etranger\\_a789.html](http://www.hcp.ma/Etude-sur-la-migration-de-retour-des-Marocains-residant-a-l-etranger_a789.html), and Table 4 in Khachani, M. (2006), “Statistiques sur les migrants de retour en Maroc” based on the RGPH 1994, [http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/21518/MIREM\\_Khachani.pdf?sequence=1](http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/21518/MIREM_Khachani.pdf?sequence=1).

**Table 5.A1.1. Moroccan return migrants by age group, 2014**

Age group	Born in Morocco			Born abroad		
	Men	Women	All	Men	Women	All
0-4 years	808	722	1 530	7 153	6 739	13 892
5-9 years	1 207	1 209	2 416	8 632	8 186	16 818
10-14 years	1 393	1 401	2 794	5 212	5 049	10 261
15-19 years	1 413	1 563	2 976	2 824	2 985	5 809
20-24 years	2 317	2 609	4 926	1 932	1 983	3 915
25-29 years	4 873	5 018	9 891	1 558	1 690	3 248
30-34 years	7 905	6 427	14 332	1 724	1 648	3 372
35-39 years	9 641	5 904	15 545	1 532	1 537	3 069
40-44 years	9 507	4 929	14 436	1 350	1 395	2 745
45-49 years	8 408	4 058	12 466	1 266	1 218	2 484
50-54 years	7 301	3 991	11 292	1 293	1 269	2 562
55-59 years	5 729	3 574	9 303	1 177	1 154	2 331
60-64 years	6 249	3 071	9 320	1 005	962	1 967
65-69 years	5 604	1 830	7 434	504	603	1 107
70-74 years	5 379	1 430	6 809	294	418	712
75 years and above	7 510	1 690	9 200	371	677	1 048
<b>Total</b>	<b>85 244</b>	<b>49 426</b>	<b>134 670</b>	<b>37 827</b>	<b>37 513</b>	<b>75 340</b>

*Note:* The data on return migrants do not include those who moved within Morocco after their return.

*Source:* Recensement Général de la Population et de l'Habitat 2014 (RGPH), <http://rgph2014.hcp.ma>.

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- Chapter 5. Return migration to Morocco

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