


Spring 2013

# Gagner La Vie: Examining Return Preparedness and Resource Mobilization Among Moroccan Immigrants to France who Return to Live Permanently in Agadir, Morocco

Karolina Michelle Dos Santos  
*SIT Study Abroad*

Follow this and additional works at: [https://digitalcollections.sit.edu/isp\\_collection](https://digitalcollections.sit.edu/isp_collection)

 Part of the [African Studies Commons](#), [Civic and Community Engagement Commons](#), [Community-Based Research Commons](#), [Demography, Population, and Ecology Commons](#), [Human Geography Commons](#), [Inequality and Stratification Commons](#), [Place and Environment Commons](#), [Social and Cultural Anthropology Commons](#), and the [Sociology of Culture Commons](#)

---

## Recommended Citation

Dos Santos, Karolina Michelle, "Gagner La Vie: Examining Return Preparedness and Resource Mobilization Among Moroccan Immigrants to France who Return to Live Permanently in Agadir, Morocco" (2013). *Independent Study Project (ISP) Collection*. 1536.  
[https://digitalcollections.sit.edu/isp\\_collection/1536](https://digitalcollections.sit.edu/isp_collection/1536)

This Unpublished Paper is brought to you for free and open access by the SIT Study Abroad at SIT Digital Collections. It has been accepted for inclusion in Independent Study Project (ISP) Collection by an authorized administrator of SIT Digital Collections. For more information, please contact [digitalcollections@sit.edu](mailto:digitalcollections@sit.edu).

GAGNER LA VIE: EXAMINING RETURN PREPAREDNESS AND RESOURCE  
MOBILIZATION AMONG MOROCCAN IMMIGRANTS TO FRANCE WHO  
RETURN TO LIVE PERMANENTLY IN AGADIR, MOROCCO

Presented by Karolina Michelle Dos Santos

To  
SIT Study Abroad  
Rabat, Morocco

May 5<sup>th</sup>, 2012

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

“He allowed himself to be swayed by his conviction that human beings are not born once and for all on the day their mothers give birth to them, but that life obliges them over and over again to give birth to themselves”—Gabriel García Márquez

I want to sincerely thank all the people on this study abroad program that accompanied me during this process of learning, personal growth, and breaking barriers. This study abroad program has been one of those moments in life that have allowed me to engage in a process of rebirth. I came to Morocco as a curious adventurer but I am leaving as a strong individual with new perspectives, and finally, a sense of direction.

Thank you to Dr. Souad Eddouada for teaching me about the nuances and complexities of both the Moroccan and even my own transnational identity. Thank you to Dr. Abderrahim Anbi for all of his help and advice throughout my research in Agadir. I especially want to thank my host family for teaching me everyday about Moroccan culture, values, and cuisine and for giving me support even in my most challenging moments.

I want give a very special thanks to all of my classmates who have especially contributed to my process of learning and personal growth. Whether through class discussions, long bus rides, study sessions at Legza library, or even twenty-mile mountain climbs each one of them has helped me to discover something new about myself. For their friendship, I will forever be grateful.

I dedicate this paper to my parents, David and Elena, and to all immigrants whose determination to fight for better life has surpassed all geographical boundaries and have been a constant source of passion and inspiration for me.

Yo dedico este papel a mis padres, David y Elena, y para todos los inmigrantes.

Eu dedico este papel a meus pais, David e Elena, y para todos os imigrantes.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

- ABSTRACT.....Page 4
- INTRODUCTION...Pages 5-11
- HISTORIC OVERVIEW OF MIGRATION .....Pages 11-16
- LITERATURE REVIEW.....Pages 16-26
- METHODOLOGY.....Pages 26-33
- FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS.....Pages 33-45
- CONCLUSION.....Pages 46-48
- STUDY LIMITATIONS.....Pages 48-49
- RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY.....Page50
- BIBLIOGRAPHY.....Pages 50-51
- APPENDICES.....Pages 53-70

## Abstract

If Moroccan immigrants are so in tune to their home culture and home happenings, under what conditions do they stay in France facing the problems of unemployment and homelessness? This study focuses on the return migration of Moroccans from the Sousse region; specifically Agadir and the surrounding Tiznit areas, who left Morocco during the decade of 1960 and who have permanently returned to live in Morocco. The study was conducted by using the snowball sampling technique to conduct semi-structured interviews of Moroccan return migrants in AitMelloul, a neighborhood of Agadir. My findings suggest that the return migrants from the Sousse region only return to their homeland permanently after they have completed their objective of “gagner la vie”, this means buying a house, a car, and enough money to invest in a form of commerce that has a consistent and steady payment cycle. This study contributes a case study to Jean-Pierre Cassarino’s conceptual approach of theorizing return migration<sup>1</sup>, which focuses on the importance of the returnee’s return preparedness and resource mobilization to voluntary return migration.

---

<sup>1</sup>Cassarino, Jean-Pierre. "Theorising Return Migration: The Conceptual Approach to Return Migrants Revisited." *International Journal on Multicultural Societies* 6.2 (2004): 253-79. Print.

## I. INTRODUCTION

Growing up in a multi-cultural family and community inspired me at a young age to ask questions. Why did our family speak Spanish and Portuguese while our neighbors spoke English? Why did my mother bake a flan for Thanksgiving instead of pumpkin pie? Everyday, I was enraptured by my experience as a first-generation American and how it contrasted to the experience of my classmates and friends. Upon going to college, I decided to dedicate the next four years of my life to learning the complexities of immigration upon politics, culture, and society not just in America but in other contexts as well. Therefore, given my own personal experience with migration I have had a personal stake in this research on the return migration of Moroccan citizens. For this paper, I have focused specifically on the return migration of Moroccans from the Sousse region; specifically Agadir and the surrounding Tiznit areas, who left Morocco during the decade of 1960 and who have permanently returned to live in Morocco. Ultimately, I wanted to explain under what conditions Moroccan immigrants remained in France even in the face of unemployment and homelessness, despite their identification with and attachment to home culture. In the future, I am interested in pursuing an in-depth study of how the different legal categories such as permanent, temporary, and clandestine migration affect the return preparedness and resource mobilization of return migrants. I would focus on the Moroccan migration to France, Spain, and Italy. Additionally, I would record the different occupations of each return cohort and try to observe if there are any variations in their return preparedness and resource mobilization depending on their type of employment. For example, are street vendors in Italy more likely than

assembly-line workers in France to return to Morocco without achieving any of their economic objectives?

This topic is particularly relevant to Morocco given the established history of migration within the country and the importance of remittances from immigrants abroad to the national economy. In fact, remittances from Moroccan immigrants abroad in 2007 constituted about 6.7 billion dollars (Bilgili, 34). Similarly, the Moroccan diaspora is one of the most dispersed throughout Europe. There are more than three million Moroccan nationals currently living outside of Morocco and over 90% of them reside in Europe (21). For the purposes of this paper, I will focus on the Moroccan diaspora in France, by far the largest and most established Moroccan community in Europe. There are over 1.1 million Moroccans residing in France (Bilgili, 21). Though the historical explanations and current trends in the data about Moroccans in France do provide a clear picture of the sheer size of the Moroccan diaspora, nowhere is this more evident than in speaking to the relatives of Moroccan immigrants who reside in the home country themselves. During the course of my research, I was called upon to give a short lecture to the master's students of geography at the Faculté des Lettres Ibn Zohr. The room consisted of 36 students, when I asked them to raise their hand if they had a family member living in France every student in the room raised their hand<sup>2</sup>. In fact, they were surprised that I had even asked such an obvious question. The students explicitly told me that it is common knowledge that almost every household in the Agadir region has a family member abroad. For the first time, I found myself confronting the dimension of the Moroccan migrant diaspora face-to-face and not through the pages of a textbook.

---

<sup>2</sup> Author's fieldnotes, Lecture at Faculté des Lettres Ibn Zohr, April 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2013

In the next section of this paper, I will discuss the history of migration within the Sousse region. Third, I will evaluate the literature present on return migration, particularly to Jean-Pierre Cassarino's conceptual approach to return migration, and relate the readings to the particular experience of return migrants in the Sousse region. Third, I will provide an in-depth explanation of my methodology. Following this, there will be a discussion following my research findings on the return migration of Moroccan immigrants from France in Agadir. Finally, in my conclusion I will summarize my findings and any possibility for further study.

Before embarking upon the context and findings of this study, it is important to define a series of key-terms. I have frequently referred to the "Moroccan diaspora". For the purposes of this paper, I will work with a definition of diaspora that encompasses the role it has to play in transnational communities. In her paper, "Transnational Migration", Levitt defines a diaspora as, "...form[ing] out of the transnational communities spanning sending and receiving countries and out of the real or imagined connections between migrants from a particular homeland who are scattered throughout the world. If a fiction of congregation takes hold, then a diaspora emerges" (202-203). It is interesting to note that in this definition, a transnational community is established first. From the transnational community, where an entire group of people are linked by their cultural, economic, and even political practice. Only after this particular community has been established, does a diaspora emerge. Therefore, a diaspora is shaped first and foremost of the transnational community that has developed.

Next, I will define "transnationalism" and the role that transnational communities play in an immigrant's life. For the purpose of this paper, I will be working with Levitt's



definition of transnationalism. In her paper she defines transnationalism as, “the cultural, economic, and political linking of people and institutions within a variety of contexts including business and organizational practices, foreign investment and production, or cultural interchange” (202). Transnationalism de-emphasizes the role of geography, its practices and process encompass occur beyond the borders of nation states (Levitt, 202). In the case of Moroccan immigration, transnationalism is present both at home and abroad in France. Transnationalism has been institutionalized by Moroccan government entities such as Foundation Hassan II and the CCME. The institutionalization of transnational ties by the Moroccan government is further evidence of the importance of immigration within the Moroccan state (Salih, 61). Indeed, the Moroccan government stands to lose billions of dollars a year if it does not invest itself in helping to maintain the transnational ties between the home country and its immigrants abroad. One aspect of maintaining transnational ties is performing Moroccan identity while in the host country. For example, in her study on the transnationalism within Moroccan immigrants in Italy, Salih notes how Moroccan families perform their identity by decorating their Italian homes with Quranic writings, posters of Moroccan women wearing traditional dress, and calendars with the dates of Islamic celebrations (Salih, 70).

As Levitt describes,

...it is not merely that numerous individuals live their lives within a social formation that crosses borders. It is that a significant number from a given place of origin and settlement share this experience collectively with one another, transforming the way they think of themselves as a group

-Levitt, 199

Therefore, the presence of this transnational community in Europe transforms the very identity of immigrants because they remain in tune with their home happenings and home culture, while simultaneously pledging allegiance to a sovereign state other than Morocco and becoming a vessel for embodying the new ideas, resources, and opportunities this new, sovereign state stands for.

Remaining in touch with home culture and home happenings is particularly the case for the transnational communities that Levitt describes as, “rural-to-urban transnational villages” (200). This specific transnational community arises when a small community leaves a defined rural location and migrates within a close geographical proximity to each other in the receiving-country. This rural-to-urban village local is consistent with the experience of the return migrants in the Sousse region that are the focus of this project. These original pioneers established migration networks and paved the way for their friends and family to follow their path and settle within the same French communities. Thus, the presence of these transnational villages abroad makes it easier for values such as solidarity and trust that were present in Morocco, continue to prevail while abroad (Levitt, 200). In this particular study, the return migrants in AitMelloul settled in the greater Paris region. Though the interview subjects in this particular study were the first of their friends and family to migrate to France and thus did not have any particular network contacts in the region, they all decided to settle in the greater Paris region due to their previous knowledge of its having a large, well-established Moroccan community there<sup>3</sup>. Subsequently, the interview subjects established a network migration by eventually bringing their brothers, friends, and other extended family members to the same region. Therefore, because immigrants from this rural province coalesced around

---

<sup>3</sup> Interview (in French), with return migrants in AitMelloul, Agadir. April 19<sup>th</sup>, 20<sup>th</sup>, and 21<sup>st</sup> 2013

Paris and nearby suburbs, it was particularly easy for these migrants to remain in tune with their home culture and home happenings because they were within close proximity to friends, family members, and compatriots from their rural province and village. Ultimately, the ease with which these immigrants remain in touch with their home culture and family members in Morocco is important to the study of return migration because ideally, participating in this transnational village would facilitate the re-integration of a return migrant that moves from France back to Morocco.

Back in Morocco, transnationalism is also present amongst family members. It is important to remember that movement is not a prerequisite to participating in transnational practices (Levitt, 198). It is possible for non-migrants to have their lives in the receiving country shaped by resources, people, and ideas from abroad. This specific engagement with transnational practices, the exchange of resources and ideas is best defined as a type of “social remittance”. In her paper, Levitt defines social remittances as,

“the ideas, behaviors, identities, and social capital that flow from receiving- to sending-country communities. They are the north-to-south equivalent of the social and cultural resources that migrants bring with them which ease their transition from immigrants to ethnics”

-Levitt, 927

In more general terms, social remittances are the ideas and resources that migrants impart from the receiving-country to their non-migrant family and friends in the sending-country. The theory behind social remittances is particularly applicable to the return migration experience of Moroccan immigrants. In this case, the return migration of Moroccan immigrants is stigmatized by both their family and community members because of the social remittances that have been imparted throughout the process of this migration. Through their stories that they have imparted to their family members,

Moroccan immigrants abroad have created the idea of France as the promised land. Additionally, the astronomical change from Moroccan dirhams to Euros in migrant's salaries has afforded more resources to the family members that have remained at home. To conclude, even though the Moroccan migrant has done his part in supporting his family members throughout his time in France, his return is still stigmatized due to the social remittances, specifically the ideas and resources, that the family has grown accustomed to.

Finally, I will define the most important term of this study, “gagner la vie”. This is a French phrase that literally translates to, “To win [your] life”. It is important to note that every interviewee I spoke to cited this phrase when referring to the reason it was necessary for migration<sup>4</sup>. Throughout the course of my research, I noticed that this phrase served three purposes. First, the interview subjects used “gagner la vie” to summarize the variety of economic reasons they felt were important justifications for migration. Second, this phrase was used as an objective that every immigrant should aspire to reach during their time abroad. Most importantly, return migrants in particular used, “gagner la vie” as a reason to justify their permanent residence in Morocco. This key phrase was unexpected throughout the course of my research and I was surprised to find that both return migrants and their family members alike had matching definitions of this term. Every interview subject cited that “gagner la vie”, meant to work abroad in Europe to build a house in Morocco, buy a car, and earn enough money to invest in a form of commerce that has a steady and consistent payment stream. It is important to note that the ability to invest in commerce was cited as the most important objective to reach abroad. In fact, all return

---

<sup>4</sup>Interview (in French), with return migrants in AitMelloul, Agadir. April 19<sup>th</sup>, 20<sup>th</sup>, and 21<sup>st</sup> 2013

migrants and the family members of migrants in this study cited investment in commerce as the most important pre-requisite for return to the home country. All the return migrants in this study completed these three objectives and consequentially, considered themselves successful and entitled to “resting in Morocco”. In conclusion, “gagner la vie” is defined as immigrating abroad in order to achieve the objective of buying a house, a car, and investing in commerce in Morocco.

## II. HISTORIC OVERVIEW OF MIGRATION BETWEEN THE SOUSSE REGION AND FRANCE

Before embarking upon a discussion of more recent migration trends, it is important to recognize the role of Moroccan migration in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and its repercussions. Though Morocco has had experience with migration for centuries through the pre-colonial Sub-Saharan caravans, it was the French colonization of Algeria in 1830 that permanently changed the migration patterns within North Africa (de Haas, 46). During this time, Moroccans participated in a new, circular wave of migration characterized by wage labor. These immigrants moved to Algeria to work on French farms. By 1912, France gained control over central Morocco through the official French-Spanish protectorate policy. This is a critical juncture in Morocco’s migration history because it is possible to see the debut of steady, increasing rates of rural-to-urban migration. French investment in infrastructure in coastal Moroccan cities, the availability of manual, unskilled jobs creates an opportunity for rural-to-urban migration (de Haas, 46).

In tandem with the onset of rural-to-urban migration is a wave of military-migration comprised of Moroccan soldiers in the French army during World War I.

During this this, there was a lack of manpower in France while fostered a policy of active recruitment for Moroccan men in the French army, industry, and mines. It is important to note that migrants were recruited particularly from the Sousse region, namely Agadir and Tiznit, due to the culture of rebellion present in this area. International migration and recruitment solved both the problem of a lack of manpower in the French army in addition to curbing political unrest in Morocco (de Haas, 46). Throughout 1914-1918, there were between 34,000 and 40,000 Moroccan men who were recruited to the French army in addition to 35,000 Moroccans who departed to work in France (de Haas, 46). During World War II, the military-migration resurfaces when 126,000 Moroccan men serve in the French army. Moroccans were also recruited to serve in wars in Korea and French Indochina. Starting with World War I and all subsequent wars, the Moroccan soldiers and those who departed to work in France tended to engage in permanent return migration to Morocco after the end of each war (de Haas, 46). Therefore, these migrations continued to be circular. Migrants or migrant-soldiers would depart at the beginning of each war, and return upon its completion.

However, this trend changes during the Algerian war for independence during 1954-1962. During this time, France stops the recruitment of Algerian workers for its factories and mines. In addition, Moroccan migration to work on French farms in Algeria stops. Consequentially, Moroccans who were already living in “French” Algeria followed their former French employers to France. Similarly, due to the stop in recruitment of Algerians, Moroccan migration to France to work in French factories in mines increases during 1954-1962 (de Haas, 46).

Finally, the end of the Algerian war for independence brings us to the final juncture of Moroccan migration to France for the scope of this particular research, the migration boom during 1963-1972. Even before the onset of the Algerian independence war, northwest Europe began rapid post-war economic growth creating a large market for unskilled labor jobs in industry, mining, housing construction, and agriculture. However, during the decade of the 1950s workers were recruited from southern Europe (de Haas, 46). It was not until the 1960s that France, amongst other European countries such as the Netherlands, Belgium, and Germany began to recruit from Morocco.

France formally signed the Convention of Labor with Morocco in July of 1963. The purpose of this labor convention was to, “settle the working conditions of Moroccan workers in France...facilitate the recruitment of these workers and assure them a better condition of life in France through the following provisions”<sup>5</sup>. In article six both governments explicitly made themselves responsible to simplify the bureaucratic formalities in place to help Moroccans easily and legally come to France. This included having both governments handle the procedure of departure from Morocco, the entrance into France, and the deliverance of documentation. The French government even guaranteed that it would provide a worker’s contract for Moroccan workers and the French Office of Immigration would support the transportation costs between the migrant’s first arrival in France and his place of work. Both the French and Moroccan governments were heavily invested in making migration as simple as possible for the Moroccan workers. The presence of these provisions in the formal convention provides evidence to the theory that the French needed unskilled workers for their post-war

---

<sup>5</sup>Labor Convention between France and Morocco, 1963, Introduction. In French, translation by author.

economic boom. Meanwhile, the Moroccan government was willing to facilitate the immigration of Moroccans from the Sousse region due to the rebellious activities of this specific population. Most importantly, in article eight the French government confirmed that Moroccan workers would “enjoy the same treatment as French workers concerning the conditions of hygiene, work, security, lodging, salaries, paid leave, and unemployment benefits”. However, as will be observed in my findings this provision was not followed as seen by the difficulties of Moroccan migrants in finding lodging and work and the lack of help from French authorities. Finally, in article twelve the French government agreed to recommend French employers to donate all the benefits Moroccans were entitled to in order for them to receive their paid leave and enjoy holidays in Morocco. This particular provision lends credence to the idea that the French government was pursuing a circular, temporary migration. The idea behind this provision is a multicultural policy where Moroccan immigrants are encouraged to keep ties with the homeland by spending vacation in Morocco and investing money to facilitate their eventual return upon the end of the economic boom.

As de Haas notes in his study on Moroccan migration, spontaneous settlement and recruitment by companies became important influences in the migration boom of the 1960s and the 1970s (de Haas, 47). De Haas also notes the importance of migration networks in the recruitment of workers. Migrants who had already settled in Europe would come back to Morocco for holidays and informally act as intermediaries between employers and potentially migrants (de Haas, 47). Between 1968 and 1972, the number of Moroccans in France increased two-fold. The population went from a population of 84,000 Moroccans in 1968 to 218,000 by 1972 (de Haas). The year 1973 marked the



beginning of family reunification policies and a new wave of feminized migration, where women and children were traveling to join their husbands in France. Finally, de Haas notes that the rate of return migration to Morocco is low compared to that of other immigrant groups in Europe. Moroccans have the highest rate of naturalization in Europe, which adds credence to the idea of the permanent nature of Moroccan migration to Europe. Between 1992 and 2001, about 430,000 Moroccans became naturalized citizens of an EU state (de Haas, 48).

In conclusion, the purpose of this section was to delineate the intricate relationship between France and the Sousse region of Morocco. Migration from the Sousse region has been occurring for a century. It began with the migration to Algeria, the military-migration of Moroccan men during the First and Second World Wars, and the economic migration during Western Europe's post-war economic boom. The year 1963 marked the signing of a formal convention between France and Morocco to settle the working conditions of Moroccan workers in France. While both governments followed through on their commitments to simplify administrative barriers, the French government did not deliver on its obligations to facilitate work, lodging, and living conditions of Moroccan workers as noted through the field research within this study. This perhaps could be explained by the fact that the French government expected the Moroccan migration during the 1960s to be temporary, and thus was not prepared to deal with the problems the Moroccan community faced upon a permanent migration scheme.

### III. LITERATURE REVIEW

Return migration is not as recent of a phenomenon as it is believed to be. In fact, return migration has actually been a common practice amongst migrants both in the United States and in France. During World War I, there was a wave of military migration between France and Morocco. As previously mentioned, the French government fostered an active recruitment policy that recruited Moroccan men as soldiers for the French army as well as workers in French factories and mines. Starting with World War I and all subsequent wars, the Moroccan soldiers and those who departed to work in France tended to engage in permanent return migration to Morocco after the end of each war (de Haas, 46). Therefore, return migration has been practiced in Morocco for over a century. There is a similar history of return migration in the United States. In fact, return migration has been in practice in the United States since the seventeenth century (Guarnizo, 284). During the 1899-1952 period, one-third of all immigrants to the United States either returned or moved to another country. Between 1925 and 1952, two-fifths of all immigrants to the United States return to their home countries (Guarnizo, 284). Italians, Poles, and Slovaks were the largest immigrants groups and they also exhibited the highest rates of return migration during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Guarnizo, 285). As is evidenced by the historical data, return migration is not a recent phenomenon but rather a common, historic practice of global dimensions. In current day, it is important to analyze the scholarship on return migration to explain under what conditions immigrants in the host country decide to stay or return to their home country. First, I will analyze the five schools of thought on return migration. These include: neo-classical economics, the new

economics of labor migration, structural approach to return migration, transnationalism, and social network theory. Second, I will evaluate Jean-Pierre Cassarino's argument on resource mobilization and return preparedness as pre-requisites for voluntary, return migration. Finally, I will narrow my focus specifically to the scholarship on transnationalism and its effects on return migration by evaluating Peggy Levitt's theories on social remittances and transnationalism.

The neoclassical economics school of thought is based upon the immigrant's expectations for a higher wage as well as the actual wage differentials between the country of origin and the receiving country (Todaro, 140). In this view, migration is viewed as a failed experience that did not yield the expected migration objectives and benefits (Todaro, 140). Second, the new economics labor of migration (NELM) theory views immigrants as maximizing agents. In this view, immigrants maximize their earnings and their time abroad to achieve the objective of acquiring permanent settlement abroad, i.e. finding lodging and stable employment, and also family reunification. Thus, return migration in this perspective is also considered a failed experience as a result of not acquiring the expected earnings, savings, employment, and duration abroad (Stark, 26).

The structural approach to return migration is focused upon the individual migration experience in addition to the social and institutional factors in the immigrant's country of origin. In this view, it is necessary to analyze return migration in tandem with the conditions of the home country with the expectations of the return immigrant in order to ascertain whether this return can be considered a success or a failed experience (Cerase, 251). Therefore, the financial and economic resources that the immigrant

achieves during his stay abroad are crucial factors that influence the return decision and the reintegration to the home country. It is interesting to note that the structuralism approach differentiates between four types of return. First, there is the “return of failure” which is applicable to return immigrants who could not integrate in their societies abroad and have difficulties in reintegration upon return (Cerase, 251). “Return of conservatism” constitutes the second category of returnees. These types of returnees only satisfy their personal objectives and those of their relatives, they do not change the social context they left before migrating (Cerase, 254). Third, “return of retirement” focuses on retired immigrants who invest in a piece of property in their home country in order to spend their golden years at home (Cerase, 254). Finally, “return of innovation” delineates a group of return immigrants who have the objective of implementing all of their acquired skills, ideas, and financial resources abroad to by creating changes in the home country to make opportunities for themselves (Cerase, 251). The structural approach to migration is of particular interest because it acknowledges the diversity present in reasons for return. Both neo-classical economics and NELM, have a one-dimensional perspective of experience failure that constitutes the return migration experience. Therefore, the structural approach to migration is relevant to discussion because at the very least it acknowledges a diversity of decision for return migration, even if it does not take into account an individual immigrant’s social and economic links to his home country and how that impacts the decision to return. This debate occurs in transnationalism, which will be discussed next.

Transnationalism focuses on an individual’s social and economic links to his home country in addition to his own identity as a transmigrant, as belonging “neither here

nor there” (Glick Schiller, 48). Portes defines transnational activities as, “regular and sustained social contacts over time across national borders” (219). In this view, return migration is not the last step in the migration process. Rather, it constitutes a part of a circular system of social and economic relationships that facilitates the reintegration of immigrants in manner that imparts knowledge and membership (Cassarino, 262). Most importantly, return migrants have developed a double identity that impacts their decision to return to the home country as well as their decision to travel to the host or receiving country. This double identity is a result of the immigrant’s original identification with the country of origin, upon immigrating and living abroad for years, the immigrants also identifies with the host country (Cassarino, 262). Ultimately, given that the return migrants sustain social and economic links with the host country in addition with incorporating values and ideas of the host country into their own identity, return migration is not seen as permanent in transnationalist theory. This school of thought encapsulates best the dynamic nature of the return migrant due to its focus upon return migration as one step in a circular process. Immigrants do not simply spend all of their time working within the host country. They interact with others, they form friendships, they learn the language—in short, they develop a new identity while abroad that upon their return distinguishes them from their compatriots who never migrated. This identity of “neither here nor there” in addition to the steady, social and economic links to the host country increases the chances that the return migrant will return to the host country. To conclude, transnationalism encapsulates the diversity of reasons for return migration while also acknowledging the dynamic nature of return migration, it is never completely permanent.

Finally, it is necessary to discuss social network theory and how it relates to return migration. Social network theory focuses on the cross-border networks of social and economic relationships that convey information and resources. However, cross-border networks differ from transnational relationships in that there is a relational content of network ties that defines the network. As Knoke and Kuklinski note a network is, “a specific type of relation linking a *defined* [emphasis added] set of persons, objectives, or events” (12). In other words the people, in this case the return migrants, define the network. Ultimately, in social network theory the skills, knowledge, and acquaintances acquired abroad help the return migrant create a productive project upon return. By considering return migration as a step in creating a productive project, social network theory permanently grounds return migration solely to the returnee’s country of origin. It does not acknowledge the cyclical nature of return migration or the probability of return to the host country. Though social network does focus on the return migrant’s dual identity, it still considers return migration in a more permanent rather than as a fluctuating, dynamic process.

After analyzing the five different conceptual approaches to return migration, it is important to discuss Cassarino’s revision to these theories. In his paper, “Theorizing Return Migration”, Cassarino cites resource mobilization and return preparedness as the causal mechanism between return migration and development in the returnee’s country of origin. He states, “To be successfully achieved, return preparation requires time, resources, and willingness on the part of the migrant. In other words, there exist various degrees of return preparation that differ in terms of *resource mobilization and preparedness* [emphasis added]” (271). Cassarino defines resource mobilization as

gathering both tangible (i.e. financial capital) and intangible resources (i.e. skills and acquaintances) during the immigrant's experience abroad (272). It is necessary to pay particular attention to Cassarino's definition on return preparedness. This term is defined as, "...a voluntary act that must be supported by the gathering of sufficient resources and information about post-modern conditions at home" (271). Cassarino successfully elucidates an important point in return migration that had been overlooked by the other conceptual approaches: the importance of preparedness to home country development in voluntary return migration. While all five theories touched upon briefly touched upon resource mobilization before engaging in return migration, there was never an explicit link between resource mobilization as *proof of readiness* that would foster development in the home country upon return.

While there is a link between return preparedness as proof of readiness to engage in return migration, how does this explain the case of immigrants who are prepared to return to the host country but never do so? For example, in the neighborhood of AitMelloul in Agadir, Morocco there are entire streets filled with state-of-the art, stucco, and pastel-colored apartment buildings. However, every single one of these apartment buildings is vacant<sup>6</sup>. These apartment buildings belong to Moroccan immigrants residing in France. Ultimately, they have prepared for their return to Morocco by purchasing real estate, cars, and investing in commerce but nonetheless their houses remain empty because they never engage in permanent return to their country of origin. Therefore, if migrants are prepared to engage in voluntary return migration through their investments in their country of origin, what can explain their permanence in the host country? I argue that the missing link in Cassarino's argument, as well as all of the other five conceptual

---

<sup>6</sup> Author's fieldnotes, AitMelloul April 20<sup>th</sup>, 2013

approaches to return migration, is the role of that the immigrant's family and household play in the decision to engage in return migration. In his study on transnationalism within Dominican immigrants, Guarnizo finds that the decision to move was a "consensual household decision" (291). Similarly, he found that demonstration effects<sup>7</sup> and family obligations were the most important influences in determining the decision to engage in return migration (291). Amongst the reasons for returning in the Dominican immigrant community, "sentimental reasons seem to predominate over economic or any other kind of reasons" (Ramirez, 35). These sentimental reasons can range from a desire to be in the home country and extend to family reasons. Therefore, even though the returnee decides *when* to engage in return migration the family has an indirect effect in prolonging or expediting this decision.

In her study on Moroccan immigrants living in Italy, Salih goes so far as to argue that preparation for return migration is a response to the uncertainty of life in Italy that allow immigrants to use the concept of "return to Morocco" as a possible option (66). Salih's engagement with home country development does not only consist of a project for return as a backup to uncertainty. Reasons for development of the home country also include the desire to display a new social status, to show the achievements of the migration project, in addition to create a future project of return (Salih, 63). In this case, the immigrant feels a need to engage in return preparedness to show his success to his family, friends, and his community as a whole. Thus, resource mobilization and preparedness are not only influenced by a project for return. The precarious living and employment conditions in the host country in addition to the perceptions of success by

---

<sup>7</sup> Demonstration effect is the process through which nonmigrants develop expectations and engage in practices influenced by the socioeconomic success of earlier migrants



the family and society as a whole directly influence both resource mobilization and preparedness.

A possible critique to this argument is that a pre-requisite to a voluntary, return migration is free will. Cassarino defines free will as, “The act of deciding or choosing one’s own initiative to return...the subjective power to choose to return at a certain time, because it seems to be a timely and logical phase in the migratory process” (101). It is necessary to pay particular attention to the phrase, “the subjective power to choose to return at a certain time, because it seems to be a timely and logical phase in the migratory process” (101). The family and household of the immigrant have the potential to influence whether or not the time of return is “timely and logical”. Therefore, even though the immigrant exercises his free will to have the final word on when to migrate, the family can influence the immigrant’s opinion on whether or not this return is an opportune or logical decision to make.

While the family and household hold influence in engaging with return migration, it can also completely prevent return migration or at the very least, make reintegration a difficult process through routine stigmatization of the returnee. It is possible for non-migrants to have their lives in the receiving country shaped by resources, people, and ideas from abroad. This specific engagement with transnational practices, the exchange of resources and ideas amongst transnational families is best defined as a type of “social remittance”. In her paper, Levitt defines social remittances as,

“the ideas, behaviors, identities, and social capital that flow from receiving- to sending-country communities. They are the north-to-south equivalent of the social and cultural resources that migrants bring with them which ease their transition from immigrants to ethnics”

-Levitt, 927

In more general terms, social remittances are the ideas and resources that migrants impart from the receiving-country to their non-migrant family and friends in the sending-country. The theory behind social remittances is particularly applicable to the return migration experience of Moroccan immigrants. Even if the returnee has mobilized resources and is prepared to return to Morocco, he is still stigmatized by friends and family. The perspective that families and relatives of Moroccan immigrants have on immigration to Europe can best be defined as, “Europe was the place of opportunity. A good Muslim with papers will always have opportunities in Europe”<sup>8</sup>.

In this case, the return migration of Moroccan immigrants is stigmatized by both their family and community members because of the social remittances that have been imparted throughout the process of this migration. Through their stories about Europe, Moroccan immigrants abroad have created the idea of France as the promised land. Additionally, the astronomical change from Moroccan dirhams to Euros in migrant’s salaries has afforded more resources to the family members that have remained at home. Ultimately, this stigmatization and negative perceptions of return migration by the family and household influences the decision to return permanently to the country of origin. It holds the potential to prolong an immigrant’s time abroad in order to adequately prepare to avoid rumors of forced migration by the family member. In addition, the negative opinions of family members can increase the possibility of returning to the host country after engaging in a return migration due to difficulties with reintegration.

To conclude, there are five prevalent conceptual approaches to return migration. Neo-classical economics views return migration as a result of a failed migration

---

<sup>8</sup> Interview with village women (Arabic), OuledGhanem, March 11<sup>th</sup>, 2013

experience (Todaro, 140). The new economics of labor migration postulates that return migration is a consequence of a failure to maximize expected earnings, savings, and employment to achieve permanent settlement abroad (Stark, 91). Third, the structuralist approach does not view return migration as either a failed or successful migration experience. Rather, it takes each return migration on a case-by-case basis and analyzes it in tandem with the social and institutional conditions present in the country of origin to ascertain whether migration is positive or negative (Cerase, 250). Fourth, transnationalism focuses on an individual's social economic links to his home country in addition to his own identity as a transmigrant, as belonging "neither here nor there" (Glick Schiller, 48). Finally, the social network theory postulates that the skills, knowledge, and acquaintances acquired abroad help the return migrant create a productive project upon return (Knoke and Kuklinski, 12). Cassarino is successfully able to point out that each of these theories lacked a link between voluntary return migration and development in the country of origin. He theorizes that the causal mechanism linking these two concepts together is resource mobilization and return preparedness. However, I argued that it is crucial to consider the role of the family and the household upon the decision to engage in return migration. To support this argument, I used the case of the Dominican and Moroccan return migration experience. Ultimately, even though the individual immigrant has the final word on *when* to engage in return migration the family and household is able to influence the immigrant on whether or not this is an opportune or rational decision to take. For future study, it is important to delineate and analyze the effect of gender in return migration. Do men have more mobility and freedom than

women to decide when to engage in return migration? Are men or women more likely to want to return to the home country?

#### IV. METHODOLOGY

The best way to describe my overall research experience is through the metaphor of monkey bars. Before arriving in Agadir, I prepared myself extensively for the interview process by carefully crafting interview guides in French, Spanish, and English. Similarly, I had done an extensive literature review on the different schools of thought concerning return migration. However, nothing could have prepared me for what I encountered in Agadir. During my research time, I learned that it is important to be flexible and overcome unprecedented obstacles—similar to being on the monkey bars at the local playground. You start with two hands on the bar, but in order to move and finish the obstacle course, you need to swing your body. Frequently, you only use one arm, instead of two, to reach for the next bar but you have to adjust and keep building upon that momentum until you finish. It is necessary to use the skills of strength, flexibility, and creativity to finish get to the end of the monkey bars. Research is not very different from this. Perhaps the most interesting part of my research experience was the three-day period where I finally gained momentum in my research and was able to interview nine people at a local café in AitMelloul. At first, I was skeptical of meeting interview subjects in this manner but towards the end, I had met the most interesting people of my life there and found sufficient evidence to support my theories on return migration. The important thing I learned about research was to cherish the unexpected, it teaches you to learn how to become an effective problem solver that could lead you down unprecedented findings.

Before arriving in Agadir, I met with my advisor, Dr. Anbi to discuss possible contacts that could facilitate the interview process. Similarly, I created a complex interview guide and translated it into French and Spanish. The purpose of the interview guide was meant to test the objectives of migration, whether or not these objectives were reached upon returning, the influence of the family in deciding to return, the process of reintegration into Moroccan society, and the current state of the migrant's affairs in Morocco (employment, lodgings, etc.). The final step of my preparation before arriving in Agadir was to conduct an extensive review of the current literature available on return migration. This was the most crucial aspect of my preparation phase because it allowed me think about what prevalent explanations were available in the discussion on return migration. Additionally, I was able to analyze the current explanations with my personal lived experiences with migration both in the United States and Morocco and form my own explanations for the return migration phenomenon.

Once in Agadir, I met with Dr. Anbi's contacts that would help me facilitate the interview process. They were both students at the Faculté des Lettres Ibn Zohr. One was a master's geography student, named Mohammed, and the other was a sociology undergraduate named Samira. It was interesting to note that both students had experience with migration research and helped me to approach the interview process in two very different ways. Before arriving in Agadir, I planned to schedule formal interviews through snowball sampling with the return migrants by meeting with them, asking them for any other friends that have returned, and scheduling an exact date and time for an interview. This is the approach that Samira and I worked together to establish. Together we went to the Essalam district in Agadir and we asked the employees of dozens of

establishments about their owners and whether or not they were abroad. This search yielded three places of commerce that were established by Moroccan return immigrants. One establishment was the only fast-food restaurant of its kind, named Dwich, the second was a juice bar, and the third was a business for importing and exporting granite from Italy. We went to both restaurants upon several occasions, on different days and different times to try to set up an interview with the proprietors of the business establishments. This proved unsuccessful, as we were not able to conduct any interviews with the return migrants. However, we were able to get an interview with the secretary of the granite business. While she was not a return migrant herself, she was able to tell us about her own family's migration history and her views on return migration. This interview provided us with a case study with which to compare return migrant's views on permanent return to Morocco with their family members', who never left Morocco, views on permanent return migration.

The next approach, taken by Mohammed, was more flexible and proved more successful. Mohammed had previously worked on a project for his master's degree in which he interviewed whole sections of the city of Agadir trying to map out where the highest concentrations of return migrants were in the city. His approach for this project was simply to knock on the doors of houses and ask if there were any return migrants home. Astoundingly, this method proved to be very successful because most households did have a return migrant at home and they were willing to speak to him in the form of a semi-structured interview. Hearing about my failed attempts to schedule a formal interview, Mohammed suggested that we go to a café in an area of Agadir with a high concentration of return migrants. Since he had previously conducted studies on this topic,

he suggested a café in the AitMelloul neighborhood as the best place to conduct this research. Similarly, he suggested introducing myself to the headwaiter at the café because he would know his clientele well and would be able to tell us who was a return migrant and facilitate the interview process between myself and the interview subject. This approach, even though it was unprecedented and informal, did just the trick. From this strategy, we were able to conduct eight semi-structured interviews and four of them were with return migrants themselves. The other four interviews were conducted with Moroccans who never immigrated to France, but all had family members who immigrated and engaged in permanent return migration. These interviews will serve as a case study to ascertain the views on migration from people who never left Morocco versus the view on return migration from those who have immigrated to France.

Since this new strategy of interviewing return migrants in a café was more public, additional measures that I had not anticipated were taken to protect the identity of my participants, maintain the integrity of my data, and to avoid any misinterpretations. To protect the identity of the participants, I made sure to assign them a number instead of asking for their name. When I asked them to discuss their home in Morocco, I asked in what neighborhood it was located rather than asking for any specific street names and numbers. Maintaining the integrity of my data proved to be particularly challenging because the interview subjects, as well as the headwaiter and the other clients in the café, were not comfortable with the idea of having a recording device present. They preferred to have a more informal, semi-structured interview conversation about their experience rather than a full-fledged, structured interview with a recorder. Therefore, instead of using a recording device I wrote down the main themes the interview subjects discussed

in a notebook. I wrote down specific dates (i.e. their year of departure to France and year of permanent return to Morocco), neighborhoods, names of companies, and any other relevant information as well. Upon the completion of each interview session, I took about twenty minutes to fill in my notebook all of the details that I was not able to fill in during the course of the interview. Since all interviews were conducted in French, I periodically stopped the interview to summarize what the interview subject had been speaking about to avoid any misunderstanding or misinterpretation of data. The interview subject would either confirm whether this was correct or explain why my interpretation was incorrect and repeat his story. Finally, if there was a word or a phrase I simply could not understand, even with repetition, I asked the Mohammed to interpret this or explain the concept in French. This was especially necessary because I was writing in a notebook and would not be able to play back the interview at a later time.

There were several obstacles that occurred during the course of my research. The first occurred when I was not able to interview the return migrants who owned the eating establishments in Agadir. Second, when I was not able to use a recording device during the interviews at the café with the return migrants. Finally, I realized towards the end of my time in Agadir that I only had interviews with four return migrants and this was not enough to constitute findings within my research paper. The first two obstacles were related to the fact that I was an American and that I was not completely fluent in French. The return migrant commerce owners, as well as their employees, were legitimately concerned that I was an American spy. Even with the help of Samira, they were uncomfortable setting up a specific time to meet with me and were uncomfortable with the idea of talking to me during working hours at their place of business. Reflecting back



upon this experience, this was not the appropriate strategy to take given the cultural context of Moroccan society. The population I was working with is not familiar with academic requirements seeing as they received little to no education before departing to work in unskilled labor in France. They are also highly skeptical of any formal in-depth questionnaires and structured interviews, especially those that ask about income and property. For these reasons, approaching the return migrants in a social space where issues such as migration are frequently discussed, such as the café, rather than their place of business was more conducive to interviews. The third obstacle was related to the timing of my research in Agadir. The most important months for the city are June and July, when most return migrants choose to return to their families. Therefore, even though I spent six hours for three consecutive days in the café, there were only four interview subjects available. When I asked the interview subjects about this issue, they cited that most of their friends who were permanently returned were currently traveling or they were living in their rural communities of origin. The interview subjects cited the summer as the best time to conduct research on return migration. To overcome this obstacle, I thought it was appropriate to interview inhabitants of the Sousse in general to ascertain their views on return migration, to learn about their family history with migration, in order to develop a case study with which to contrast the views of the actual return migrants. Ultimately, while these obstacles did occur, they did not change the nature or the scope of my research. I was still able to focus on return migrants in the Sousse region from France; I just needed to take cultural context into consideration in order to create a comprehensive solution to these obstacles.

Originally, I wanted to do a comparison between the migration of the Sousse region and France and BeniMellal and Spain. However, once I got to Agadir and began to interview return migrants and their families, I realized that I was talking about two different kinds of migration. For example, the migration history of the Sousse region begins in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century with the onset of World War I and the circular migration of the Algerian farms. On the other hand, the migration history of the BeniMellal area begins in 1980 as a response to drought and structural readjustment programs<sup>9</sup>. Similarly, the profiles of the return migrants in both regions are drastically different. The return migrants from the Sousse region tend to have migrated during the migration boom of the 1960s, they were legal migrants due to the issuing of work contracts, and they worked in unskilled labor such as construction, automobile assembly lines, and factories. Most migrants decided to return after retiring and receiving their pension or after receiving worker's compensation. This is a voluntary and prepared permanent return migration to Morocco. However, in the BeniMellal region the return migrants tended to have participated in clandestine migration, worked in the informal economy in jobs such as street vending, and their return was motivated by factors other than retirement. Some return migrants cited racism as a reason for return to Morocco, and others cited lack of employment in Spain<sup>10</sup>. Therefore, the reason for return for immigrants in BeniMellal was not voluntary but instead, was a way to escape the uncertainty of life in Spain. Given such paramount differences in the history of migration and the nature of return migration, it was not logical to compare the cases of return migration of the Sousse region and BeniMellal. For this reason, I decided to focus my research in Agadir and remained there

---

<sup>9</sup>Lecture with Professor Anbi, OuledGhanem March 9<sup>th</sup>, 2013

<sup>10</sup>Interview (in Spanish), roundtable with return migrants from Spain and Italy. OuledGhanem, March 11<sup>th</sup>, 2013

for five days longer than expected to conduct more in-depth research on the nature of return migration in the region.

## V. FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

The findings of this study point to family obligations in conjunction with return preparedness as crucial conditions that affect the decision to engage in return migration. Four interviews were conducted with return migrants and four interviews were conducted with Moroccans who never traveled outside the country but had several relatives living abroad. The purpose of interviewing Moroccan non-immigrants was to have them share their story of their relatives abroad in addition to comparing and contrasting their perceptions of return migration with the perceptions of actual return migrants. While return migrants and non-migrants agreed on the particular conditions of return preparedness that were necessary to undertake in order to engage in return migration and the obstacles that immigrants faced abroad, they differed significantly on the necessity of engaging in permanent return to Morocco. First, I will discuss the characteristics of return migrants such as information about their life in Morocco pre-migration and the year of their migration. Second, I will discuss through how these immigrants were able to immigrate to France by analyzing their migration histories and relating them to the provisions for worker's contracts in the Convention of labor between France and Morocco of 1963. Third, I will discuss the migration experience of the immigrants while they lived and worked in France. Fourth, I will discuss the concept of "gagner la vie" and the similarity of opinion between return migrants and non-migrants on the particular conditions of return preparedness that were necessary to undertake in order to engage in return migration. Finally, I will discuss the difference in perception of return migration amongst return migrants and non-migrants.

In this study, three out of four returnees that were interviewed immigrated to France during the migration boom of the 1960s and permanently returned to Morocco during the period of 2000-2010. Only one return migrant, Anass, migrated in 1974 and returned in 1992. The same pattern is observed amongst the family members of non-immigrants. Three out of four of the non-immigrants interviewed had a return migrant in their family. In this case, three out of four returned migrants that were mentioned by the non-immigrant interview subjects followed the pattern of immigrating to France during the decade of 1960 and returning during 2000-2010. The fourth return migrant, Rashid, immigrated during the 1960s, but chose to return permanently to Morocco during the 1990s after receiving a large, lump payment from his employer in exchange for selling his worker's contract. All return migrants that were mentioned were not from the city of Agadir itself. Rather, they were from rural communities surrounding Agadir. Additionally, none of the return migrants in this study were noted to have formal schooling. Their professions in Morocco before migrating were limited to agriculture or work in the informal economy. This pattern of migration is consistent with the previously reviewed literature that cites the decade of the 1960 as the "migration boom" from the Sousse region to France and notes the low educational attainment levels and rural origin of the Moroccans from this region that were recruited for unskilled labor in France.

All of the return migrants in this study originally migrated to France without an exact idea of where they would live or work. They each described the process of going to their local government authority to obtain the necessary documents to immigrate and within a few months, they were beginning their journey to France. One return migrant named Mouad described the experience as, "I left as if I was a tourist. I did not have any

contacts in France other than my brothers and I was unsure of where I would work or where I would live”<sup>11</sup>. The other three return migrants all claimed the same inexperience during the first voyage to France. However, this contested with the research I had conducted during my literature review. Within the research relating to the migration from the Sousse region to France, it was noted that the French government recruited Moroccan workers through a formalized process of work contracts. Therefore, what could explain the employment and lodging uncertainty upon their first trip to France that the return migrants were describing? I suggest that this phenomenon can be explained by the process of anonymous recruitment that is formalized in Appendix A of the Labor Convention between France and Morocco.

The process of anonymous recruitment is traced back to the convention of labor between France and Morocco in 1963 and relates to the recruitment process of Moroccans to work as unskilled laborers in France. There is an entire appendix devoted to the process through which Moroccans can simply list their name and age, among other personal information, in their local government office that will be eventually be used by the French government to recruit workers in the business sectors that were in need of unskilled labor. Therefore, Moroccans were recruited to work in French industries without necessarily having a formalized employment contract with a specific company. It is important to note that the most important qualifier for working as an unskilled laborer was age. The convention agreement stipulates that in order to work in the agricultural sector, Moroccans cannot be over forty-five, to work in the mines it is necessary to be under thirty-five years of age, and to obtain any other job it is necessary to be under

---

<sup>11</sup>Interview (French), AitMelloul, April 20<sup>th</sup>, 2013

forty<sup>12</sup>. Ultimately, the young Moroccan workers that were recruited by the anonymous process simply had to create a profile within their local governmental agency in Morocco.

The bureaucratic simplicity of applying to emigrate in Morocco during the 1960s is one important factor to explain the solitary nature of the actual migratory journey from Morocco to France. All of the return migrants in this study described that they undertook the journey of traveling from Morocco to France completely alone, without friends or family to accompany them. While the importance of social networks were cited as extremely important factors to find work and lodging once in France, they were not deemed important to securing a passage from Morocco to France. This consistent pattern suggests that since the process of applying for legal migration to France was relatively simple and somewhat informal, it was not necessary to have the help of a social network in order to achieve this and was a process that could be undertaken alone. Thus, due to the process of anonymous recruitment unskilled Moroccan workers were able to migrate to France even though they did not have formalized employment or lodging. To conclude, the informal nature of the anonymous recruitment procedure is consistent with my research findings where all the Moroccan return migrants referenced the uncertainty present within their first trip to France even with the presence of the formalized migration process that the labor convention of 1963 tried to establish.

Now that the process of recruitment and the migration journey itself has been discussed it necessary to discuss the experience of living and working in France. It is interesting to note that all of the returned migrants in this study worked in unskilled labor jobs and they did not engage in vocational training or any other formal schooling while in

---

<sup>12</sup> Labor Convention between France and Morocco, 1963, Appendix A, Article 3. In French, translation by author

France. All four of the return migrants had experience working in assembly line manufacturing of automobile parts. Half of the interview subjects retired from their assembly line manufacturing jobs while the other half went on to find jobs in other sectors, such as construction, that they considered to be better paid. Though all the return migrants in this study worked for over forty years in France, three out of four migrants cited that finding steady employment was their biggest obstacle during their migration experience in France. One return migrant stated named Ayoob, “On my first trip to France, it took me six months to find a steady job”<sup>13</sup>. In this study, three out of four migrants spent six to ten years in France changing jobs and even industrial sectors before they were finally able to find steady employment with a good paying salary. Only one migrant, Anass, was able to find employment within the year of his arrival as an assembly line worker at Renault, a French automobile company, and remained at this company until his permanent return to Morocco in 1992. The length of time it took for these immigrants to settle and find stable, well-paid employment is particularly interesting because it suggests the failure of the labor convention between France and Morocco. The original purpose of this convention was to, “organize the working conditions of Moroccan workers in France and it desires to facilitate the recruitment of these workers in the conditions that would assure them a better condition of life in France through the following provisions”<sup>14</sup>. However, the findings of this research demonstrate that even with the organized and formalized recruitment process Moroccan workers demonstrated difficulty finding steady employment that would “assure them a better

---

<sup>13</sup>Interview (French), AitMelloul, April 19<sup>th</sup>, 2013

<sup>14</sup>Labor Convention between France and Morocco, 1963, Introduction. In French, translation by author

condition of life” and repeatedly cited this as their biggest obstacle throughout their forty years of life in France.

In addition to obstacles with finding employment, both return migrants and non-migrants alike cited the living conditions as an obstacle throughout their migration experience. Even though only one return migrant, Mouad, cited finding affordable lodging as his biggest obstacle, all other three return migrants referenced this as a second obstacle and even non-migrants described the deplorable living conditions of their relatives abroad. Mouad said, “It was so hard to find good and affordable lodging. Actually, I would say this is the hardest problem I faced. I lived in a foyer<sup>15</sup> with many other male workers”<sup>16</sup>. Similarly, a non-migrant named, Karima, noted that after four years in France (1962-1966) her father returned to Morocco, with what she considered to be a failed migration experience, because he was not able to find steady employment or suitable lodgings<sup>17</sup>. The lack of finding stable lodging is of particular importance because it is directly linked with the Moroccan immigrant’s ability to remain legally in France. A return migrant named Hisham described, “I went to France on a worker’s contract that I needed to renew every couple of years. In order to qualify for this, I needed to prove that I had work and a job. If you didn’t have a home and you needed to reapply for the worker’s contract, you needed to look up a consulate immediately”<sup>18</sup>. The necessity of permanent lodgings as a qualifier to remain legally in France is cited explicitly within the 1963 convention of labor between France and Morocco. It states, “Within fifteen days of his arrival in France, the immigrant worker must report to the competent administrative

---

<sup>15</sup>A foyer is a lodging built by the French government for immigrant workers, particularly for those from the Mahgreb region (Trouillet)

<sup>16</sup>Interview (French), AitMelloul, April 19<sup>th</sup>, 2013

<sup>17</sup>Interview (French), Dakhla district, April 20<sup>th</sup>, 2013

<sup>18</sup>Interview (French), AitMelloul, April 20<sup>th</sup>, 2013



authorities to be in *possession of documents proving the regularity of his location on French territory* [emphasis added]. The French authorities will facilitate the steps to be taken by Moroccan workers”<sup>19</sup>. Ultimately, through the informal process of the anonymous labor recruitment in addition to the necessity for permanent lodging as a prerequisite for legally remaining in France even though there was a lack of affordable housing for these workers, it is clear that the convention of labor was not successful at promoting the well being of Moroccan workers in France. This suggests that the priority of both governments was not to improve the living conditions of these workers as was stipulated in the convention introduction. Rather, the Moroccan government was trying to quell the tendency to rebel against authority within the Sousse region while the French government was rapidly trying to recruit as many workers as possible to quickly rebuild its devastated infrastructure. The result was a mismanaged migration policy that did not necessarily improve the living conditions of Moroccan workers in France, but it did provide a short window of opportunity for them to provide for their families in Morocco and eventually retire.

Upon the completion of the migration process itself, it important to engage in the discussion of defining “gagner la vie” among both return migrants and non-migrants alike. “Gagner la vie” is a phrase that surfaced during the course of the interviews as justification for engaging in migration to France, as a goal that was necessary to be reached abroad, and once the concept of “gagner la vie” was reached it was also used as a reason to justify return migration. Every interview subjected cited that “gagner la vie”, meant to work abroad in Europe to build a house in Morocco, buy a car, and earn enough

---

<sup>19</sup> Labor Convention between France and Morocco, 1963, Appendix A, Article 11. In French, translation by author

money to invest in a form of commerce that has a steady and consistent payment stream. It is important to note that the ability to invest in commerce was cited as the most important objective to reach abroad. A non-immigrant named Karima stated, “The house is of least importance. You need a business over time that will give you money each month so you and your family can eat. You can’t have a house and sit with your arms crossed waiting for food”<sup>20</sup>. This is consistent with the pattern present among return migrants in the Sousse region. Six out of eight return migrants in this study only engaged in permanent return to Morocco *after* retiring and receiving their pensions. Though only two out of eight return migrants had invested in commerce, another two were currently researching what would be the best type of commerce to invest in their home communities. The other four immigrants chose not to engage in commerce because of the consistent nature of their French pension payments and in addition, their family structure had an influence in determining whether or not to invest in commerce. One non-migrant named Hassan explained that his grandfather chose not to invest in commerce after engaging in permanent return migration because he did not have enough children or family members to take care of the day-to-day management of the business while he was abroad. Additionally, Hassan’s grandfather felt it was unnecessary to undertake such an investment especially because he did not have a large family to provide for since he only had three children. Therefore, even if the migrants did not decide to invest in commerce it was very common for them to rely on their pension as the steady source of payment to live off while they lived in Morocco. Most importantly, the decision to invest in commerce is a household decision and not an individual one. The return migrants

---

<sup>20</sup>Interview (French), Dakhla district, April 20<sup>th</sup>, 2013

evaluate whether or not it is worth the effort to research, invest, and manage a commerce to support their families and supplement their pension. Similarly, the return migrants and the headwaiter of the café mentioned the importance of children and family to investing in commerce in order to have them take care of the quotidian tasks of the commerce to ensure smooth operation. It is the consistent, monthly payment flow that is the most crucial aspect to the return preparedness of Moroccan immigrants who decide to engage in voluntary return migration. To conclude, both non-immigrants and return migrants alike agree that in order to have a successful migration experience it is necessary to secure a consistent payment flow, whether this is through a pension plan, investment in commerce, or both.

Last but not least, it is crucial to discuss the one theme on which non-migrants and migrants disagreed upon: the necessity of engaging in return migration. All return migrants expressed sentimentality for the home country. However, what was most prevalent within my findings is the necessity to reunite with immediate family members. Anass describes, “Those whose families were in France stayed in France. The men in the family did not return to live permanently even though they desperately wanted to, however, they come back frequently to Morocco to visit us. The men whose families are in Morocco came back to live permanently in Morocco”<sup>21</sup>. All of the return migrants in this study participated in transnational family structures. The return migrants immigrated alone to France, while their wives and children remained in Morocco. Similarly, all of the return migrants cited sentimentality, the longing for their families, as a major obstacle during their immigration experience in France. They were adamant about returning to

---

<sup>21</sup>Interview (French), AitMelloul, April 20<sup>th</sup>, 2013

Morocco in order to be able to fully participate in their household, family, and other social networks. Most importantly, none of the return migrants in this study named the return of friends and acquaintances as important influences in their decision to return. Thus, the decision to engage in permanent return migration is decision that takes place solely between the immigrant and his family; other social networks do not influence it. Similarly, return migrants all expressed the idea that they were “tired” and wanted to “rest” in Morocco. They acknowledged that they had honored their obligations of providing for their families throughout their time in France, they achieved their objective of “gagner la vie” and thus felt entitled to spending their golden years in Morocco. Even though the final decision of when to engage in permanent migration rests with the immigrant himself, the family can influence whether or not this is a logical decision and can prolong the permanent return migration ultimately replacing permanent return with frequent trips to the Morocco.

Even though the return migrants in this study had all achieved their objective of “gagner la vie” by retiring and receiving their pension payments, buying houses, and buying cars they were still considered foolish by their non-immigrant compatriots. For example, the headwaiter at the café where the interviews were conducted stated, “The immigrants who retire in Morocco are a bit crazy. If you have everything in France why would you ever come back to Morocco? You are certainly crazy to want to give up all of that and come back here”<sup>22</sup>. The dissatisfaction with return migration that the headwaiter expressed was evident in all four interviews with nonimmigrants. Two out of the four non-migrants, namely the headwaiter and Karima, expressed that the idea of return

---

<sup>22</sup>Interview (Arabic), AitMelloul, April 20<sup>th</sup>, 2013. Translated by Geography Master’s Student at Faculté des LettresIbnZohr

migration was foolish because the return migrants were constantly returning to France to undergo surgeries and go to doctor appointments, settle their bank accounts, and visit their friends. They thought it was a better idea to remain in France, where these immigrants had spent most of their adult lives in the first place, and simply bring their families to France through family reunification policies. They constantly referred to the superiority of medical and social services available to the return migrants in France in comparison to those of Morocco. The other two non-migrants that were interviewed, Soraya and Hassan, thought that the return migrants would live more productive lives abroad. Hassan cited his great-uncle who decided to remain in France and open a non-profit for the children of Moroccan immigrants as an example of efficiency, drive, and production.

Ultimately, even though the return migrants completed the objectives of “*gagner la vie*”, a definition that was agreed upon by both immigrants and non-immigrants alike as a pre-requisite for return to Morocco, they were still stigmatized by non-immigrants. This phenomenon is consistent with Levitt’s social remittances theory. As previously noted, it is possible for non-migrants to have their lives in the receiving country shaped by resources, people, and ideas from abroad. This specific engagement with transnational practices, the exchange of resources and ideas is best defined as a type of “social remittance” (Levitt, 927). Therefore, throughout their time abroad the Moroccan return migrants inadvertently promoted France as a land that was superior to Morocco given the perceived plethora of employment opportunities and is evidenced by the purchasing power that the return migrants have in their country of origin. As Soraya noted about her

uncle, “He has cars, houses, he’s full of money, and he’s incredibly rich!”<sup>23</sup>. Therefore, because the non-immigrants have received social remittances relating to the necessity of steady employment and the superiority of social services available in Europe, they do not see return migration as a rational decision even if it solely for retirement.

To conclude, there were four main findings of this study. First and foremost, the Labor Convention between France and Morocco of 1963 did not achieve its objective of guaranteeing “a better condition of life” for recruited Moroccan workers in France. Second, both return migrants and non-migrants alike agreed upon return preparedness under the umbrella term of “gagner la vie” as having a consistent, monthly payment flow that could support the return migrant in his old age. Third, the household of the return migrant proved to be an influence in the decision of whether or not to engage in return migration and whether or not it was worthwhile to invest time and money in commerce in Morocco. Finally, there was a significant different of opinion between return migrants and non-immigrants regarding the value of return migration. Non-immigrants unanimously expressed that return migration was foolish given the quality of medical and social services available in France and the opportunity to bring family in Morocco to France, if necessary, while return migrants cited the importance of reuniting with their family members in Morocco and resting throughout their well-deserved golden years in their country of origin. This is consistent with Levitt’s theory on social remittances where there is the exhibition of a certain level of social stigma towards return migrants due to a specific engagement with transnational practices by non-immigrants.

---

<sup>23</sup>Interview, Essalam district, April 20th, 2013

## VI. CONCLUSION

Ultimately, the purpose of this study was to explain under what conditions Moroccans from the Sousse region that immigrated to France during the migration boom of the 1960s engaged in voluntary return migration. I critiqued Cassarino's conceptual approach to return migration. In his paper, "Theorizing Return Migration", Cassarino stipulated that the causal mechanism between voluntary return migration and home country development was resource mobilization and return preparedness. However, this explanation did not account for the case of immigrants who both mobilize their resources and prepare for return but never actually engage in permanent return migration. Therefore, if migrants are prepared to engage in voluntary return migration through their investments in their country of origin, what can explain their permanence in the host country? I argue that the missing link in Cassarino's argument, as well as all of the other five conceptual approaches to return migration, is the role of that the immigrant's family and household play in the decision to engage in return migration.

The findings of this study proved that the decision to engage in return migration and how to prepare for return migration was influenced by the immigrant's family and household structure. For example, when justifying their reasons for return migration as well as obstacles they faced abroad, all of the return migrants in this study cited that separation from their families were an important influence in their decision to return to Morocco. Most importantly, the family and household structure influenced what type of return preparation and resource mobilization would take place. Depending on the family size and the availability of the children, the return migrant chose whether or not to engage in the investment of commerce to supplement his pension. Other important findings in this study included the definition of return preparedness and resource mobilization,

named by the return migrants and non-immigrants as “gagner la vie”, the significant difference in opinion between return migrants and non-immigrant on the value of return migration, and the policy failure of the Labor Convention between France and Morocco of 1963.

Ultimately, these findings are important to contributing to the literature on return migration because they propose a different lens to viewing this natural phenomenon. In neo-classical economics, the new economics of labor migration, structuralism, transnationalism, and social network theory return migration is viewed solely as a process that rests entirely on the individual immigrant (Todaro 1969; Stark 1991; Cerase 1974; Glick-Schiller 1995; and Cassarino 2004). However, my research has contributed that the family and household structure has a significant influence on the type of return preparation immigrants engage in as well as whether or not they take the decision to engage in return migration in the first place. In the future it is necessary to refine to what extent the family and household structure influence the decision to engage in return migration. This study was able to find the presence of a family and household influence within important decisions concerning return migration, but it was not able to define to the extent of this influence. It is also necessary to study how gender influences mobility and return migration. In this study, the wives of the return migrants all remained in Morocco. However, it is important to study how family reunification impacted the decision to engage with return migration and whether or not it reinforced transnationalism within the Sousse immigrant community in France.



## VII. STUDY LIMITATIONS

There are important shortcomings in this study. First and foremost, there are not enough interviews with actual return migrants. The study features interviews with four return migrants from the AitMelloul neighborhood in Agadir. For the scope of this paper, it would have been beneficial to have about ten in-depth interviews in order to be able to fully justify any apparent trends or patterns. To try to supplement this shortcoming, I interviewed non-immigrants in Agadir and used their family history with return migration. Second, the group of return migrants in this study was fairly homogenous. They all immigrated to France during the same decade, worked in similar professions, and returned permanently to Morocco in the same decade as well. It would have benefitted my study to have a more diverse group of return migrants. If possible, I would have liked to interview return migrants who suffered a work-related accident in France, received worker's compensation, and then returned to Morocco. It would also have been beneficial to interview return migrants who did not have a successful migration experience in France. However, this group in particular is very difficult to interview in the Sousse region because of their sheer rarity and discussing forced migration is also a taboo topic within Moroccan society. Finally, due to the skepticism I faced when trying to interview return migrants I was not able to have as much of an in-depth of an interview as I originally stipulated. In the process of my interviews, I was not able to use a recording device and I had to keep the conversation relatively short given the informal nature of the conversation. Similarly, I was not able to ask detailed questions about the return preparation strategies of the return migrants, such as how much they earned per month in their pension checks, because I was forewarned that this was a taboo topic in

Sousse region. Ultimately, these were the three most important shortcomings of this study that I was not able to remedy throughout the course of my research in Agadir.

A bias that was present in this research was to consistently consider the shortcomings of the French and Moroccan governments in their promises to ensure a better life for the Moroccan workers who immigrated to France. While the policy of the Labor Convention of 1963 was significantly flawed and mismanaged, it did provide a legal opportunity for hundreds of thousands of Moroccans to “gagner la vie”. Similarly, the French government did have other resources and opportunities available for Moroccan immigrants that return migrants in Morocco still use today, such as suitable medical services. A second bias is that return migration is a natural and common phenomenon. In reality, Moroccan immigrants in Europe have very high naturalization rates in Europe, which is evidence to the permanent nature of Moroccan migration to Europe (de Haas, 9). Additionally, Moroccans exhibit some of the lowest return rates compared to other ethnic groups in Europe (de Haas, 9). Ultimately, return migration does happen frequently, but it is important to keep the scale of the exodus in consideration.

## VIII. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

Organizing and overseeing this research on the return migration of Moroccan immigrants from France to the Sousse region created many new questions and possibilities for further study. In the future, I am most interested in pursuing an in-depth study of how the different legal categories such as permanent, temporary, and clandestine migration affect the return preparedness and resource mobilization of return migrants. I would focus on the Moroccan migration to France, Spain, and Italy. Additionally, I would record the different occupations of each return cohort and try to observe if there are any variations in their return preparedness and resource mobilization depending on their type of employment. For example, are street vendors in Italy more likely than assembly-line workers in France to return to Morocco without achieving any of their economic objectives? Other research questions that have remained unanswered and would be important to study are:

- How did family reunification impact the decision of the head of household to engage with return migration?
- In what way did the massive industrial restructuring of the French economy impact the employment options available for unskilled Moroccan immigrants?
- Given that the economic crisis is more severe in certain European countries, such as Spain and Italy, than in France how is this affecting the nature of return migration? Are more Moroccan immigrants returning from Spain and Italy than France?
- What views do non-immigrants hold towards both immigrants and return immigrants? Are they positive or negative? Have these views changed over the period of several years?

## IX. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bilgili, Ozge, and SiljaWeyel. "Migration in Morocco: History Current Trends and Future Prospects." *Maastricht Graduate School of Governance* (2009): 1-62. Print.
- Cassarino, Jean-Pierre. "Theorising Return Migration: The Conceptual Approach to Return Migrants Revisited." *International Journal on Multicultural Societies* 6.2 (2004): 253-79. Print.
- Cerase, F. P. "Expectations and Reality: A Case Study of Return Migration from the United States to Southern Italy." *International Migration Review* 8.2 (1974): 245-62. Print.
- Convention of Labor Between France and Morocco (1963). Print.
- De Haas, Hein. "Migration Information Source - Morocco: From Emigration Country to Africa's Migration Passage to Europe." *The Migration Information Source*. Migration Information Source, 2005. Web. 29 Apr. 2013.
- De Haas, Hein. "Morocco's Migration Experience: A Transnational Perspective." *International Migration* 54.4 (n.d.): 39-70. Print.
- Glick Schiller, Nina, Linda Basch, and Cristina Szanton Blanc. "From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration." *Anthropological Quarterly* 68.1 (1995): 48-63. Print.
- Guarnizo, Luis E. "The Emergence of a Transnational Social Formation and the Mirage of Return Migration among Dominican Migrants." *Global Studies in Culture and Power* 4.2 (1997): 281-322. Print.
- Knoke, D., and J. H. Kuklinski. *Network Analysis*. London: Sage Publications, 1982. Print.
- Levitt, Peggy. "Transnational Migration: Taking Stock and Future Directions." *Global Networks* 1.3 (2001): 195-216. Print.
- Portes, Alejandro. "The Study of Transnationalism: Pitfalls and the Promise of an Emergent Research Field." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22.2 (1999): 217-37. Print.
- Ramirez, Nelson. "La Emigración Dominicana Hacia El Exterior." *Instituto De Estudios De Población Y Desarrollo* 1 (1993): 20-40. Print.
- Salih, Ruba. *Gender in Transnationalism: Home, Longing and Belonging among Moroccan Migrant Women*. London: Routledge, 2003. Print.
- Stark, O. *The Migration of Labor*. Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, n.d. Print.

Todaro, M. P. "A Model of Labor Migration and Urban Unemployment in Less Developed Countries." *The American Economic Review* 59.1 (1969): 138-48. Print.

Trouillet, Caroline. "PORTRAIT D'UN TRAVAILLEUR MIGRANT 1 : LA RETRAITE EN FOYER EN ÎLE-DE-FRANCE." *Africultures*. N.p., 19 Nov. 2012. Web. 4 May 2013. <<http://www.africultures.com/php/?nav=article&no=11138>>.

## X. APPENDICES

### Appendix A: Interview Guide, English

#### INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR MIGRANTS

Pseudonym: \_\_\_\_\_

Interview Number: \_\_\_\_\_

Home Number: \_\_\_\_\_

Community Number: \_\_\_\_\_

Gender: M/F

Relation to head of household:

- Household head
- Husband/Wife
- Father/Father-in-law
- Mother/Mother-in-law
- Son/Son-in-law
- Daughter/Daughter-in-law

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

## **A. HISTORY OF IMMIGRATION**

**I will start by asking some questions about yourself, your life in Morocco before emigrating, and your decision to immigrate to Europe.**

1. Please, tell me a little about yourself. Where were you born? How much schooling did you go through in Morocco?
2. Are you married? How old were you when you were first married? What does your wife work in? Do you have children? How old are they?
3. How old are you now? How old were you when you first immigrated to Europe? In what year did you immigrate? When you immigrated, did you have your own family?
4. How long were you in Europe for? Where did you live?

## **B. MIGRATION HISTORY**

**Now, I will ask you some questions about your migration history.**

1. Why did you decide to immigrate to Europe? Why did you choose that particular moment to immigrate? What was the objective of your first trip? Did you complete this objective?
2. Did some other member in your family help you come to the decision to migrate?
3. In your first trip to Europe, did you go by yourself or did a family member accompany you? With whom did you go? Is that family member still in Europe today?
4. What was your education—the highest level of school that you completed when you first migrated? Was that an important factor in your decision to migrate? Why? Would you migrate if you were more or less educated?
5. Did you work in your hometown before immigrating to Europe? Please, tell me about the work you did in your hometown.
6. Did you think to immigrate to another Moroccan city or another country, such as Italy, Spain, France, Belgium or the Netherlands ? Would you still migrate if you had a better-paying job in Morocco?
7. Was there an important event around the time of your first trip? For example, did someone in your family lose his job or fall ill? Was this an important event in your decision to migrate?
8. Did some of your friends from your hometown immigrate to Europe before you? How did it affect your decision to immigrate? Are they still there now? Would you still take the decision to immigrate today if you did not know what you know now?
9. How did you live in your city before immigrating to Europe? How did the majority of the people in your hometown earn their living? Were there many people who immigrated to Europe? Why did the majority choose to immigrate?
10. What was it like in Morocco then? How was the economy compared to today? Do you think that the condition in Morocco influenced people to immigrate?

## **C. FIRST TRIP TO EUROPE**

**Now, I'm going to ask you some questions about your first trip to Europe.**

1. Was it hard to get to Europe your first time? Did someone help you? Did you have to pay a *harrag* or someone else? Did your family help you with the payment? Did an employer or a friend give you or promise you papers?

2. Where did you go in Europe? How did you pick this place?
3. In your first trip, how long were you in Europe? Why? Where did you live? Did you live alone, with friends, family, or other people from your hometown?
4. What was your first job in Europe? How did you find this job? How did you find out about this job? Was it through a friend, a family member, an advertisement, an employment agency, etc? What did they do to help you get the job?
5. Was what you earned in your job enough to pay the bills?
6. How was it being so far away from your family? Did you talk or write to them while you were in Europe? Through what methods and how frequently?
7. When did you lose your first job? When did you lose your second job? Did you come back to Morocco immediately after losing your first job? Are you currently looking for a job in Europe?

#### **D. REMITTANCE BEHAVIOR**

1. Did you send any money home on your first trip? To whom? Why? Did your family expect you to send money?
2. Did you know you were going to send money home when you first migrated? When did you start sending? How did you decide to send?
3. Were there any families that were receiving remittances in your hometown before your first trip? How do you know? Was that an important factor in your decision to migrate? Would you still migrate if you did not know of those families?
4. Were your Moroccan friends in Europe sending money home to their families?
5. Were you able to buy any land or a business in your hometown?
6. Was there a time when you had to stop sending money? What happened?
7. Who took care of the household when you were away in Europe?

#### **E. REASONS FOR RETURNING TO MOROCCO**

1. Why did you decide to move back to Morocco? Did a friend, family member, or others come back to Morocco before you did? Did anyone come back to Morocco after you did? Did this influence your decision to come back to Morocco?
2. How did your life change in Europe after the 2009-2010 crises?
3. Did you think the crisis would only last for a short time?
4. Were you ever without work in Europe? What did you do? Who helped you?
5. Have you become a citizen of Europe? How did this happen? Do you think that you will one day be a citizen?
  - a. Citizen
  - b. Legal permanent resident
  - c. Migratory visa
  - d. Temporary agricultural worker
  - e. Undocumented immigrant
6. Did someone try to influence your decision to stay in Europe and not to come back to Morocco?
7. How did your family react when they discovered that you were going to come back to Morocco permanently?
8. Who helped you arrange your documentation in Europe in order to come back to Morocco?



9. What is your job in Morocco? Did someone help you find this job?
10. Are there individuals and families that are coming back to live in Morocco permanently? What types of people are returning? For example, are they entire families, young men, old men, people who immigrated ten years ago, undocumented immigrants, etc.?
11. How many Moroccans do you think have come back to live in Morocco? Do you think more will come? Why do you think some Moroccans remain in Europe?
12. What is the hardest part of readjusting to life in Morocco? What are some challenges that you have faced when returning here?
13. Do you think Morocco has changed substantially since you left or is everything quite the same? Have some things changed while others have stayed the same? Have these changes been positive or negative?
14. Do you think that today's immigrants are different than those from ten or twenty years ago? For example, do they work in different types of jobs than previous immigrants? Are they coming from different types of communities?
15. Do you plan to ever return to Europe? Why? How long do you plan to stay there? Where do you plan to live?

## SHORT SURVEY

Okay, to finish this interview I'm going to ask you a few more questions about migration and remittances. For each question I ask you, tell me how you feel about the question on a scale from 1-5.

- 1=strongly agree
- 2=agree
- 3=neutral
- 4=disagree
- 5=strongly disagree

[CHANGE THE ORDER OF THE ITEMS FOR EACH RESPONDENT]

1. I migrated first •

- \_\_\_ to find a better-paying job
- \_\_\_ to help with family expenses
- \_\_\_ to be able to build a house
- \_\_\_ to buy land or a business•
- \_\_\_ so that my children could go to school
- \_\_\_ to join family members in Europe
- \_\_\_ to be able to save
- \_\_\_ to find new opportunities
- \_\_\_ to help family at a difficult time•
- \_\_\_ to support family business
- \_\_\_ to be a good husband (or wife, daughter, son, mother, father)
- \_\_\_ to get ahead•
- \_\_\_ so that my family would live as well as others in our hometown
- \_\_\_ other (specify)

2. People from this town migrate

- \_\_\_ to find a better-paying job
- \_\_\_ to help with family expenses
- \_\_\_ to be able to build a house
- \_\_\_ to buy land or a business•
- \_\_\_ so that my children could go to school
- \_\_\_ to join family members in Europe
- \_\_\_ to be able to save
- \_\_\_ to find new opportunities
- \_\_\_ to help family at a difficult time•
- \_\_\_ to support family business
- \_\_\_ to be a good husband (or wife, daughter, son, mother, father)
- \_\_\_ to get ahead•
- \_\_\_ so that my family would live as well as others in our hometown
- \_\_\_ other (specify)

3. What reasons keep a person from migrating?

- \_\_ family
- \_\_ a job
- \_\_ the town•
- \_\_ age of the person•
- \_\_ health of the person
- \_\_ that the person is a woman
- \_\_ parents' concerns
- \_\_ migration costs
- \_\_ the dangers of crossing the border and living in Europe
- \_\_ not wanting to migrate•
- \_\_ other (specify)

4. Who are the typical migrants now?

- \_\_ a head of family
- \_\_ a young and single man
- \_\_ a young and single woman
- \_\_ a married man
- \_\_ a married woman•
- \_\_ a man with children
- \_\_ a woman with children
- \_\_ husband and wife
- \_\_ husband, wife and children
- \_\_ other (specify)

5. I returned to Morocco

- \_\_ to join my family•
- \_\_ to look after my parents
- \_\_ to retire•
- \_\_ to live better
- \_\_ because I reached my goal in Europe
- \_\_ because I bought a house•
- \_\_ because I bought land or a business
- \_\_ because of the dangers of living in Europe
- \_\_ because of the economic crisis in Europe
- \_\_ because of my health•
- \_\_ because of racism in Europe
- \_\_ other (specify)

6. I sent money back home from Europe

- \_\_\_ to help with family expenses
- \_\_\_ to support family business
- \_\_\_ to support my wife or children
- \_\_\_ to support my parents •
- \_\_\_ to help family at a difficult time•
- \_\_\_ to maintain connection to my family•
- \_\_\_ to be a good husband (or wife, daughter, son, mother, father)
- \_\_\_ so that my family would live as well as others in our hometown \_\_\_ to fulfill my duty as a migrant•
- \_\_\_ other (specify)

7. How have you or your family used remittances?

- \_\_\_ to buy food
- \_\_\_ to buy fertilizers, animal feed, fuel, etc.
- \_\_\_ to buy building materials•
- \_\_\_ to pay for the children's education•
- \_\_\_ to pay for the family's medical services
- \_\_\_ to invest in land or a business
- \_\_\_ to buy a house•
- \_\_\_ to pay for *hajj* for other family members
- \_\_\_ other (specify)

## Appendix B: Informed Consent Form, English

This informed consent form is for interview subjects who I am inviting to participate in my research on Moroccan return migration titled,

“Starting from Scratch: The Case of Moroccan Immigrants to Spain and France Who Return to Permanently Live in Morocco”

Principle Investigator: Karolina Dos Santos

Organization: SIT, Migration and Transnational Identity

Sponsor: Dr. AbderrahimAnbi, Chercheur en Sociologie

This consent form is comprised of:

- An information sheet describing the purpose of the study
- Certificate of Consent

### Part One: INFORMATION SHEET

My name is Karolina Dos Santos and I am currently a junior studying government at Harvard University. I came to Morocco to study abroad with the SIT Migration and Transnational Identity program. In order to complete this program, I have to research and write about a topic of my choice. I chose to research Moroccan immigrants from Europe who decided to return to Morocco to live here permanently. I have asked you to be a part of my study because you have immigrated to and lived in Europe and are now currently residing in Morocco. I want to hear about your experiences abroad and your reasons for coming back. By participating in this study, you will have to tell me about your migration story. I will ask questions about your life in Morocco before immigrating, your reason for immigrating, how you traveled to Europe, your life in Europe, and why you decided to come back to Morocco. This research will take place once, in a location that is convenient for you whether that be in your family home or a public place such as a café. The duration of the interview will be one to two hours and it will be scheduled at a date, time, and place for your convenience. The benefits of this interview are sharing your story to an interested and sympathetic listener. I will not be able to reimburse you for your time, but I will be able to pay for a coffee or tea if the interview takes places at a café. The only risks you face in this interview are psychological—feeling discomfort at any of the questions I ask and social—if any private, personal information that you present to me becomes available to your family and community. To avoid these risks, I will not use your name, your address, or the name of your specific community in Morocco at any point in my research. When I refer to your particular migration story in my research, I will only refer to a pseudonym that I have chosen for you. Similarly, I will not discuss any recognizable details about your life in my final paper. You have the right to skip any questions you do not wish to answer, stop the interview at any time you wish, and stop and ask me any questions if you feel uncomfortable at any point in the process. If you want a copy of this research paper in English you can contact me and I will e-mail you my final research paper.

## CERTIFICATE OF CONSENT

**I have read the foregoing information, or it has been read to me. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about it and any questions I have been asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I consent voluntarily to be a participant in this study.**

**Name of Participant (Printed):** \_\_\_\_\_

**Signature of Participant:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Date:** \_\_\_\_\_

Appendix C : Niveau de interview, Française

NIVEAU DE INTERVIEW POUR LES IMMIGRANTS

Pseudonyme : \_\_\_\_\_

Numéro de interview : \_\_\_\_\_

Numéro de maison : \_\_\_\_\_

Numéro de communauté : \_\_\_\_\_

Sexe : M/F

Relation au chef de famille :

- Chef de famille
- Mari/femme
- Père/ beau-père
- Mère/belle-mère
- Fils/ Gendre
- Fille/ belle fille

Date : \_\_\_\_\_

## **A. HISTOIRE DE L'IMMIGRATION**

**Je veux commence avec questions sur votre expérience en Maroc, avant de immigrer a l'Europe.**

1. Si vous plait, parler un peu au sujet de votre vie au Maroc. Où est-ce que vous êtes né ? Combien des années d'école est-ce que vous étudiez au Maroc ?
2. Est-ce que vous êtes marrie ? Combien des années que vous avez quand vous faites le mariage pour la première fois ?
3. Quel âge avez vous maintenant ? Quel âge que vous avez quand vous immigrer a l'Europe pour la première fois ? Quelle année est-ce que vous immigrer ? Quand vous immigrer est-ce que vous avez votre propre famille ?
4. Combien de temps est-ce que vous restez a l'Europe ? Ou est-ce que vous vivez pendant cette temps ?

## **B. HISTOIRE MIGRATOIRE**

**Maintenant, je veux poser un peu des questions au sujet de votre histoire migratoire.**

1. Pourquoi est-ce que vous décidez d'immigrer a l'Europe ? Pourquoi que vous choisissez ce moment en particulier pour immigrer ? Quel est l'objet de votre premier voyage à l'Europe ? Est-ce que vous achevez cet objectif ?
2. Est-ce que un autre membre de votre famille vous aidez en faire la décision de émigre a l'Europe ? Est-ce que votre famille resté a l'Europe aujourd'hui ?
3. Pendant votre premier voyage à l'Europe, est-ce que vous voyagez toute seul ou avec un membre de votre famille ? Avec qui est-ce que vous voyagez ? Est-ce que votre amie resté a l'Europe aujourd'hui ?
4. Qu'est votre éducation—le niveau le plus haut que vous complétez quand vous immigrer ? Est-ce que cette chose c'est un facteur important de votre décision de voyager a l'Europe ? Pourquoi ? Est-ce que vous immigrerez si vous êtes plus ou moins instruite ?
5. Est-ce que vous travaillez dans votre ville natale avant votre immigration à l'Europe ? Si vous plait, parler avec moi au sujet de votre travail.
6. Est-ce que vous pensez en immigrer a un autre ville Marocain ou un autre pays, par exemple comme l'Italie, l'Espagne, la Belgique, ou le Pays Bais ? ? Est-ce que vous avez voulez si vous avez un travaille qui payer meilleure au Maroc ?
7. Est-ce qu'il y a un événement important pendant le temps de votre voyage ? Par exemple, est-ce que quelqu'un de votre famille a été très malade ou il perdre sa travail ? Est-ce que cette chose c'est un facteur important de votre décision a émigre ?
8. Est-ce qu'il y a quelqu'un de votre famille ou bien ville natale qu'ils ont immigré avant vous ? Comme est-ce que cette chose affecte votre décision de immigrer ? Vouliez-vous faire la décision de immigrer aujourd'hui si vous ne connais pas l'information que vous connais maintenant ?
9. Comme est-ce que vous vivez dans votre ville natal avant votre immigration a l'Europe ? Comme est-ce que les autres gens dans votre ville gagnent sa vie ? Est-ce qu'il y a beaucoup de gens que ont immigré a l'Europe ? Pourquoi vous pensez qu'ils immigrer ?
10. Pouvez-vous décrire la vie en Maroc à ce moment la ? Comment l'économie marocain a comparaison de la d'aujourd'hui ? Pensez-vous que les conditions de Maroc influence les gens a immigrer ?



### **C. PREMIER VOYAGE A L'EUROPE**

**Maintenant, je vous pose des questions au sujet de votre premier voyage a l'Europe.**

1. Était-il difficile de voyager à l'Europe par la première fois ? Est-ce qu'il y a quelqu'un pour vous aidez ? Est-ce que vous payez pour un *harrag* ou autre quelqu'un pour vous aidez arriver a l'Europe ? Est-ce que votre famille vous aidez avec le paiement ? Est-ce que un employeur ou un amie vous promettez les papiers ?
2. Où est-ce que vous allez dans l'Europe ? Pourquoi que vous choisissiez cette place ?
3. Pendant votre premier voyage, combien de temps que vous vivez a l'Europe ? Pourquoi ? Où est-ce que vous vivez ? Est-ce que vous vivez tout seule, avec quelqu'un des votre amis ou famille ?
4. Quelle a été votre premier emploi dans l'Europe ? Comment est-ce que vous trouvez cet emploi ? Est-ce que un ami, membre de la famille, une publicité, vous aidez ? Qu'est ce qu'ils font pour vous aidez ?
5. Est-ce que le paiement que vous recevez a été le assez pour payer les facteurs ?
6. Quelles sentiments que vous avez de vivre très loin de votre famille ? Est-ce que vous parlez avec ils pendant votre temps a l'Europe ? Comment est-ce que vous parlez avec ils et avec quel fréquence ?
7. Quand est-ce que vous perdez votre premier travail ? Et le deuxième travail ? Est-ce que vous décidez d'aller au Maroc immédiatement après de perdu votre travail ? Est-ce que vous trouvez le travail dans l'Europe aujourd'hui ?

### **D. COMPORTEMENTE DES REMISE**

1. Envoyez-vous de l'argent pendant votre première fois à l'Europe ? Auquel ? Pourquoi ? Est-ce que votre famille ont l'espérance de vous envoyez l'argent ?
2. Est-ce que vous savez que vous enverrez l'argent quand vous immigrerez pour la première fois ? Quand que vous commencez de envoyer l'argent ? Comment est-ce que vous décidez de envoyer l'argent ?
3. Est-ce qu'il a des familles dans votre ville natal qui ont reçu les remises (l'argent que quelqu'un qui travail a l'Europe les envoyer) avant votre premier voyage a l'Europe ? Comment est-ce que vous savez ? Est-ce que cette chose c'est un facteur important en votre décision de immigrer ? Est-ce que vous ferez le décision de immigrer encore si vous ne savez pas des ces familles qui ont reçois l'argent ?
4. Est-ce que votre amis marocaines dans l'Europe envoyant l'argent par ses familles au Maroc ?
5. Est-ce que vous achetez un commerce ou des terres dans votre ville natale ? Tabark'allah.
6. Est-ce qu'il a un temps qu'est nécessaire de arrêt de envoyer l'argent ? Qu'est ce que se passe ?
7. Est-ce que quelqu'un avaient la garde de votre famille pendant votre temps dans l'Europe ?

### **E. RAISONS POUR RETOURNER AU MAROC**

1. Pourquoi est-ce que vous décidez de retourner au Maroc ? Est-ce que un ami, familière, ou autre retourné au Maroc avant vous? Est- ce que cette chose

- vous influencez de retourner au Maroc ? Est-ce que quelqu'un retourner au Maroc après vous ?
2. Comment est-ce que votre vie changée après le cri de 2009-2010 dans l'Europe ?
  3. Est-ce que vous pensez que cette crise durerait seulement un peu de temps ?
  4. Est-ce que vous avez un temps sans travail à l'Europe ? Qu'est ce que vous faites ? Est-ce que quelqu'un vous aidez ?
  5. Est-ce vous soyez un citoyen de l'Europe ? Comment est-ce que votre citoyenneté ce passe ? Est-ce que vous pensez que un jour vous serez un citoyen de l'Europe ?
    - a. Citoyen
    - b. Résidente permanente légale
    - c. Visa migratoire
    - d. Employé agricole temporaire
    - e. Immigrant sans papiers
  6. Est-ce que quelqu'un a essayé de faire vous restez a l'Europe et ne retourner pas au Maroc ?
  7. Comment est-ce que votre famille réagir quand ils découvrent que vous retournez au Maroc définitivement ?
  8. Est-ce que quelqu'un vous aidez de ranger les papiers pour retourner au Maroc définitivement ?
  9. Qu'est votre travail dans le Maroc aujourd'hui ? Est-ce que quelqu'un vous aidez de trouver ce travail ?
  10. Est-ce qu'il y a familles qui ont retourné au Maroc définitivement? Quel types des personnes retournent au Maroc définitivement ? Par exemple, est-ce que familles tous entiers, hommes jeunes sans familles, personnes qui ont immigré il y a dix années, ou hommes âgées qui prennent sa retraite qui a retourné au Maroc définitivement ?
  11. A votre opinion, combien des marocaines ont retourné au Maroc définitivement ? Est-ce que vous pensez que plus marocaines retournent ? A votre opinion, pourquoi est-ce que uns marocains reste a l'Europe même si avec le crise ?
  12. A votre opinion, qu'est le part plus difficile de se réadapter a la vie marocaine ? Quels sont uns défis que vous trouvez pendant votre temps au Maroc ?
  13. A votre opinion, est-ce que le Maroc a changé beaucoup après de votre voyage à l'Europe ou est-ce que tous a continuer a été la même chose ? Si il y a des changes, est-ce que ils sont positifs ou négatifs ?
  14. Est-ce que vous pensez que les immigrants de aujourd'hui sont différent des immigrants de il y a dix ou vingt ans ? Par exemple, est-ce que les immigrants d'aujourd'hui travaille dans emplois différents que les immigrants de il y a dix ou vingt ans ? Est-ce que ils viennent des quartiers différents aujourd'hui ?
  15. Est-ce que vous pensez en retourner encore a l'Europe ? Combien de temps que vous pensez reste là ? A quelle pays vous pensez a retourner ?

## PETIT ENQUÊTE

Maintenant, pour finir l'interview je veux posée uns questions au sujet de immigration et remises. Pour chaque question que je posée, vous me direz l'impression ou le sentiment que vous avez utilisés un échelle de 1-5

- 1=Être d'accord vivement
- 2=Être d'accord
- 3=Neutre
- 4=Ne pas d'accord
- 5=Ne pas d'accord vivement

### 1. Je immigré premier

- \_\_\_\_\_pour trouve un travail qui payer meilleur
- \_\_\_\_\_pour aide avec les dépenses de la famille
- \_\_\_\_\_pour peux acheter une maison
- \_\_\_\_\_pour peux acheter des terres ou d'un commerce
- \_\_\_\_\_pour donner l'opportunité a mes enfants d'aller à l'école
- \_\_\_\_\_pour m'assembler avec autres membres de ma famille
- \_\_\_\_\_pour peux faire économiser
- \_\_\_\_\_pour trouver des opportunités nouvelles
- \_\_\_\_\_pour aider ma famille pendant un moment difficile
- \_\_\_\_\_pour soutenir le commerce de ma famille
- \_\_\_\_\_pour suis un bon marie (femme, fille, fils, mère, père, etc.)
- \_\_\_\_\_pour avancer
- \_\_\_\_\_afin que ma famille vivent bien, comment les autres familles de ma ville natal
- \_\_\_\_\_autre (spécifie)

### 2. Les gens de cette natale immigrerent

- \_\_\_\_\_pour trouve un travail qui payer meilleur
- \_\_\_\_\_pour aide avec les dépenses de la famille
- \_\_\_\_\_pour peux acheter une maison
- \_\_\_\_\_pour peux acheter des terres ou d'un commerce
- \_\_\_\_\_pour donner l'opportunité a mes enfants d'aller à l'école
- \_\_\_\_\_pour m'assembler avec autres membres de ma famille
- \_\_\_\_\_pour peux faire économiser
- \_\_\_\_\_pour trouver des opportunités nouvelles
- \_\_\_\_\_pour aider ma famille pendant un moment difficile
- \_\_\_\_\_pour soutenir le commerce de ma famille
- \_\_\_\_\_pour suis un bon marie (femme, fille, fils, mère, père, etc.)
- \_\_\_\_\_pour avancer
- \_\_\_\_\_afin que ma famille vivent bien, comment les autres familles de ma ville natal
- \_\_\_\_\_autre (spécifie)

3. Quelles raisons préviennent un personne de immigré ?

- \_\_\_\_\_ la famille
- \_\_\_\_\_ le travail
- \_\_\_\_\_ la ville natal
- \_\_\_\_\_ l'âge de la personne
- \_\_\_\_\_ le santé de la personne
- \_\_\_\_\_ la personne est une femme
- \_\_\_\_\_ les soucis des parents
- \_\_\_\_\_ le prix de immigré
- \_\_\_\_\_ les périls de voyager a l'Europe
- \_\_\_\_\_ ne veux pas migre
- \_\_\_\_\_ autre (spécifie)

4. Qui sont les migrants typiques aujourd'hui ?

- \_\_\_\_\_ un chef de famille
- \_\_\_\_\_ un homme jeune et seule
- \_\_\_\_\_ une femme jeune et seule
- \_\_\_\_\_ un homme marié
- \_\_\_\_\_ une femme marié
- \_\_\_\_\_ un homme avec enfants
- \_\_\_\_\_ une femme avec enfants
- \_\_\_\_\_ marie et femme
- \_\_\_\_\_ autre (spécifie)

5. J'ai retourné au Maroc

- \_\_\_\_\_ pour assembler avec ma famille
- \_\_\_\_\_ pour ai le garde des mes parents
- \_\_\_\_\_ pour prend ma retraite
- \_\_\_\_\_ pour vis meilleur
- \_\_\_\_\_ parce que j'atteins mon objectif a l'Europe
- \_\_\_\_\_ parce que j'achète une maison
- \_\_\_\_\_ parce que j'achète les terres ou un commerce
- \_\_\_\_\_ pour les périls de vivre a l'Europe
- \_\_\_\_\_ pour le cris économique a l'Europe
- \_\_\_\_\_ pour le racisme dans Europe
- \_\_\_\_\_ pour ma santé

6. J'ai envoyé l'argent de Europe au Maroc

- \_\_\_\_\_ pour aide avec les dépenses de la famille
- \_\_\_\_\_ pour soutenir le commerce de ma famille
- \_\_\_\_\_ pour soutenir mes parents
- \_\_\_\_\_ pour soutenir ma femme et mes enfants
- \_\_\_\_\_ pour aider ma famille dans un moment difficile
- \_\_\_\_\_ pour soutenir un bon connexion avec ma famille
- \_\_\_\_\_ pour suis un bon marie (femme, fille, fils, mère, père, etc.)
- \_\_\_\_\_ afin que ma famille vivent bien, comment les autres familles de ma ville natal

7. Comment est-ce que vous et votre famille ont utilisés l'argent et les remises de l'Europe ? Tabark'allah
- \_\_\_\_\_pour acheter la nourriture
  - \_\_\_\_\_pour acheter fertilisant, nourriture pour les animaux, combustible, etc.
  - \_\_\_\_\_pour acheter matérielles de construction
  - \_\_\_\_\_pour payer pour l'éducation des mes enfants
  - \_\_\_\_\_pour payer pour les services médicaux de ma famille
  - \_\_\_\_\_pour investir aux terres ou au commerce
  - \_\_\_\_\_pour acheter une maison
  - \_\_\_\_\_pour payer pour *hadjj* pour quelqu'un de ma famille
  - \_\_\_\_\_autre (spécifie)

## **Déclaration de consentement**

### **L'objectif d'étude**



### **La durée et les éléments d'étude**

Cette étude sera dirigée pendant une période de trois semaines. L'étude inclura les observations et les interventions des participants en incluant leur travail sur terrain.

### **Les risques**

L'étude n'a aucun risque prévisible pour les participants. Cependant, si vous ne vous sentez pas confortable avec le procédé d'observation ou d'interview, vous êtes libre de terminer votre participation.

### **Compensation**

La participation à cette étude ne sera pas compensée, financièrement ou autrement. Cependant, votre aide est considérablement appréciée par notre équipe de recherche.

### **Confidentialité**

Tout effort de maintenir votre information personnelle confidentielle sera fait dans ce projet. Vos noms et toute autre information d'identification seront changés dans la description finale, et seulement connue à l'équipe de recherche.

### **Participation**

Je soussigné,....., confirme avoir lu les rapports ci-dessus et compris que ma participation à cette étude est volontaire tout en ayant la liberté de retirer mon consentement à tout moment sans pénalité.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

J'ai pris conscience que cette étude puisse comporter les entrevues et/ou les observations qui peuvent être enregistrées et transcrites.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

### **Team de recherche**

Les chercheurs peuvent être contactés par E-mail ou téléphone pour n'importe quelle raison ;