Spring 2009

“Leur Rêve et Leur Vie Sont Ailleurs:” University Student Attitudes Towards Migration and Domestic Opportunity in Morocco

Annie Seibert
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“Leur reve et leur vie sont ailleurs:”
University student attitudes towards migration and domestic opportunity in Morocco

Annie Seibert
Washington University in St. Louis
SIT Morocco: Migration Studies
Academic Director: Said Graioud
Independent Study Project
Spring 2009
ABSTRACT

This research project attempts to assess how migration fits into Moroccan university student perceptions of upward mobility and to what extent these perceptions relate to domestic opportunity and youth unemployment. The project likewise evaluates the extent to which emigration plays a role in university students’ personal aspirations and the reasons behind their desires to leave home or to remain in Morocco. Research data was acquired primarily through surveys conducted at the universities in Rabat, Casablanca, and Kenitra, and was supplemented by in-depth interviews with students from these universities and with organizations working in the areas of youth, development, and/or unemployment. Current findings from the survey and interviews were compared with findings from past literature on the same or similar topics, and in many ways this research paper serves as a discussion between the two.

This project finds that a large number of Moroccan university students express the desire to either live abroad permanently or to finish education abroad; these desires relate closely to the job market in Morocco, the value of foreign experience and education for that job market, and the inability of higher education to adequately or completely provide students the technical skills needed to find employment domestically. While local organizations are making significant strides in terms of development and amelioration of youth unemployment, there remains much that can be done to facilitate youth entrance into the domestic job market and their hope for future employment here in Morocco. Though by no means comprehensive, this research project provides insight into the attitudes and aspirations of Moroccan university students and what local non-governmental and governmental organizations have to offer them.
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INTRODUCTION

“Nothing is as real as a dream. The world can change around you, but your dream will not. Responsibilities need not erase it. Duties need not obscure it. Because the dream is within you, no one can take it away.”
-Tom Clancy

“La majorité de ces jeunes tournent leur regard vers une Europe mythique qui ne veut pas d’eux, et rêvent. Leur rêve et leur vie sont ailleurs. Un ailleurs inconnu mais imaginé, fantasmé.”
-Rachid Beddaoui, Pourquoi les jeunes marocains fuient leur pays?

At Bert’s Café in Agdal, Zineb flicks cigarette ash into the tray on the table as she speaks with confidence and certainty. “When you ask them the question, ‘Do you want to migrate in the future?’ they will say yes,” she proclaims, “and this is the dream.”1 Zineb is referring to university-aged students in Morocco, and as a university-aged student living in Rabat she would know as well as anyone. Full of both hope and disillusionment, poised between tradition and modernity, and living in a country that is both developed and still developing, Moroccan youth are a dynamic population. And they are numerous; in 2006, youth between the ages of fifteen and twenty-nine amounted to an astonishing 43% of the total population in Morocco.2

Given the number of university-aged students and the heterogeneity of their interests and intellect, this up-and-coming generation has the potential to give back to Morocco in significant ways. Surprisingly, however, their future aspirations might not even involve their home country, at least not in the short-term. This study finds that an overwhelmingly large number of Moroccan university students are setting their sights on foreign soil post-graduation, whether for continued education or for permanent residence. Though not comprehensive, this study provides insight into the aspirations of Moroccan university students and the ubiquity of their migration goals.

1 Zineb, Student from Mohammed V University, Personal Interview, April 27, 2009.
While these prevalent dreams of migration are not inherently harmful, they become so when they are indicative of potentially larger problems involving youth unemployment and the deficiencies of the higher education system. Moroccan students of English Studies, especially, find that they are entering a world in which their university degree has not prepared them for the domestic job market, in which technological skills trump knowledge of literature, and in which their proficiency in English might be more appropriate for a career abroad. Despite the efforts of local organizations and governmental agencies, there remains significant room for improvement when it comes to giving youth the skills needed to succeed in the domestic job market as well as the confidence to fulfill the potential of their university education. Until Morocco sees improvements in these areas, the foreign dream remains.

This research project set out to assess how migration fits into Moroccan university student perceptions of upward mobility and to what extent these perceptions relate to domestic opportunity and youth unemployment. The project likewise evaluates the extent to which emigration plays a role in university students’ personal aspirations and the reasons behind their desires to leave home or to remain in Morocco. With these research questions in mind, the project proceeds in the following manner: the first two sections lay out my chosen research methods and the limitations those methods present; the first section of Data and Analysis attempts to describe the state of youth in Morocco and what many of them aspire to do in the future; the second and third sections address the problem of youth unemployment and the deficiencies of the higher education system; the third and fourth sections highlight the work of current organizations and draw attention to areas for improvement, respectively; and the final section concludes the research and suggests areas for future study.
METHODOLOGY

For this research project, I acquired the large majority of my data through surveys conducted in the universities in Rabat, Casablanca, and Kenitra among students in the English Departments. I piloted the survey, using mostly open-ended questions, in a classroom of 11 students at Mohammed V University in Rabat. Using feedback from these students and the answers they provided for the open-ended questions, I revised the survey before using it in larger classrooms in the three aforementioned universities. A total of 220 surveys were collected during the four-week research period: 105 of these surveys were from the university in Rabat, 71 surveys were from the university in Casablanca, and 44 surveys were from the university in Kenitra. Of the 220 total respondents, 36.8% of students were male and 63.2% of students were female. I handed an Informed Consent document out along with the survey, which described both the objectives of the research and the voluntary nature of the students’ participation. Students were also asked to leave their contact information if they were willing to be interviewed at further length about their attitudes and aspirations related to migration and domestic opportunity; using this contact information, I followed the surveys with in-depth interviews with a small number of the students who participated in the surveys. All student interviews were conducted in English.

I chose to use a survey because it provided me with quantifiable data and a large sample size of students that would have been impossible to obtain through interviews alone; the survey allowed me to make more generalized observations and conclusions about university student attitudes in Morocco, as well as the opportunity to expand my research more easily to the universities in Casablanca and Kenitra. As I limited the survey to closed questions and short answers, I also used interviews with students to elaborate on the opinions expressed in the
surveys and to provide more qualitative insight into the quantitative data obtained in the surveys. Current findings from the survey and interviews were compared with findings from past literature on the same or similar topics, and in many ways this research paper serves as a discussion between the two.

I chose to complete my survey in only the English Department for a number of reasons. For logistical purposes, limiting my survey to one department provided me with a population that was possible to handle given the constraints on time and the complexities of translating the survey. Additionally, this choice allowed me the time to complete the survey in Casablanca and Kenitra rather than focus solely on different departments in Rabat. More interestingly, I wanted to understand why these students chose to learn English in the first place and what relation their choice has to the job market and their desires to migrate or to remain in Morocco.

In addition to the information gathered using the surveys and student interviews, I had in-depth interviews with organizations working in the areas of youth, unemployment, and development in order to attain an institutional perspective regarding the problems Moroccan youth face, as well as what some of these institutions are doing to ameliorate the situation. Interviews were conducted in either English or French, and permission was obtained verbally to record the conversations and to use the information for this research. These interviews were essential for providing an objective—or rather “non-youth”—perspective with which I could compare and contrast the opinions expressed in the university student surveys and interviews. Furthermore, these interviews provided insight into the operation and efficacy of non-governmental and governmental organizations in Morocco.
LIMITATIONS

I believe that the research in this paper was limited most profoundly by the constraints on time and the fact that my understanding of the project developed as I experienced it. It was not until the research period was winding down that I had a firm grasp on the complexity of the topic and a better-formulated idea of the questions I should have been asking since the project’s inception. Moreover, the four-week period placed limits on the number of classrooms and departments I visited, and prevented me from contacting the overwhelming number of students who were kind enough to leave their contact information for me. Scheduling conflicts, miscommunications and cancellations limited the sample size of university student interviews, and a longer project period might have yielded a more diverse range of opinions and perspectives. In the interviews I was able to complete and the past literature I read, the aspirations of students who do not want to migrate was largely absent; further study on this same topic might better capture the opinions and motivations of those students who do not see migration in their future.

Although the choice of the English Department was deliberate, it nonetheless constrains my results to a group of students who may not only have more liberal ideas but also have a stronger desire to emigrate, hence the choice of English as their language of study. It is necessary to take into consideration this potential over-exaggeration of the desire to emigrate among university youth if we want to generalize the findings beyond students in the English Department. The results of the survey and the opinions expressed within it may likewise be skewed by the fact that I am an American student asking Moroccan students about their beliefs regarding opportunity abroad and domestically; there is the potential that students articulated both kinder opinions towards the United States (so as to not speak harshly of my home country).
and kinder opinions towards Morocco (so that I would not leave with a negative impression of their home country).

Finally, despite the students’ proficiency in English, it is hard to gauge precisely how much of the survey they understood and how much they interpreted as I had planned. For example, there was a large amount of confusion surrounding questions 4 and 5 in the survey, and thus the results of those two questions in particular must be taken with some uncertainty. While students were allowed and encouraged to ask for clarification during both interviews and surveys, they may have refrained so as not to seem less proficient in English.

DATA AND ANALYSIS

YOUTH IN MOROCCO: DISILLUSIONMENT AND DREAMS OF MIGRATION

In 2006, more than four out of every ten Moroccans were between the ages of fifteen and twenty-nine, meaning that this small fifteen-year age span accounted for just under half of the total population of 34.8 million people. On mere statistics alone, the generation born in the early- to mid-1980s and the beginning of the 1990s has the potential to leave their mark on Morocco in a significant way. Despite these numbers, however, Moroccan youth are somewhat of a forgotten majority, as one World Bank report explains. Left out of past development strategy and traditionally categorized as either adults or children, “youth, or any equivalent notion, is…a characteristic of modern Morocco,” the report quotes one author as saying.

So who are they? And what do they want out of their future? Like youth all over the world, they grow up with aspirations that are as varied as they are, hoping to find the opportunity to succeed and the means to achieve their dreams. What separates Moroccan youth from many of

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4 World Bank, 57.
their fellow adolescents around the world, however, is that this new generation is coming of age in a time where they are suspended between the reality of opportunity at the local level and the perception of promise elsewhere.

Information Technology has changed the experiences of the current generation in ways that their parents or grandparents may not have ever imagined; increased communication between countries of the world means that the “other” is ubiquitous in the lives of the local Moroccan. The channels are many and varied—international news and newspapers, the Internet, contact with those who have been abroad—and the consequences are notable: “These youth consider that the West…is omnipresent in their country.” In my visits to the universities in Casablanca, Rabat, and Kenitra, it became increasingly obvious that the students there were as familiar with American literature as I am, and almost more familiar with American music. Though these students over-represent knowledge of American culture due to the focus of their studies, they are indicative of a larger trend in Moroccan society in which youth are attached in many ways to the global world while living in local. Rachid Beddaoui, author of “Why do Moroccan youth flee their country?,” believes the consequence is that Moroccan youth increasingly have their mind on places and territories outside of their own: “Globalization and larger access to information and to the Internet have without a doubt rendered youth more conscious of the possibilities that are lacking in their country. Television and the accounts of migrants likewise encourage them to dream of elsewhere.”

Through these means of communication and connection to the world beyond the national boundaries of Morocco, youth create an image of the “other” that lies in contrast to what they see

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5 Mounia Bennani-Chraïbi, Soumis et rebelles, les jeunes au Maroc, Casablanca: Editions Le Fennec, 1995, 70. [My translation from French]
in their everyday lives. Mounia Bennani-Chraïbi, author of *Soumis et rebelles: les jeunes au Maroc*, expresses the phenomenon most eloquently, so I have decided to quote her in full:

> The vision held of the other is maintained by a dynamic of fascination and demonization, by a permanent movement of comparison to self and of negotiation with one’s own norms. The other or the alter ego would only exist with reference to here…The majority of the interviewees position themselves firmly in comparison to the geographic exterior…The West therefore offers the image of a universe where the fulfilled individual is equally an accomplished citizen…By comparison, the underdevelopment of the Moroccan space is formulated, assumed, and disparaged. The glorification of the invention of the other is almost always accompanied by the rejection of the imitation and following of “us.”

Despite the progress Morocco has made in recent decades in the areas of human rights and development, in comparison to territories north of the Mediterranean youth might believe that their country is one that lags behind; of those university students who responded to my survey, 61.8% agree or somewhat agree with the statement that life in Europe or the United States presents the image of a better future. Whether or not this image coincides with the reality of the world beyond is not important; what matters is that youth perceive this representation to be true, and thus create their opinion of self in its contrast.

The disconnect between the perception of the other and the reality of the local does not leave a negative impact on all Moroccan youth; nevertheless, globalization has left its impression on many adolescents by exposing them to possibilities beyond the borders of Morocco. Shana Cohen and Larabi Jaidi postulate in their work entitled *Morocco: Globalization and its*

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7 Bennani-Chraïbi, 76. [My translation from French]
8 Anne P. Seibert, Survey of students from the English Department, Mohammed V University (Rabat), Hassan II University (Casablanca), and Ibn Tofail University (Kenitra), Morocco, April 16-29, 2009.
Consequences, that youth in Morocco feel “lightness” and a certain sense of liminality due to their unique position in the globalizing world:

They perceive themselves in this manner because of possibilities that opened up through communications and media and because of the pull of migration in a difficult economic environment. Their manner of expressing themselves thus tends to incorporate both the positive channels of media and the negative juxtaposition of a troubled society and a world full of possibilities.9

One student I met at Mohammed V University likewise expressed that there exists a juxtaposition between the modern and traditional in Morocco, leading her to feel pressure to live in a way that she does not desire. Zineb suggested that in the midst of this push-pull phenomenon between the old and the new, her individual aspirations become second priority: “You have to be like this, and you have to be like this because I want you to be like this. What about what I want?”10

It comes as no surprise, then, that many adolescents in Morocco feel confused about their place in the world and about the changes wrought by globalization. As Abdelatif Kidai, author of “Youth between realities of unemployment and the dream of emigration,” states, “Youth today live the transition in all its intensity. The social functions of this age group (15-24) find themselves noticeably turned upside down.”11 One organization provides a strong example of the ways in which some youth perceive their situation in Morocco; Action Jeunesse, a “militant” youth society created in 2002, began in order to “remedy a constant pain which is the flagrant

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10 Zineb, Personal Interview.
disinterest of youth, whether at the local or regional level.”

Widespread feelings of liminality and disconnect among adolescents in Morocco have lasting impacts on the way they perceive domestic opportunity and on the plans they are making for the future.

Given the omnipresence of the international world in Morocco, emigration has become more than a fleeting daydream in the minds of many Moroccan youth. The dream is enforced by the fact that many Moroccans have already made the journey abroad. Mounia Bennani-Chraïbi’s observation that “emigrants are a part of the mental universe of young Moroccans” is corroborated by data from the universities in Casablanca, Rabat, and Kenitra: an astonishing 94.9% of the students know someone who has emigrated from Morocco. The motivations are many and the destinations are varied, but the goal is one and the same: to leave Morocco in search of a new life or better opportunities, even if the depart is not permanent. Ghizlane, a student from Mohammed V University in Rabat, responded to the question “Do youth in general want to migrate abroad?” by proclaiming with confidence, “Yes, I can say all of them…all of them are just looking for a way to go.”

Though it is not true that every Moroccan adolescent dreams of leaving home, Ghizlane’s assertion does spread light on the prevalence of the desire to migrate among youth in Morocco, which likewise became clear in the university survey responses. Out of the 220 respondents, 70% stated that they would definitely or probably migrate abroad in their lifetime, and 69.7% agree or somewhat agree with the statement that emigration is the highest ambition of most Moroccan youth.

The reasons behind the migration phenomenon originate in the belief among youth that their dreams can only be fulfilled elsewhere and that their future success relies on them leaving.

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13 Bennani-Chraïbi, 64. [My translation from French]; University survey.

14 Ghizlane, Student from Mohammed V University, Personal Interview, April 30, 2009.

15 University survey.
Ghizlane describes the situation as concisely as possible: “It is everything…just having the idea that there is better than what we have here.”\(^{16}\) Mounia Bennani-Chraïbi contends that migrating presents the option of starting over: “The depart is more and more seen as a gateway to getting out, like a new life project. It is maintained by an aspiration of a better life, not only material but also individual: the fulfillment, the realization of self through elsewhere, perceived and constructed in opposition to here. To live free from all social pressure, to find the ideal partner, to participate, to consume at will, ‘leaving’ is the solution.”\(^{17}\) With the weight of the future in their hands, youth might feel as if the only way to achieve their dreams is to achieve them elsewhere. From the university survey, 75.7% of students agree or somewhat agree with the statement that youth feel pressure to migrate in order to make a better life for themselves.\(^{18}\) Tareq, a friend of Ghizlane and a fellow student at Mohammed V University, summarized the phenomenon for me by explaining that “everyone wants to save his future…and the only way to do that is by migrating, getting a degree and coming back, finding a good job.”\(^{19}\)

While the focus of this study is urban university youth, it is important to note that dreams of migration are not confined to the walls of higher education institutions. One World Bank Report from July 2007, *Moving Out of Poverty in Morocco*, conducted interviews in nine communities in the provinces of Beni Mellal, El Hajeb, and Chichaoua to collect more information about the experiences of youth there. Researchers found similar results to those I collected in my survey; in the communities of Foum Zaouia and Bir Anzarane, adolescents were looking beyond agriculture in their hometown and towards the shores of Europe. One young man summarized his compatriots feelings succinctly, stating that “What all of us really want is to go

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\(^{16}\) Ghizlane, Personal Interview.
\(^{17}\) Bennani-Chraïbi, 184. [My translation from French]
\(^{18}\) University survey.
\(^{19}\) Tareq, Student from Mohammed V University, Personal Interview, April 30, 2009.
to Europe, here there is nothing for us to do.”

Even more surprising, perhaps, is that many youth were attempting to transform their dreams into reality; according to the study, adolescents in each community “had a precise understanding of the cost [of migration]…and were saving accordingly.”

The attractiveness of migration as an option for upward mobility was not lost on the older generations, either; in each community, adults expressed that migration would be their child’s “best and sometimes only opportunity to achieve prosperity and stability,” thus pressuring their offspring to migrate at the soonest opportunity.

The dream of migration therefore crosses borders between the urban and the rural, between genders, and between socio-economic statuses. It is not confined to one city, or one region, but extends from the universities in Casablanca to the villages of Foum Zaouia. If these plans of migration change from mere daydreams to reality, the loss of youth in significant numbers threatens to have a negative impact on the future development of Morocco; it is important, therefore, to note what explanations are behind such a prevalent aspiration.

**Without Work, Without Dreams: Youth Unemployment in Morocco**

Though understanding sentiments of “lightness” and “bouleversement” among youth in Morocco sheds light on their desires to leave, these intangible feelings have roots in more quantifiable phenomena. The experiences that cultivate feelings of hopelessness among youth in Morocco originate mainly in elevated unemployment rates and the difficulty of entering the job market. According to the Haut Commissariat du Plan, unemployment exceeded 10% in the first trimester of 2007 and was 15.8% in urban areas. The unemployment rate, while already higher

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20 World Bank, 60.
21 World Bank, 59.
22 Ibid.
23 Beddaoui.
than many countries, hides the fact that joblessness is even more elevated among youth and especially among university graduates. A September 2007 estimate placed the unemployment rate of youth at 15.4%, 65% of whom are looking for their first employment.\textsuperscript{24}

While university graduates “used to enjoy practically guaranteed employment in the public service,” increased importance of the private sector and the sheer number of adolescents looking for jobs have changed the situation; now the status quo seems to be that “the more advanced the degree, the higher the level of unemployment,” as demonstrated in Figure 1.\textsuperscript{25} The unemployment rate for youth aged 15-24 with secondary degrees or higher is a remarkable 61.2%. Though this statistic is inflated by the fact that there are proportionally not that many youth aged 15-24 who have a secondary degree or higher, the trend continues into the next age bracket: unemployment among Moroccans aged 25-34 with secondary degrees or higher is 40%.\textsuperscript{26} And the period of unemployment is not short-term; for unemployed youth aged 15-24 with secondary degrees or higher, 68.6% of them experience a period of unemployment that exceeds one year.\textsuperscript{27} Unfortunately, the problem of youth unemployment may remain unabated for the foreseeable future. Cohen and Jaidi estimate that “over the next decade, 400,000 young men and women will enter the labor force each year but in the past decade only 200,000 jobs were created each year,” most of which “were part time and offered minimum or sub-minimum wages.”\textsuperscript{28}

\textsuperscript{26} Boudarbat and Ajbilou, 18.
\textsuperscript{27} Ibid, 18-19.
\textsuperscript{28} Cohen and Jaidi, 69.
Given the situation of chronic and endemic youth unemployment, it is no wonder that adolescents feel hopelessness, anxiety, or apathy towards their futures in Morocco. Though unemployment alone cannot claim responsibility for all the problems Moroccan youth face, it does make thinking about the future more stressful. Tareq expressed his apprehension towards his future marketability by saying, “I think I’m going to find some trouble finding a job…a good job.”

At the same interview, Ghizlane explained that her dreams of English journalism are not at all conducive to the domestic job market, proclaiming ruefully that “you want to do something but the circumstances do not allow it.”

More than any other interviewee, Zineb described the importance of finding work in order to believe in yourself and your future. To her—and to many

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29 Tareq, Personal Interview.
30 Ghizlane, Personal Interview.
other Moroccan adolescents—employment is not only a way to pay the bills, but also a way to live her passions and fulfill her dreams. She commented on unemployment: “[It is] very bad to wake up late every morning, not to find something interesting to do…if you are not working, you are not living.” 31 Again, similar sentiments are not restricted to urban youth and are shared by the youth interviewed in the World Bank poverty study; one adolescent from the town of Bir Anzarane stated that, “We aspire to have work that assures an income and permits us to keep a home and live a healthy life. With steady work and money we can achieve other things. Money enables all. Outside work, all other wishes are secondary.” 32 As work provides adolescents with a means to an end, widespread unemployment means not only the loss of needed income but also the loss of the opportunity to achieve their dreams.

While feelings of hopelessness may seem trivial or second priority next to issues of poverty and underdevelopment, these sentiments have more serious social consequences than mere boredom or despair. Daily displays of protest outside of government Ministries are just one example of the ways in which unemployment engenders unwanted social tension and despondency. 33 One newspaper article from June 2008 cited “endemic unemployment” as the source of youth protests in the Maghreb; the article quotes Khalid Cherkaoui, president of the Moroccan Center for Human Rights, as saying that “youth unemployment, especially among thousands of graduates in Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia is the common [factor] in the three

31 Zineb, Personal Interview.
32 World Bank, 58.
33 It is also important to note, however, that not all youth agree with the demonstrations of unemployed university graduates or believe that they represent the majority opinion. Both Saad and Tareq expressed their belief that these university students were not adequately qualified for the job market and expected more out of the government than they could possibly offer; Tareq explained that “most of them are unqualified, because if they are qualified, for sure they are going to get jobs…They don’t have a good mastery of French.” Though not all university students may resort to demonstrating in front of government property, it is still important to realize that the demonstrations are a visual consequence of endemic unemployment in Morocco.
countries were demonstrations periodically take place in cities.”

The violence of the summer 2008 protests in Morocco was responsible for forty-four injuries and potentially between one and five deaths. Youth will not stop at demonstrations, however, to incite the government to action; Brahim Boudarbat and Aziz Ajbilou, in their working paper “Youth Exclusion in Morocco: Context, Consequences, and Policies,” mention that youth will resort to hunger strikes or even warnings of collective suicide if the government fails to respond to youth needs. Even more sobering still is that the authors suggest that youth exclusion can claim some of the blame for the terrorist attacks on May 16, 2003 in Casablanca.

In light of such dire social consequences, it is no great revelation that many young Moroccans foster dreams of migrating rather than taking to the streets or remaining where they feel their goals will not be realized. Abdelatif Kidai notes that the majority of migrants are unemployed college graduates who have been thus far unable to find employment in Morocco. In the hopes of ending their bout of unemployment, they leave Morocco and search elsewhere.

One blog that I found on Bladi.net, a virtual Moroccan community, expressed the situation of youth in Morocco in eloquent, though severe, terms:

In Morocco, it is useless. Youth live out the best years of their life trapped in unemployment and boredom. They emigrate so as not to see their dreams evaporate in smoke, to escape a destiny that condemns them to a calendar without end, where the weekend does not bring any rejoice, where free time is time wasted. Unfortunately, unemployment is only the manifestation of a problem

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35 Ibid.
36 Boudarbat and Ajbilou, 23.
37 Kidai.
much more profound. For youth, often, finding employment does not resolve anything, the conditions of work do not live up to their expectations and even less to their ambitions. The obsession of these youth is not to find a job, but to be able to construct a future. Youth no longer hesitate to say that they have lost “the hope of Morocco.” They all speak of emigrating definitively, of not returning.\(^{38}\)

While the blog by no means expresses the feelings of all Moroccan youth—we have to keep in mind that there will always be youth who do not want to migrate and do not feel the desperation described above—his words are nonetheless indicative of the fact that the phenomenon exists to a large enough extent that the author felt justified speaking with such harsh words towards opportunity in Morocco. The disconnect between the endless possibilities of ambition and the limitations of reality continue to push youth outside of Morocco, at least in their dreams if not in actuality.

The survey results from the universities in Casablanca, Rabat, and Kenitra corroborate the fact that many youth cherish dreams of migrating and that these dreams correspond closely with perceptions of domestic and foreign opportunity. In responding to the question of why youth would want to migrate from Morocco, the top three answers were for better job opportunities, for further education, and to support families in Morocco, with 90.5%, 73.6%, and 54.1% of the respondents citing those answers respectively. 75.4% of participants asserted that they agree or somewhat agree with the statement that the biggest reason for emigration is lack of domestic job availability, and 77.4% agree or somewhat agree with the statement that there are more jobs available abroad than there are in Morocco. Though these two statistics seem to make evident youth perceptions about the job market, opinions were more split about beliefs of job

availability in Morocco alone: 42.2% agree or somewhat agree that there are enough jobs in Morocco for those who want to work, while 44.5% disagree or somewhat disagree with the same statement.\textsuperscript{39} Though the survey does not represent all youth attitudes towards migration and economic opportunity, such high percentages indicate that these students share similar perceptions of their opportunities in Morocco.

\textbf{RECOGNIZING THE GAP: THE HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM}

Endemic unemployment among youth, and the dreams of migration it engenders, is not solely the result of the recent economic recession or even the overwhelming number of adolescents in Morocco; the system of higher education is likewise to blame. Students and organizations alike recognize that there remains a gap between the education provided within the walls of higher education institutions and the skills demanded in the workforce. Saad, a third-year student at Mohammed V University, stated clearly and concisely that he has little hope that his education will assist him in finding a job; when asked if he felt prepared to enter the job market when he graduates this spring, he responded by saying, “Not at all…education does not meet the criteria of the job market.”\textsuperscript{40} Zineb explained that if you are not already working while you are studying, at least in some capacity, your hope for future employment diminishes significantly; in her own words, “a diploma without experience is nothing.”\textsuperscript{41} Youth in rural villages confirmed that this trend extends beyond the three cities I visited for my research; the World Bank Report states that youth in surveyed communities were dissatisfied with the available education and its inability to lead to upward mobility.\textsuperscript{42}

\textsuperscript{39} University survey.
\textsuperscript{40} Saad, Student from Mohammed V University, Personal Interview, April 29, 2009.
\textsuperscript{41} Zineb, Personal Interview.
\textsuperscript{42} World Bank, 61.
The irrelevance of the university degree has lead students and businesses to look to professional training courses as the means to bridge the gap between education and employment. Even government officials confirm that these courses may be more adequate for grooming youth for the job market than higher education institutions. One employer, quoted in the article “Moroccan universities criticized for being ‘purely theoretical,’” confirms a university graduates’ worst nightmare: “Personally, I would rather recruit a young graduate from the Professional Training and Work Promotion Office because they are able to perform, even though they may only have a Bac+2. I feel that university degrees have no role to play in the private sector.” A second-year student quoted in the same article describes a sad reality: Sara Joual says, “To be honest, the reason I’m studying is to get a degree under my belt. I know the employment prospects are limited. Maybe I’ll change over later into hairdressing or beauty treatment so that I can make a living, even though these jobs have nothing to do with the law and political science that I’m studying at the moment.” Possessing degrees that are more theoretical than practical, youth in Morocco are giving up their career goals as they are faced with the reality of having to pay the bills. While providing professional training courses to students who seek them is commendable, it fails to acknowledge that the time spent in traditional school is worth next to naught in the job market; therefore, the crux of the issue still remains.

English Studies students, especially, express their apprehension towards entering the domestic job market, noting that technological skills trump knowledge of literature and that their English Degree might be better suited for a career elsewhere. The reasons students in Morocco choose to study English are varied; nevertheless, in the university surveys conducted this year,

Ibid.
Ibid.
the majority of students agreed on three main motivations. Of the respondents, 71.6% said they chose to study English because it is widely used around the world, 65.1% said they chose English simply because they like the language, and 53.2% noted that they chose English for better job opportunities. These responses correspond to those of a survey from 1990, one that Moha Ennaji, author of *Multilingualism, cultural identity, and education in Morocco*, conducted among English studies students in Fes. His survey participants likewise commented on the importance of English for the job market and academia; of her participants, 81% cited studying English to be able to pursue studies abroad and 72% chose English to improve future job prospects.

Despite learning English to augment marketability in the workforce, Moroccan students nevertheless express that the options for employment are limited for those with an English degree. Every student that I interviewed explained to me that either the translation field or academia was a student’s best option. Zineb, who hopes one day to continue her education in the United States, believes that her degree will prepare her for one pathway only: “Here, no, there are no choices…apart from translation, there is nothing.” Already denied a visa one time, she feels pressured into that track despite dreams of studying drama elsewhere: “If I don’t get my visa next time, I will be obliged to study translation again.” Saad expressed his desire to migrate as well, explaining that applying his degree in the domestic workforce might be near impossible: “The only think I can do, technically, is teach English.” Ghizlane repeated almost the exact same sentiment as Saad. She added that the reasoning might have to do with the technological nature of the workforce and the theoretical nature of her university degree: “We

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46 University survey.
48 Zineb, Personal Interview.
49 Saad, Personal Interview.
will not have jobs, with the new technology…a job for us is just to teach English.” Moha Ennaji believes that the teaching of English in Morocco is generally a boon for the country, but because the degree-holding students are not successfully integrated into the job market, the advantages remain unrealized: “It is taught to develop communication, cultural exchange with the English-speaking countries, and to contribute to the socio-economic development of Morocco in general…However, given the high unemployment among university graduates, this aim is difficult to attain.”

Moreover, the acquisition of a foreign degree holds weight in the job market in Morocco, as Ghizlane and Tareq emphasized in their collective interview. What this means, perhaps, is that students want to study abroad with the hope that an educational background in another country will help them find a job in the future. Ghizlane explained to me that “if you are educated abroad, it is taken into consideration more than if you just study here.” She also noted that mere observation alone was enough to want to migrate, believing that everyone who is doing well in Morocco had spent at least some time away from its shores. And she did not have to look far to find an example; almost all—if not in fact all—of her English professors were educated for a time in the United States or in the United Kingdom. Tareq stated that “the best evidence is our teachers,” to which Ghizlane added, “[you] can’t find one who is just educated here.”

Possessing a degree that has little relevance to the domestic job market and future dreams that do not include unemployment, English studies students—and student of other disciplines as well—look to the Europe or the United States for further education and a brighter future. The worry, of course, is that adolescents will not return from their time abroad, if they do in fact leave Morocco while they are still young.

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50 Ennaji, 196.
51 Ghizlane, Personal Interview.
52 Tareq, Personal Interview; Ghizlane, Personal Interview.
**Making Progress: Current Action**

Despite prevalent feelings of unfulfilled expectations among youth in Morocco, there is hope that these feelings will not remain unabated forever; non-governmental and non-profit organizations working in the areas of youth, development, and unemployment are making significant headway and will continue to make progress in the future. The Education for Employment Foundation, or EFE Maroc, provides one strong example. EFE Maroc is a non-profit organization, founded in 2004, that bases its programs on the assumption that the domestic education system does not adequately prepare youth for the job market. Amine Bakkali, a Project Head at the Foundation, describes the organization as an intermediary between Moroccan youth and the workforce, providing students the skills and confidence necessary to acquire a job or internship and to transform that internship into a long-term career.\(^{53}\)

One of EFE Maroc’s principal curriculums is the Workplace Success Training Program, which teaches students leadership and communication skills and which, to date, has had a success rate of 85% in terms of its graduates finding employment in Morocco.\(^{54}\) Additionally, EFE Maroc is taking educational reform to heart, partnering with Hassan II University in Casablanca in the hopes that they can combine their Workplace Success Program with the general curriculum and give students the opportunity to make their degree more marketable.\(^{55}\) With these and other programs, the Education for Employment Foundation “believes firmly that through the offer of jobs to youth, we can contribute to social security and diminish the cycle of

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\(^{53}\) Amine Bakkali, Education for Employment Foundation, Personal Interview, April 20, 2009.  
\(^{55}\) Ibid.
frustration, hopelessness, and anger caused by chronic unemployment” in addition to helping “Morocco’s companies compete in the global marketplace.”  

The Employment and Education Alliance (EEA, or L’Allliance Marocaine pour l’Education et l’Emploi) shares similar objectives. With funding provided by the United States Agency for International Development, EEA attempts to establish a partnership between Moroccan enterprises, the government, and non-governmental organizations to ease the transition between education and the domestic job market. Through this alliance it hopes to help youth succeed in the workforce, prepare this generation for an economy based on information technology, and groom their entrepreneurial spirit. In one publication, the Employment and Education Alliance calls on society in general to help reduce youth unemployment: “We need to ameliorate the relevance of education to better respond to the demands of the job market. We equally need to encourage the private sector and the public sector to work together to realize our common goal of promoting youth employment.”

Non-governmental organizations are not the only ones lending a hand to youth in Morocco; the Moroccan Ministry of Youth and Sports proclaims that its mission is to “assure the individual fulfillment of youth and to favor collective engagement, social involvement, effort and responsibility, initiative spirit and creativity.” Their Maison de Jeunes, which total about 430 establishments and have involved over six million youth, provide a meeting point where youth can express their ideas and encourage development within Morocco. The Ministry is also

58 Ministère de la Jeunesse et de Sports, La Nouvelle Politique de la Jeunesse, Rabat, Morocco: March 2007, 5. [My translation from French]
currently undertaking “les Grands Programmes d la Nouvelle Politique Nationale de la Jeunesse,” which includes programs for art, music, cinema, theater, sports, reading, and forums for the exchange of ideas.  

**LOOKING TO THE FUTURE: AREAS FOR IMPROVEMENT**

While evidently commendable and clearly necessary, these programs may not be adequate to deal with the underlying feelings of hopelessness or frustration caused by unemployment. The day I visited the Ministry, there was a demonstration of unemployed university graduates outside; though I was not surprised, given the frequency of these demonstrations, I was somewhat amazed to learn that there were employees inside who were completely unaware of the activities on the other side of their wall. Perhaps it is true that the programs created within the confines of the Ministry remain removed from the lives of everyday youth in Morocco, or in the least they may be insufficient in light of larger, more deeply entrenched social issues. As Rachid Beddaoui expressed in his article, “Why do young Moroccans flee their country?,” the efforts of short-term programs and solutions will be in vain if the underlying issues of unemployment and development remain unresolved. Or as Shana Cohen and Larabi Jaidi explain more eloquently, it is the general experience of youth in Morocco that lies at the crux of the issue:

Alienation from political life originates in the lack of a sense of existential purpose for younger generations regarding Morocco’s future. Creating such a sense of purpose should go beyond policies of cultivating social activities such as sport, or encouraging training and micro-enterprise. Instead, they should address

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59 Ibid, 55.
60 Beddaoui.
the “lightness” that characterizes the experience of being young in Morocco, deprived at the local level of both jobs and good schools but engaged in global communications systems and transnational culture. More practically, they should retreat from policies of ‘incorporation’ into an elite-driven political and social system. Rather, they should aim to respond to the desires and identities of the majority.\(^6^1\)

Unemployment and the frustration it causes are not inherently the fault or responsibility of the Ministry of Youth and Sports, or the government in general; as Tareq explained to me, “the government is doing its best, but the government cannot hire all those who graduate…every year, they cannot hire everyone.”\(^6^2\) Nonetheless, there remains the question of what implications the out-migration of youth may have on Morocco in the long-term and what can to be done either to curb this trend or assuage these feelings of desperation. And there remains students who diverge with Tareq’s opinion: out of the 220 students interviewed, 74.6% expressed that they agree or somewhat agree with the statement that the state has a responsibility to help youth find employment. An even larger 79.3% agree or somewhat agree that something should be done in Morocco so that less university graduates want to migrate.\(^6^3\) Tareq, Ghizlane, and Saad all expressed concerns about the so-called “brain drain;” Tareq suggested that it would not be a brain drain if the university students returned to Morocco after their time abroad, but Ghizlane added that they only come back “after a long, long time…too long.”\(^6^4\) Survey respondents likewise expressed concerns about the trends of out-migration and the future of Morocco: 80.7%

\(^6^1\) Cohen and Jaidi, 76.  
\(^6^2\) Tareq, Personal Interview.  
\(^6^3\) University survey.  
\(^6^4\) Ghizlane, Personal Interview; Tareq, Personal Interview.
of participants agreed or somewhat agreed that continued emigration of youth would have negative long-term impacts on the country.

Attempting to dull these potentially harmful consequences of youth emigration means addressing the prevalence of the issue and realizing that youth development cannot just focus on traditionally underprivileged populations, such as rural youth or those without the means to afford higher education or migration. The Association Marocaine de Solidarité et de Développement, an umbrella development organization based out of Rabat, expressed that their programs for youth focus solely on rural areas and that they do not at this time have programs for university students.\textsuperscript{65} Even Amine Bakkali of the Education for Employment Foundation communicated that their target audience is underprivileged youth who are searching for “simple” jobs and who do not have the monetary means to leave Morocco in the near future.\textsuperscript{66} While by no means ignoring the underprivileged populations in the country, there needs to be the recognition that youth who do have the means to migrate and who choose to migrate might hinder development progress in the future.

Additionally, more organizations—both non-governmental and governmental—might follow in the footsteps of the Education for Employment Foundation and the Education and Employment Alliance in their efforts to make higher education more relevant to the domestic job market. Expanding business-training curriculums, encouraging enterprises to institute internship programs, and adding leadership skill practicum to university classrooms might mark the beginning of a change in youth attitudes towards their opportunities in Morocco. If youth believe that their domestic university degree is just as attractive in the job market as a foreign degree or

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{65} Khadija Mahdaoui, Association Marocaine de Solidarité et de Développement, Personal Interview, April 28, 2009.
\textsuperscript{66} Amine Bakkali, Personal Interview.
\end{flushright}
as a professional training degree, more adolescents may choose to finish or continue their education in Morocco rather than moving to foreign soil the first opportunity they get.

CONCLUSION

Back in the café in Agdal, Zineb smiles as she describes her dreams of acquiring a visa and migrating abroad. There, she explains, “you get what you deserve.” Like Zineb, many Moroccan youth are looking towards foreign soil for further education or permanent residence as they realize that life in Morocco, at least in the short-term, may not live up to their expectations. Chronic and endemic unemployment can claim some responsibility for prevalent dreams of migration among university students in Morocco. While rates of unemployment have decreased in recent years, they threaten to remain unacceptably high as long as education fails to meet the demands of the labor market. The inadequacy of the traditional university degree and the irrelevance of classroom teaching to the skills required in the workplace means that many college-educated youth will remain unemployed in Morocco or will cultivate dreams of leaving.

Though organizations are making strides in the area of youth unemployment, there still remains a large gap between the education system and the job market. Professional training programs, while commendable in their efforts, are not enough to erase feelings of hopelessness or apprehension among youth in Morocco. Until these programs are incorporated into the traditional school system and the university degree again made relevant to the domestic job market, youth will look elsewhere to fulfill their dreams and to apply the knowledge they gained within their institutions of higher education.

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67 Zineb, Personal Interview.
Further study on this topic might expand research to include comparisons between the current generation of youth and the generation that preceded them. Through this inquiry, one might be able to more thoroughly grasp the impact of globalization and the ways in which increased communication has changed images of the outside world among today’s youth. Additionally, it would be interesting to assess how satisfied former generations are with their living situation, what their youthful aspirations were, and if they feel they have accomplished all that they hoped they would. In this way, one might be able to compare the goals of the two generations and extrapolate how today’s youth might see themselves in the future.

More time, of course, would also have afforded the opportunity to interview larger sample sizes of youth to create a more complete dialogue between voices along the diverse spectrum of opinions. In future research, I would like to better capture the voice of those youth who do not want to migrate and how they see their futures in Morocco. Though an important population of adolescents, those who did not foresee themselves migrating even for education purposes constituted a minority in this study and in the past literature that I read, and thus were not given the time they deserved in this work. While recognizing that this study is not, and perhaps never could be, a complete census of youth opinions towards migration and domestic opportunity, it nonetheless provides an important account of how some youth view their futures here and why so many seem to want to leave.

Given their sheer number, youth have the potential to become a great advantage for Morocco’s future progress and development, if only the country can harness their potential before they turn their dreams of leaving into reality. As the World Bank reported:

Youth can be an important asset for Morocco – if it can successfully follow through on its stated interest of implementing youth policies that include:
improving the quality and labor-market relevance of education, expanding livelihood opportunities for young people, especially those in rural areas, expanding recreational and other youth-targeted services, and removing barriers to the greater participation of young people as citizens.\textsuperscript{68}

The worry is that these efforts will come too late. Coming of age in a time when jobs are scarce domestically and visions of the other penetrate their daily existence, many youth have already cultivated well-formulated visions of migration. As the blog on Bladi.net summarizes, “\textit{le Maroc changera, le changement risque d’être lent, les jeunes ne peuvent pas attendre, alors ils partiront à la première occasion}.” Morocco will change, the change risks being slow, youth cannot wait, therefore they will leave at the first chance they get.\textsuperscript{69}

\textsuperscript{68} World Bank, 72-73.
\textsuperscript{69} Al Bayane.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Dr. Yamina Elkirat, my Independent Study Project advisor, who gave me invaluable guidance on my survey and allowed me to pilot it in her class at the university in Rabat. Many thanks are also due to Dr. Mohamed Guennoun and Dr. Mohamed Benzidan, who offered me their classrooms in Rabat and Casablanca and their kind words of encouragement. Thank you as well to Ahmed for making the survey in Kenitra possible, for his friendship, and for feeding me before I returned to Rabat. Additionally, I cannot say enough to Dr. Said Graioud, who put up with my tireless questions and requests and who was always willing to meet with me, and also to Asmae Haddaoui for her patience and for her endless help with phone calls during the Independent Study Project period and the rest of the semester. Most importantly, I would like to thank all of the students at the universities in Rabat, Casablanca, and Kenitra who so willingly took my survey and who welcomed me into their classrooms—my research and my Independent Study Project experience would have been less meaningful without them.
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APPENDIX A:
Schedule of Interviews and Surveys

April 10, 2009  Pilot survey—Mohammed V University (Rabat), Dr. Yamina Elkirat
April 16, 2009  Survey (2)—Mohammed V University (Rabat), Dr. Mohamed Guennoun
April 17, 2009  Survey—Mohammed V University (Rabat), Dr. Said Graioid
April 20, 2009  Survey—Hassan II University (Casablanca), Dr. Mohamed Benzidan
                Interview—Amine Bakkali, Education for Employment Foundation
April 22, 2009  Meeting—Action Jeunesse
April 27, 2009  Interview—Zineb, student from Mohammed V University
April 28, 2009  Interview—Khadija Mahdaoui, Association Marocaine de Solidarité et de Développement
                Meeting—Ministère de la Jeunesse et de Sports
April 29, 2009  Survey—Ibn Tofail University (Kenitra), Random students
                Interview—Saad, student from Mohammed V University
April 30, 2009  Interview—Ghizlane, student from Mohammed V University
                Interview—Tareq, student from Mohammed V University
APPENDIX B:  
Interview Guide for University Students

Guiding Research Questions: How does migration fit into Moroccan youth—specifically university student—perceptions of upward mobility and what connection does this have with domestic opportunity or youth unemployment? To what extent does migration play a role in university students’ personal aspirations and for what reasons?

- What is your name? Tell me a little bit about yourself.
- What are future goals? Where do you see yourself in five or ten years?
- For what reasons did you choose to study/learn English?
- What do you perceive to be the biggest problem for youth today in Morocco?
- As a university student, do you feel prepared to enter the domestic job market after graduation? Do you think you will find the work that you desire? Why or why not?
- Is there more opportunity to find employment abroad? If yes, why do you believe that this is true?
- What role do you think the state plays in helping youth find employment domestically?
- Putting logistics aside, would you like to migrate abroad in the future? Why or why not?
- Realistically, do you think you will migrate to another country at some point during your life? Why or why not? If yes, to where do you see yourself migrating?
- What do you see as the main reasons why Moroccan youth might want to migrate abroad?
- Have you felt pressured to emigrate? In general, do you believe that youth feel pressured to emigrate to make a better life for themselves? If yes, explain.
- Do you view migration and those who want to migrate positively, negatively, neither, or somewhere in between? Explain.
- What do you see as the long-term impacts, if any, of emigration on Morocco—economically, politically, or socially?
- Do you think something should be done domestically to curb out-migration of youth? If yes, what?
APPENDIX C:  
Informed Consent Document

Statement of Informed Consent

You are being asked to participate in a survey research project about Moroccan youth and attitudes towards migration. The project is being conducted by Annie Seibert, a student from Washington University in St. Louis in the United States, who is currently doing research in collaboration with the Center for Cross-Cultural Learning in Rabat. This survey is anonymous. No one will be able to associate your responses with your identity. Your participation is voluntary. You may choose not to take the survey, to stop responding at any time, or to skip any questions that you do not want to answer. You must be at least 18 years of age to participate in this study. Your completion of the survey serves as your voluntary agreement to participate in this research project and your certification that you are 18 or older.*

If you would be willing to be interviewed further for this study, please indicate your name and contact information below. There is no obligation for you to leave your name or contact information. By leaving your name below, you do not compromise the anonymity of the survey, as your name will not be associated with your answers.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

_______________________________
Name

_______________________________  _______________________________
Email Address      Phone Number

Researcher Contact Information:  
Annie Seibert  
06 59 34 84 14  
apseibert@wustl.edu

*Adapted from an Informed Consent Guide found at  
www.valdosta.edu/grants/documents/AnonymousSurveyConsentStatement.doc
APPENDIX D:
Survey

University Survey

Instructions: The following is a survey about university student attitudes towards emigration, economic opportunity and upward mobility. It is also about your personal aspirations regarding migration. The first section consists of multiple-choice and open-ended questions. The second section consists of statements and asks you to indicate to what extent you agree with those statements. Mark an ‘X’ in the box that corresponds with your level of agreement. You may answer as many or as few questions as you wish, and may choose not to take the survey or may stop taking the survey at any point. You are free to ask questions at any time during the survey.

| Gender: | ☐ Male | ☐ Female |

1. Do you know anyone who has emigrated from Morocco?
   a. Yes
   b. No

2. What do you see as the main reasons why youth would want to migrate from Morocco? (Check all that apply)
   ___Better job opportunities
   ___Education
   ___To support families in Morocco
   ___Marriage to a foreigner
   ___Other (explain):
   ___To live in a more “liberal” society
   ___Political or religious pressure
   ___To discover other cultures
   ___To acquire a new language

3. What do you see as the main barriers to emigration? (Check all that apply)
   ___Getting a visa
   ___Language barriers
   ___Money
   ___Cultural differences
   ___Finding housing/job abroad
   ___Other (explain):

4. If these barriers did not exist, would you choose to emigrate from Morocco (to live for a period of time, not just for tourism or to visit relatives)?
   a. Definitely
   b. Probably
   c. Not sure
   d. Probably not
   e. Definitely not

   If yes, to where? ______________________________

   If yes, why? If no, why not?

5. Do you think that you will migrate abroad during your lifetime (to live for a period of time, not just for tourism or to visit relatives)?
   a. Definitely
   b. Probably
   c. Not sure
   d. Probably not
   e. Definitely not
If yes, to where? ______________________________

If yes, why? If no, why not?

6. Why did you choose to study/learn English? (Check all that apply)
   ___It is widely used around the world   ___I like the language
   ___It is a “prestigious” language in Morocco   ___To make it easier to migrate
   ___For better job opportunities   ___No particular reason/"It just happened"
   ___Other (explain):

Statements:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statements</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat agree</th>
<th>Neither agree nor disagree</th>
<th>Somewhat disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>No opinion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Life in Europe or the United States presents the image of a better future</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>There are enough jobs available in Morocco for those who want to work</td>
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<tr>
<td>The biggest reason for emigration is lack of job availability in Morocco</td>
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<tr>
<td>There are more job opportunities abroad than there are in Morocco</td>
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<tr>
<td>I believe that I will be able to find employment in Morocco when I graduate</td>
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<tr>
<td>I believe that my university degree will prepare me for the job market in Morocco</td>
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<tr>
<td>Youth feel pressure to emigrate in order to make a better life for themselves</td>
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<tr>
<td>I have felt pressure to emigrate in order to make a better life for myself</td>
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<tr>
<td>Emigration is the best means for upward mobility</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Migration of university students from Morocco is a problem</td>
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<tr>
<td>The state has a responsibility to help youth find employment</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Something should be done in Morocco so that less university graduates want to migrate</td>
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<tr>
<td>Emigration is the highest ambition of most Moroccan youth</td>
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<tr>
<td>Continued emigration of youth will have negative long-term impacts on the country</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Thank you for your time!
## APPENDIX E:
Complete Survey Results

### Total Aggregate Results
*Rabat, Casablanca, and Kenitra / April 16, 2009-April 29, 2009*

**Participants**

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
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<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>0.368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>0.632</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. **Do you know anyone who has emigrated from Morocco?**

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>0.949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0.051</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. **What do you see as the main reasons why youth would want to migrate from Morocco?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Better job opportunities</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>0.905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>0.736</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To support families in Morocco</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>0.541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage to a foreigner</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>0.159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To live in a more liberal society</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0.182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political or religious pressure</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.036</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To discover other cultures</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>0.359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To acquire a new language</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>0.277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. **What do you see as the main barriers to emigration?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Getting a visa</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>0.755</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>0.655</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family responsibilities</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0.136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language barriers</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>0.150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural differences</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>0.173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finding housing/job abroad</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>0.350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. **If these barriers did not exist, would you choose to emigrate from Morocco?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Definitely</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>0.306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probably</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>0.434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0.114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probably not</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0.059</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definitely not</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0.087</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. Do you think that you will migrate abroad during your lifetime?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th>Yes (%)</th>
<th>No (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Definitely</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>0.218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probably</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>0.458</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>0.213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probably not</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0.042</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definitely not</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0.069</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. Why did you choose to study/learn English?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Yes (%)</th>
<th>No (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It is widely used around the world</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>0.716</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a &quot;prestigious&quot; language in Morocco</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0.096</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For better job opportunities</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>0.532</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I like the language</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>0.651</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To make it easier to migrate</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0.101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No particular reason/&quot;It just happened&quot;</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0.055</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.023</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat agree</th>
<th>Neither agree nor disagree</th>
<th>Somewhat disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>No opinion</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Life in Europe or the United States presents the image of a better future</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There are enough jobs available in Morocco for those who want to work</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The biggest reason for emigration is lack of job availability in Morocco</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There are more job opportunities abroad than there are in Morocco</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I believe that I will be able to find employment in Morocco when I graduate</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I believe that my university degree will prepare me for the job market in Morocco</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth feel pressure to emigrate in order to make a better life for themselves</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have felt pressure to emigrate in order to make a better life for myself</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emigration is the best means for upward mobility</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migration of university students from Morocco is a problem</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Page 43
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The state has a responsibility to help youth find employment</th>
<th>116</th>
<th>39</th>
<th>18</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>15</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>208</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Something should be done in Morocco so that less university graduates want to migrate</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emigration is the highest ambition of most Moroccan youth</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continued emigration of youth will have negative long-term impacts on the country</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Life in Europe or the United States presents the image of a better future</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat agree</th>
<th>Neither agree nor disagree</th>
<th>Somewhat disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>No opinion</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>There are enough jobs available in Morocco for those who want to work</td>
<td>0.240</td>
<td>0.378</td>
<td>0.157</td>
<td>0.101</td>
<td>0.106</td>
<td>0.018</td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The biggest reason for emigration is lack of job availability in Morocco</td>
<td>0.202</td>
<td>0.220</td>
<td>0.106</td>
<td>0.202</td>
<td>0.243</td>
<td>0.028</td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There are more job opportunities abroad than there are in Morocco</td>
<td>0.517</td>
<td>0.237</td>
<td>0.068</td>
<td>0.097</td>
<td>0.072</td>
<td>0.010</td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I believe that I will be able to find employment in Morocco when I graduate</td>
<td>0.368</td>
<td>0.259</td>
<td>0.165</td>
<td>0.113</td>
<td>0.061</td>
<td>0.033</td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I believe that my university degree will prepare me for the job market in Morocco</td>
<td>0.238</td>
<td>0.324</td>
<td>0.138</td>
<td>0.124</td>
<td>0.138</td>
<td>0.038</td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth feel pressure to emigrate in order to make a better life for themselves</td>
<td>0.528</td>
<td>0.229</td>
<td>0.103</td>
<td>0.047</td>
<td>0.047</td>
<td>0.047</td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have felt pressure to emigrate in order to make a better life for myself</td>
<td>0.310</td>
<td>0.212</td>
<td>0.099</td>
<td>0.074</td>
<td>0.227</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emigration is the best means for upward mobility</td>
<td>0.149</td>
<td>0.239</td>
<td>0.209</td>
<td>0.134</td>
<td>0.169</td>
<td>0.100</td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migration of university students from Morocco is a problem</td>
<td>0.415</td>
<td>0.137</td>
<td>0.107</td>
<td>0.093</td>
<td>0.166</td>
<td>0.083</td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The state has a responsibility to help youth find employment</td>
<td>0.558</td>
<td>0.188</td>
<td>0.087</td>
<td>0.038</td>
<td>0.072</td>
<td>0.058</td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement</td>
<td>Probability</td>
<td>Perceptions</td>
<td>Expectations</td>
<td>Confidence</td>
<td>Degree of Agreement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Something should be done in Morocco so that less university graduates want to migrate</td>
<td>0.609</td>
<td>0.184</td>
<td>0.111</td>
<td>0.019</td>
<td>0.019 0.058 1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emigration is the highest ambition of most Moroccan youth</td>
<td>0.460</td>
<td>0.237</td>
<td>0.060</td>
<td>0.088</td>
<td>0.126 0.028 1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continued emigration of youth will have negative long-term impacts on the country</td>
<td>0.610</td>
<td>0.197</td>
<td>0.070</td>
<td>0.028</td>
<td>0.047 0.047 1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>