Moroccan Migration to France: Historical Patterns and Effects on Assimilation

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Migration from Morocco to France: A Historical Overview of Migration Patterns from 1912 to Present Day and Their Affects on Assimilation in the Destination Country

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ABSTRACT

This paper seeks to understand assimilation patterns of Moroccan immigrants in France. Through the study of quotidian Moroccan life, starting with the establishment of the French protectorate, both the reasons and conditions of migration are outlined. It is only through an extensive examination and deep understanding of these pre-migratory processes that behavior upon arrival in the receiving country can begin to be understood, and eventually predicted.

This research project analyzes the evolution of Moroccan Jewish and Muslims migration to France, beginning with the establishment of the protectorate in 1911. In selecting sources, the goal is to illustrate the nature of migratory streams through significant turning points in Moroccan history. These turning points include the establishment of the protectorate itself, World War I, World War II, Morocco’s gain of independence, the Algerian War of Independence, and the oil crisis of 1973.

This research drew mainly on historical overviews of Morocco throughout the twentieth century. It was also influenced by quantitative data and various theories on migration. Through portraying the treatment of the Moroccan people by the French, both within and outside of their country, this thesis highlights the profound influence a pre-migration environment has on a people’s willingness and capability to assimilate into a receiving nation. Through its imposed
institutions, France has created a set of insurmountable obstacles that make it difficult for Moroccans to feel like they are authentically French, resulting in resentment towards the state, as well as towards each other.
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Introduction

Moroccan immigrants to France face discrimination. According to the French census, as of 2011, over 1.5 million Moroccan individuals have traveled across the Mediterranean to a new European home. Upon their arrival, migrants may leave their traditions behind, quickly incorporate them into a new life, or perhaps amplify them, as they seek to maintain their homeland identity in a new location. The decision to assimilate, and to what degree, affects Moroccan culture as well as the French culture that receives them. Understanding the factors that lead to assimilation or identity maintenance may allow us to anticipate other decisions they make about their acceptance of the French way of life. These factors are a reflection of the different ways in which Jewish and Muslims Moroccans were treated during the years of the protectorate through government-mandated institutions, affecting all aspects of Moroccan life ranging from agriculture to education.

As a result of their previous relationship to the French, Muslim and Jewish Moroccans have different approaches to assimilation into French life. Because Jewish Moroccans are moving from a Muslim-majority nation in which they are a minority religion and observed many French cultural traditions, their integration may not involve a sacrifice of their previous identity. In contrast, Muslim Moroccans are moving into a country where their religion is not the majority, possibly intensifying the need to distinguish themselves from French culture, making

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1 "Répartition des étrangers par nationalité", INSEE, Retrieved 12 December 2015.
assimilation less desirable. The way in which French society receives the Moroccan migrants is also relevant, because a willingness to assimilate is dampened by rejection.

An example of the harms North African migrants faced is portrayed through the racism present in both the French press and in the police force. By the end of World War II, the police, namely in Paris, accused North African migrants of committing serious crimes, and associated them with forty percent of assaults that occurred at night. This inspired various newspapers to report these stories, and alleged accusations, with catchy negative headlines. Eventually, the stereotype of the criminal North African had been implanted in the minds of the local population. Once in Paris, these Muslim immigrants physically marginalized themselves, and the North African suburbs on the periphery of the French metropolises were formed. This was done in an effort to surround themselves with people they know with similar traditions. However, these North African enclaves were sites of crime and ghettoization, creating quotidian racism for the inhabitants. Surrounded by an environment that viewed North Africans negatively, many families discovered that full assimilation was impossible due to a sense of marginalization and tangible discrimination. Discrimination, therefore, becomes inevitable and integration impossible.

This case study is potentially insightful because it compares the migration patterns and settlement patterns of two separate religious communities- the Jews and Muslims- who migrate but face distinct outcomes in France. This duality is reflective both in their pre-migration Moroccan lives and their new post-migration French ones. The comparable migration patterns provide a foil against which elements can be compared. These differences will contribute to the

sorting of factors that have either prepared the migrants for a seamless transition or one of hardship. This, in turn, provides an understanding of how these two Moroccan groups’ behaviors will be influenced and the ways in which assimilation will be approached in their new host nation.

This case study can be utilized in order to shed some light on ways to approach immigrant incorporation in a global context in an age where migration is not only constant, but is proliferating at rapid rates. The world in 2016 faces a migration crisis, in which refugees are fleeing war and unsafe living conditions. As a response, prosperous nations do not feel the moral or fiscal obligation to welcome them into a safe interim setting, and are shutting their borders and building physical fences to hinder entry. These stern reactions are caused by a general fear of increased pluralism and loss of homogeneity, which may not be reflected in reality, but is perceived to be a looming prospect. These generalized fears of migrants may negatively impact foreign policy-makers’ views as the world perpetually continues to globalize. Assimilation does not rely solely on the desire of the migrants to be integrated into French culture, but also relies on the willingness of the receiving nation to accept the assimilation efforts of newcomers.

Theories of Migration

The following overview of several migration theories portrays the various elements that are taken into consideration when attempting to rationalize, and eventually predict, the process of migration. This begins with the contemplation of making the decision to migrate, through its physical achievement.

Everett S. Lee’s 1966 model of the migration trajectory is a classic text in the literature on migration. He describes the journey as comprised of “an origin, a destination, and an
intervening set of obstacles”.

Details such as the distance or difficulty of the journey traveled and the expected level of permanency take on different roles when the migration occurs out of necessity or desire. A key point in Lee’s argument is that any individual contemplating migration calculates its costs and benefits. This calculus is a micro-model of decision-making regarding what such a journey entails. This is what Lee refers to as push and pull factors. Those of the country of origin are the reasons to either remain or to emigrate. Those within the destination country are the reasons that make immigration attractive or not, which may lead to the designation of an alternate receiving country.

Despite this dichotomy, there are also overall aspects of migration that are applicable to everyone. In the country of origin, each individual is faced with the task to weigh the positives and the negatives in order to make a rational decision. It can be assumed that migrants have lived in their country of origin for a considerable amount of time, and thus will make an informed decision on whether to stay or leave. This is not true in terms of the destination country; there will always be some amount of uncertainty. Lee describes this as an overvaluation of the positive elements and an undervaluation of the negative ones.

Lee continues by explaining that family reunification contributes to the current migration stream set in place by the male trail-blazer, and reinforces that “volume and rate of migration tend to increase with time”. Thus, migration is conducted in stages, and is self-sustained through time.

In “Aliens and Citizens: The Case for Open Borders”, Joseph H. Carens presents the liberal argument of having open borders to confront the traditionally conservative attitudes

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5 Ibid, 53.
towards migration. Carens explains that “borders should generally be open and that people should normally be free to leave their country of origin and settle in another, subject only to the sorts of constraints that bind current citizens in their new country”. Carens admits that this argument is strongest in reference to migrants leaving a developing country for a developed one. However, in any case, restricting immigration can not morally be justified; “like feudal barriers to mobility, they protect unjust privilege”. The privilege Carens is referring to is the benefits that accompany the citizenship of a developed and powerful nation.

The misconception occurs that opening the borders would result in the loss of the conception of citizenship. The distinction between members and nonmembers of a state would remain, but anyone who wishes to obtain membership would be granted the opportunity. If an individual is willing “to sign the social contract”, their exclusion would not be “compatible with the idea of equal moral worth”.

Finally, Carens addresses the general fear that opening borders would “threaten the distinctive character of different political communities”. This phobia exists because there is the assumption that given the opportunity, everyone would migrate into the developed countries. However, leaving one’s community to move to a foreign one contradicts human nature. People have deeply-rooted attachments to their home communities, and choose migrate when their lives at there become difficult or dangerous.

Although open borders will change the identity of a community, it will not become devoid of one. There is always the possibility that it will end the current version of their culture,

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7 Ibid, 270.
8 Ibid, 270.
9 Ibid, 270.
but it would allow for its evolution with the integration of others. The opening of borders would be “an affirmation of the liberal character of the community and its commitment to principles of justice”.  

Sociologist Douglas S. Massey takes a more encompassing approach to migration theory. According to his article written in 1999, all migration theories hold some amount of value in analyzing the patterns of international migration. However, different models carry varying significance and value in systematizing migration currents, depending on variables such as history, geography, and politics. He concludes that any reasonable theoretical explanation of international migration must include four components: “a treatment of the structural forces that promote emigration from developing countries; a characterization of the structural forces that attract immigrants into developed nations; a consideration of the motivations, goals, and aspirations of the people who respond to these structural forces by becoming international migrants; and a treatment of the social and economic structures that arise to connect areas of out- and in-migration”.  

However, Massey admits that an important element has been excluded from this theoretical account: the state. Migration theories do not devote sufficient attention to the role governments play in shaping, and sometimes even controlling the movement of populations. Although governments may not have full authority over migration, state policies have great influence in determining the the amount and distribution of immigrants. When the state is considered in migration theory, it is placed on the government of the receiving country, and not

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10 Carens, 271.
the sending one. Therefore, if there is any promotion or prevention on behalf of the government of the sending country, it is not accounted for in these studies.

Local economies are affected by globalization. It creates the emergence of a new work force of itinerant laborers looking for increased pay and labor conditions.\textsuperscript{12} In such cases, migration is not a response to an imminent threat to security at home, but the potential to lead a more fulfilling life economically. When a household experiences a decrease or sudden loss of income and is faced with the possibility to lose its material welfare, international migration becomes an option.\textsuperscript{13} There is an inclination towards migration in an effort to maintain a certain economic lifestyle that individuals are not willing to sacrifice; this is the new economics of labor migration.

\textsuperscript{12} Massey, 48.
\textsuperscript{13} Ibid, 48.
Chapter One: The Establishment of the French Protectorate in Morocco

Possibly the most important component regarding Moroccan immigration to France is its longstanding colonization by France. Pre-migration and legal status within the protectorate contributed to the potential migrants’ level of preparedness to successfully assimilate into French society. Throughout the French Protectorate, up until its demise in 1956, various Moroccan groups were treated and viewed unevenly, some benefiting more than others, namely between the Jews and the Muslims of the country. The steps taken by the French protectorate discriminated greatly against the Muslim population in Morocco, ultimately hindering potential assimilation after immigrating to France. As will be discussed, such institutions range from military control, to political influence, and finally to education levels and professional spheres.

One of France’s main reasons in deciding to control Morocco was to utilize the population as a source of labor and manpower. Upon their loss of Alsace-Lorraine to Germany in 1870, France became motivated to gain “numerical inferiority to the Imperial Germany in order
to regain” this territory. At this point, France had already employed this strategy with the Algerian population, and so believed the Moroccans to be just as useful.

As a compensatory strategy for the poor economic performance at home, French power and selfishness in the 19th century exploited the protectorate as much as France could. The result of this manipulation strategy was the imposition of starkly discriminatory policies across a broad range of fields, from education to land use and allocation, creating a dualist social structure benefitting a class of French settlers whose fortunes became tied to the protectorate. That then, in turn, created a social structure that caused trouble for France a century later, when the colonized will choose to migrate to France.

France’s Protectorate

In 1911, European nations, predominantly France and Germany, were looking onto North Africa to expand their borders. In that same year, France extended military troops onto Moroccan soil, resulting in the German dispatch of a gunboat to the port in Agadir. This confrontation created international tension, and led to the Agadir Crisis, which is seen as a medium term cause of the outbreak of the First World War. The following year, on March 30th, 1912, the Treaty of Fez was signed by Moroccan Sultan Abd al-Hafid, recognizing a French protectorate in Morocco, and resolving the Agadir Crisis.

French colonial rule in Morocco was designed as a hybrid version of the indirect British rule in India and French rule in Algeria. Indirect British rule allowed for the retention of the local rulers and their legislation, whereas the French colonial model in Algeria replaced the administration with Europeans. Because the highly militarized approach to colonizing Algeria

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14 Bidwell, 293.
resulted in a long and bloody war, it was acknowledged as failure. Therefore, in Morocco, the French tried a new tactic by combining the autonomy from the British with the implementation of European policy from their rule in Algeria. Therefore, the Fez Treaty did not to strip Morocco of its sovereignty. Abd al-Hafid, the Moroccan Sultan who had been in power for three years, kept his ability to rule, including the rest of the established Moroccan government (Makhzan). Additionally, the Moroccan flag was conserved as the national banner. In his book on French Colonial Theory, Raymond F. Betts describes that the French understood that a different approach to colonization should be taken, and “underlying these thoughts was the realization that a strong type of cooperation between colonial and native was imperative.”

Under the rule of the Protectorate, France’s approach to colonization shifted from direct rule towards the implementation of a new policy of association. Betts points out that “the great virtue of this policy was proclaimed to lie in its simplicity, flexibility, and practicality”. Betts describes that the French understood that a different approach to colonization should be taken, and “underlying these thoughts was the realization that a strong type of cooperation between colonial and native was imperative”.

Upon their arrival, the French separated the Moroccans from the Berbers, the indigenous population of the region, providing each with a legal system. They saw the Berbers as having French values, because their legal system and ideals were not essentially Islamic, and their nomadic nature ruptured any ties to the physical space and therefore were not seen as threatening. Similarly, within the Moroccans themselves, France distinguished the Jews from

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17 Ibid, 106.
19 Pennell, 141.
the Muslims, identifying the Jewish people as having the potential to absorb European culture. The Jewish population arrived in Morocco after their expulsion from Spain in 1492. These European roots may contribute to the French thought process that the Moroccan Jews will comply with their imposed policies and legislature, and will later act as a local ally.

The Role of Education in French State-Building in the Protectorate

France did not apply to Morocco the same assimilationist approach they tried in Algeria, but rather installed strict educational and sociopolitical systems that would hinder any fusion of French and Moroccan societies. The French used education to make the subjects in the protectorate into citizens. This project, however, ultimately failed because they also allowed for the creation of segregated tracks allocated to the various religions living in the protectorate. As will be examined, this educational structure allowed for the country’s Jewish population to strive within in, placing the Muslims population at a great disadvantage. These educational systems were reflected in the lives of the Moroccan people as early as childhood. General Marshal Lyautey was appointed to be the first French Resident General in Morocco.20 “Lyautey realized that indirect rule was an essential ingredient of a Protectorate.”21 Lyautey was most interested and involved in Morocco’s educational department.22 His goal was to educate the Moroccan people before they were to be influenced by others.

“He aimed not at transforming the [existing] social system of the country but at strengthening it, for members of each class should be educated to fill the position into which they had been born. The sons of the bourgeoisie and of the rural aristocracy should be taught so that they could keep the lower class at bay, succeed in commerce or join him with the ruling country. The sons of the peasants and artisans should be taught enough to become better peasants and artisans, capable of earning their living in their family trade with improved methods.”23

21 Ibid, 16.
22 Pennell, 238.
23 Ibid, 238.
The education system Lyautey established had been designed for Morocco in particular, merging they saw as the modern and the traditional. His goal was not to create a new structure, but build upon the existing one. Muslim children born into certain social classes will be taught to thrive within them, without the potential for social ascension. Also, an emphasis was traditionally placed on religion in the education sphere; children were taught from the Quran. Although this aspect was not altogether removed, it’s importance has been alleviated.

**Muslim Education under the Protectorate**

Muslim children attended protectorate schools which were subdivided into schools for children of prominent families, urban schools for artisan youths, and rural-agricultural schools. This hierarchy among the Muslim population promoted French education while preserving the sociopolitical status quo among the Moroccans. Social mobility was possible within this hierarchical system, but only within each framework. Thus, artisans remained artisans and the upper-middle class remained the upper-middle class. Due to this imposed educational structure, social mobility was difficult if born to the parents of a particular social class.

The “Ecoles des Fils Notables” were established with the goal to pursue the students in their social habits while teaching them both in French as well as their native tongue. It also provided them an education in modern methods in commerce, agriculture, and industry, without removing them from their traditions or toppling the pre-existing social structure. These students were expected to either be successors to their fathers or eventually pursue an administrative role. The first of these schools was opened in Fez in 1912. By 1934, there were six. The aim was not

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24 Pennell, 30.
to create a caste, but to provide a socially distinguished group an education that met their
apptitude and potential.

This program lasted five years, and the most successful students went on to study at the
Collège Musulman, or an alternate institution if higher education. These schools faced difficulty
recruiting students in the rural areas of Morocco. Because this was a country where education
and religion were traditionally intertwined, there was a belief that these schools were an effort of
the French government to convert their sons to Christianity. Also, rural families did not feel
obligated to enroll their sons to these schools if they had already sent their eldest. Eventually,
“when the advantages of schooling became more widely appreciated many rural notables sent
their sons into the cities for education and gradually there ceased to be much distinction between
the notables’ schools and the rural primaries”.

After gaining control over an area, establishing rural primary schools was a priority. By
1934, only thirty-six of these schools had been set in place, and they did not always have their
own buildings to meet in. Some used railway stations or tribunals when they were not being
used. “The aim of these schools was to produce quantity rather than quality, so the syllabus was
(…) a little French with minimum of grammar, writing and simple arithmetic based on every-day
things”. These schools placed an emphasis on agriculture, which caused protestation on behalf
of the boys’ parents who were merchants and artisans. They wished for their children to be
trained in order to enter the government, not become farmers. Although it was not impossible for
these boys to pursue a governmental career, the administration would not push and support them
in that direction.

26 Ibid, 243.
The Collège Musulman was created by the Dahir of February 17, 1916, and was the crown of Lyautey’s educational system. Lyautey designed these schools to recruit the finest students from the notables’ school and to “produce an élite which he could associate with himself in ruling the country.” Lyautey wanted the students to fully maintain their Moroccan identities, including their religion. His desire was not to produce a new generation of French intellectuals, but to provide a quality education that would allow him to maintain close ties with the students in their governmental careers.

Early Years of French Rule: Affects on the Economy

Alongside a change in the school system, French rule in Morocco also affected the country on an economic level which similarly promoted and differentiated opportunity among the inhabitants. Numerous projects were set in place by the French, such as the construction of roads, contributing to the boom of the coastal cities on the Atlantic, and spurring rural to urban migration within the country. Within the following decades, French presence in Morocco expanded the protectorate to initiate economic reforms. Most of this investment benefited the modern sector, comprised of large-scale industries, which involved very few Moroccan natives. Such infrastructures included the building of dams, the installation of railroads, and the instatement of the French franc. The French settlers continued to create differentiated economic opportunities for Moroccans by essentially stripping them of their land in order to control and

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27 Dahir, King of Morocco’s Formal Decree.
28 Bidwell, 245.
30 Pennell, 148.
benefit from them. During their time in Morocco, the majority of the country’s wealth will remain in the hands of the Europeans.

With the rapidly increasing population in Morocco, agriculture became an insufficient economic force to sustain the nation. Therefore, attention was brought to the industrial sector. The French invested large amounts of capital in Morocco, where taxes were low and interest was high. The fact that the police and military presence in Morocco were French under the rule of the protectorate made this all the more attractive. The colonization of Morocco occurred in concurrence with the European interest in raw minerals. The Europeans were granted permission to study the nation’s potential mineral wealth. The reports demonstrated a positive potential of mineral wealth, beginning excavation. “The European view that mineral rights were distinct from surface rights and belonged to the State was accepted; only minerals which could be exploited by the open-pit process were designated as the property of the surface owners.”31 The Moroccans were again stripped of the potential to acquire wealth under their own land, even after having had difficulty maintaining their property when the protectorate arrived. “One of the principle aims of French policy, and thus of the laws pertaining to mining that were issued under the protectorate, seems to have been to reserve the exploitations of Morocco’s minerals to the French.”32 In 1951, for example, “minerals accounted for 82.7 per cent of all Morocco’s exports by weight, and 36.8 per cent by value”, little of which were used to build the Moroccan economy as it remained in the hands of the Europeans, for the most part.33 Because growth rates in France were low, the country utilized its colonial exploitation power to benefit small French investors abroad.

32 Ibid, 119.
33 Ibid, 122.
French control expanded to the agricultural sector, as they took control, in some cases without pay, of the land in which products for the international market were grown and produced, including fruit, such as olives and dates, and wine.\textsuperscript{34} The Moroccan farmers grew the items primarily for domestic sale in the local markets. The French colonizers dampened the potential for Moroccan household economic expansion by not only pushing them to work in the agricultural sector, but then later infiltrating it and became competitors to the local farming communities. Under Islamic law, land ownership was problematic. There was therefore a nonexistence of land registrations, making proof ownership virtually impossible. It was also common for plots of land to be utilized by several farmers, a system that is not formally recognized among the Europeans. The French, eager to acquire these lands in order to gain profits from them, are then able to acquire them in the eyes of European law. In addition to the land prices being relatively low for these French settlers, their entry into the market increased the land prices, disadvantaging the local Moroccan population. The protectorate was therefore able to reallocate and register the collective land to eager French buyers, inevitably increasing prices for the Moroccans and resulting in an inclination towards fraud.\textsuperscript{35} As Stewart states in his book, “consciously or unconsciously, the French, by reducing the amount of land available to Moroccans, made a difference in the type of agriculture that the latter could carry on.”\textsuperscript{36} This sudden decrease in land area among the Moroccans will inevitably lead to a deep dualism in agriculture between the Europeans and the native population. In other words, while the Moroccans farmers are left with fractions of their land area, thus of their primary source of income, they will not be able to afford to remain competitive with the French farmers.

\textsuperscript{34} Stewart, 72.
\textsuperscript{35} Ibid, 72.
\textsuperscript{36} Ibid, 73.
After having seized this collective land, the protectorate continued its exploitation of the agricultural sector by acquiring the guich and habous lands. The guich was the land owned by the Mahkzen, that the Europeans allowed to be settled by the Moroccans in exchange for their furnishing troops. The habous were the lands held the local population for the benefit of religion and charity, and were also eventually appropriated by the French. With time, the protectorate was successful in acquiring control over all Moroccan territory, public or private, religious or otherwise, allowing for European movement and settlement throughout the entire country. By “1952, Europeans made up a fifth of urban population and 6% of the total population”. Moroccan Muslim farmers had the majority of their land stripped from them, and were then unable to rely on agriculture as their sole source of income. The push factor for Moroccan migrants becomes clear. The loss of the means of production or stable sources of income pushed Moroccans to seek employment opportunities in France to gain higher wages to provide for their households.

As will be highlighted in the following chapters, the economic system developed during the days of the French protectorate was designed to appropriate and exploit Moroccan lands, and the Moroccan agricultural community was declining. In order to provide for their families, the local populations will come across the decision to migrate towards the urban areas of the countries, and, eventually, aboard. Until the demise of the protectorate, Morocco’s economic control will remain in the hands of the Europeans.

Chapter Two: World War I and the Interwar Period

Before World War II, Morocco’s main emigration routes remained mainly within the African content, rather than crossing the Mediterranean into Europe. Most Moroccans migrated westward towards Senegal and for commercial reasons, rather than a quest for employment. During this time, Algeria was also a significant migrant destination. This came to an end in 1975 with the conflict surrounding claim to Western Sahara, and the Moroccans were expelled. These Moroccan expellees were now making their way to Europe, which will become their greatest migratory direction at the conclusion World War II.

Despite the inclination to migrate within Africa, there was a small wave of emigration to France that occurred prior to World War I. Its outbreak resulted in large amounts of young French men enlisting into the army, creating a demand for their replacement. Substitutes were needed both in the military, to replace those who perished in battle, as well as in the domestic professions the soldiers left behind. This resulted in the first wave of voluntary labor migration to Europe from North Africa.

Moroccans in the Military

After its conquest of Algeria, France decided to take a different approach in Morocco. In 1907, the French forces which stepped foot on Moroccan soil in Casablanca was comprised of Algerian soldiers. The troops they created in Morocco can be divided into four factions. The first were the Spahis and Tirailleurs: soldiers who would serve the military “on fronts as far apart as

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38 Jaroslav Bureš, “Main Characteristic and Development Trends of Migration in the Arab World” (Prague: Institute of International Relations, 2008), 14.
France, the Levant and Indo-China.\textsuperscript{39} The French trained numerous Moroccan officers, coming from prominent Moroccan families, with the potential to ascend in rank within the French army. However, most of these officers had to step down from their position in order to become pachas and caids.

The other three Moroccan troops consisted of the goums, the mokhaznis, and the partisans. In addition to their role in the military, these soldiers had strong political roles, and served within the country. “It was entirely in keeping Lyautey’s policy in combining military and political direction in the same hands.”\textsuperscript{40} The goums were comprised of around 160 men as well as French non-commissioned officers. All goumiers, despite their ranking, were able to live with their families, and their children were provided with education in small schools that were established, taught by French volunteers. They underwent stricter training than the general forces, being taught to use modern weapons such as machine guns. When they were not in training or at war, they would serve as local police in Morocco. “Their officers used them, too, to propagate some new idea in education, agriculture or health”.\textsuperscript{41} By 1938, their numbers increased to 8,000.

Upon conquering a new area of Morocco, the French officer would recruit his mokhaznis. They were to serve as bodyguards and messengers. They ranged from twenty-five and thirty and came from prominent influential families of the area. They would also select individuals that they deemed needed to be watched closely. They, too, were permitted to live with their families

\textsuperscript{39} Bidwell, 294.  
\textsuperscript{40} Ibid, 294.  
\textsuperscript{41} Ibid, 295.
but unlike the goumiers “were not subject to military disciplines”\(^\text{42}\). By 1938, they numbered around 7,000.

Lastly, there are the partisans who were recruited for specific operations, but were dismissed once they had been completed. They originally were only comprised of Arabs, but eventually became predominantly Berber.

At the start of World War I, France utilized their Moroccan troops to fight on French soil. The number of soldiers is estimated between 34,000 and 40,000. After the war was over, the Moroccan soldiers remained abroad performing garrison work in France and Germany. In 1938, 31,000 regulars had enlisted in the French army for four years. Generally, the served the first two years in Morocco and the subsequent two in France. In 1936, around 10,000 soldiers were positioned in France. At the conclusion of their military service, the Moroccan soldiers returned home.

Recruiting Moroccan soldiers had significant effects on the local economy. Soldering became the primary source of income for an indigenous who had been disadvantaged in education and excluded from the economic agricultural system. This new access to compensation allowed for large amounts of money to later be funneled back into the poorer regions of Morocco through remittances. “Moroccan soldiers saved their pay and sent it home to improve and increase the family plot of land”\(^\text{43}\). In 1938, each non-commissioned officer had remitted around 5,000 francs over the course of two years. Additionally, the former soldiers were granted with regular pensions. For instance, “in 1938 a sergeant with fifteen years’ service received 3,150 francs a year, while the cost of living was reckoned at 3,500 francs in the country and 6,000 francs abroad.”

\(^{42}\) Bidwell, 295.
\(^{43}\) Ibid, 299.
francs in town - but other provisions were made to help them”.

They would also eventually benefit from receiving preference in attaining employment and receiving loans.

Migration to Algeria

There was also a Moroccan exchange of labor with Algeria. During World War I, an estimate of 30,000 Moroccans traveled to Algeria each year to work in agriculture. Farmers usually only remained for one harvest, but those with traditional skills would go for up to several years. The amount of Moroccan workers in Algeria was subject to great fluctuation because the majority of them came from the Spanish Zone of the Riff which was constantly undergoing conflict. In such cases, the workers would stay home and fight rather than work abroad in Algeria. The labor supply also desisted in 1931 with the Spanish Civil War, which provided working opportunities with good pay.

In 1932, the 30,000 Moroccan workers that went to Algeria returned with 50,000,000 francs. The workers had the potential to ear 500 francs a day, rather than the 300 francs they would earn back home. The Migration Policy Institute estimates that by the end of the decade, the number of Moroccan workers in Algeria increased to 85,000 annually.

Migration to France

Concurrently, Moroccan workers were temporarily emigrating to France. Although Moroccans were being formally recruited by France, many made their way into the country clandestinely. In 1916, 33,000 Moroccan workers volunteered to be workers abroad. However, General Lyautey was widely opposed to a large Moroccan emigration, fearing that they would

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44 Bidwell, 299.
45 De Haas, “Morocco: Setting the Stage for Becoming a Migration Transition Country?”, MPI
46 Kreienbrink, 195.
compromise their national culture. Therefore, he restricted emigration to the regions of Marrakesh and Mogador (now Essaouira), where military recruitment rates were already low.

By the end of World War I, the majority of the workers had been repatriated. However, there remained a demand for low-skilled labor, which resulted in French organizations to continue employing Moroccan immigrants.\(^{47}\) Therefore, 2,500 Moroccans remained in France, from which the numbers will continue to steadily increase. During this time, the French government and the local colonies did not see eye to eye. The latter wished to dampen emigration to France and passed a law in 1924 in an attempt to do so.\(^ {48}\) However, it was not enforced, and migration levels remained stable.

The Moroccans who stayed in France gravitated towards the jobs that were unwanted by the local population. Those who remained utilized their remunerations to purchase weapons and contribute to the war effort. Ninety eight percent of the Moroccan population living in France was male prior to the war.\(^ {49}\) The men therefore married European women. About 10% remained in Europe, 10% were deceased there, and the rest returned to Morocco with their spouses.

Although migration at this time occurred primarily between African nations, the outbreak of World War I created a labor demand to replace the young men that had gone off to war. However, the French emphasized utilizing the Moroccan citizens within the military itself. Lyautey’s approach of allocating the higher ranking positions to other Moroccans depicts yet another way in which the protectorate fused a direct ruling system with an indirect one. This recruitment system was also greatly beneficial to the Moroccan population, because it supplied them with a reliable source of income. This period portrays a time of coherence and mutual

\(^{47}\) Kreienbrink, 195.
\(^{48}\) Bureš, 15.
\(^{49}\) Bidwell, 304.
benefit between the French and the Moroccans, which will not be as successful when the latter will start to lean towards a more permanent form of migration.
Chapter Three: From World War II to Independence

At the conclusion of World War II, just as after the previous world war, France’s economy had been devastated and was in need to compensate for the nation’s diminished labor supply in order to restore it. The subsequent three decades is what is often referred to as the Thirty Glorious Years, during which there was steady economic growth worldwide, during which time North African migration to Europe was strong and consistent. During this time, Moroccans also demonstrated rural-to-urban migration. This urban migration had a significant impact on the country’s rural areas. Because temporary migration involves the departure of the patriarchs of the households, the areas left behind were affected by the absence of the able-bodied men to tend to the land. This resulted in a decrease in the amount of land that was able to be cultivated. The remittances received from family members in the cities then became indispensable sources of income for those who remained in the rural areas.

Moroccan Recruitment in France

The “Office Nationale de l’Immigration” (ONI), took on the responsibility of recruiting the immigrants France was to receive. Due to the nature of France’s colonization of Algeria, Algerians were able to obtain French citizenship and were therefore prioritized over citizens of Morocco and Algeria. Migration from these two countries was limited, and comprised of only 7% of the total migration from North Africa at this time.

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50 Bureš, 15.
In 1938, the French protectorate instituted the Emigration Service (Service Central d’Emigration) in an effort to exercise control over the economic migration and eventually regularize it, as recognized by the Dahir of July 13, 1938). This department would continue, and later increase, Moroccan labor recruitment throughout World War II. Just as in the previous war, Moroccans would serve in the French military, and repatriated upon its conclusion. This is when the major phase of Moroccan emigration, to aid in the reconstruction of France after being devastated by war.

As Moroccan emigration grew, the Dahir of November 8, 1949 restuctured the Emigration Service to increase the efficiency of labor recruitment; it would now be centrally administered. Despite the protectorate’s vision of organizations and attempt at control, this was not effectively administered. This happened concurrently as the demand for Moroccan labor expanded beyond the borders of France, to include other Western European nations. This brought on the new role for the Emigration Service of acting as a mediator for these countries investigating recruitment treaties with Morocco.

Morocco’s Economy

Overall, Morocco was having trouble absorbing the growth of the modern sector, and as a result slowed down, leading to an inevitable crisis. In the first half of the 1930s, the country suffered an economic decrease, where exports and imports lowered dramatically. Morocco’s economy experienced a dichotomy between the traditional and the modern. The modern sector was concentrated in a small area of the country, which can be explained by the distribution of Europeans throughout Morocco, namely in the larger cities. The modern sector was an

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exclusively monetary economy, whereas the traditional sector was about a quarter monetary and the agents are not entrepreneurs, but a farmer and his land.\textsuperscript{52}

This discriminatively affected the French and the Moroccans. French settlers were protected by their government and were provided export quotas. On the other side, Moroccan wages were decreased, resulting in the necessity for the women of these households to join the workforce, also for low wages. Eventually, this led to shift from an agricultural economy to a wage economy, followed by a migration into the country’s larger cities. The expansion of these cities represents an accurate portrayal of the rift between the Europeans and the Moroccans.

**Demographics**

As a reaction to the rising urban population, modern cities were built around the old medinas, which were strictly reserved for Moroccan habitation (and the Europeans were to live solely in the newly-built parts of the cities). However, these old cities did not have the capacity to accommodate the large number of Moroccans arriving from the country sides, initiating the creation of shantytowns.\textsuperscript{53} As a result, French rule has started to affect Moroccan living conditions within its larger cities. The non-European sectors of these cities are newly built and have room for expansion. Contrarily, the Moroccan population is confined to the older parts of these cities, where the increasing amounts of inhabitants can not properly be accommodated.

**Morocco’s Muslim Citizens**

The Jews and the Muslims played significantly different roles within Moroccan cities. Because the latter comprised of a majority of the Moroccan population, they will be the first to be discussed. As a result of the European command of Moroccan land, a significant migration

\textsuperscript{52} Ladislav Cerych, *Européens et Marocains, 1930-1956; Sociologie d'une Décolonisation*, (Bruges: De Tempel, 1964), 77.

\textsuperscript{53} Pennell, 148.
into the cities occurred and increasing the population. The type of migration depended on the individual’s particular origin. As Stewart explains, “the plains people, for example, were likely to move to the cities permanently, while those from the south were more often temporary residents.”\textsuperscript{54} The Muslim men from southern Morocco went up north with the hopes to collect enough remuneration in order to support their families back home through remittances. It was their intent to simply make enough money in order to eventually return and be able to afford their own land. Despite these transient intentions, the reality was that these migrants never returned, residing permanently in the cities.

Upon their arrival in the cities, the migrants found themselves unskilled and under qualified to work in a modern industrial society. Despite being eager to work in order to better themselves and their families economically, they were for the most part illiterate, and job opportunities were limited. Because of the high number of Europeans within these cities, even the semi-skilled jobs were in high demand. Therefore, there was low incentive for the incoming Muslims to gain modern skills. Even the acquisition of low-skilled jobs was highly uncertain for the migrants. According to Stewart, “his principle opportunities lay in unskilled jobs in industry or transportation, or in performing any of a wide variety of menial services required in an urban area.”\textsuperscript{55} However, as a result of the modernization of these cities under the Protectorate, and the large amounts of Europeans deciding to live there, a large increase of the French population in Morocco resulted in the narrowing of an already finite job pool for the Moroccans. Furthermore, this lowered wage rates for those capable of acquiring employment.

\textsuperscript{54} Stewart, 139.
\textsuperscript{55} Ibid, 141.
The conditions of the Muslim migrants in the cities can be portrayed through their housing conditions. In an attempt to preserve Moroccan culture and norms, Marshal Lyautey announced that the European quarters to be built in each city should remain separate from the old Moroccan medinas. However, these ancient parts of the cities were geographically limited, and were unable to accolade the large influx of Moroccan migrants from rural areas. The migrants did not have the assets to build additional permanent housing. This resulted in both overcrowding of the medinas, and the creation of shantytowns on the city peripheries. According to Stewart, in Casablanca, approximately 75,000 Muslims inhabited these ghettoes in 1950, representing around one fifth of the Muslim population there.\(^{56}\)

**Morocco’s Jewish Citizens**

Similarly to the Muslims, Jews also migrated into the cities, namely Casablanca, during the years of the Protectorate. However, Stewart notes the difference that “unlike the Muslims, a high proportion of the Jewish migrants came to Casablanca and neighboring cities skilled in the ways of commerce or in the handicraft trades.”\(^{57}\) Additionally, the Jewish population benefited from mutual aid provided when they arrived. The Jewish migrants that preceded them aided in their arrival to the society. The aforementioned AIU education system also participated in easing Jewish integration into Casablanca and other cities. Most importantly, the Jews were favored over the Muslims by the European population. They were provided much more opportunities, allowing them to pursue careers in which they were knowledgeable and skilled.

One area in which the Jews were at a disadvantage compared to the Muslims was in their housing situations. The Jews in these cities did not have an equivalent shantytown to

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\(^{56}\) Stewart, 142.

\(^{57}\) Ibid, 144.
accommodate for the large inflow of people. They were confined to a small space in the cities designated as the Jewish quarters. The overcrowding of these areas were therefore much more significant than those of the Muslims. In Casablanca 1952, the population density was about 6,000 per square kilometer, that of the Muslim quarters was 92,000 per square kilometer, and that of the mellas (Jewish quarters) was no less than 215,000 per square kilometer.\(^{58}\)

**Independent Morocco**

By late 1955, Mohammad V negotiated the restitution of Morocco’s independence in accordance to an interdependent structure between the two nations. When Morocco gained independence in 1956, the protectorate had left behind the infrastructure that had been built throughout the previous decades. Although Morocco was no longer under French rule, Europeans remained, holding onto their land, which consisted of the entirety of what had been irrigated.\(^{59}\) Everything the protectorate had built and left behind remained in the hands of the Europeans. Therefore, all the industrial advancements that have been made in the country thanks to their former French rulers, did not benefit the people themselves.

As is shown through these cases, French presence in Morocco had the potential to be beneficial. They brought with them technical advancements such as infrastructure and schooling. However, the way in which these institutions and advances had been set in place allowed for only the Europeans themselves to benefit from them, excluding the native population. Furthermore, within the Moroccan population itself, the French created a hierarchy according to religious affiliation. This discrimination seems to hinder any chance at a seamless transition into France if they ever were to emigrate.

\(^{58}\) Stewart, 145.

\(^{59}\) Pennell, 164.
Upon the failure of the French protectorate in 1956, the former French military apparatus became an active partner of the Royal family to help solidify its authority. This results in the formation of the Moroccan Royal Armed Forces, which includes 20,000 French-trained soldiers. The transition from colonial rule to independence was overall amicable, which allowed France to maintain some influence over Morocco in the beginning, as well as allowing the soldiers who served the colonial power to transition to the Moroccan forces. The demise of the protectorate ended amicably with Morocco. The two states maintain military and economic relations, France being Morocco’s most prominent investors, namely in the tourist sector. This mutual relationship is what will eventually lead to the decision of millions of Moroccan migrants to make France their new home.

With the end of the protectorate and the declaration of the independence of the nation of Morocco, migration was spurred by the economic growth of European countries, and “their demand for a high number of cheap workers to increase the competitiveness of the individual countries”. This migration was mutually beneficial as the unemployment rate in Morocco, and the other countries of the Maghreb, was significant. Between 1967 and 1875, the number of North African migrants in France almost tripled, the number of Moroccans specifically quadrupling. This 60-year-long period of increased migratory streams was disrupted in 1974, with the shock of the first oil crisis.

After World War II, France’s avid recruitment system allowed for consistent emigration from Morocco. Concurrently, there was internal rural to urban migration that called for a

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61 Ibid, 213.  
62 Bureš, 16.
restructuring of Moroccan cities. Both the Jewish and the Muslim populations within the country sought employment in the metropolises, but their employment opportunities differed. This rift was physically being represented by the construction of the mellahs, a phenomenon unique to Morocco. This tension within the country will continue to manifest post-migration and the country gained independence.
Chapter Four: The Algerian War of Independence

Studying the case of Morocco’s eastern neighbor provides a foil against which it becomes possible to draw a comparison. Algeria also found itself under French colonial rule, but for a much longer period than Morocco, and to the extent to which Algeria was considered a part of the nation itself. Additionally, the border between the two countries is blurred in regards to migration. There was often movement from one country to the other, as well as a significant stream from both of them towards France. They were not seen as different based on nationality, but united ethnically.

The Algerian Case

As France’s economy was rapidly expanding, there rose an increasing demand for labor. Therefore, the likelihood of finding work upon arrival was high, since France was in great need, and as a result of colonization, many Algerians already had French citizenship and spoke the language. This results in the large flow of labor migration, mostly comprised of young men. Eventually, this would be followed by another steady stream of migration of women and children with family reunification. An originally temporary migration now has a potential for permanency.

France’s colonization of Algeria was much more severe than those of its neighboring countries. Algeria was a part of France between the years of 1830 and 1962. France’s strategy in terms of appropriating this land occurred in three stages. The first consisted of a strong military presence in Algeria. In the second, the French appropriated as much land as possible, and
relocated the native population. However, emigration to France did not occur until 1904.\textsuperscript{63} This was due to the fact that in 1874, the French government did not allow Algerians to travel outside of their communes without a pass. These controls were alleviated in 1905, thus beginning what will be a large and steady stream of Algerians migrants to France. This paper will focus on when this flow was the most concentrated, beginning with World War II and continuing through the Algerian War.

Algeria gained independence from France after the Algerian war. As one of the longest wars of decolonization, it lasted from 1956 to 1962. Throughout these six years, “the number of Algerians in France grew from 211,000 to 350,000”, almost doubling in size.\textsuperscript{64} This case represents a push-factor for Algeria on Lee’s model. The war-torn country created an unsafe environment for its inhabitants, especially in the rural areas where bombs frequently went off and the people were displaced into military camps.\textsuperscript{65} Therefore, the case could be made that the Algerians who decided to flee their country, and the war, were in fact refugees. However, a paradox arises as to why these refugees made the decision to seek safety within the very same country they were fighting against.

Between 1945 and 1954, the migration flow shifted from being predominantly male to including women and children. This phenomenon is due to the process of family reunification. As Lee states in his article, this contributes to the current migration stream set in place by the male trail-blazer, and reinforces that “volume and rate of migration tend to increase with time”, and that migration is conducted in stages.\textsuperscript{66} The males of the Algerian families have already

\textsuperscript{64} Ibid, 189.
\textsuperscript{65} Ibid, 189.
\textsuperscript{66} Lee, 53.
made their way to the colonizer country in order to search for jobs and find housing in order to provide for their families back home. This acts as a pull-factor towards France, as it is preferable to not only reunite with relatives, but also to ensure that there will be some sort of stability upon immigrating.

The receiving French population was more welcoming to this new stream, because they were more sympathetic towards women and children. This opposed the more discriminatory approach taken with the first stream of Algerian immigrants, comprising solely of young men. Through his research, Neil MacMaster describes the successful integration of one hundred and one Algerian families in Marseille. He noticed “Algerian men playing pétanque with French neighbors or playing cards in local bars” 67

MacMaster also witnessed instances of French families providing Algerian children with second-hand clothing that their own offspring had outgrown. Such demonstrations of warmth and welcome are communicated by the Algerians to their relatives who have chosen to stay in their home country, or who have decided to migrate but have not yet chosen a destination. They then weigh positively in the reasons to select a country as their new home.

An additional factor resulting in the potential selection of France as the destination for these migrants is the common language. While France colonized Algeria, the government had set in place protectorate schools in which the students were taught to speak and write in French. Although attendance is such schools was not mandatory, a large majority of Algerians soon became able to converse in French. Having the security of knowing that one will be able to communicate with the local population of a particular country acts as a large pull factor towards that country. This means that gaining employment is much more attainable, alleviates quotidien

67 MacMaster, 190.
life, and allows for the children to be placed in schools. However, in the case of the Algerians in Marseille, MacMaster notes that the immigrants could only converse in a basic and dialectic version of French. The men were able to improve their language skills at work, but the women had less opportunities to do so. Despite this, basic forms of communication can be viewed as a positive aspect, when in other countries the migrants would not be able to do so at all.

**Discrimination in France**

Unfortunately, this time of cohabitation and integration ceased in 1948 and throughout the Algerian War. This was due to the racism present in both the French press and the police force. During this time, the police, namely in Paris, accused North African migrants of committing high crimes, and associated them with forty percent of assaults that occurred at night.68 This inspired various newspapers to report these stories, and alleged accusations, with catchy negative headlines. Eventually, the stereotype of the criminal North African had been implanted in the minds of the local population. As a result of being surrounded by such aggression, the Algerian immigrants of Paris and Marseille were either pressured into the “Arab Quarters” or out into the cities’ bidonvilles69.

The shift into these shantytowns both culturally and geographically segregated the Algerian migrants from French society. These extended out into the industrial periphery where no one else was willing to live. Some were created so distant that they were devoid of transportation systems that linked them to the city-centers, other than by car. This partition was even reflected within the suburbs themselves. In the offices of the local physicians, Algerians and French anticipating medical attention waited for the doctors in separate rooms. During the

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68 MacMaster, 191.
69 Shantytowns, usually referring to those surrounding North African cities, but also applies to those created to house the North African migrants in France.
late 1950s, a housing program was put into place to relocate Algerian families. However, only very few families benefited from this due to the high rent prices and small apartment spaces, that could not accommodate traditional large Algerian households. These were also problematic because it displaced the migrants from the shantytowns into what were essentially camps under military control.

France was very interested in alleviating the Algerians from the bidonvilles, because they served as a hub for the Algerians of the National Liberation Front. Therefore, France started to provide affordable housing for the migrants. These were built by SONACOTRA. “SONACOTRA hostels, managed by former policemen, army officers or native administrators for North Africa, were part of a wider system of political surveillance”.70 Their goal was to gain control over these suburbs, but in the end had very little impact until they took severe measured in 1964. As the Algerians remained concentrated within strict confines, French flight began to occur. French families were leaving the neighborhoods that Algerian families were moving into. The French also started removing their children from the schools that the Algerian children were attending.

The combination of the influx of Algerians with the outflow of the French resulted in a physical rejection of the North African migrants. These two populations are inversely correlated, in the sense that as the number of Algerian migrants rose, that of French citizens dwindled. This physical representation of rejection and discrimination are what will contribute to the mistreatment and segregation of the North Africans in France. It created an environment of ostracizing that could be a deterrent for living there.

70 MacMaster, 194.
Thus, such behavior of the French towards the Algerians provides Lee’s model with yet another “pain” factor for France as a destination country. However, it may also have the opposite effect. Although the living conditions available to the North Africans seem less than ideal, it is important to bare in mind that it may be preferable compared to the conditions from which they are escaping. What this housing system does provide is a cultural haven in which its inhabitants share a common custom, language, and history. When making the daunting decision to migrate to a foreign country, a sense of familiarity and belonging can be comforting. When in Marseille, MacMaster noticed small shops in the bidonville, such as markets and butchers, that carried North African products. The Algerians have created a community in these suburbs that is reminiscent of their lives back home. This will then be communicated to their relatives in Algeria, thus continuing the flow of migration.
Chapter Five: Post-Colonial Migration

Through the 1970s, Moroccan migration to France was temporary and dominantly male.\(^{71}\) Just as in Algeria, the Moroccan migrants traveled to France in order to find work and support their families by sending back remittances. These migrants had transient intentions, but rarely returned home. De Haas explains that “not only did most host societies expect this migration to be temporary, most migrants themselves, in accordance with an ancient tradition of circular migration, intended to return after they had saved enough money to buy some land, construct a house, or start their own enterprise”.\(^{72}\)\(^^{73}\) This is similar to the case of Algeria, where family reunification served as both a reason to leave Morocco and a strong willingness to make France their destination.

From Circular Migration to Permanent Settlement

Between 1962 and 1972, Western Europe was benefiting from substantial economic growth. This increase ensued a European demand for low-skilled workers, which heightened the magnitude of Moroccan emigration. From 1965 to 1975, it is estimated that the total amount of Moroccans legally residing in France expanded exponentially from 20,000 to 200,000.\(^{74}\)

In 1963 and 1964, the ONI drew bilateral migration agreements between France and the three countries of the Maghreb, but focused mainly on Morocco and Tunisia. Therefore, the

\(^{71}\) Mohamed Berriane and Mohamed Aderghal, *The State of Research into International Migration From, To and Through Morocco* (2008), 10.


\(^{73}\) De Haas does not provide page numbers in his article.

\(^{74}\) De Haas, MPI.
share of Algerian migration in Europe fell from 85% in 1962 to 62% in 1974. By 1975, Morocco produced 260,000 emigrants.

The intention of this upcoming wave in migration was temporary, both on behalf of the Moroccans and the receiving countries. However, unlike the cases after each World War, the migrants did not return to Morocco and settled in Europe. The main reason for this was paradoxical: heightened immigration restrictions resulted in higher immigrant settlement. “In the medium term, immigrants adapted themselves to the conditions of their host countries and also became more similar to host populations in their social characteristics.” The subsequent generations exhibited little interest in returning to Morocco, and return dwindled mainly to short seasonal trips.

At the end of the 1960s, Morocco established a strategy in order to slow population growth. “In 1965, a royal memorandum was declared, which contained a general birth control plan,” which was immediately implemented, and producing the desired results. By the mid 1980s, the total birthrate fell to 5.9%, reaching 3.17% in the 1990s.

The oil crisis of 1973 hindered economic growth in Western Europe and contributed to an increase in unemployment and therefore a decrease in the demand for low-skilled labor. Countries, such as France, started to close their borders to new immigrants, putting an end to circular migration. Moroccan workers did not want to risk denial upon re-entry in France, thus permanently settling.

This decision to shift from being guest workers to becoming permanent residents was reinforced by the disintegration of Morocco’s economic standing. In 1971 and 1972, the country

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75 Kreienbrink, 197.
76 Bureš, 18.
suffered from two failed coups, and began a period of political insecurity. Therefore, the majority of migrants made the decision to remain in France, a country of stability and safety.

The oil crisis caused a shift in both the level and type of migration occurring between Morocco and France. Migration from the Maghreb was now categorized in three ways: legal, illegal, and seasonal. During this time, there was an increase of female and young migrants. This process of family reunification began in the 1960s and occurred mainly among the Moroccan families. The subsequent decade brought with in an increase in seasonal migrants, also primarily Moroccan. Finally, it is when Western European countries started to close their borders that illegal migration occurred significantly.

Morocco’s Investment Efforts

In the 1970s, Morocco followed a liberal economic growth model. The country established numerous infrastructural programs in an effort to attract foreign direct investment. Overall, they displayed an increase in annual GDP from 1.4-2.7% between 1980 and 1992. Nonetheless, these reforms were accompanied by an increase in the unemployment, rising from 19% in the early 1970s to 16% by the late 1980s.

The 1970s and 1980s marked a shift in the nature of North African migration to France, as well as Europe as a whole. In the aftermath of the oil crisis, Europe employed significant efforts to confine migration within its continental borders. Despite these initiatives, migration streams continued to flow to Europe with the process of family reunification on behalf of the labor migrants the countries received in the 1960s.

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77 Bureš, 17.
78 Ibid, 19.
Migration patterns transferred from being mainly circular to being permanent and family-oriented. Family reunification is what caused a 300% rise in the amount of Moroccan immigrants residing in Western Europe, increasing from 291,000 at the time of the oil crisis to almost 1.2 million in 1992 (see Figure 1).\textsuperscript{79}

This process of family reunification occurred in two stages. The first consisted of the women and children joining the male who emigrated the previous decade. The second occurred when the children of the Moroccan migrants in France would return to Morocco to find a spouse, and bring them back with them to France. This first phase had predominately been achieved by the end of the 1980s. However, this second phase continued throughout the 1990s.

In comparison with other immigrant populations in Europe, the rate of return migration of Moroccans from France is very low. De Haas states according to the data, approximately only “one-quarter of Moroccans who migrated between 1981 and 2009 returned to Morocco”.\textsuperscript{80} This is due to an inverse relationship between a tendency to return and one towards naturalization.

**Moroccan Migration Policies**

In the 1960s, the Moroccan government both supported and encouraged emigration. From an economic perspective, it spurred labor recruitment throughout the entire country. More importantly, the remittances the country would receive would help decrease the nation’s poverty rate. Because Morocco could not rely on oil and gas reserves as Algeria could, emigration became an effort to reduce the country’s unemployment rate along with other social tensions. However, it was not favored from an ideological standpoint.

\textsuperscript{79} De Haas, "Morocco: Setting the Stage for Becoming a Migration Transition Country?".  
\textsuperscript{80} Ibid.
Throughout the end of the 1990s, “the Moroccan government attempted to maintain tight control of Moroccans living in Europe by actively discouraging their integration into receiving societies, including naturalization to the dismay of some E.U. governments adopting policies to the contrary.”\textsuperscript{81} Certain initiatives were being taken. Morocco sent imams and teachers to France, and other European countries, in order to provide the migrant children with education of the Arabic language. The Moroccan government was attempting to discourage integration, which was thought to be a threat to remittances that the country was in desperate need of.

Another occurred in 1989, when King Hassan II denied the Moroccans the right to vote in France. He believed that his people should not involve themselves with France’s domestic politics, and viewed participating in their elections as a betrayal of their identity. “Through Moroccan embassies, consulates, mosques, and state-created organization for migrants… Moroccan migrants were also actively discourage from establishing independent organizations and going trade unions or political parties.”\textsuperscript{82}

By doing so, the Moroccan government was attempting to dissuade their emigrants from forming “an opposition force from abroad”.\textsuperscript{83} Paradoxically, these policies ostracized the Moroccan population from French institutions instead of creating strong ties with Morocco.

There was also a simplification of the repatriation process in order to encourage Moroccans to return to their native land. However, facing the reality of a deteriorating economic situation, these initiatives did not prove successful.

Additionally, Morocco was seeing a deceleration in remittances, and feared an even further decline (see Figure 2). In acknowledgment of these drawbacks, Morocco altered its approach.

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\textsuperscript{81} De Haas, "Morocco: Setting the Stage for Becoming a Migration Transition Country?".
\textsuperscript{82} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{83} Ibid.
lieu of attempting to control Moroccan participation in French establishments, the government shifted toward the acceptance of the attainment of naturalization and dual-citizenship.

**Remittances**

Remittances are important in Morocco’s economy, and the country has been successful in channeling them. In the 1990s, the Moroccan government encouraged Moroccan banks to open branches in Europe. In doing so, Moroccans in France were now capable of remitting money to Morocco without previous deterrents such as devaluation of the currency.

In the 2000s, the remittances Morocco received was six times more substantial than the official development aid the country receives, and three times more valuable than the country’s foreign direct investment.\(^{84}\) In 2012, remittances to Morocco made up 7% of the country’s GDP. Realistically, the true level of remittances is higher, due to the informal channels through which the money is sent, including in the form of goods. Although remittances are high, there is little interest for Moroccans in France to start businesses in Morocco. Therefore, the government has invested in reducing corruption in order to make investing in Morocco more attractive to its emigrants abroad.

Over the course of these two decades, the notion of the potential return of the Moroccan migrants from France ceased being the expectation. It also brought high unemployment rates in Morocco, and the potential for work in Europe. Therefore, on an economic level, migration became favorable, alleviating unemployment, and provided remittances into the origin country. However, by the end of the 1980s, the capital influx the country was receiving from its emigrant workers needed to be redirected towards investment. Proposals were being made “to create a

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\(^{84}\) De Haas, "Morocco: Setting the Stage for Becoming a Migration Transition Country?".
fund for emigrants to help them integrate into the economy on returning to Morocco”\textsuperscript{85}. Despite these efforts, migration, both legal and clandestine, endured. After the adoption of the Schengen Agreement in 1985, there was an increase in the employment of illegal Moroccan immigrants.

\textsuperscript{85} Bureš, 27.
Chapter Six: Jewish Life and Migration

The migration of the Jews from Morocco is interesting, because it represents a rare case in which an entire population emigrated at once, at the conclusion of World War II. The Jews of Morocco had a distinctive experience upon their arrival to France, thanks to benefits the French government granted them before migrating. Upon the conclusion of the protectorate in the mid-1950s, a political and cultural continuity endured between France and its former colony. 86

Spanish Morocco

There has been a longstanding Jewish presence in Morocco. Before the establishment of the French protectorate in 1912, Morocco had already undergone European influence. The Iberian Peninsula, including both Spain and Portugal, had conquered and taken control of Morocco’s coastal cities. For instance, Jewish relics such as a menorah have been found in Tangier, located at the entrance of the strait of Gibraltar. The Jews of Tangier had been either executed or expelled by the Almohads in the mid XIIth century. However, after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, they once again took refuge in Morocco.

In 1541, Portugal gained control of the port city and, adhering to the laws of the Inquisition, banned all Jews. In 1661, Tangier had been handed over to the English, and the Jewish people were once again welcome to make Tangier their home, where they led peaceful and active lives, mainly in commerce. 87 This Jewish population conversed in Spanish.

87 Taieb-Carlen, 138.
By 1951, 15,000 Jews lives in Tangier. After Morocco gained its independence in 1956, the majority of these families emigrated to Spain, Switzerland, Canada, or the United States. Only a minority chose Israel as its destination. By 1968, only 4,000 Jews remained, falling to 250 in 1970.

**French Morocco**

The Jews inhabiting the Spanish and French zones of the country led distinct lives. Spanish control of the region was strictly for economic advancement. Therefore, other than the adoption of the Spanish language by the Moroccan Jews, their quotidian lives were unaffected. They also remained under the jurisdiction of the Sultan.

Several days after the signing of the Treaty of Fez, the Muslims were enraged by the warm embrace the Jewish community received from France. They attacked the mellah\(^{88}\) of Fez, killing hundreds of people and violating women before setting the neighborhood ablaze. After having undergone such an event, the Jewish population asked France to receive citizenship, but to no avail.

Throughout the Islamic world, non-Muslims were given the opportunity to gain dhimmi status, guaranteeing their protection under the law in exchange for paying a specific tax. With the arrival of this French presence, the Jewish population had been freed from their dhimmi\(^{89}\) status, but legally, not much had changed. Suddenly, the Jews saw themselves as being stuck between the all-powerful French colons on one side, and the indigenous Muslims on the other, to whom the country still belonged to, despite a considerable loss of power.

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\(^{88}\) Arabic, the Jewish Quarters in Moroccan cities

\(^{89}\) Arabic, Protected People
The legal situation of the Jews of French Morocco deeply resembled those of Tunisia. (...) The only aspect, on a politico-legal level, that distinguished the Jews of Spanish Morocco from those of under the French Protectorate, was their Spanish nationality. This created a dichotomy in which within the country, the Jews were outcasts and were not recipients of the advantages of French colonialism. Outside the country, however, the world saw them as Moroccan citizens.

With the independence of Morocco in 1956, an exodus of the Jewish citizens occurred. The main two receiving countries were France and Israel. Out of a total of 2 million Jews, a mere 40,000 remained.90 This number has dwindled further, with the current number approximating 5,000.91

How Jews Acquired French Citizenship

Although not all incoming Jewish migrants held French citizenship, the French population put more effort into helping them establish a life in France. They “benefited from all the subsidies and aid available to repatriating citizens, while Muslims from Morocco, Tunisia, and particularly Algeria faced administrative structures that distinguished them from other coming migrants.”92 French administrators were more sympathetic towards the Jewish population, coming in from the same countries as the Muslim immigrants. Therefore, they were able to benefit from finding housing within the city limits, and eventually, would face an easier process when applying for citizenship.

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90 Bureš, 16.
91 De Haas, ”Morocco: Setting the Stage for Becoming a Migration Transition Country?".
In 1879, an allegiance ratified at the Madrid Convention made it impossible for a Moroccan individual to renounce their citizenship without permission from the king. Therefore, throughout the forty-four years of French colonization, those who did wish to seek to renounce their Moroccan nationality resorted to various ruses. In 1870, the Crémieux Decree was passed granted over 35,000 Algerian Jews French citizenship. Its namesake, Adolphe Crémieux, was the founder of the Alliance Israélite Universelle the previous decade. Certain Moroccan Jews were able to prove their Algerian origins, which would allow them to obtain French citizenship. Others from wealthier families temporarily settled abroad, usually in Great Britain, in order to gain foreign citizenship. It was also common among pregnant women to travel to the neighboring country of Algeria, where they would give birth. Because French nationality is based on the principle of jus solis, their child would automatically be entitled to French citizenship.

Jewish-Muslim Relations and Anti-Semitism

Under the Vichy Regime, the combination of the rise of Moroccan nationalism with the anti-Semitic propaganda circulating from Germany and Italy, caused worry among the Jews in Morocco. Certain leaders demanded the restoration of the Pact of Omar under the pretense that by emancipating the Jewish population, the French had betrayed the clauses of the Treaty of Fez. The pachas in Casablanca and Marrakech prohibited the Jews to live among the Arabs in the cities’ medina and obligated them to return to the mellahs.

Certain Muslims started to exclude the Jewish community from the country’s economy by reducing their commerce with them. More and more Moroccan nationalists listened to individuals such as Al Amin al Husseyni, mufti of Jerusalem, who propagated violent anti-Semitic rumors that had been based on German and Italian slogans. On March 2nd, 1938, a
Moroccan leader by the name of Makki al Nassiri announced on the radio: “Nous haïssons la France, enemie de l’Islam et de la religion, parce qu’elle est gouvernée par des athées et des Juifs, par Monsieur Léon Blum en particulier”. (La Voix Nationale, 1er Novembre 1938).93

However, not all Muslim-Jewish relations were negative. In 1941 in Fez, a group of Jewish and Muslim intellectual nationalists founded “l’Union marocaine des Juifs et des Musulmans” that provided proof of a desire for coexistence and cooperation from both sides.

Jews in Independent Morocco

When Morocco gained its independence, King Mohamed V asked his Prime Minister Si Embarek Bekkai to grant Leon Benzaquen a minister position, the first Jew to achieve such a title. However, Si Bekkai’s moderate government soon fell, and was replaced by leftist Abdallah Ibrahim, who seemed to have used his power to reach his personal political goals. He reassigned Dr. Benzaquen’s position to a Muslim. In 1957, Jews were no longer able to obtain passports, and therefore could no longer legally leave the country. Those who attempted illegal emigration were thrown in prison and tortured.

With the rising difficulty of clandestine emigration, the fear among the Jewish population rose, and the stronger became their desire to leave. This chaos culminated in the catastrophe of the Pisces in January of 1961, when a small fishing boat carrying fifty Jews sank near Gibraltar. Upon the death of Mohamed V a few weeks later, his son Hassan ascended the thrown. One of his first reforms was the restoration of the ability for the Jews to emigrate. This was followed by a massive exodus, mainly towards Israel, but also France and North America.

93 Translates to: “We despise France, enemy of Islam and of religion, because it is governed by atheists and Jews, by Mr. Léon Blum in particular”.
Jewish Education in Morocco

The French had a unique school system that served an assimilationist function by training them in French language and culture. In 1862, 50 years prior to the creation of the Protectorate, the Alliance Israélite Universelle (AIU) established private schools around the world and throughout Morocco. “These Europeans considered the Jews, more than the Muslims, as a potentially progressive element in the population who could serve European interests in the precolonial period”. These schools were later utilized by the French as a way of modernizing the Jewish population in particular. The AIU played the major formative educational role in Moroccan Jewry (whereas Tunisian Jews, for example, had the choice between attending AIU and protectorate schools). As late as the mid 1940s, the French residents of Morocco were hesitant to enroll Jewish children into schools intended solely for the children of the European population. This is interesting to note because the French did want the Jews of Morocco to progress along the pathway of the French, namely by speaking the language and learning European history. However, they thought this process should take place through the AIU and other specialized institutions rather than within the European schools accessed by French residents. Jews were thus capable to undergo social mobility to a greater extent than the Muslims.

The main goal of the AIU’s educational system was to provide a European mold to which the Jews living outside Europe can conform to in order to thrive in the states in which they found themselves. Instead, it resulted with Moroccan Jews becoming alienated in their own nation. Eventually, after their potential migration to the nation by which they are being educated, this sense of estrangement will persist.

94 Laskier, 28.
As a result, the repatriates were capable of pursuing the occupations they held in Morocco when they arrived in France, benefiting from a professional relocation. Additionally, most Moroccan Jews already held French citizenship. This was not only beneficial for the obvious reason of easing the migration process; it allowed for the immigrants to benefit from pre-existing government housing and employment programs. Lastly, nearly all Jewish children in Morocco attended a school organized by the Alliance Israélite Universelle (AIU), a Jewish school system based in Paris that taught the children French. This life that the Jewish people led in Morocco in many ways prepared them for migration to France, and allowed them to instantly embed themselves in French society.

95 Abitbol, 250.
Chapter Seven: Life in France

Upon their arrival in France, the Moroccan migrants faced hardships in regards to integration. These were greatly reflected within their settlement patterns. Once in Paris, these Muslim immigrants of Moroccan origin physically isolated themselves into the North African suburbs on the periphery of the French metropolises. This was done in an effort to surround themselves with people they knew with similar traditions. However, with ethnic enclaves came crime and ghettoization, creating quotidian racism by the French system. On the other hand, the Jewish Moroccan population was more spatially integrated, living in the French neighborhoods. According to a 2005 U.S. State Department poll, 88% of French citizens had favorable opinions of Jewish people, and only 64% of those polled viewed Muslims favorably. Surrounded by an environment which views Muslims negatively, many Moroccan Muslim families see full assimilation as an impossible goal due to real and perceived marginalization and discrimination.

Phases of Migration in France

Moroccan migrants in France are “among the oldest and most numerous migrant groups in Europe” (see Figure 3). From the perspective of France, this migration occurred in three prominent stages. The first phase took place between the conclusion of the second world war and the late 1960s. During this time, migration between the countries was strong and unregulated by the government. Moroccans migrated for economic reasons, as a result of the various institutions set in place by the French during the protectoratethat stripped the local population of economic

96 Laurence and Vaïsse, 51.
97 Ibid, 52.
98 Bureš, 36.
advancement. The second phase occurred in the 1970s with imposed government restrictions on migrants. Fewer numbers of people were given the opportunity to enter and work in the country. Laws were passed in order to make gaining residency permits more difficult. There was, however, also a law that permitted family reunification. Jaroslav Bureš argues that “the concealed agenda of reunification was to emphasize cultural differences”.\(^{99}\) It was during this time that migration, namely from Arab nations, was viewed as a threat to French identity.

The third phase began in the beginning of the 1980s when France shifted to a Socialist model. This spurred the implementation of various policy reforms, including migration, making the expulsion of immigrants in France more challenging. This migrant labor was beneficial to the host country, funneling in millions of Francs.

Currently, restrictions on the labor market are being imposed. Job opportunities are being prioritized to the educated and higher skilled workers, negatively impacting the migrants’ country of origin.

**A History of Discrimination**

People from the Maghreb or of North African descent “often carry the burden of the long history of tumultuous relations between France and the Arab-Muslim world, beginning with the military threat posed by the Saracen and Ottoman armies against Europe”, whereby Muslims came to be viewed as the enemy.\(^{100}\) Other historical tensions between Europe and the Arab world, such as the Spanish Inquisition and the rise of the Ottoman Empire, deepened Muslim stereotypes in the minds of the French people. The large influx of Moroccan immigrants in the

\(^{99}\) Bureš, 36.  
\(^{100}\) Laurence and Vaïsse, 50.
1970s and 1980s worsened ingrained prejudices and created ethnic enclaves that the French associated with criminality and vagrancy.

Because the Muslim Moroccan community in Paris continues to face deeply-rooted discrimination, it can be assumed that full integration has not been achieved. Such unsuccessful assimilation may lead to subsidiary positions in the labor force, and the resulting wage inequalities associated with service labor. Profession and family income are good indicators of assimilation levels. Other indicators include Moroccan enrollment in French universities among Muslims and Jews (which intrinsically would include mastery of the French language), and the number of Moroccan immigrants who have intermarried with the French population. Several scores that may be used to measure assimilation consist of participation in religious services and institutions, the level of religious practice within the home, and the passing on of culture and religion to the second generation.

Measurement of Assimilation

Unfortunately, it is illegal for the French census, or any official statistical research service in France, to inquire about its citizens’ religious beliefs, a ramification of the 1789 Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen. Therefore, when looking at the university enrollment of Moroccans in France, no distinction can be made between the Muslim and the Jewish students. Religion aside, the data may still provide some insights. According to the INSEE (the French National Statistics Institute), in 2012, Moroccans made up 11% of the national population in France.\footnote{2012 is the latest data available, and will therefore be used to represent the demographics of 2015 in the upcoming calculation.} In early 2015, the Moroccan World News website published an article stating that 34,000 Moroccan students are currently studying abroad in French
universities.\textsuperscript{102} When compared to the total number of university students in France, which also according to the INSEE is 1,531,279, Moroccan students consist of only 2.2\% of the total.\textsuperscript{103} Compared to the number of Moroccans in France, there is a vast underrepresentation within the higher education system.

W. Phillips Shively reminds us to account for the difficulty in achieving accuracy in social scientific research. He provides an example that is relevant in terms of this particular study regarding social status. He states that “among social scientists there are two popular versions of this concept: ‘subjective social status’, the class to which an individual considers himself to belong; and ‘objective social status,’ an individual’s rank with regard to prestige along social hierarchies such as education, income, and occupation. Neither version of the concept can be measured directly.”\textsuperscript{104} In spite of the difficulty in measuring these concepts, subjective and objective social status are important factors to keep in mind in this case study.

Attempting to measure assimilation success involves determining where the individuals find themselves within the strata of their society. However, sending out a survey to each migrant is not only impossible logistically, but would produce subjective data that is unreliable. It is for this reason that this research will involve the list of indicators listed below. Through determining the migrants’ levels of education, wages, and real estate, social status can be inferred, and allows us to determine levels of integration into the community as well.

\begin{flushleft}
\end{flushleft}
Everyday behavior where one is surrounded by familiarity will shift drastically when the known is replaced by the foreign. Focusing on religious affiliation within the Moroccan migrant community is particularly beneficial to study, because this sample reflects a population in which religion is reflected by social and cultural norms. In a highly secularized French society that aims to keep religion out of the public sphere, religion influences many aspects of everyday life for Muslim Moroccans.

All migrants will play some role in the degree to which they embrace personal and familial integration. They may desire to be integrated into the French economic sphere, but not willing to sacrifice the homeland traditions or adopt those of the majority in their new homeland.\(^\text{105}\) The willingness to replace one’s culture varies among individuals and groups that arrive in particular countries. Even for those embracing assimilation, it is not always possible to hide one’s race or origins. Xenophobia exists in the receiving country, although it probably varies by region and city, so the ability to integrate may be limited by discrimination. The alternate approach is the defense of traditions and religion.\(^\text{106}\) The desire to retain identity in a foreign place may lead to marginalization, which in turn contributes to the creation of ghettoization.

These various reactions to assimilation occur because of the many factors that may play a role in the decision to integrate. Shively states that “whenever two variables vary together (are related, coincide), there is a variety of causal sequences that might account for their doing so. A might cause B, B might cause A, both A and B might be caused by something else, or there


\(^{106}\) Ibid, 52.
might be no causation involved.”\(^{107}\) Despite the various components present during the immigration process, this study will focus on the factor of discrimination, because it is out of the control of the migrants themselves.

**Muslim and Jewish Settlement Patterns**

The study of the housing situations of these communities in Marseille and Paris “underscores the way in which shared cultural connections and postwar housing crisis initially pushed Muslim and Jewish migrants together, while colonial legacies and differing relationships to the French state pulled them apart.”\(^{108}\) Upon arrival, the incoming migrants found solace in their shared cultural background; Muslims and Jews alike. However, the Jewish population also benefited from the fact that they were not the first Jews to immigrate to France, namely those who had previously arrived from Eastern Europe. “Arriving Jews thus joined a long-rooted French Jewish community, which (...) had been engaged by the mid-1950s in a decade-long rebuilding process that had given rise to a highly developed communal infrastructure.”\(^{109}\) These Jewish populations had been established within the city limits. There are such prominent Jewish communities in the Marais neighborhood of Paris and in the first and second arrondissements in Marseille. As Mandel explains, “While few Moroccan and Tunisian Jews benefited from government subsidies, many moved to similar areas or to inexpensive neighborhoods within city limits, such as the traditionally East European Jewish neighborhoods.”\(^{110}\) By joining these existing communities, the North African Jews were not only able to surround themselves by

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\(^{107}\) Shively, 78.  
\(^{108}\) Mandel, 69.  
\(^{109}\) Ibid, 4.  
\(^{110}\) Ibid, 68.
people who were willing to help them assimilate, but they were also able to live within large French cities. This is an advantage when seeking assimilation.

The Muslim North African immigrants of Paris and Marseille were either pressured into the “Arab Quarters” or out into the cities’ bidonvilles.\footnote{Shantytowns, usually referring to those surrounding North African cities, but also applies to those created to house the North African migrants in France.} “Housing shortages sometimes led Muslims and Jews to settle in similar neighborhoods on the outskirts of large French cities”, however because there were less Jews and they were drawn to residing among the older Jewish communities that were already established in these cities, the North African suburbs consisted primarily of Muslims.\footnote{Mandel, 68.} The shift into these shantytowns both culturally and geographically segregated the North African migrants from French society. These extended out into the industrial periphery where no one else was willing to live. Some were created so distant that they were devoid of transportation systems that linked them to the city-centers, other than by car. This partition was even reflected within the suburbs themselves. In the offices of the local physicians, North Africans and French anticipating medical attention waited for the doctors in separate rooms. During the late 1950s, a housing program was put into place to relocate the immigrant families. However, only very few families benefited from this due to the high rent prices and small apartment spaces, that could not accommodate traditional large Maghreb households. These were also problematic because it displaced the migrants from the shantytowns into what were essentially camps under military control.

The Migrant Perspective

Since as early as the turn of the nineteenth century, France has received dramatic amounts of migrants from North Africa. By 1982, the amount of Algerian Muslim immigrants in
France reached over 800,000, “while Moroccan and Tunisian Muslim populations had grown to 440,000 and 190,000, respectively.”113 By the same time, Jewish migration resulted in the arrival of 240,000 from North Africa, about a quarter of the size of the Muslim influx. “These newcomers more than doubled France’s Jewish population, forever transforming its socioeconomic, cultural, political and religious contours and creating new and visible subgroups within a population primarily made up of those with roots in France since before the French Revolution and those who had migrated from war-torn Eastern Europe.”114 Although arriving at the same time and from the same origin, the receipt of the Muslim and Jewish North African migrants was unequal. Interestingly, the French viewed religious affiliation as a more prominent characteristic of these migrants than that of their nationality. That is, no distinction was made between a Muslim Algerian and a Muslim Moroccan, just as Jews from each country were seen in the same way. Therefore, the discrepancies in treatment that will be addressed, namely through the housing opportunities of these migrants, vary mainly between Jews and Muslims, disregarding the specific country of origin.

According to Maud S. Mandel in her book Muslims and Jews in France: History of a Conflict, “imputing similar cultural, linguistic, and even religious practices from Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco, Muslim and Jewish migrants often shared a sense of displacement and common origins that facilitated bonds between them.”115 The immigrating Jews and Muslims saw more similarities than differences between one another upon arriving to a new country to either seek refuge or benefit from economic opportunity. “Sharing a sense of displacement and an overlapping cultural and linguistic heritage with Muslim North Africans, many Jews found

113 Mandel, 3.
114 Ibid, 3.
115 Ibid, 60.
comfort in the familiarity of the other.” Therefore, this strong distinction between the two religious communities did not exist among the migrant population before arriving to France, or at least not to such an extent. It was an external concept that the French deemed important, resulting in their varying treatments. Eventually, after being exposed to different amounts of help, these two communities will begin to see themselves as different, resulting in a potential tension.

\[116\] Mandel, 67-8.
Conclusion

The continual study of Moroccan migration patterns to France from the imposition of the protectorate in 1912 provides a window into the present tensions unfolding between North African immigrants living in secular France. Moroccan immigrants and their children make up the largest foreign-born population in Europe, consisting of 56% of the total migrant community. France is the largest destination country of Europe, hosting nearly two thirds of all North African migrants to the continent.117 Today, North African migrants in France consist of 46% of all of the country’s citizenship, most of which are granted to Moroccans in particular, accounting for 24%.118

The socio-economic and cultural conditions experienced after migration to France, accompanied by feelings of economic and social marginalization, set North Africans up for some of the identity challenges and criminal activity that undergird the problems of animosity and violence that are occurring today. The structural conditions of French colonialism that had been established in Morocco between 1912 and 1956, appear to be replicated and maintained in the receiving country. This problem of imbalanced power dynamics and marginalization is further complicated because not all Moroccans were treated equally, with discrepancies falling along religious lines.

As part of the decolonization process, the Muslim Moroccans had been transformed into a warrior class. This structure transformed the Muslims into soldiers and a service sector class

117 Bureš, 39.
118 Ibid, 39.
attached to urban sector economies. This practice was not unique to those living under the French protectorate, but was experienced by those living under the Spanish protectorate as well, while they fought the Rif War under fascist leader Francisco Franco. Through these imposed military institutions, the Moroccans were made into a manageable army of mercenaries. On the other hand, the Jews were transformed into merchants and property owners. Unlike in the case of the Muslim population, these roles were maintained when Moroccan Jews migrated to France, opening doors for steady employment for this portion of the immigration process.

As this thesis has shown, the Jewish and Muslim Moroccans led parallel but separate lives both before and after migration. In France, Muslim Moroccans resented the Jews for privileges extended to them by the French. These resentments soon manifested themselves into strong anti-Semitic behavior that was echoed by some portions of the French population. Meanwhile, Muslims also faced discrimination in France- anti-Muslim had had religious, ethnic, and economic overtones. Perhaps differences between Muslim and Jewish Moroccans resulted from a deep colonial structure that has created sectarian divisions among the Moroccan population. Yet, while both the Muslim and Jewish communities were offered varying opportunities for success, neither ever had the potential to fully integrate once they arrived in France.

The imposed class and ethnic structure galvanized by French colonialism is similar to the control system that the British used in South Africa, a system that eventually evolved into racial apartheid. It is the repetition of the construction of a class division brought about through the privileging of one ethnic group over another that created permanent divisions among the Moroccan population. It is a very recognizable pattern of segregation and stratification based on
race, religion, language, and ethnicity that has become the lasting legacy of French colonialism, a legacy that has reemerged in a new way in French society.
Table 1: Evolution of Moroccan-Origin Populations in Main European Destination Countries (Registered population, possessing Moroccan citizenship, including second and third generations), 1968-2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>France</th>
<th>Netherlands</th>
<th>Belgium</th>
<th>Germany</th>
<th>Spain</th>
<th>Italy</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>84,000</td>
<td>13,000</td>
<td>21,000</td>
<td>18,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>137,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>218,000</td>
<td>28,000</td>
<td>25,000</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>291,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>260,000</td>
<td>33,000</td>
<td>66,000</td>
<td>26,000</td>
<td>9,000</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>394,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>431,000</td>
<td>93,000</td>
<td>110,000</td>
<td>43,000</td>
<td>26,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>704,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>653,000</td>
<td>184,000</td>
<td>138,000</td>
<td>62,000</td>
<td>59,000</td>
<td>78,000</td>
<td>1,174,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>728,000</td>
<td>242,000</td>
<td>155,000</td>
<td>98,000</td>
<td>200,000</td>
<td>195,000</td>
<td>1,618,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>1,025,000\textsuperscript{a}</td>
<td>316,000</td>
<td>214,000\textsuperscript{a}</td>
<td>73,000\textsuperscript{b}</td>
<td>397,000</td>
<td>253,000\textsuperscript{b}</td>
<td>2,278,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>1,147,000</td>
<td>363,000</td>
<td>298,000</td>
<td>127,000</td>
<td>672,000</td>
<td>487,000</td>
<td>3,094,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The years appearing in this table were chosen due to data limitations.
Table 2: Estimate of Moroccan Migrants World Wide

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Moroccan Citizens Living Abroad 2012</th>
<th>Moroccan Emigrants Born in Morocco Around 2010</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Europe</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>1,146,682</td>
<td>871,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>671,669</td>
<td>766,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>486,538</td>
<td>356,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>297,919</td>
<td>179,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>264,909</td>
<td>168,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(382,954+)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>126,954</td>
<td>63,000c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>26,191</td>
<td>16,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>38,567</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>33,047</td>
<td>34,680</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>53,707</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Arab Countries</strong></td>
<td>214,451</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libya</td>
<td>69,276</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>45,451</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tunisia</td>
<td>30,836</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>38,724</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Arab Emirates</td>
<td>15,936</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>17,430</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>4,060,634</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: For Moroccan citizens living abroad: Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Direction des Affaires Consulaires et Sociales (Citoyens marocains à l’étranger); for Moroccan emigrants (1st generation): Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (2012); International Migration Outlook: France (for 2008), Netherlands (for 2010), Belgium (for 2009), Spain (for 2010), Italy (for 2009), Israel (for 2010); Annual Population Survey (UK estimate for 2008); U.S. Census Bureau (U.S. estimate for 2000).
Notes: a Includes 2nd and 3rd generations (CBS Netherlands); b 2007 estimate (de Haas 2007a: Population d’origine marocaine en Israël); c Moroccan citizens; Statistisches Bundesamt (Germany 2009).
Figure 1: Evolution of Moroccan-Origin Population by Country of Settlement, 1968-2012

Note: The Years appearing in this table were chosen due to data limitations.
Figure 2: Official Remittances to Morocco, 1975-2012

Figure 3: Moroccan Emigration by Main Destination, 1965-2010

Note: Estimated based on five years moving averages.
Bibliography


Berriane, Mohamed, and Aderghal, Mohamed, The State of Research into International Migration From, To and Through Morocco (2008), 10.


