

Moroccan Emigration to France: A Historical Perspective

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Abstract

This article offers an analysis of the Moroccan migration to France from a historical perspective, through the explanation of the conformation of a true Franco-Moroccan migration system. The modeling of these migratory flows was operated by the positions and by the actions of the different French governments with respect to immigration. This, however, have given rise to the great mutations and phases that the Moroccan diaspora has experienced in France. The interest of the investigation lies in the structuring action of the French state in relation to the transformation of these migratory flows throughout its history.

Keywords: Franco-Moroccan migratory system, historical perspective, flows, phases, mutations.

Introduction

The work we present aims to shed light on the process of Moroccan migration to France through the theories of systems that intertwine relations between countries through economic, political, cultural and migratory flows. According to these theories, the countries that make up a migratory system do not have to be geographically close, but should rather focus on the historical, cultural, economic, political and demographic links that make up a true migratory system, as in the case of Morocco and France. From this perspective, the colonial relations between both countries since 1912 with the signing of the Treaty of Fez, established the French Protectorate that would mark the beginning of population movements, first within the country, which would later become the international migratory flows bound for France. This migratory process has been structured throughout the history of relations between both countries, depending on historical events until recently. This structure is composed of six phases related to the different mutations experienced by the Moroccan diaspora in France. The objectives of the study are to describe and analyze from a historicist perspective the emigration of Moroccans towards France; demonstrate the existence of a specific migration system between Morocco and France; study the origins and historical evolution of the migratory flows from Morocco to France; and, finally, discover the structuring of this

migration modeled by the destination country based on the positions of successive governments in the face of the migration phenomenon. The methodology used to achieve our objectives consists of an exhaustive review of bibliographic sources specialized in the subject and an analysis of quantitative secondary data from Moroccan government institutions. It is an explanatory-descriptive study. This research consists of an introduction followed by three sections. The third section includes six sub-sections and concludes with some conclusions and the bibliographical references used. The first section deals with the theoretical perspective used and the framing of the objective of the study. The second deals with Moroccan migrations to France and the distribution of the Moroccan diaspora. The third shows the phases of Moroccan emigration to France and is divided at the same time into six subsections that account for the mutations suffered by the said migration.

Purpose and Scope

The present study attempts to analyze the Moroccan migration to France from a historical perspective, through the explanation of the conformation of a true Franco-Moroccan migration system. The study is considered the first of its kind, best to the author's knowledge, and one of the leading studies that demonstrated the modeling of these migratory flows which has been operated by the positions and by the actions of the different French governments, with respect to immigration and that has given rise to the great mutations and phases that the Moroccan diaspora has experienced in France.

Methodology and Design

This is a qualitative research study using content analysis, and is appropriate to the exploratory nature of the research.

The Franco-Moroccan Immigration System

The analysis of Moroccan emigration to France leads us to some approaches and premises that have to do with the inclusion of these migrations in the theories of the migration systems of Zlotnik (1992) and Fawcett (1989). In this sense, a migratory system is formed by a set of relations between two or more countries, united by exchanges of goods, services and people, that is, of migratory flows. In each member country of the said system, the following aspects are observed: the specific connections and the circulation of information, capital, people and

services, highlighting the similarities and disparities of both ends of the system with respect to these exchanges, depending on the mobility of people, of economic conditions, and of its policy in terms of change. These are the foundations of the theory of international migration systems. But a primordial feature of this theory is that the countries of both sides of the system do not have to be geographically close, but it is the economic, cultural, political and historical ties that establish their points of union. In this way, the case of migratory movements from Morocco to France demonstrates the existence of a true migratory system of its own based on colonial ties, which have formed a genuine Franco-Moroccan migratory system (González Santos, 2016).

These systemic relations between both countries began with the signing of the Treaty of Fez in 1912 that gave rise to the French Protectorate in Morocco. This event has conditioned the links between the two countries, thereby creating historical, economic, political, cultural and demographic relationships, which resulted in the emergence of two-way migratory movements. At the beginning of the Protectorate, migratory flows moved from France to Morocco. On the one hand, these population movements were promoted by the economic development plans of the French State in the colony, with the intensive exploitation of agricultural land, the construction of infrastructures and mining exploitation. These factors contributed to the attraction of French settlers to the country who migrated with their families. On the other hand, the Moroccan farmers were displaced to other places in Morocco because the land did not produce enough to satisfy their families and that is why the migrations arose in the interior of the country. These internal migrations would be the germ of the international migrations of Moroccans with destiny mainly towards France (Chattou, 1998; González Santos, 2016). This is attributed to the fact that in the following decades, migratory Moroccan flows will be constantly established in the time to our days, besides conforming to an authentic culture of emigration in which the members of the populations most affected by this distance mobility medium range are able to coincide in their installation and in their settlement in the same populations located in the country of destination.

Moroccan Migrations to France

The history of Morocco is deeply linked to emigration, both in the interior of the country and to other bordering countries such as Algeria or Black Africa. In regard to Europe, Moroccan emigration is characterized by having more than a century of existence in France, 50 years in Belgium, the

Netherlands and Germany, and more than 20 years in Spain and Italy. However, it is more recent in America, Asia and the Middle East where the Moroccan diaspora is spreading more and more.

In Europe, this emigration translates into adaptation and constant struggles, since it welcomes 85% of the 4 or 5 million Moroccan residents abroad (Daoud, 2011: 21). Strongly related to the European colonial occupation of Morocco and the economic "call" of European countries, this migratory movement is closely linked to the economic and political history of Europe. The migrations from Morocco to France, being the fruit of the colonial occupation, were fundamentally workers who were taking shape in population movements which until that moment had been stable. The forced recruitment, as well as the attraction of the labor market of the metropolis, motivated the flows of Moroccan workers.

Parallel to the development of Moroccan and Maghrebi migrations to France, the migratory fields were extended to other European countries such as Belgium, Holland and Germany, due to their pressing need for labor to achieve economic growth. The migratory flows that were formed were of a "back and forth" type between the countries of origin and destination. These migrations arose essentially from the rural environment and, also, from the peripheral zones that constituted environments with large gaps in the relation between the shortage of resources and the increase of the populations. The areas of origins were the Sous, the southern region of the country and the eastern Rif.

Belonging to the old sedentary Berber communities, these origins explain the effectiveness of the migrant networks of the country, which is translated by the regrouping of the origin of the same peoples in the same destination region, the same neighborhood and probably the same company (Berriane, 2009).

To sum it up, from the beginning of the migration of the Moroccans to France at the dawn of the French Protectorate in 1912 and up to the 70s, migratory flows were singled out for being masculine; to directly influence the perpetuation of migratory movements; for having a very specific geographical origin; a low qualification and a strong attachment to the family and the country of origin.

Later, these migrations would evolve towards the various mutations that Moroccan migrations have suffered, depending on historical events and changes in the structures of the societies of origin and destination, up to the present. Among these mutations are family

reunification; the feminization of the flows; the second generation of migrants; the integration and acquisition of the citizenship of the country of destination, which represents social phenomena that have shaped the residence of the Moroccan diaspora in France.

Phases of the Moroccan Migration to France

In this section, we present the different phases of the Moroccan migration to France from the beginning of the French Protectorate in 1912 to the present, making an exhaustive journey with a description of each of the phases and of the mutations suffered by the Moroccan diaspora in France.

First Phase: Militarized Migration (1912-1945)

The first Moroccan emigrants were soldiers recruited into the colonial armies. In 1870, the indigenous regiments of North Africans and Africans were created in France. In 1900, there was already an embryo of what would later be the "Armada of Africa", whose mission had consisted of supporting in the previous century the French expeditionary corps in the conquest of Algeria. In Morocco, the signing of the Treaty of Fez in 1912 had established the French Protectorate that granted France the administration and occupation of the country. Between 1908 and 1914, General Lyautey, Minister of War and General Resident in Morocco formed two bodies of indigenous soldiers. Also, between 1908 and 1910 and before the conquest of Morocco, he sent a contingent of workers to Nantes and Marseille to work in the steel industry, construction, mines and the automobile industry. Under the express demand of the industrialists, the French State recruited these workers. In 1916, a decree organized the recruitment of between 15 and 20,000 Moroccans for industries and construction; and in 1917, an identity card was granted to foreigners over 15 years of age, thus establishing easy access to nationality (Daoud, 2011).

At the end of the First World War, there was a cessation of Moroccan immigration which created obstacles to mixed marriages. At the same time, a racist wave emerged in French society that caused great repatriations, with the Moroccans being repatriated almost entirely to a country that had participated in the war.

The twenties marked the beginning of Moroccan immigration to France. At this time, the War of the Rif took place in which Spain, and later France, fought to suppress the independence

revolts of the Rifadian chiefs. In 1921, there was the "Annual disaster" with the total annihilation of a body of the Spanish army. The army had as its objective the neutralization of the coalition forces with Emir Abdel-Krim, who wanted the proclamation of the Rif in a republic. Thus, France and Spain formed a coalition in 1925, which would mean the devastation of the country, provoking serious protests in the League of Nations (Rivet, 2012).

There was already a glimpse of the economic crisis of 1929 that would shake the world, giving way to the restriction of the arrival of immigrants to France and, also, to the control over the departure of emigrants. In this context, the declaration of General Lyautey that "every exit suppresses a rifle" became even more eloquent. Around 21,000 Moroccans settled in Gennevilliers to work in the factories of the Parisian periphery. Subsequently, Moroccan immigration settled in the North and the Calais Passage, characterized by its great mining activity (Daoud, 2011).

In the period between 1919 and 1939, the colonial migratory phenomenon between Morocco and France was consolidated but, quickly, the Second World War stopped the flows and reduced the presence of the Maghrebis. However, as López García (2012) states, "[...] the reconstruction needs of French society multiply these forces in less than a decade, to be duplicated later every ten years" (67)¹. Also, between 1944 and 1949, France practiced a massive recruitment of indigenous workers for its reconstruction with the hiring of about 120,000 Moroccans in mines, agriculture, construction and the metallurgical industry (López García, 2012).

This stage of the Moroccan migration to colonial France became specific due to the very nature of the recruitments that posed a double objective: the recruitment of soldiers on the one hand, and the recruitment of colonial workers to fill the gap left in the factories by the French workers called up on the other hand. In the words of Moha Bokbot and Faleh (2010):

There is no doubt that this militarized and intense migratory movement, which has displaced tens of thousands of Moroccans to France during the First World War, was reinforced during the war of 1939-45 and was the trigger for an important process in the history of migration. Moroccan contemporary, that of irreversible migrations to

¹ Own translation.

Europe and that have followed an irregular course according to the circumstances (59)².

Then, at the end of the Second World War, General de Gaulle issued the famous Ordinance of 1945 that encouraged the arrival and installation of immigrants and, at the same time, encouraged immigration policy with the creation of the National Immigration Agency, promoting not only the spontaneous immigration of workers, but also that of their families. The Ordinance provided several prerogatives to immigrants, such as the guarantee of land rights (*ius solis*) and the close relationship between nationality and citizenship, considering that the socialization of immigrants in French society was a fundamental part of the national event. In this way, 120,000 Moroccans agreed to a work permit (Daoud, 2011). Thus, this led to the start of the period of reconstruction of France known as the "glorious 30".

Second Phase: The "Glorious 30" and the Migratory Explosion (1945-1974)

The decades after the Second World War represented the period of the "glorious 30" and the economic growth of France par excellence. In this way, among the immigrants from the countries of southern Europe and the Maghreb, a cheap labor force was recruited to undertake the spectacular industrial development that the French economy was going to know. During these years, there was a hypertrophy of the French working class that led to a configuration of the labor market supply and demand that was available in niches according to the criterion of the nationality of origin of immigrants. In this way, the integration of Moroccan immigrants into the working classes of France was made into the automobile industries in mines and in agriculture (Tripier, 1990).

From the demographic point of view, the milestone that marked the independence of Morocco in 1956 was a political and social event that caused the departure of 3,000 troops per year until 1959, increasing progressively until 1974. In this line, the political situation in the country had certain repercussions on the socio-political decisions based on clientelistic practices that favored the rentier classes in a context of conditions of poverty and impoverishment of the popular classes that led to a massive rural exodus to the cities, attracted by consumption and the search for a job. These internal migratory flows represented the antecedent of what later would be the massive exit of migrants abroad, encouraged by the

² Own translation.

political power as an escape valve of a society drowned by unemployment and poverty and by the danger of a social overflow.

The signing of the 1963 Convention between Morocco and France, concerning the regulation of the mobilization of labor towards France for its control and channeling, massively increased the Moroccan migratory flows, since France wanted to diversify its migratory assets to prevent Algerian migrants from occupying the first position in the immigrant community (Moha Bokbot & Faleh, 2010).

The settlement and consolidation of Moroccan migrants followed an increasing rhythm from the beginning of the decade of the 60s to the 70s with a pattern marked by the pressing needs of labor in France and in Europe. In this regard, Cesari (1994) states:

Indeed, the available sources are unanimous about the strong expansion of Moroccan emigration and the massive nature of the departures to France, as well as to other neighboring countries: the numbers have quadrupled in the space of ten years, passing in 1962 from 49,653 to 218,146 in 1972 (112).

Towards 1961, Mehdi Ben Barka created the Association of Moroccans in France and the first official political connection took place between the Moroccan students of France and the young rural Moroccan immigrants, illiterate and single, which constituted the first wave of immigrants from the Moroccan countryside towards France. The students carried out literacy and political awareness campaigns among Moroccan immigrant workers. With these actions, the Moroccan diaspora intended to transfer the political struggles of Morocco to French soil, since they had been interrupted at the time of independence. The resolution of the conflicts between the various conservative, nationalist, socialist and Marxist political parties that fought in the Moroccan political arena was complex, due to the internationalization of the postulates of the decolonization movement that claimed national liberation and the right of emancipation of the peoples oppressed by colonization and that hoisted certain Moroccan political leaders. Mehdi Ben Barka, one of the most prominent, fought for the creation of a movement of countries called "Movement of Non-Aligned Countries" (MPNA). Exiled in France, Ben Barka sought to establish a connection of complicity between the Moroccan State, the independence of Morocco and France, because he suspected that this had been a "granted" independence. In 1965, Ben Barka was kidnapped in the center of Paris, and his fate still remains unknown till this present day.

In 1965, the first social security convention between Morocco and France was signed, with the payment of family rents up to a maximum of 4 children and pensions. The Moroccans registered in France were already almost 120,000 and resided, mainly, in the Parisian region, as these contingents were accommodated as labor in the automobile factories on the outskirts of Paris, constituting a third of the total contingent of workers to triple in the following years. Its settlement was concentrated in the towns around the French capital, in the regions of Rhône-Alpes, North and Languedoc-Roussillon (Cesari, 1994).

Third Phase: The Feminization of Flows (1974-1989)

In 1973, the global oil crisis assaulted the world economy and the supply of jobs began to drop drastically. France, eager to close its doors to labor immigration, initiated calls for the return of immigrants. Moroccan immigration in Europe was suspended, except for seasonal contracts in the South of France. The first laws on immigration control were enacted. The French Minister, Stoléru, launched the idea of an exit bonus of six times the value of the French inter-professional minimum wage as an incentive to return, but these measures did not have the desired effect.

However, after 1974, faced with the fear of being expelled or forced to leave, the Moroccans of Europe began to actively practice family reunification, in a context of unemployment and accompanied by repressive measures. The first racist crimes took place in France, specifically, in the department of Bouches-du-Rhône (Daoud, 2011).

The closing of borders in 1974 marked the before and after in the Maghreb migration to Europe: it is the official date of the closing of borders in France, Germany, Belgium and Switzerland in order to stop the process of entry caused by the shortage of posts of work, simultaneously causing a huge rise of xenophobia and racism in the European societies of destination. Nevertheless, this brake led to a transformation of immigration as it evolved towards family reunification. In the opinion of Chattou (1998)³:

This migration is one of the components of the evolution of migratory movements in France after 1974. The suspension of immigration, the failure of the return policy, the maintenance of a flow of household income have contributed to the conscience of politicians, media, public opinion ... of the familiar and stable character of the

³ Own translation.

installation of foreigners and of the importance of the generations of foreigners born in France (102).

From this awareness, in 1979, Minister Stoléru reformed the laws relating to residence and work permits granted for 10 years only to persons who had more than 20 years of residence; to others and only to assets, they would be granted a stay permit of 1 to 3 years based on departmental quotas. The factories in the Paris region were emptied after a little time and a large group of Moroccan immigrants went on a hunger strike against laws that rejected the renewal of roles for the unemployed in 17 cities in France. Following the regularization of some "undocumented", the Moroccans of France organized folk festivals in Argenteuil, Gennevilliers and in Brussels. In 1979, the number of regular Moroccans endowed with a residence permit was close to 400,000 on a community evaluated at half a million people. But France registered 1,200,000 unemployed and a significant number of immigrants ran the risk of running out of papers. The Moroccan miners of the North, Lorraine and other mining basins went on strike for 3 weeks and, in 1980, obtained the status of miners which they demanded (Daoud, 2011).

In 1981, the elections to the Presidency of the Republic that the left won and numerous illegal Moroccans were regularized; the rights of association and creation of free radios were established, and there was a cultural and political outbreak. Mitterrand had presented to the Presidency of the Republic a program of 110 proposals, among which was the right to vote for foreigners in municipal elections. In 1982, the Association of Moroccan Workers of France (ATMF) was created and free radios were opened with the appearance of "Radio G" in Gennevilliers. New laws were enacted and an increase in salaries was granted (Chattou, 1998; Daoud, 2011).

Until 1992, Moroccan immigration continued to grow with 12,000 arrivals per year, characterized by a progressive feminization. Mixed marriages multiplied by five, but the expulsions did not stop since the policy of forced return of the clandestine was not totally abandoned. With the dismissal of some strikers of the automobile, followed by hard strikes that aroused great demonstrations of support, the atmosphere began to deteriorate in 1983 with the rise of the National Front in the municipal elections. France experienced a xenophobic and racist wave that spread throughout Europe in the form of aggression, assassinations, and repressive policies.

Seasonal immigration, which oscillated between 10 and 20,000 people per year, collapsed (ANPE, 1982). The number of clandestine did not stop increasing, and this problem jumped into the political arena, devaluing the foreign presence. In 1982, the Socialists abandoned the proclamation of the right to vote of foreigners in local elections. In addition, new strikes broke out in the context of workers' solidarity. In 1984, Moroccan Residents Abroad (MRE) were called to the polls for the first time in the Moroccan legislative elections.

Between 1983 and 1984, new restrictive laws came into force in France and there were further strikes in the automobile sector, which were severely repressed. Outraged, the young Arabs of France began a march through the country and, upon their return to the capital in December 1983, they were received by President Mitterrand who granted them the right of access to the 10-year single charter effective from 1984. At that time, the Association of Moroccan Workers of France held a massive folk festival in Amsterdam, attracting Moroccan immigrants from all over Europe with the coordination of the Associations. Thus, an awareness emerged among Moroccan immigrants from the diaspora; with the installation of students; the arrival of cadres and scientists, together with the workers and specialized workers of the first waves of migration. The naturalizations and the mixed marriages of Franco-Moroccans multiplied in France. In this way, the second generations became more and more European and more and more integrated (Lacroix, 2005).

The municipal elections were held in 1983 amid large protests and criminal actions against immigrants. Anti-racist committees were created and strikes in the automotive factories followed. The Government launched a premium offer to encourage the return of immigrants that had little acceptance. The industrial restructuring continued forward, suppressing large numbers of jobs. Meanwhile, in Morocco, unemployment did not stop growing due to the Structural Adjustment Program promoted by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB), in order to recover the debt contracted by the country. This situation had a direct impact on the population with a drastic increase in poverty, causing mass emigration to Europe. At the same time, France held legislative elections in which the National Front attacked the power obtaining 35 deputies. As a result, the laws of the Ministry of the Interior, with Charles Pascua at the head, were hardened with the consequent modification of the requirements for the attainment of nationality, the restriction of the conditions of entry and residence in the country, and the unstoppable increase in expulsions.

During the French presidential campaign of 1988, which faced Chirac against Mitterrand, the right to vote in municipal elections for foreigners and immigrants was resolved. The vast majority of the French were against this measure and Chirac reproached Mitterrand for the government's laxity towards immigrants. At the end, Mitterrand renounced the right to vote of foreigners, which, in the following year, the European Parliament came to recommend.

The left won the presidential election and the debate on the veil was opened. In parallel, some regularizations were made, while certain concessions were made, such as the liberalization of residence rules. The Ministry of Justice wanted to reduce the immigrant population in order to facilitate integration, but racism increased. Meanwhile, departures from Morocco increased (2,000 people each year) and students settled in France. With the industrial dismantling and due to robotization and automation, the working class decreased. The automobile factories closed like the mines and, nevertheless, the immigration flows persisted. In 1990, the Moroccan community in France amounted to almost 600,000 people (Fundación Hassan II, 2003).

The evolution followed by Moroccan immigrant families since the 1970s can be identified by three fundamental features. The first one represents the demographic rejuvenation of immigrants in the country of destination; the second is the feminization of this immigration; the third is the tertiary sector as a quarry for employment in France and in the rest of the European countries.

Fourth Phase: Access to Citizenship of the Country of Destination (1990-2000)

The stage of installation and insertion of the immigrant community in France took place in the decade of the 90s. These years also marked a stage of new discriminations focused on pensions, health insurance and even the rents of adults with disabilities. The National Front presented a package of 50 measures against immigration and, in 1992, the Schengen agreements came into force: Moroccan immigrants became naturalized en masse and 350,000, i.e. 1 out of 7, became Europeans (Charef, 2014). The rise of xenophobia and racism led to a dehumanization of the peripheries, leading to riots among young people affected by school failure and unemployment.

Rapidly, the press echoed the scandal of the boats in the Strait of Gibraltar and European policy was activated. In France, the newly elected right-wing hardened its discourse:

"overdose" for Jacques Chirac, the President of the Republic; "Tolerance threshold trespassed" for Prime Minister Juppé and "invasion" in the mouth of former President Giscard d'Estaing. More than one and a half million Moroccan immigrants were counted in Europe, of which 56% were men and 44% women (Fundación Hassan II, 2003). A new wave of "paperless" and the Maastricht Treaty aggravated the situation. Europe was born at "two speeds".

With Minister Pasqua's new laws, France tried to reach the "zero" immigration quota. Among other measures, illegal work was sanctioned, expulsions to the border occurred, conditions of retention worsened and citizens who helped illegal immigrants were criminally prosecuted. In short, the conditions for access to regularization became very difficult for the unborn in French territory and young people had to express their desire to be French (Charef, 2014).

The rise of the extreme right, racism and xenophobia was exhibited throughout Europe, symbolizing immigration as the central element of political struggle. Arrivals in France did not stop, but on the contrary, they increased to the rate of 5000 per year and unemployment affected 50% of young Arab immigrants in the peripheries. The Moroccan students were divided among the 85 universities in France. As of 1994, EU foreign residents from all member countries of the European Union were able to vote in local elections, which was not the case for non-EU citizens.

Arrivals fell by half and there were many returns. The issue of the "undocumented" was raised again and created collectives and support committees, such as the movement of immigration and the peripheries. In addition, racist crimes followed each other. In 1997, the "undocumented" on hunger strike occupied the church of San Bernardo in the 18th district of Paris and they had to be forcibly evacuated, which caused a great scandal and a return to the debate on immigration. 28% of the "undocumented" were brought to the border and the retention period was extended. Then 28% of Moroccans were unemployed and 44% of Moroccan women were unemployed compared to 10% and 14% of French, respectively. On the other hand, some 200,000 "without papers" were still mobilizing, looking towards Italy and Spain which were carrying out new regularizations. On the contrary, in France, the situation intensified: the mayors asked for the suspension of family rents for some immigrants and the marriages of convenience were persecuted. Discriminatory measures,

expulsions, demonstrations and strikes continued. In 1998, more than 5,000,000 Muslims lived in France, of which one and a half million were French (Fundación Hassan II, 2003).

In addition, the Debré laws reinforced the Pasqua laws, cutting the possibilities of renewing the 10-year residence cards, extending the time spent in detention centers and hindering mixed marriages. Solidarity disappeared despite the commitment of some intellectuals. New projects were undertaken: incentives for return with the grant of 4,500 francs for adults and 900 francs per child; contracts for conversion and creation of self-employment. At this time, France won the soccer world cup and the portrait of Zinedine Zidane was projected in the Arc de Triomphe, giving a new face to immigration, with the blue, white, red and Arab flag. Even Minister Pasqua called for the respect of family regrouping and the regularization of the "undocumented" (Daoud, 2011).

At the end of the 90s, the successor of Easter, Jean-Pierre Chevènement, commissioned the French teacher of Algerian origin, Sami Naïr, the creation of a project for the migration policy of the Maghreb countries, which linked the immigrants of France with their localities of origin as an instrument to implement "co-development" projects (López García, 2012). Although the expulsions continued through the October 11, 1998 Circular of the Jospin Government, the Minister of Justice, Elisabeth Gigou, removed the restrictions on access to nationality and, above all, the prior request that young people had to make. This happened when King Hassan II died; thus, Moroccans reached almost 37% of foreigners in France (Fundación Hassan II, 2003).

Fifth Phase: Selective Immigration (2000-2007)

In 2000, selective immigration was implemented and a new stage of Moroccan immigration began in France. The emergence of the computer sector resulted in France claiming this selective immigration, which resulted in the hiring of 2,000 Moroccan computer scientists. The Jospin government approved a bill proposed by the "Greens" on the right to vote and the eligibility of foreigners, which was finally withdrawn. The following year, the attacks of September 11 took place, which led to a questioning of the rights of immigrants and the rise of Islamophobia throughout Europe. 2002 was defined as the year of the change of denomination of "Moroccan Workers Abroad" to "Moroccan Residents Abroad". In addition, Morocco created the Moroccan Residents Abroad Ministry to manage the Moroccan

diaspora. According to the data provided by the Moroccan consulates, there were already 800,000 Moroccans living in France.

Europe, because of the correlation of Islam with terrorism, rejected every multicultural question and fell back on itself. It demanded an increasingly selective immigration in the face of a new insertion model codified by means of the blue card, by quotas, and the entailed letters of rights and duties; the learning of the language and civilization of the host country; and sanctions for lack of respect for the laws. Identity debates arose that burst the political scene, while at the same time polemics about dress appeared in the foreground.

In France, Interior Minister Sarkozy drafted a reception and integration contract that came into force in 2003. The laws were tightened and the law that sanctions religious signs in schools was proclaimed. Despite this complex situation, health personnel and Moroccan graduates were recruited, which would lead to the creation in France of associations of university students, biologists or computer scientists. In addition, the high authority for the fight against discrimination and for equality⁴ was born, both at work and leisure, and President Chirac was in favor of family reunification.

Sixth Phase: The Economic and Identity Crisis in the Target Society (2007-2017)

The arrival of Nicolas Sarkozy to the Presidency of the Republic in 2007 was reflected in the creation of the "Ministry of Immigration, Integration, National Identity and Solidarity Development", breaking the public opinion again in the debate of the burqa. In Europe, Islamophobia was constant. In France, 20% of foreigners were unemployed, resulting in a "paperless hunt" with an increase in expulsions. Then the peripheries of Paris were shaken by major incidents. That same year, a Franco-Moroccan convention on social security was signed in Rabat.

Next, Europe again addressed the issue of irregular immigrants, pretending to Europeanize the measures that it was going to take with the creation of detention and detention centers for clandestine immigrants and the adoption of the so-called "Directive of Shame" that was never applied. The "undocumented" workers undertook in Paris a strike movement "in turns" with the support of their employers, associations and unions. Discussions on health benefits began;

⁴ Haute Autorité de Lutte contre les Discriminations et pour l'Égalité (HALDE).

the limitations of family reunification and restrictions on entry and residence rights. There were complaints about the lack of respect for the means of recourse, the expulsion fees by Prefectures and, in short, the stigmatization of the "undocumented". However, the Council of State of France annulled a Circular of Minister Hortefeux, which required professional qualifications to access the regularization. The Minister of Justice was judicially condemned for his proposed measures, whose objectives were, first, to weaken the "undocumented" and, secondly, the immigrants "with papers". In effect, the National Old-Age Insurance Fund⁵ launched a Circular to test whether the 1 million French-born outside the country were alive and to verify whether they were French (Daoud, 2011).

Numerous human rights associations filed appeals before the State Council, requesting the elimination of the heavy sanction imposed on people or organizations that help immigrants, that is, 5 years in prison and a fine of 30,000 euros. The educational associations fought against the expulsion of students of primary and secondary education. The "undocumented" workers who worked were still struggling.

In 2009, the Moroccan troops in France were almost 1,200,000, counting the clandestine, which represented 41% of the transfers made to Morocco. These troops worked mainly in the service sector: 23.9% in domestic service; 23% in the hospitality industry; 16.3% in construction; 17.4% in computer science; representing immigrants, 11.3% of the active population (Fundación Hassan II, 2013). The French authorities undertook a debate with electoral purposes on national identity, trying to lift the taboo on immigration. Mosques were desecrated in different parts of France. There were several expulsions, even of people who were passing through the French territory. Also, the students were expelled, including a young woman who had reported mistreatment inflicted by her brother.

On the other hand, the reactions around the debate on republican values, gender equality and secularism with the controversy of the burka as a backdrop affected the Muslim groups and also French converts who proposed volunteers to wear this garment as a statement of war. Even the prominent anthropologist Jean-Claude Levy-Strauss, before his death in autumn 2009, ran against the arguments raised by the Government on National Identity. But, the government policy did not cease to be contradictory. On the one hand, there were movements for the regularization of the "undocumented" with work, such as self-employed Neuilly

⁵Caisse Nationale d'Assurance vieillesse (CNAV)

restaurants that had filed requests for regularization and had not received an answer to their administrative demands and, on the other hand, justice failed favorably towards the miners who won the lawsuit over the current unjust retirement system. On the other hand, the opening of the first hallal establishments became effective and the victory was celebrated in the Courts of a Moroccan seasonal worker who for 20 years had worked without social security. In 2010, the Government studied a reform of the laws regarding immigration and the nationality code with its corresponding new actions.

The Minister of Immigration and National Identity have signed more than half a million welcome and integration contracts including a series of measures to give more solemnity and accentuating restrictions on access to nationality, such as the declaration of "Human Rights of the Citizen"; the flags in the schools; the card of young citizen; the "Bill of Rights and Duties"; and civic education (Daoud, 2011).

Always contradictory, the Government drafted a new bill to prevent the return of those expelled, keeping them in detention centers and creating exceptional regimes. In 2010, France presented 29 proposals to the European Union to Europeanize expulsions and border control. At the same time, the Prime Ministers of Morocco and France met to agree on a Moroccan immigration that would provide qualifications to immigrants in order to revitalize mobility and circularity, especially of young people with the development of common projects. However, in Grenoble, there was a movement of "outraged" coming from the ranks of the secular left, who denounced the practice of prayer on the streets of Paris by Muslims. This movement convened an aperitif with wine and sausage in the same district as a response to these practices, but this was banned by the authorities, moving it to the Champs-Élysées without great incidence. This group threatened to move this practice to other cities in France. The controversy within the French society returned with the serious events of the peripheries motivated by the bands of young armed men and by the underground economy linked to drugs. In this context, immigration was linked to crime, as President Sarkozy had hinted.

In 2010, the situation was degraded with the expulsion of the Roma community towards Romania and Bulgaria. On September 10 of this same year, the Parliament approved the crime of concealment of the face in the public space with a pecuniary sanction and the completion of citizenship courses, which was suppressed, due to the great controversy that it provoked.

The European Council showed its interest in a great deal on immigration, putting on the table dialogue mechanisms on the human rights of immigrants; the willingness to sign agreements for development; mobility of competences and a declaration against the policies of France, Italy and Spain, which contemplated the issuance of visas with reduced validity for immigrants. The economic crisis that began in 2007 translated into a massive return of immigrants to Morocco. On this question, Charef (2014: 316) states⁶:

The will of President Sarkozy to reduce immigration to the maximum by family reunification in favor of immigration "selected" for its competences that it transformed into a "selected" circulation due to the "draconian" measures to accede to visas and continued with the arrival to the power of François Hollande in 2012, no measure of change in immigration policies had been observed, but only some symbolic gestures such as the suppression of the crime of solidarity and the Guéant Circular stipulating that foreign students in France who have completed their studies would have a limited right of access to the French labor market.

In this plane, immigration policies showed very little change in relation to Sarkozy's model. Despite the obstacles, according to the Ministry of Moroccan Residents Abroad in 2013, one in ten Moroccans resided abroad that is, 14% of the Moroccan population, which represented 45% of the immigrant population in France. The arrival of Macron to the Presidency of the French Republic in 2017 has not meant any change in the Government's position on immigration.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The emigration of Moroccan citizens is a phenomenon that can be explained by the theory of migration systems in which a migratory system is formed by a set of relations between two or more countries, united by exchanges of goods, services and people. This theory suggests that these countries do not have to be geographically close since it is the economic, cultural, political and historical ties that establish their points of union. Also, it is the colonial relations throughout history that have been generating a particular migratory system between France and Morocco. Migrations from Morocco to France emerged from the constitution of the French Protectorate in 1912 and the colonial occupation. At first, they were fundamentally

⁶ Own translation.

workers and with stable flows. The forced recruitment, as well as the attraction of the labor market of the metropolis, motivated the mobility of Moroccan workers. The development of Moroccan and Maghrebi migrations to France, due to the colonial process which was undertaken by France in North Africa, expanded Europe (Belgium, Holland and Germany) due to the labor needs for its reconstruction after the world wars and its economic growth. The origin of the Moroccan migrants was mainly from the countryside and came from the southern, eastern, and very impoverished peripheral urban areas. The huge population growth also contributed to the emigration into the metropolis. The history of Morocco has always been linked to emigration, both in the interior of the country and to other bordering countries such as Algeria or Black Africa. In regard to Europe, Moroccan emigration is characterized by having more than a century of existence in France, 50 years in Belgium, the Netherlands and Germany, and more than 20 years in Spain and Italy. However, it is more recent in America, Asia and the Middle East where the Moroccan diaspora is spreading more and more. The arrangement of the Moroccan migration regroups around its town of origin and settlement in the same destination city, establishing strong networks of solidarity among migrants. The entire systemic process of Moroccan migration to France can be structured in six phases. Thus, we have a first phase comprising between 1912 and 1945 and characterized by a militarized migration as a result of the recruitment of native men to the colonial armies, as well as the direct creation of male contingents destined to the French factories and steel industry. A second phase was the recruitment of cheap labor from the Maghreb to undertake the reconstruction of France after World War II in what would be called the "glorious 30" and it occupied a period that was from 1945 to 1974. The working masses Moroccan immigrant became part of the French working class of the automobile, mining and agricultural exploitation. The third phase of the Moroccan migration to France (1974-1989) was represented by the feminization of migration flows to befall the great oil crisis of 1973 that shook the world. The calls for the return and departure of immigrants in France implied a closure of borders and Moroccan workers began to practice the family regrouping of their wives and their families in order to safeguard their stay in the country of destination. Unemployment, repression and racism emerged in a context of social and economic crisis against immigrants. The fourth phase took place between 1990 and 2000. It is a stage in which there is a political and social confrontation. The rise of xenophobia and racism in the target society, due to the revolts and the dehumanization of the urban peripheries, is combined with a marginalization of these immigration pockets in public social policies such

as pensions and health insurance. The French government raises restrictions on access to nationality by immigrants. The fifth phase of Moroccan selective immigration to France (2000-2007) is configured as a new stage in which the French Government establishes norms to undertake a maximization of migrations and carry out a selective migratory recruitment, with an eye on qualifications like computing. For this, many Moroccan computer scientists are recruited, although with the conditions of knowledge of the French language, the civilization of the host society and respect for the laws. Finally, we have a sixth phase that is inserted in the economic crisis and identity in the target society between 2007 and 2017. The great debate of the burqa in the heart of the target society caused great waves of Islamophobia, both in France and in all Europe. Alongside these events is a strong economic crisis extending globally and the Sarkozy government practices numerous expulsions of clandestine immigrants. Great debates emerged about secularism, republican values and gender equality. The controversy over Muslim dress jumped to the forefront affecting foreign Muslims and converts, contributing to the segregation of Moroccan immigrants. In 2013, 45% of the immigrant population in France was Moroccan.

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