

Feminization of Moroccan immigration

**Is it a reflection of the social and cultural transformations of
the original community?**

Sociological approach

**Prepared by the student:
Nezha EL OUAFI**

April 2016

**Mohammed V University
Rabat Morocco**

Introduction

The multifaceted migration of Moroccan women “adds complications to the women's migration and requires approaches that are more based on gender. In his work, Vaus (2009) distinguished between four angles of approaches allocated by migrant women studies: family reunion, labor market, family strategies, and immigration networks”¹. This article approaches the subject of Moroccan women's migration from a new angle different from the dominant approaches in researches and studies that have focused on the Moroccan women migrating abroad. This article goes beyond the limited view that ignore or separate changes defining the Moroccan immigration in general and female immigration in particular from the socio-cultural transformations witnessed by Morocco, which gave rise to the second wave of Moroccan female migration (as shall be established below), subsequent to the first wave, which was a result of factors related, on the one hand, to the family reunion, which considered the immigrant man as a central and effective actor and woman as dependent and passive. It is, on the other hand, related to the encouraging legal developments that have defined the receiving states. This article will demonstrate the central hypothesis which proves that the migration of women in the second wave of Moroccan migration during which she moved independently of the man is an indicator and an image of the profound socio-cultural transformations witnessed by Morocco.

This dimension was referred to by a study carried out by the Hassan II Foundation for Moroccans living abroad: “Immigration of Moroccan women accentuated the orientations of profound social transformations. If the woman is able to attain the possibility of thinking of and realizing a project outside her country of origin and without the tutelage of the man, it is due to the Moroccan circumstances characterized by tolerance of cultural restrictions and trend towards more liberation of women's movement away from the societal control of the family)”². Therefore, this research centered around one basic issue which is the approach to answer the central question: what are the sociocultural factors that gave arise to the migration of the Moroccan woman independently from the man? Together with other subsidiary questions such as: Why was the spontaneous and independent women's migration absent in the first generations of the Moroccan women migration abroad?

This study does not claim to perform the required research to answer those questions, it does, however, try to raise attentions to an important sociological dimension in the migration of Moroccan women which is connected to the sociocultural transformations defined by Morocco and become one of its high-profile features. The difficulty, in this study, lies in the lack of Studies dealing with the migration of Moroccan women from these angles, since “the Moroccan studies on the immigrant women are rare, and when interest exist they are only referred to in a general context (kachani 2009), with a reference to the overall trends in the development of the women immigrants' numbers or activities, events surrounding their mobility, their position in the receiving state, their return to Morocco etc., which the work of Ghali (2005) tried to overcome (2005) in his studies of women originated from Tetuan region and immigrants to Spain as he tracked economic,

¹(Foundation for Moroccans Living Abroad, (Marocains de l'extérieur 2013) , Rabat-Morocco 2014, p34 Hassan II

²idem

sociocultural and personal motives that impelled more and more Moroccan women to choose the migration as a means to achieve their projects and break with a reality they hardly bear. When he tracked women's migration in Madrid and Malaga, the author highlights the failure of the women's migration project who found themselves faced to a double exploitation, because of their sex and of their status as migrants without residence papers in many of these cases. However, this image did not prevent them, under the image of immigrant man, to be the source of income for their families remaining in the country"³.

As a component of international migration, "women were never regarded as a preferable subject for researches which were attracted to male themes and interested in the economic impact of immigration sites, flows developments and geographical distribution. For (Vause 2009: 11), who refers to Boyd and Grieco (2003) "indifference towards the gender is present when researchers add gender as the only variable or sub-community in the analysis, without re-addressing the present conceptual framework, or developing new models which allow the interpretation of differences on a gender basis. we will not be surprised to know that the research in Morocco was for a long time under the influence of research in the French social sciences, which in turn is retarded on the subject of women, compared with the progress made in Anglo-Saxon countries, or recently in countries such as Spain and Italy (Maas et al.2001)"⁴.

This study monitors the developments of the Moroccan immigration through its basic stages, and how it began with almost absolute masculinity and evolved until it stabilizes today in a situation characterized by a predominant female presence.

Moroccan Immigration: from Absolute Masculinity to Predominant Feminization

Feminization of migration is considered as an old global phenomenon. In 2005, 94.5 million women were accounted among 191 million migrants in the world, which was nearly the half. They represent almost half of migrants from all countries of the world accustomed with migration during the 2005 half of the migrants for all countries of the world which is accustomed to migration, except African countries and the Arab world⁵. Women migration constitute the majority for some peoples, especially peoples of North America, Europe, and the Middle East.⁶ The feminization of migration has witnessed a significant rise since the beginning of the 90's. The feminine migration had been within the framework of family reunion to join her migrant husband or father. Nonetheless, today for the most part, just as is the case for men, is a work migration under the motives of finding a job or education purposes that also often end up by looking for job and settling in the receiving state, and Morocco is no exception to that rule, as we shall see later in this article.

³ Idem

⁴ Hassan II Foundation for Moroccans Living Abroad, (Marocains de l'extérieur 2013) , Rabat-Morocco 2014, p34

⁵ https://www.fidh.org/IMG/pdf/Femmes_et_migrations_fr.pdf

⁶ idem

Migration of Moroccan Men: the Beginning

The first migrations of Moroccans abroad, the current status of which can be seen as its own extension, was largely framed by the colonial relationship that ties Morocco to France and Spain (1912_1956). At first, it was about recruiting Moroccans to work in French and Spanish armies. Afterwards, it concerned bringing the labor force to work in factories, mines, and fields subsequent to labor force crisis made by First and Second World Wars, and also, when France decided to suspend the Algerian labor force during the War of Liberation (1954-1962). At that time, the employment and immigration of Moroccan workers and underage workers in France scored from 20 thousand to 53 thousand persons according to Hein de Haas, in his scientific article⁷ entitled: Maroc: Préparer le Terrain pour Devenir un Pays de Transition Migratoire? (Morocco: prepare the ground to become a country of migration transition?”, adding that for Spain the number of Moroccans recruited in the army did not exceed 40 thousand Moroccans during the civil war experienced by it. Moroccan migration to Spain remained limited to this number up to the 1960’s, when Spain turned into a source of migrant labor to northern Europe.

The migration which took place under colonialism remained weak compared to migration known during 1962-1972, the period in which the economy of Western Europe knew a strong growth resulted in a huge demand for a weakly qualified labor force. This resulted in skyrocketing increase in the size and importance of the Moroccan migration. Within the context of a growing demand in Western Europe to labor forces, labor agreements concluded between Morocco and West Germany (1963), France (1963), Belgium (1964) and the Netherlands (1969) led to a diversification of the Moroccan migration routes outside the French territory. The number of Moroccans registered as residents in a European country rose exponentially, as it moved from 30 thousands to 300 thousands, and continued to reach 700 thousands in 1982, one million and 600 thousands in 1998 and three millions and 100 thousands in 2012⁸.

The development of number of Moroccans Living Abroad between 1998 and 2006

Years	Moroccans of the World
1998	1 662 870
2000	2 098 187
2002	2 549 215
2005	3 185 382
2006	3 300 000

The prominent feature of Moroccan migration in the period between 1962- 1972, and before, is that it was a man migration par excellence, as the presence of women was still in its initial stages. the predominance of men’s migration over women's, and the fact that the woman migrated as a housewife or a daughter was reflected on the overall demographic structure of the Moroccan migrants community, and observed by the High Commission for Planning in a study conducted in 2005 on several variables, including "head of the migrant household", where it confirmed that “in terms of gender structure of the head of migrant household only 5.9 per cent are women, compared to 94.1 per cent of men”.⁹ Although the study was conducted in 2005, however, the gender structure of the head of the migrant household strongly preserved the remnants of male migration in which

⁷<http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/maroc-preparer-le-terrain-pour-devenir-un-pays-de-transition-migratoire>

⁸<http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/maroc-preparer-le-terrain-pour-devenir-un-pays-de-transition-migratoire>

⁹High Commissioner for Planning, Moroccans residing abroad 2007, Survey of 2005 on the socio-economic insertion in the receiving states : Results Analysis

women are regarded as merely house wives not heads of household since they are not considered effective economic actors in the community and thus do not represent the family breadwinner.

In its interpretation of the weak percentage of the female household heads, the High Commission for Planning study confirmed that “this weak percentage of female heads of household explains the fact that Moroccan women, starting from 1980, remained, for a long time, as the cultural actor of migration, and the man as its economic actor. Indeed, throughout the first decades of family reunion, the reference image of migrant woman remained as a multi-image of mother, therefore, non-active. Her engagement in economic activities in the receiving states is considered as a new phenomenon which came too late than the man, thus its appearance in the field of economy is considered effective only in recent decades”¹⁰. This shows the role played by the family reunion in shaping the migrant community not only at the level of gender distribution of its demographic structure, but also at the level of roles distribution where the economic role of men and the cultural role of women predominated.

What enhances the bonding between migration and marriage on the one hand and between it and the structure of migrant community on the basis of gender on the other hand is the fact that “72.5 per cent of couples were married in Morocco before the family reunion, while 27.5 per cent lived in migration before marriage”, according to the study of the High Commission for Planning, which adds that “in 2005, when the research was conducted, 85.6 percent of the heads of the Moroccan migrant households were married, 11.4 per cent were single, 2.2 percent were divorced, and 0.8 per cent were widows”. In the interpretation of this gender structure in which marriage prevails, the study confirmed that “during 1960’s and 1970’s, migration was an important factor in promoting marriage, while this was more delayed for late migrated generations. This means that the old migration generations are more formed with married couples compared to the modern generation”.

The Shift towards the Predominant Feminization

According to a report drawn by Hassan II Foundation for Moroccans Living Abroad, “Moroccans abroad 2013”¹¹, “women’s presence has become an important reality in the Moroccan migration since 1970’s as a result of family reunion. Her position as a migrant evolved since that time and became multifaceted.

Certainly, the migration which took place before 1980 was temporary in terms of governing agreements, but ended with the settlement of migrant men in the European receiving states. With the encouragement of family reunion welcoming policies approved by the European receiving states, the Moroccan migration moved between the years 1970 and 1980 from the status of mobile migration or labor migration, to migration of a permanent and family nature. Therefore, this opened the way for the clear emergence of Moroccan migrant woman on migration scene as a wife or a daughter. This family migration, in particular explains the quadrupling number of Moroccans living in Western Europe from 291 thousand in 1972, earlier than the oil shock, to nearly 1.2 million in 1992¹².

Hein de Haas¹³ considers that the family reunion took two different forms: an "initial" family reunion through which the workers, who were basically male, brought their wives and children. "Secondary" family reunion is when the son who is resident in the migration state marries a person

¹⁰ idem

¹¹ Hassan II Foundation for Moroccans Living Abroad, (Marocains de l’extérieur 2013) , Rabat-Morocco 2014, p 34

¹² <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/maroc-preparer-le-terrain-pour-devenir-un-pays-de-transition-migratoire>

¹³ idem

in the country of origin. When the "initial" family reunion almost ended at the end of the 1980's, the "secondary" family reunion was established all over 1990's as a key factor for the extension of migration from Morocco. In 1998, the number of people originated from Morocco and settled in European countries increased to reach 1.6 million persons. The number of the community of Moroccans residing officially in Spain and Italy also increased after the adoption of the "visa" system and settlement of the situation of Moroccan illegal migrants and moved from about 20 thousands persons in 1980, to 1.2 million in 2010, according to estimates.

If the Moroccan migrant community consisted mainly of men, it would witness starting from 1970 an increasing proportion of migrant women, not only as migrant men companions in the framework of family reunion but also as independent migrants to the southern Europe to work as domestic workers, nannies, cleaning women, or in in the agricultural sector and small industries. The Moroccan women's migration would expand through the completion of studies and the search for work, and gave rise to new paths for women's migration including all continents, especially Asia towards the Gulf States.

Moroccan Immigrants According to Gender and Country of Residence

Country	Year	Gender					
		Male		Female		Total	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
France	1975	190,6	75,3	69,4	24,7	260	100
	1982	263,2	61,1	167,9	38,9	431,1	100
Belgium	1977	44,4	54,8	36,6	45,2	81	100
	1981	58,4	55,6	46,7	44,4	105,1	100
	1984	64,9	54,5	54,1	45,5	119	100
Netherlands	1984	62,6	58,8	43,8	41,2	106,4	100
	1985	67,4	58,1	46,6	41,9	111,3	100
Germany	1985	30	62,4	18,1	37,6	48,1	100
Scandinavian Countries	1982	3	62	1,8	38	4,8	100
	1984	3,3	59,6	2	40,4	5	100
Total	1982	408,4	59,9	273,4	40,1	681,8	100
	1984	464,7	59,8	311,7	40,2	776,4	100

Source¹⁴ : Ministry of Planning, Rabat 1986

The previous table presents the growth in terms of feminization of the Moroccan migration between the years 1975 and 1985. It should be noted that the proportion of women among migrants by country of residence, ranged between 24.7 percent (France 1975) and 45.5 percent (Belgium 1984).

The HCP stresses in a study¹⁵ undertaken in 2005 that the changes on the basis of gender, witnessed by Moroccan migrants community abroad in favor of women appears also through the gender based

¹⁴ Abdelkrim Belguendouz, "Maroc: Genre et migration entre hier et aujourd'hui" ("Morocco: Gender and Migration between the Past and the Present"), CARIM, analytical and briefing notes 201/67, series on gender and migration socio-political module

distribution of the entire migrant community, which gives men the share of 54.6 per cent and women 45.4 per cent. These indicators stresses on the fact that the Moroccan migration has become a migration of work, driven by the search for work. The next table presents a gender distribution map by age groups.

Distribution of the Immigrant Community according to Gender and Age Group in 2005

Age Group	Male	Female	Total
Under 15 years old	50.6	49.4	100.0
	26.9	31.5	29.0
From 15 to 59	55.1	44.9	100.0
	68.8	67.4	68.2
Over 60 years old	83.0	17	100.0
	4.3	1.1	2.8
Total	54.6	45.4	100.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: HCP-CERED (Center for Demographic Studies and Research)" Survey on Socio-economic Insertion in the Receiving States of Moroccans Living Abroad, 2005

If the period subsequent to 1970 was a male predominance period over the migrant community, the presence of women in migration, primarily through family reunion, gradually expanded to reverse the situation today towards the huge gradual feminization which hit the ratio of 45.4 in 2005, and then to a predominant feminization in terms of the number of Moroccan migrants abroad. Women today represent 52 per cent of the total Moroccan migrants abroad, with a number of 3million and 800 thousand persons in 2014, according to the ministry in charge of Moroccans Residing Abroad and Migration Affairs.

Two Waves for the Feminization of Migration

In view of the abovementioned elements, it should be noted that the feminization of the Moroccan migration process has gone through two waves of migration of women. The first wave took place mainly in the decade of 1970-1980 and adopted mostly family reunion as a key mechanism, in which women were mere companions to man, as wives or daughters. This wave can be labeled as "the subordinate migration" to the fact that women's migration was a subordination to man's and enhanced by him.

The second wave clearly came after the year 1980 and continues till today. This wave, in which family reunion has become secondary, is characterized by the movement of the woman abroad independently of the man, both as a student seeking to complete her studies and often settle down

¹⁵HCP-CERED (Center for Demographic Studies and Research)" Survey on Socio-economic Insertion in the Receiving Statesof Moroccans Living Abroad, 2005.

subsequently in the country, or as a job-seeker. This kind of feminine migration can be called as "independent migration" since women's migration has the same directions in terms of geographical destination, but carried out independently from the migration of man.

At this level, several questions shall be asked, such as:

Why was the independent feminine migration absent in the first generations of Moroccan migration and present in the last?

Why the woman was not considered as an independent spontaneous actor in migration just like the man?

What is the nature of the barriers that impeded the women to migrate like man?

What has changed in Morocco between the two waves of feminine migration?

If the family reunion explains the first women migration under the responsibility of the man and the developments in laws in the receiving state, it does not explain the "absence" of independent spontaneous immigration at that time and its presence today, what has changed?

The socio-cultural introduction to understand the multiple forms of Moroccan women migration

Sociocultural Field as a Reference to Understand the Women's Migration Dynamics

"Moroccans abroad in 2013"¹⁶ report of the "Hassan II Foundation for Moroccans Living Abroad," emphasizes on the fact that "the presence of women have become an important fact in the Moroccan migration since 1970 as a result of family reunion. Her position as a migrant evolved since then to become multifaceted; the facet of a first generation migrant who migrated as a companion to the father or husband. After leaving under submission, which lasted for a long time in the dark, these women have succeeded, over years in migration, to gain power within the family, mostly reinforced by the existence children and relative financial independence. Girls, who were born abroad and belonged to the second or third generation, have had the possibility to access to education and employment, which gave them a different status than their mothers. Although they are considered as "active economic or sociological actors" their life has never been freed from family constraints. Even though some of them are liberated and converted to modernized values of the receiving states others have been unable to overcome the cultural and/or religious pressures of the original community. In the light of this conflictual sociocultural, field the position of women members of the current migration movement is determined by the education, marriage, and/or work. Another category should be added to the aforementioned categories, which is the migrant women who were brought within the framework of seasonal agricultural work in Spain, or those who are brought to the Gulf States by virtue of domestic work contracts, or as artists or care specialists.

¹⁶Hassan II Foundation for Moroccans Living Abroad, (Marocains de l'extérieur 2013) , Rabat-Morocco 2014, p34

This paragraph refers to the sociocultural field as a reference to understand the women migration dynamics, and if the family reunion and the evolution of the law in the receiving states explain the migration of Moroccan women during the years before 1970, there exist other sociocultural and economic factors which explain her migration out of the family reunion.

In this context, the High Commission for Planning indicates, in a prospective study published on its official website under the title of "The Future of Morocco in 2030, what Demography?" refers to the role that sociocultural factors play in understanding the phenomenon of the internal migration feminization as well, since "the internal migration component by gender knew major changes towards a rising feminization. Thus, the woman contribute to the migration on several levels, first, through her own initiative, within the framework of an independent migration, in search of better living conditions; and second, as a companion the man like a wife, a family member or a housewife. The increasing feminization of the internal migration waves, in terms of size, raised changes or accompanying transformations at the level of the Moroccan woman status and living conditions, contributed to the modernization of her demographic behavior".

The High Commission linked between the independent migration of women and their search "for better living conditions".

These references to socio-cultural factors in the interpretation of the independent involvement of women in migration, raises the question of the nature of these factors.

Sociocultural Drivers of Women Migration

The evolution of the woman's migration never separates from the development of her status in the Moroccan society. This same status evolved in different dimensions resulting from several factors, including the woman's education, work and financial independence, her carrying the economic burden of the household, acquiring -over time- the freedom to move and travel, first within and then outside of Morocco.

To gain the ability to travel goes necessarily through the flexibility experienced by family rules that limit the freedom, movement and activity of women. This flexibility resulted, as well, from general sociocultural changes witnessed by the Moroccan society.

The HCP approached, in its aforementioned prospective study, the most important transformations witnessed by the Moroccan society, which allowed women to acquire a status characterized by independence and freedom, and which explain the right she attained to emigrate independently of man, whether inside or outside Morocco. The HCP focused, as well, on the evolution of the marriage, reproduction, and education factors.

Marriage Factor: According to the HCP prospective report “the prevailing tradition in 1960 was early marriage, practiced on a large scale and mostly arranged at the teenage, and even since childhood. Thus, 94 per cent of women aged between 20 to 24 years old were already married. This percentage was even closer to 98 per cent for the age group of 25 to 29 years old, and beyond 30 years old, only very few women were considered as celibate; they represent only about 1.5 per cent”.

It should be noted how marriage institution was almost the ultimate destiny for women, and that the percentage of women who did not join the institution of marriage was very few, about 1.5 per cent. This situation explains the close connection between women and the institution of marriage, and that this relationship is almost entirely founded under the age of thirty.

In its monitoring of turning the situation registered by the HCP during the year 1960, it highlights that “the shift started crystal clear since the sixties, where we find that the rate of teenage girls between the ages of 15 and 19 years old who were already married declined by about a half: - - in 10 in the year 1960, 3 in 10 in 1971, to become marginal from the end of the eighties (about 1 in 10). Then very quickly the tendency to delay marriage after the age of twenty took place. Within the age group 20-24 years old the proportion of single women in 1960 was slightly 6 percent, 40 per cent in the census of 1982, before it became dominant in 1985, stabilized slightly beyond 60 per cent in 1997, and even exceeded to 2 out of 3 for urban women).

It should be noted as well the way indicators relating to marriage collapsed towards its delay in 37 years. This means that the institution of marriage is no longer the ultimate destiny for women as it was before, which will open before her different tracks for development and social and economic integration.

In the interpretation of these developments the HCP emphasizes in its prospective study on the fact that “in studying the evolution of rates of single women between the age of 20-24 years and between 25-29 years we shall note the extent of changes occurring in the marriage of the two genders for the first time. This percentage has significantly increased for several reasons, school attendance especially for girls, access to labor market, aspiration to a different lifestyle, economic difficulties, etc.”.

We consider that sociocultural factors are main drivers of the evolution of the situation of women towards independence, which allowed her to travel freely within Morocco and, then, outside of it. On the top of these factors it was school attendance, access to labor market aspiration to a different lifestyle and economic difficulties. No doubt that the combination of all these factors allows women to acquire competencies supporting their liberation from traditional controls that patterned their future as housewives within the institution of marriage. All of this lead to a reversal of social values that frame the view of society towards women and their status in society as was confirmed by the HCP study in stating the transformations that have defined marriage indicators, and confirmed that

“early marriage is no longer the measure, since the marriage institution itself was destabilized, and marriage became more based on the emotions of couples than family customs (inter-family marriage, with the concern to preserve the private property). Moreover, the absolute celibacy, whether out of necessity or choice, is more and more established, especially by women with postgraduate degrees”.

The other introduction indicated by the prospective study of the HCP, relates to literacy indicators among women and their access to the labor market. According to the study the “recent decades were characterized by some kind of improvement at the level of school attendance, especially for girls and literacy among women whose rate moved from 96 per cent in 1960 to 55 per cent in 2004, registering a decline of 41 points during 44 years. This is due, primarily, to the spread of school attendance by younger generations, as the enrollment of girls in primary education reached 77.5 per cent in 2004”.

It shall also be noted the great reversal witnessed in the literacy rate between 1960 and 2004, from an illiteracy rate among women of 96 per cent to school attendance ratio for girls of more than 77 per cent and then a decline in illiteracy rate among women to 41 per cent during 44 Years. These shifts in the education of woman had enormous and obvious influences on her position in society. This was confirmed by the same study as it registered that “the improved educational levels of women in Morocco allowed to review some of the criteria that make a woman just a factor to procreate. When women continue their education until they reach relatively high levels, new horizons would open up for their independence and professional integration, which would lead to the emergence of a new vision for women. This qualified education, referred to as “school wastage” will affect women's strategies in terms of marriage, since acquiring an advanced degree would push women to adopt individual choices to develop their situation and to exercise professional activity, which would not be without effect on their reproductive behavior.”

Source: field research for the thesis in course about trans-boundary citizenship: a sociological study of the situation of the Moroccans of the world.

School Level		
None	8	6,8%
Primary School	22	18,8%
Secondary School	7	6,0%
High School	36	30,8%
NC	44	37,6%
Total	117	100,0%

The results of the HCP study are consistent with the field research results (table above) so that more than 44 percent of the interviewed women have post graduate diplomas; therefore, the “improved education level of women in Morocco allowed the review of some criteria that make of a woman just a procreation factor”. This also suggests shifts that go beyond women to the society which starts to perceive woman as active not only in the marital field but also in new fields which the society is accustomed to reserve to man. The study registers that “by continuing the studies until they reach relatively high levels, women were allowed new horizons for their independence and professional integration”. This point clearly illustrates the role education plays in allowing women to gain independence and required efficiency to engage in professional labor market. It also registers that (holding a graduate degree would push them to adopt individual choices to develop their situations and exercise professional activity”, which emphasizes on the prospects opened to women with postgraduate degrees, which would naturally include thinking about continuing their studies abroad and searching for breathing outlets to realize projects evolved in their minds through a long path of fighting literacy and societal controls governed by man.

Women's migration: the characterization of great sociocultural shifts in Morocco:

By considering the dominant sociocultural dimension in the period of the male dominance of migration when the migration of women was solely within the family reunion, we find that women were looked at, as indicated by the HCP study, as a social actor who activates particularly within the household as a housewife and a means for procreation, when man is looked at as an economic actor acting primarily in the community/public space. This sociocultural shape does not allow thinking about a possibility, though marginal, that comprises the option for women to migrate abroad.

In view of what is said before, women migration abroad independently from the man can be regarded as a real indicator which reflects the sociocultural transformations witnessed by the Moroccan society through the decades subsequent to its political independence.

Summary

For a deep understanding of the transformations interacting in resolving the situation of the Moroccans of the world, it is important to surround the multiple aspects of independent migration of women, which is considered as one of its most important indicators. First, it reflects the extent of shift and changes in Moroccan society as a springboard for this dynamic that has spread to their receiving states, where scientific research, with its descriptive and quantitative tools, remains the sole means to decipher this transformation, identify it and scrutinize its social repercussions and background on the new social structure and pattern framing the Moroccan society. Second, investment projects launched by migrant women abroad with their immigration project as capital that includes a complex composite that shall go through a qualitative and quantitative analyses, because these women did not only leave for family reunion feminization path of Moroccan migration is one of the most important indicators which reflect complex shifts of integration,

acculturation, naturalization, double affiliation, multicultural and multi-identical aspects and gender relationship to power and roles distribution.

The dynamic access to the labor market generated by the feminized migration lead us to the question of social relations and power for the Moroccan women abroad and the fact finding, self-research and independence question for women's independent migration reflect an investment projects in which migrant women pose a challenge that mobilizes and provokes their traditional roles and inherited social architecture of their country of origin. There remains the question of whether is it about an investment of only financial independence as a capital to establish equality and revolution against cultural reference framing the role of women within the group including her, or the so-called Moroccan community abroad, or is it about a search for lost roles through a course of financial independence when she remains culturally reluctant, at least for the first generation of migrant women, where it is reflected in the search for identity needs to satisfy movable uprooted identity, as expressed by Bourdais?

Given that social change is a move from one position to another, and with this rapid prominent emergence of Moroccan women within the emigrational context in the receiving states, a new concern began to gain interest, in this social change embodied by the increasing feminization of Moroccan migration, by researchers, Morocco and receiving states. This concern focuses on their linguistic and cultural integration in order to open up access to marginalized women abroad and invest their qualifications in a world of cognitive competition initiated by Morocco. This transformation should be accompanied by thematic studies for this emerging component of immigration given the central position it occupies in the total transformation witnessed by Moroccans of the world as confirmed by the official statistics made by the receiving states and Morocco, all of which confirm the shift in the Moroccan migration.