

Exploratory study on the field of aid to migrants in Morocco

*Trajectories, Representations and Mobilization
of Artistic and Cultural tools*

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“Even if they dry up the sea and build a barrier from the bottom of the sea to the sky, we will always find a way to pass, because, in the end, it is a human construction and every human construction has its flaws.”

Migrant in irregular situation

Documentary : “Tangier, the dream of the illegal migrants”, Leïla Kilani, 2002

The masculine gender is employed in this research just to lighten the text.

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01.

Introduction

Numerous research initiatives dealing with migration issues have developed since the launch of Morocco's Immigration and Asylum Strategy (SNIA) in 2014. The goal of this new strategy has been to provide the Moroccan state with a policy of integration of migrant populations, which have previously been regarded as temporary populations. A lot of study works deal with integration concerns¹, the profile of migrant populations², regularization campaigns³, and migrant population repression activities⁴. This literature breathes new life into migration study by focusing on Moroccan realities, avoiding a Eurocentric view of Mediterranean migration. The research then turns to migration policies, beginning with the Moroccan state's geopolitical interests with countries in Europe and Africa⁵, and progressing to the effects of migration policy used as a tool for the expansion of the domain of authoritarianism and repression⁶, and finally to the transformations induced by the migration phenomenon on Moroccan society⁷. Some of this research takes the form of expert reports often commissioned by international donors (funding partners).

Another aspect of Moroccan research focuses on migration from the bottom up, that is, at the level of migration actors and their internal reasoning⁸, political organization modes of migrant populations⁹, and the emic conception that Moroccan youth have about the operation of Hrig/ clandestine crossing¹⁰. All of these studies highlight the complexities of Morocco's migratory phenomena by criticizing Euro-centric logics linked to the "transit countries" and "externalisation of European migration policies" concepts¹¹.

In the framework of this study, we were interested in the moral ideals that underpin the logics of solidarity with migrant groups. We were interested in protesting civil society, humanitarian and philanthropic non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and national NGOs co-opted into migratory relief operations. On the logics that lead to solidarity work with migrants, we interviewed a significant number of social workers, associative actors, scholars, artists, and journalists.

The initial goal of this study was to examine competing discourses and practices surrounding moral values such as humanitarian protection mobilized in acts of solidarity with migrants in Morocco, in order to address two issues:

- What competing discourses and practices surrounding moral values such as humanitarian protection are mobilized in acts of solidarity with migrants in Morocco?

- How can Moroccan activists, artists, and other people visually express and investigate concerns of humanitarian protection and solidarity with (forced) migrants?

Throughout our study, the idea of solidarity has grown by concentrating on a specific category of solidarity: the group of people, associations, NGOs, and international organizations involved in initiatives related to migrant relief. To do so, we are interested in the logics of actors and their resiliency techniques. The research's initial inquiries were centred on three primary axes: the actors' trajectory toward help for migrants; their representations around specific themes; and the utilization of arts and culture in activities and actions of solidarity with migrant communities.

Finally, in order to address the research difficulties, this study is separated into three sections. The first section is a compilation of all of the articles, reports, and publications that we came across during our investigation. It enables us to interpret Moroccan migration policies between 2003 and 2022 by modelling them in three broad periods that arose from cross-referencing our texts with actor interviews. The second section presents a non-exhaustive taxonomy of the players involved in assisting migrants based on interviews and case studies conducted in the field. This typology enables us to analyse the moral ideals that underpin migrant help. The final section is about using creative and cultural practices to support migrants.

It attempts to provide a comprehensive overview of the role of art and culture in the treatment of Morocco's migration crisis.

01. Mouna K. 2017
02. Ferrié, J.-N., and M. Alioua. 2017
03. Benjelloun, S. 2017
04. GADEM, 2018
05. Cherti, M., and M. Collyer. 2015
06. Natter K. 2020 ; Khrouz, N. 2016
07. Mouna, K., Harrami, N., Maghraoui, D., Lfatmi, Y., 2017
08. El Qadim , 2014, 2015 ; Bajalia 2020 ; Bachelet 2019
09. Alioua, M. 2009
10. Pandolfo S. 2007
11. Leslie Gross-Wyrtzen & Lorena Gazzotti (2021)

02.

Methodology

The exploratory investigation we undertook as part of the MADAR project has the main purpose of examining, through a field survey, the competing discourses and practices around the moral values that are mobilized in acts of solidarity with migrants in Morocco.

The general approach of this exploratory study is to open up future research and reflection paths for the MADAR project. It does not aim to be a comprehensive study of the migration assistance community, but to raise research hypotheses and to open up issues to be addressed in more specific research.

This study took place over a year, from January 2022 to February 2023. It includes field research, data analysis and reporting.

To conduct this study, we assembled a team of five researchers/field actors consisting of: two leading researchers, Abdeslam ZIOU ZIOU, anthropologist and independent researcher, and Mehdi AZDEM, D. in cultural communication and expert in cultural policy issues, who have worked for the last ten years within several Moroccan NGOs that campaign for human and cultural rights. Three junior researchers: Abdessamad KHADIRI, PhD student in urban sociology at Tetouan University who is interested in urban sustainability, Oumayma AGHZERE, a master's student in anthropology at Laval University, and Younes TALAA, an associative actor and social worker, working with migrants and refugees at an NGO in the city of Tangier. The diversity of trajectories and profiles of the team allowed us to approach the problem of the study across different levels. The two main researchers shared their experience in terms of social survey methodology, interview conduct, and related field data analysis. Both students/researchers have refined and developed strong maintenance and analysis tools. The social worker brought us in-depth knowledge of the field and these developments during the research.

The first aspect of the methodology was based on the reading of grey literature - twenty documents approximately - from the last decade, dealing with the evolution and the situation of sub-Saharan migration in Morocco. In addition, we had about fifteen academic articles and works that analyse the reception and living conditions of migrants on Moroccan territory. These readings were enhanced by consulting texts of migration laws and conventions, as well as national and international press items in order to intersect our sources of information. The use of digital ethnography is the second aspect of this hybrid methodology¹. This

form of ethnography studies the interactions, representations and information produced by actors through digital technologies². Using social networks in the migration pathway stands as a source of information to be undertaken along the way, the networks of solidarity to be sought and the intimacy of the immigration's imagination built by migrants throughout their migration adventure³. A significant part of the migratory experience takes nowadays place in the spaces offered by digital technologies⁴.

During the first three months of the research, the team met together to draft the analysis grid and interview guidelines that served to conduct nine interviews, between January and March 2022. Accordingly, a redress of the analytical grid - in connection with the realities on the field - was made on the interview's guide to restart the second phase - nineteen interviews - which took place between April and June 2022. In July, the research team created a new analysis grid that crosses the three axes of this research - trajectory, representation and art, and culture - by enriching it with several sub-axes that emerged from the field results (e.g. the reasons for the engagement of the interviewee actors; the perception of society, the State and the media of migration issues in Morocco; the use of arts and culture as a tool of the living together and as a space for exchange between Moroccan and Sub-Saharan communities). After scraping and transcribing the interviews, the research team met together in a writing residence for several days to analyse field data and elaborate the first results of the research. A second period of analysis and writing residence took place between August and September 2022 before finalizing the writing in October 2022. In this research we have used three main tools:

- Semi-structured interviews⁵, lasting an average of one hour; addressing the individual trajectory of the interviewed persons, their representations of migration and the various activities related to art and culture within the field of immigration.
- 1 focus group⁶ that allowed us to bring together a variety of actors in the field of migration support in Morocco, in an effort to analyse and comment on our first work assumptions.
- 3 case studies⁷ of structures and/or individuals working in support of migrant populations.
- A tool for analysing the content of multivariable interviews taking into account the words of the respondents.
- A study of the existing literature on migration issues and the various research issues addressed in the field of social sciences.

The main challenge of the study was gaining access to the people involved (social workers, associative activists, authorities, institutions and international NGOs). In recent years, the field of migration has been flooded with research, papers, and studies, making the target population distrustful and resistant to the conduct of interviews and/or fieldwork. The migrant population has been difficult to approach owing to the exhaustion felt by its actors, who are constantly sought after by associations, researchers, media, and consultants creating studies, research, or articles. The greatest advantage we had during this research was having Younes TALAA on the team, who is an actor in the realm of migration. The trust and complicity ties he was able to develop with migrant populations allowed us to have sharing moments and discussions that went beyond stereotyped discourse⁸. This difficulty helps us to put the results of our research into context. They do not, by any means, represent the whole field of migration. They contain information about individual actors encountered throughout our investigation as well as information gleaned from the literature review.

We have chosen in this research to deal primarily with sub-Saharan migration. This choice was dictated by our field data and sampling of interviewed individuals. The majority of people encountered in this research work with these specific communities of irregular migrants. We do not address refugees and/or asylum seekers from Arab countries (Syria, Yemen) or European migration to Morocco. This research bias limits the scope of this report, which mainly deals with certain irregular migrant communities in highly vulnerable situations.

Through our research, we have also chosen to give a voice to those engaged in helping sub-Saharan migrants. The concept of aid entails activities to defend migrants' rights (active solidarity campaign, monitoring of rights violations), service activities (social and legal support) for migrants, as well as research and journalistic activities aimed at informing the public about the realities faced by migrants.

This final version of the study was submitted to researchers and partners, Mariangela PALLADINO (Keele University), Sébastien BACHELET (University of Manchester) and Laura JEFFERY (University of Edinburgh) for review and arbitration. Their comments have been incorporated by the research team into the current version of the study.

01. Pink and all, 2006
02. See below; the case study of the Facebook page "Migrapress"
03. Peñaranda Cólera, M.C. 2011
04. Rivera García, Óscar Bernardo, y Gloria Ciria Valdéz Gardea. 2016
05. See annex 1 : list of interviewees (face-to-face and remote)
06. See Blogpost : Travail social et Migration : point de vue d'actrice de la migration.
07. See boxes below : Page Facebook Migrapress, Espace Tatmin (Rabat) et Association Initiatives -Citoyenneté-Éducation et Développement (Tanger)
08. Lorena Gazzotti experienced the same logic in her fieldwork : "When I started my research, I became very quickly aware that many of my potential interviewees experienced research fatigue, because they had already granted interviews to too many researchers, journalists, and development consultants" [Gazzotti 2021 , p. 25]

03.

Analysis of field data and literature review

For the analysis of field data and readings from the literature review related to our research on migration in Morocco, we have chosen to combine a chronological approach with a thematic one. The chronological approach picks up dates, facts and events of legislative developments related to migration in Morocco since the end of the 20th century. The thematic approach deals with the engagement of the persons interviewed, through their life trajectories and their representations of the migration field. To that end, we have identified three major phases in the history of contemporary migration in Morocco:

Phase 1 (2003 - 2013): From the dramas of migration to solidarity with migrants

Phase 2 (2014-2018): "The enchanted parenthesis": from SNIA through regularization campaigns to the inevitable "Costs and Injury".

Phase 3 (2019 - 2022): COVID, Integration or renewal of the residence permit?

3-1. Starting phase (1993 - 2002): borders and irregular migration

Before immersing in Phase 1 (2003 - 2012), it seems necessary to comprehend and contextualize the facts and causes underlying the evolution of the migratory movements between the African and European continents.

The physical closure of the borders between the two sides of the Mediterranean in 1993, the construction of fences¹ around the enclaves of Melilla (1998) and Ceuta (2001)² and the creation of the Schengen area based on the free movement of Europeans between Member States, will result in the implementation of a visa policy in 1995 for the access of foreigners from African countries into Schengen territories. The closure of the borders will increase the likelihood of irregular immigration, primarily by sea through Spanish territories. Thus, arrests on the sea shore rose from 4952 in 1993 to 5827 in 1995 and 16885³ in the Strait of Gibraltar in 2000. Between 1996 and 2000, the majority of illegal immigration candidates were Moroccan (86,5%), Algerian (10,5%) and Sub-Saharan (1,8%⁴). These arrests increase until the end of the 2000s, prompting both Moroccan and Spanish civil society⁵ to convene a series of seminars on "migration between the two sides of the Mediterranean" in Cadiz in 1998, in Al Hoceima in 2000 and in Tangier in 2001⁶. According to one of the interviewees who launched the process, the major goal of these sessions was to mobilize civil society in support of sub-Saharan migrants in northern Morocco⁷.

It is from the early 2000s that Morocco will gradually see new migrant flows from sub-Saharan Africa on its territory, especially on the northern coast of the country to transit to Europe. According to the actors interviewed the presence of sub-Saharan migrants: "did not worry anyone at the time, neither the citizens of the north nor the Moroccan

authorities, was it by negligence?"⁸ One of the actors interviewed informs us that before 2003⁹, the problem of migration was a "taboo" topic¹⁰.

3-2. Phase I (2003 - 2013): from migration dramas to solidarity with migrants

Being a transit country, Morocco has been witnessing, since the 2000s, an increase of the stay length of irregular immigration candidates, due to tighter restrictions and heightened border controls.

November 20, 2003

Promulgation of law 02.03 relating to the entry and stay of foreigners in the Kingdom of Morocco, to emigration and illegal immigration¹¹

*"The main purpose of this law is to provide the Moroccan State with a repressive legislative arsenal that is responsive to new internal security realities." This law empowers authorities to combat illegal migration to Europe and so limit the number of illegal migrants arriving on Spanish shores. Following the May 2003 assaults, the bill was passed without debate and unanimously at the same time as the anti-terrorist legislative arsenal."*¹²

The adoption of Law 02.03 is part of Morocco's security migration management policy in response to internal pressure - increasing arrivals of Sub-Saharan migrants on Moroccan soil - and external pressure - protection and control of the sea route - from the European Union, particularly Spain. Migration governance will gradually devolve into repression and violence against migrants on the borders and in the woodlands of the Melilla and Ceuta¹³ enclaves. People interviewed for this study strongly criticized the law, citing not only the fact that it criminalizes entry and exit from the country, but also the flagrant

contradiction with the international human rights conventions signed and ratified by Morocco¹⁵.

Interceptions of irregular migrants declined somewhat between 2003 and 2004¹⁶, from 36,251 (34.20% Moroccan and 65.80% foreign) to 26,605 (35.15% Moroccan and 64.85% foreign). The major reasons are the tightening of the Spanish-Moroccan security strategy through patrols and the development of the Integrated System of External Vigilance (SIVE) on the borders¹⁷. As a result of this circumstance, activists have begun solidarity campaigns in the camps where migrants seek safety in northern Morocco. Human rights activists' networks have begun to organize by supplying basic essentials to migrants, primarily food and water. Between November and December 2004, about 1,200 migrants benefited from this informal campaign in the Belyounech forest¹⁸.

The EU-Morocco action plan, which was launched at the end of 2004, would confirm the strengthening of border security:

December 17, 2004

Revision of the European Union-Morocco Action Plan

The EU-Morocco Action Plan, approved by the Council on December 17, 2004, takes stock of recent migratory policy. Among the Plan's priority actions is *"effective management of migratory flows, including the signing of a readmission agreement with the European Community."*¹⁹

According to a survey of 1,000 sub-Saharan migrants performed by the Moroccan Association of Studies and Research on Migration in 2007, the average length of stay in Morocco for migrants is 2.5 years. These Sub-Saharan migrants can be found in the northern and north-eastern regions, in the cities of Casablanca, Rabat, Fez, and Agadir²⁰. Interceptions of sub-Saharan migrants by Moroccan authorities surged from 24,245 in 2000 to 29,808 in 2005²¹, and then fell to 16,560 in 2006 and 14,449 in 2007²² as border controls were tightened. As a direct result of this tightening of controls, the length of stay of migrants in transit in Morocco has increased, putting persistent strain on the enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla.

This heightened border control will result in three contradicting dynamics:

1. The solidarity of Moroccan civil society human rights organizations with the migrant population through direct humanitarian assistance in camps and meticulous documenting of rights breaches²³.
2. The rise of racist discourse against Sub-Saharan migrants, particularly in the media²⁴, since 2004²⁵.
3. Tragic events (injuries and deaths) as a result of attempted crossings to Ceuta and Melilla.

Autumn 2005

The bloody toll in Ceuta and Melilla tragedy

Between August 28 and October 6, 2005, 18 migrants died and hundreds were injured while attempting to enter the borders of Ceuta and Melilla, in situations that are still unknown but involve both Spanish and Moroccan authorities. The increased pressure from Moroccan police forces on migrant concentrations near Ceuta and Melilla, as well as the Spanish government's announcement to raise border fences from three to six meters, are some of the factors that have led to these attempts to cross the fence.

These actions began in June, but the most significant occurred on September 27 in Melilla. On that day, about 1,000 people attempted to cross the fence, but only approximately 300 were successful. On September 29, five persons were killed by gunshot wounds while attempting to cross the border in Ceuta. Six migrants were slain by Moroccan auxiliary forces at the Melilla border a week later. Finally, several hundred people were injured as a result of Moroccan and Spanish police fencing and beatings.²⁶

The Advisory Council on Human Rights²⁷ report returns to the events in Ceuta and Melilla, describing them as follows:

Fall 2005

Report on illegal immigration incidents in Ceuta and Melilla

“On the night of September 28-29, 2005, 500 migrants, mostly from Sub-Saharan Africa, attempted to force their way into the enclave of Ceuta.” According to accounts, at least five people were killed and several more were injured. To deal with what appears to be a new migration strategy, the Zapatero government would bring in the army (500 men have been indicated), while the Moroccan government will bolster the police force. On Thursday, October 6, similar huge attacks will take place, this time in Melilla. The origin of the shots is unknown at this moment, whether they were Spanish or Moroccan. There will also be mention of six sub-Saharan assailants killed and dozens injured.”²⁸

(Except from the report)

Following these terrible events caused by more stringent security measures, solidarity with sub-Saharan migrants will grow through the formation of new civil society organizations^{29 30} (for example, GADEM³¹ in 2006 or ARMID³² in 2009³³). The activity will not be confined to solidarity and material aid to migrants, but will also involve advocacy, legal assistance³⁴, and the organizing of cultural events centred on migration (for example, the first edition of the Rabat Africa festival produced by the Fondation Orient-Occident in 2007)³⁵. On the media front, new journalists will do field research and investigations into the plight of sub-Saharan migrants in order to write serious pieces about their living conditions in Morocco³⁶.

From 2009 onwards, Moroccan civil society in the north continued to mobilize in favour of migrants, accompanying them in their settlement outside the forests of Belyounech and Malabata, in Tangier’s working-class neighbourhoods of Chouk and Benkira³⁷. Similarly, some civil society actors sharply condemned law 02.03³⁸ and urged that its execution be halted because the application decrees had yet to be issued five years after its passage in parliament. The decree of application of the law was issued in the official journal one month following the publication of the report.³⁹

May 6, 2010

Publication in the official bulletin of the decree applying the law 02.03⁴⁰

The first edition of the Migrant Scene Festival, organized by GADEM, took place in the Moroccan administrative capital of Rabat toward the end of 2010. The festival’s two evenings provided an opportunity for Moroccans and migrant communities to connect and exchange ideas through cultural activities such as the showing of Othman Naciri’s short film “Sin Palabras” and a play by the group Dabateatr⁴¹. The challenges of cohabitation and integration of Sub-Saharan migrants have begun to surface in civil society activity to promote conversation and mutual understanding. The Fondation Orient Occident opened the Migrants of the World workshop⁴² in 2011 to help refugee, Sub-Saharan, and Moroccan migrant women learn embroidery and sewing to help them fulfil their daily requirements.⁴³

October 2011

The start of The EU-Morocco dialogue on migration, mobility, and security⁴⁴

In October 2011, Morocco and the EU launched a Dialogue on Migration, Mobility, and Security. Negotiations on the Political Declaration of the EU-Morocco Mobility Partnership were completed on March 1, 2013, during the visit of European Commission President Jose Manuel Barroso and Commissioner Malmström to Morocco.

A scandal sparked a heated debate in the Moroccan media about the treatment and representation of sub-Saharan migrants. From November 2 to 8, 2012, the magazine Maroc Hebdo featured a photograph of a black person on the front page of its weekly issue, with the openly racist headline “The Black Peril.”⁴⁵ The media’s depiction of the migration issue in this subject will include racist and reductive remarks, as evidenced by the following: “In Morocco, there are thousands of illegal Sub-Saharans.” They make a living by selling drugs and prostitutes. They are victims of racism and xenophobia. They are a human and security risk to the country...” This media treatment, as well as the implementation of oppressive policies against the migrant community in Morocco’s north, will mobilize a large number of migration actors. This civil community pressure, together with the EU-Morocco Dialogue on Migration, Mobility, and Security, culminated in implementing a new migration strategy in 2013.

3-3. Phase 2 (2013 - 2018): The Enchanted Parenthesis: from SNIA through regulation campaigns to the inevitable “Costs and Injury.”

Following the progression of the October 2011 dialogue between the EU and Morocco on migration, mobility, and security, a

partnership was formed in Brussels on June 7, 2013. One of the goals of this agreement is to better combat migrant smuggling and human trafficking networks, as well as to assist victims of these “criminal networks.” Morocco and the EU agreed to collaborate closely in order to assist Morocco in establishing a national asylum and international protection system. In order to alleviate migratory strain on its territories, the EU agreed to boost settlement and integration programs for Morocco’s migrant population. This political accord, combined with intense pressure from national and international civil society, was to be applied in Morocco by launching the National Strategy on Immigration and Asylum (SNIA). Numerous factors contributed to the SNIA’s release:

1. EU pressure on Morocco to safeguard and regulate its borders, which resulted in the formation of a collaboration on migration management between the two Mediterranean coastlines on June 7, 2013.
2. The report “Foreigners and Human Rights in Morocco,” delivered by the CNDH to Morocco’s King Mohamed VI, on the plight of migrants. This paper urged “public authorities, social actors, and international partners to take note of new realities and work together to develop and implement a true public policy protecting rights, based on international cooperation, and integrating civil society.”⁴⁶
3. The presentation to the Committee for the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families of five critical studies collected by local and international civil society organizations on the situation of migrants’ rights in Morocco.⁴⁷

October 10, 2013

The establishment of the ministerial department in charge of migration affairs

This policy has been entrusted to the Ministry of Moroccans Residing Abroad, whose purpose it is to assure coordination, planning, implementation, and assessment.⁴⁸

All of these legislative measures were designed to improve migrants' and refugees' living conditions on Moroccan land while also providing them with a legal and regular basis to integrate and stay in Morocco. In his speech commemorating the anniversary of the Green March in 2013, the Moroccan sovereign confirmed this perspective by stating that Morocco was no longer a transit but a residency country, suggesting a fundamental shift in the narrative around migration.

November 6, 2013

Royal speech on regularization on the occasion of the 38th anniversary of the Green March

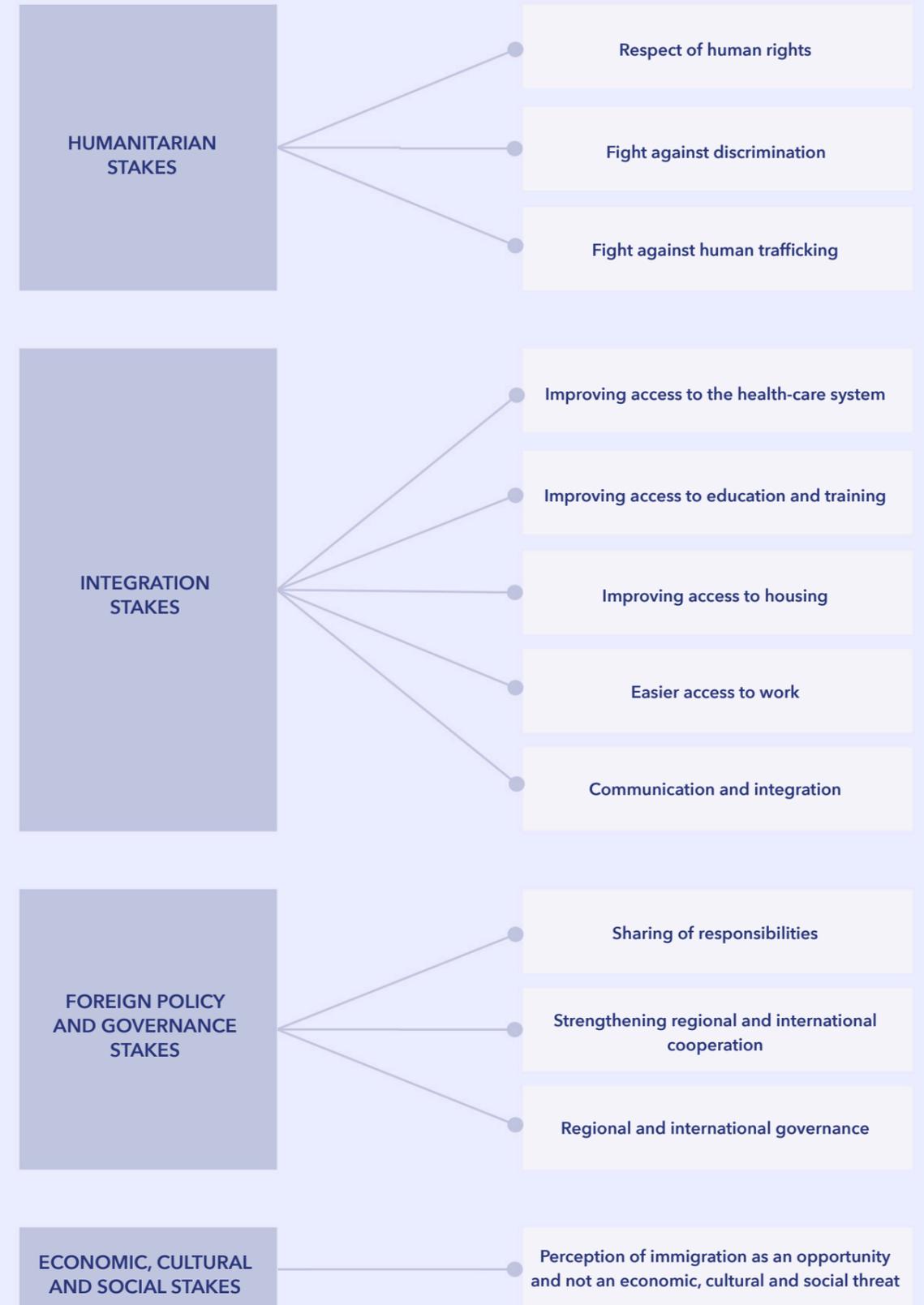
"Our country has evolved from a transit point to a residence destination."⁴⁹

This new chapter in Morocco's migration history began in January 2014, with the announcement of the first regularization campaign and the launch of the National Immigration and Asylum Strategy (SNIA).⁵⁰

December 2014

Official launch of the National Immigration and Asylum Strategy (SNIA)⁵¹

The National Immigration and Asylum Strategy (SNIA) provides new responses to the strategic stakes posed by the issue of immigration



A month later, on February 6, 2014, 15 Sub-Saharan migrants were killed in Ceuta after the Spanish Civil Guard⁵² deployed rubber bullets. Despite the introduction of a migration policy that promotes integration and the possibility of obtaining a residency card, the concept of transiting through Morocco to Europe remains an obsession for migrants. To that purpose, one of the questioned actors stated:

“When a migrant arrives in a country, if the hospitality is good, he stays; if it is bad, he seeks to leave.” So, there were people who gained residence cards as a result of His Majesty the King’s regularization in 2014; among these people were those who stayed and wanted to integrate, but even with a residence card, they could not find work because of the colour of their skin; many of these people died, and many returned to their country of origin. [Interview No. 20]

Parallel to this first regularization drive, civil society had begun to establish venues of meeting, interchange, and socialization for migrants and Moroccans through cultural action. This is the case of Tangier’s Tabadoul space, which opened its doors in December 2013, or the creation of the interculturality department within GADDEM in April 2014, which is solely dedicated to cultural and artistic activities⁵³, or the socio-cultural actions organized in popular Tangier neighbourhoods such as Boukhalef, made possible by the creation of a collective of Sub-Saharan migrants in 2014⁵⁴. Other initiatives to assist migrants in terms of orientation and information will be established in Morocco’s north, such as the “Centre for information

February 2015

Announcement of the results of the first regularization campaign

On September 9, 2015, Anis Birou, Minister of Migration and African Policy, announced the regularization of 18,694 persons (excluding those regularized through appeals). Driss El Yazami, for his part, claimed in February 2015 that 27,130 applications had been filed with foreigners’ offices, with 16,180 receiving good results. Finally, Charki Draiss, Minister Delegate for the Interior, said on February 9, 2015, at a news conference, that 17,916 applications were accepted out of a total of 27,332 applications filed.⁵⁶

and orientation of migrants” in Tetouan⁵⁵.

The official figures of the first regularization campaign varied between public and constitutional organizations. Nonetheless, the regularization drive did not prevent the exclusion logics of the regularized migrants, who faced difficulties renewing their documents and/or finding job or housing. According to one of the interviewees:

“The first residence permits were not at all easy to obtain, it is still difficult and even today, (...) generally all foreigners have the

February 2015

Dismantling of the Gourougou camps in Nador

“In the aftermath of the Minister of Interior’s announcement that the regularization operation was coming to an end, muscular dismantling operations were carried out as early as February 10, 2015, in northern Morocco (primarily in the forests of Gourougou and the vicinity of Nador), leading to the arrest of several hundred irregular migrants.” These operations, according to the authorities, had two goals: “to free several migrants, especially women and children, from the hands of human traffickers” and “to evacuate all places squatted by migrants planning to organize irregular emigration attempts.”⁵⁷

same difficulties, but Sub-Saharans have a little more difficulty because it is not the same papers and procedure.” [Interview No. 27]

Despite being granted legal status in 2015, approximately 1,200 migrant people were attacked and detained by the Moroccan military in the forests around the Spanish enclave of Melilla, and were relocated to central and southern Morocco⁵⁸. In northern Morocco, conflicts between Moroccan natives and Sub-Saharan migrants occurred in the Boukhalef area of Tangier in June 2015⁵⁹. These awful scenarios are frequently caused by a lack of interaction venues, spaces, and meetings between Moroccan and Sub-Saharan people. They are also the result of the feeding of a climate of dread and mistrust between the various communities developed in neighbourhoods with a significant migrant population concentration. They are also evidence of the failure of integration strategies, which are supposed to provide reception and orientation facilities for migrants to help them with their integration.

One month after the events in Boukhalef,

local authorities in Tangier prohibited the performance of a play titled “B7al B7al” (all the same) that was on a national tour in Morocco and whose theme dealt with the Moroccan migration issue between racism, integration, and social inclusion⁶⁰. This tour, whose goal was to establish a space for dialogue⁶¹ - through street theatre - between Moroccans and Sub-Saharans, as well as to open the public debate on migration concerns, was banned first in Nador, then at the national level by Moroccan local authorities.

To reduce social exclusion and strengthen the integration of sub-Saharan migrants, civil society has increased its efforts to strengthen the social bond between Moroccans and sub-Saharans through “living together”⁶² programs. In 2015, a caravan against racism project in elementary and secondary schools in the Tetouan-Tangier-Al Hoceima region

October 26, 2015

The National Appeals Commission approves new steps to regularize 92% of foreigners who filed regularization applications

“On this occasion, the Ministers of Health, Interior, Economy, and Finance, as well as the Minister in charge of Moroccans residing abroad and Migration Affairs, signed an agreement. In compliance with the provisions of this plan, this agreement gives ordinary immigrants and refugees basic medical coverage and access to health care equal to the RAMEL medical aid scheme basket of care. The commission then debated on the 8644 applications for regularization that had obtained a negative verdict at the level of the provincial commissions in charge of assessing the applications.”⁶⁴

will be launched, with the aim of having a migrant discuss his or her life trajectory with students and initiating a debate on his or her experience in Morocco⁶³.

On December 25, 2015, following a dramatic attempt to cross the border in northern Morocco, an agreement was made with the three hospitals of the prefecture Tetouan, Mdiq, and Fnideq. This arrangement intends to receive migrants for consultations, interventions, operations, and delivery in collaboration with the "Manos Solidarias" association, which is in charge of the equipment and the emergency franchise⁶⁵. According to our informant, Tetouan's hospitals are currently the only ones that accept refugees for free.⁶⁶ The rejection of access to hospitals and the right to free health care for migrants does not differentiate between regular and irregular migrants, because health care centres in the north, with the exception of Tetouan, require payment in the event of intervention. The inquiry for the book "Migrations in Morocco: the Impasse?" highlights this topic by returning to the birth of Aissatou⁶⁷, a young Senegalese mother. She was denied entrance to Casablanca hospitals and had to give birth at the CNSS polyclinic for 8,000 dirhams. This is because, as her friend Janette points out:

*"In fact, my friend is in labour, but no hospital wants her." We've been walking since this morning, from one service to another, from Hay Hassani to Ibn rochd, because no one wants to take care of her as she doesn't have paperwork.*⁶⁸

In Morocco, there has been an increase in migration research and studies in 2016. We take notice of the establishment of the Ibn Batouta centre in Tangier for research and studies on local development⁶⁹, as well as a study on Spanish and sub-Saharan migration in Tangier by the Moroccan Association of Studies and Research on Migration and the Foundation Population, Migration, and Environment⁷⁰. A research titled "Sub-Saharan Migration in Morocco:

Challenges of a Resilient Migration⁷¹" published and sponsored by the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, as well as a report titled "Immigration in Morocco: Challenges of Integration" published and commissioned by the Heinrich Boll Foundation in 2017. One of the interviewees tells us about the origins of one of these research initiatives, which demonstrates international donors' interest in migration issues:

"In 2016, we had a rather interesting fund in relation to the Foundation's fund that allowed us to do a research done by researchers in master and doctorate in collaboration between the think tank Rabat Social Studies Institute and the University Moulay Ismail of Meknes[...] , we tried to come out with recommendations and present them to Moroccan policy makers [Interview 7] .

Several European foundations have invested funds in academic research to better comprehend and study Morocco's migration situation, as well as the conditions of Sub-Saharan migrants transiting between Morocco and Europe or residing in Morocco on a temporary or permanent basis. One of the participants told us about the funding of migration research and studies:

2016/2017

Second regularization campaign

King Mohammed VI declared the commencement of a new campaign to legalize unauthorized migrants on December 12, 2016. The second, following a first exceptional operation in 2014 that allowed for the regularization of 25,000 migrants. Anis Birrou, the former minister in charge of migration, reported on March 8 that 18,281 applications for regularization of illegal immigrants had been made at the national level⁷².

MCMREAM⁷³ gave statistics on the regularization operation. This brings the overall number of registration cards given to 23,096 out of a total of 27,649 regularization applications. By combining the CNDH data (over 27,000 applications filed and a regularization rate of 92%), we may estimate that more over 25,000 people have been regularized, which is higher than the figure stated by MCMREAM.⁷⁴

According to the CNDH, the regularization rate of 28,400 applications filed by 113 nationalities (between 15 December 2016 and 31 December 2017) topped 90%.⁷⁵

As of October 5, 2017, 24,367 applications for regularization have been filed by irregular migrants in 70 provinces and prefectures of the Kingdom. These applications were filed mainly by nationals from Senegal (24%), Côte d'Ivoire (18%), Syria (7%), Guinea Conakry (6%) and Cameroon (6%). Rejected applications are examined by the National Appeals Commission chaired by the National Council for Human Rights.⁷⁶

"We conducted four studies on the subject, and I worked on brain drain in research reports after that." Foreign entities, whether the European Union or international donors, support all of this research [Interview 26].

As with the previous campaign, the issue of figures and sources on the second regularization operation differs from one official entity to the next, with information provided by the CNDH, the Minister in charge of migration, and the media all differing from one another. There are concerns regarding the handling of the files and Morocco's migration policy in general.⁷⁷

During 2017, actors working within the framework of living together activities continued to develop initiatives focused on migration using the artistic instrument to create places for meetings and exchanges between Moroccan and Sub-Saharan

June 21, 2018⁸⁰

Launch of the Hijra wa himaya program (Unicef-FOO-EU)

The project aims to provide 2,000 accompanied and unaccompanied migrant children - including victims of trafficking - with services that will be strengthened at the level of the target regions: the Oriental and Tangier, Tetouan, and Al Hoceima (which account for 10% of the migrant population). Direct reinforcement efforts are also planned for social workers, health professionals, teachers, security agents, judicial professionals, and civil society actors.⁸¹

people. As an example, the Heinrich Boll Foundation and the UNHCR⁷⁸ organized the first edition of the crossroads of migration, a video installation display on migration in Morocco in collaboration with GADEM.⁷⁹

A scathing assessment titled "Costs and Injuries" published by GADEM in September 2018 criticized with supporting data the actions of the order forces carried out in northern Morocco between July and September 2018. This repressive operation resulted in the detention of over 6,500 people⁸², including women and minors, who were forcibly relocated to the country's south. The response of the authorities to the report marked the end of a "enchanted parenthesis" created by the launch of SNIA until the second regularization effort. To that aim, GADEM's Migrant'scène Festival⁸³ in Tangier was banned in November 2018 and has not been held since.⁸⁴

The oppressive logic toward civil society has returned, burying the dynamics formed following the SNIA⁸⁵. At the same time, Morocco will host a United Nations-sponsored meeting in Marrakech to endorse the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly, and Regular Migration. The discrepancy between Morocco's oppressive

attitude against migrants and the official discourse portraying Morocco as the "African champion of migration"⁸⁶ will not go unnoticed by civil society. The end of the enchanting parenthesis clearly illustrates

December 11 and 12, 2018

The Kingdom of Morocco hosts an intergovernmental summit in Marrakech, to adopt the Global Compact on Safe, Orderly, and Regular Migration⁸⁷

The goal of this meeting is to legally endorse the Global Compact on Migration, which was pledged by UN Member States on July 13, 2018. However, the pact is not legally enforceable, and Mehdi Alioua, a teacher-researcher specializing in migration issues, claims that "instead of reinforcing rights, the text of the Pact repeats major values that already exist elsewhere in various international texts."⁸⁸

the new consideration of the Moroccan migration issue, which is caught between diplomatic interests to expand its political weight in Africa and globally and the necessities of internal policies to regulate migrant movement.

3-4. Phase 3 (2019 - 2022): COVID, Integration or renewal of the residence permit?

Several reports published in 2020 have enriched our understanding of the migration phenomenon. These studies are of importance to policymakers, academics, and researchers, as well as all actors involved in migration and asylum, as evidenced by the SNIA's fourth report⁸⁹. Furthermore, the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research approved nine master's and doctorate courses dealing with migration and asylum⁹⁰. According to one respondent, student and researcher interest began as

early as 2016:

"Following my master's degree, I began my professional career in 2016 as a research officer in consulting, where I worked a little bit on migration." Then, in 2016, I completed a thesis [... I conducted a thesis on sub-Saharan migrant women in Morocco in Casablanca, and I am working specifically on the factors that influence the integration of sub-Saharan migrant women in Casablanca, including a category of migrants, these are the traders who work in two commercial spaces "Souk namoudaji" in the old Medina which is commonly called "Senegalese market", and I still work on another market "Souk Hay Hassani" in Boulevard Afghanistan [Interview 25].

The problem of integration has always been central to Moroccan migration policy, whether in academic study, as in our interviewee's thesis, or in meeting spaces as a venue for integration and socialization. Since the launch of a new meeting place "Tatmin" in Rabat in March 2020, which encourages cultural diversity and intercultural encounters between Moroccans and Sub-Saharan⁹¹, civil society is fulfilling this function of building meeting spaces. Unfortunately, this opening corresponded immediately with the development of the Covid-19 virus and the period of incarceration in Morocco. Furthermore, the status of solidarity with migrant communities is changing for a variety of reasons:

1. Closure of air, land, and sea borders between countries, causing local barriers to migration;
2. A lack of employment prospects and the acquisition of subsistence resources for migrating people;
3. Difficulty in collecting individual aid and donations in the context of fear associated with the virus's propagation.

All of these factors contributed to the

precariousness and vulnerability of migrants on Moroccan soil, as our interviewee explains:

"I have never worked in the field and in fact, I started so really following the call of Father Daniel when he asked for volunteers to help him serve people in migration situations who were really destitute during the confinement." And it was at that time (...) that I was in charge of the welcome, of all the management (...) so I reached there truly by experience, and here I find that it is the best joy that one can have; it is to help people" [Interview 13].

Because of Covid-19 and the closure of meeting places between Moroccans and sub-Saharan, some actions have been organized online to offer spaces for exchange and expression, such as the 4th edition of the e-Crossroads of Migration organized by the Heinrich Boll Foundation under the theme "Words to Migrants"⁹².

We conducted a digital ethnography of a Facebook page named "Migrapress" to better understand solidarity with migrants and Internet users' perceptions on migration. Between mid-March and mid-July 2022, we conducted a case study based on the research team's continuous monitoring and surveillance of the subscribers' and followers' activities, publications, and feedback on this page. The goal is to comprehend the Moroccan media discourse on migration and the reality of specialized journalistic practice using the technique of content analysis of the page's articles and the extent to which the target groups' objectives are met. In addition, the quantitative and qualitative data from the website were used to confront the discourse and practice.

Case Study: “Migrapress” Facebook page

Migrapress is a Facebook page dedicated to giving impartial and professional analytical information and statistics on the phenomena of migration and asylum to and from Morocco. It was founded in March 2021 and has over 1,623 followers⁹³ with over 1,268 likes.⁹⁴

Since its inception on March 24, 2021, all of its publications have addressed migration and asylum issues. The material presented is based on press pieces written by the journalist who developed the page, news, blogs on current events and subjects, and distance meetings and seminars based on analysis and surveys with experts in the field.

The founder and administrator of the migration press page believes it was created during the Covid period. It derives from a previous desire to develop a media site specializing in migration and asylum issues, but he was unable to do so due to technical, financial, and human resource constraints. That is why, on the advice of a friend, he set up a Facebook page. He believes that “Migrapress” addresses the entire issue of migration (Moroccan migration, minor migration, forced return, deportation, sub-Saharan isolated children, etc.) in an objective, professional, and quality manner, based on data and fact analysis and the processing of figures and sources. His main goal is to persuade the typical citizen that the migrant doesn’t represent a threat or a danger, and to explain the reasons for his migration to Morocco. As a result, he used Arabic in his communication as well as the webinars organized and broadcasted on the page.

We noticed that “Migrapress” shares or re-shares articles in French while receiving little interaction from subscribers. On the other hand, the page has grown in terms of subscriptions and views⁹⁵ with the start of webinars (in Arabic) on migration and asylum concerns. We also noticed that, as of May 2021, the page had adopted new webinar procedures and techniques in collaboration with the platform “papers for all.”⁹⁶

The remote meetings (phase 1: May 2021 and February 2022) varied from the webinars (phase 2: March and June 2022) in that the distant meetings brought together various specialists (associative actors, researchers...) on a single theme, such as human trafficking or refugees...The webinars were linked to current events, such as book publishing on migration or papers dealing with migration difficulties, or recent occurrences (events on June 24, 2002 in Melilla). Unlike remote meetings, these webinars are frequently attended by a single guest.

However, what is noteworthy in all of these webinars is the utilization of the same guests for different migration-related topics. These experts will debate human trafficking, the children of unaccompanied immigrants, and the issues of asylum and refugees without allowing others or migrants to come and relate their stories, trajectories, or even success in Morocco. These are also topics where “communication” would be possible. As previously said, the idea is for the common person to learn and understand more about the causes for these people’s movement, as well as to gather and analyse information from various channels (media, social networks, and entourage) and draw their own conclusion.

 <https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100070559732708>

17 May 2021

Diplomatic crisis between Morocco and Spain⁹⁷

Approximately 8,000 migrants crossed the border in a single day in the spring of 2021. It was assumed at the time that Moroccan guards had turned a blind eye to allow them in. The incident sparked a major diplomatic issue between Spain and Morocco, causing the Spanish government to dispatch reinforcements to its borders. According to Spanish authorities, at least 6,000 migrants arrived in the Spanish enclave of Ceuta from neighbouring Morocco, a record number in a single day. They claimed that the migrants, who included about 1500 youngsters, swam around the border walls that protruded into the water or passed on foot at low tide. The majority of them are thought to be Moroccan. Spain claims they have already returned 1,500 people, but not minors.⁹⁸

The Office of the High Commissioner for Planning published a survey⁹⁹ on "Forced Migration in Morocco" in September 2021, covering a sample of 3,000 migrants, including 2,200 regularized or irregular migrants and 800 refugees or asylum seekers. The major findings suggest that:

1. More than two-thirds of migrants (71.6%) claim to be in an irregular status, whereas nearly a quarter of migrants in Morocco (28.4%) claim to be in a regular situation, 24% have refugee status (21.6% with the UNHCR and 2.4% with the Moroccan government), and 12.3% are asylum seekers.
2. To communicate with Moroccans in their daily lives, French remains the main language used by migrants, at 62.3%.
3. Among all regularized and irregular migrants, 16.7% are from Côte d'Ivoire, 15.9% from Senegal, 13.2% from Guinea, 10.1% from the Democratic Republic of Congo, 8.7% from Cameroon, 4.9% from

Mali, 2.3% from the Central African Republic and 15.1% from other African countries.

4. The average length of stay in these transit countries is 25 months.

5. Of all employed migrants in Morocco, 57.2% are in permanent employment.

Despite the two regularization operations, the vast majority of migrants remain in irregular status. Even regular students and employees struggle to renew their residence permits due to the slowness and heaviness of administrative procedures, as one of those interviewed told us, despite being a very active, recognized, and perfectly integrated public figure in Casablanca's cultural scene:

"It's always hard with paperwork, especially with the papers they ask for, and you never have all the papers they ask for on the list." You never have all of the documents they request on the list. As a student, there will always be journeys back and forth that will lead you to miss classes. You will miss two or three days of courses because you will arrive on the first day, they will tell you that you still have a paper to bring back, you will bring it back, they will tell you that there is a second paper, and then we had to go to Rabat to complete the criminal record. When you arrive, they inform you that the passport photocopy is not clear and that you are missing a paper, so you leave for 3 or 4 days and miss your classes in order to deposit the papers [interview 27].

June 24, 2022

Melilla tragedy, the tragedy at the border crossing of Barrio Chino

In early June, roughly 1500 migrants gathered on the heights of the camps Lakhmis akdim and Bekoya. Authorities deployed drones and on-site agents to control the number of migrants and their daily movements. Almost every day for the next 18 days, attacks were launched in an attempt to remove the migrants. Unlike in the past, when only auxiliary forces were mobilized on the ground to attack the camps, all categories were mobilized this time, including the gendarmerie, mobile police, auxiliary forces, and authority agents, all under the supervision and personal participation of the Governor of Nador and the commanders of the gendarmerie and auxiliary forces.¹⁰⁰

On Friday, June 24, 2022, more than 100 people were injured and between 27 and 35 people died as a result of their injuries after a huge attempt to cross the walls of the Spanish enclave of Melilla in northern Morocco. For the time being, no official figures have been given, and civil society organizations have been unable to collect information on the identities and nationalities of the deceased.¹⁰¹

According to official sources (CNDH) and civil society (AMDH), the number of deaths and injuries varies. For more than 30 years, border closures, EU migration restrictions, and human trafficking difficulties have resulted in the deaths of countless people - men, women, and minors. The fatal incident in Barrio Chino occurred with the reintroduction of strict border controls following the normalization of diplomatic relations between Morocco and Spain. This circumstance has resulted in an increased return of controls, as well as the arrival of a new migrant population in Morocco. After hosting the intergovernmental conference

to adopt the "Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration" in December 2018, Morocco and Spain stand on the side of the signatory countries of the pact, some of whose objectives favour "saving lives" and "managing borders in an integrated, safe and coordinated manner."¹⁰² Following this attempted crossing, media discourse describes refugees being persuaded by criminal "smuggling networks" and traveling from Libyan territory through Algeria. This discussion was widely covered in the Moroccan and international news. However, an AMDH and Ennass.ma media article demonstrated the incoherence of this smuggling network idea. They have shown that what the Moroccan government refers to as the "smugglers' route" through Libyan and Algerian territory is the usual migration route that has existed since at least the turn of the millennium. They continue by demonstrating that the attempted forced passage to Barrio Chino is the result of a series of events, including continual police persecution of the migrant community in the Gourougou forest off the coast of Nador. This police harassment comes after Morocco and Spain re-established diplomatic relations after a three-year dispute. The journal *Le Monde*¹⁰³ launched an inquiry into this deadly event, exposing the level of repression endured by migrants and casting into question the official rhetoric about the traffickers' significance. Beyond supporting a state discourse and justifying repression, the smugglers' speech reveals, above all, incoherence in terms of migratory pathways and the solidarity networks that accompany them.

The analysis of these three phases reveals a common pattern of migration policy that is replicated across the three phases:

At first, there is a significant migratory pressure on the regions of northern Morocco and southern Spain. Repressive policies are implemented to contain this migration; agreements are signed with the European Union to reduce the arrival of migrants in European territories; politicians welcome the management of migratory flows - blocking arrivals in Europe - putting pressure on Moroccan territory - provoking solidarity and racism toward migrants - and this pressure leads to desperate attempts to cross the border, resulting in cyclical dramas. Following the tragedies, committees of inquiry are formed, speeches and policies are geared toward a more humanistic view of the migration issue, and attempts are made to prepare for the next migration crisis.

In this circumstance, who will shoulder responsibility for the Melilla victims' deaths? Will another treaty or pact on human trafficking and migration governance be required to put an end to these tragedies?

These questions remain unresolved in the aftermath of a major migratory incident or tragedy, which we anticipate will spark a fresh wave of pronouncements of intent and public policy on migration. Following this catastrophic event, the European Union and Morocco inked a partnership agreement calling for the implementation of a five-year program worth 500 million euros.¹⁰⁴

01.	Lamétropole (2021): http://lametropole.com/politique/la-ceuta-drame-humain/	18.	Interview 1
02.	https://www.arte.tv/fr/videos/100627-116-A/europe-la-tentation-des-murs/	19.	Laura Feliu Martínez, « Les migrations en transit au Maroc. Attitudes et comportement de la société civile face au phénomène », L'Année du Maghreb, V 2009, 343-362.
03.	Houria Alami Mchichi, Bachir Hamdouch, Mehdi Lahlou, "Le Maroc et les migrations", Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Rabat, 2005, p.76.	20.	Mohamed Mghari, "La migration irrégulière au Maroc", Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Démographiques (CERED), Rabat, 2008, p.12.
04.	See annex 3 & 4 : Arrestations totales côté espagnol et évolution du nombre de migrants arrêtés entre 1996 et 2000	21.	Ibid, p.13
05.	À l'initiative du Réseau National de Solidarité et Développement (RNSD) à Tanger	22.	See annex 6 : Année d'entrée au Maroc des migrants subsahariens en pourcentage
06.	Interview 1	23.	Interview 1 & 12 : Some of the actors interviewed stated that the first time they visited the Boubana forest and the Belyounech forest respectively was in 2003 and 2004. They testify that there were English-speaking migrants who gave them aid; clothes, medicine, and they tried to talk to them.
07.	Interview 1	24.	Al-Haraka, the press organ of the Democratic and Social Movement (MDS) party published an article entitled: "Morocco. Land of human waste from Sub-Saharan Africa". In the same vein, we can cite the front page of the Tangier weekly Ashamal, which headlined: "Black locusts invade the north of Morocco". In this article, immigrants are held responsible for all the ills affecting Tangier and its region: prostitution, begging, occupation of public places, attacks on property and personal safety, sexually transmitted diseases. Ref. Laura Fliu Martínez, « Les migrations en transit au Maroc. Attitudes et comportement de la société civile face au phénomène », L'Année du Maghreb, V 2009, 343-362.
08.	Interview 2		
09.	"Until the late 1990s neither migration, nor the presence of 'sub-Saharan migrants' were matters of public concern in the country" Gazzotti 2021 p36		
10.	Ibid		
11.	http://www.sgg.gov.ma/Portals/0/profession_reglementee/Dahir_immigration_fr.pdf		
12.	Laura Feliu Martínez, « Les migrations en transit au Maroc. Attitudes et comportement de la société civile face au phénomène », L'Année du Maghreb, V 2009, 343-362.		
13.	Leslie Gross-Wyrtzen & Lorena Gazzotti, "Telling histories of the present: postcolonial perspectives on Morocco's 'radically new' migration policy" Published online: 03 Aug 2020 Pages 827-843	25.	Interview 1 : After 2004, a very incredible quote appeared in the northern newspaper, where its leader said: "Black locusts are invading northern Morocco".
14.	"Replacing former colonial Immigration Acts, the new legislation criminalizes irregular entry and exit from the country. It introduced fines and detention sentences for Moroccan and foreign undocumented migrants and for people enabling irregular emigration" Gazzotti 2021 p. 36	26.	Laura Feliu Martínez, « Les migrations en transit au Maroc. Attitudes et comportement de la société civile face au phénomène », L'Année du Maghreb, V 2009, 343-362.
15.	Interview 2 & Interview 7	27.	Currently Conseil National des Droits de l'Homme
16.	See Annex 5: Les interceptions des migrants clandestins entre 2000 et 2007 selon l'origine	28.	Conseil Consulatif des Droits de l'Homme, "Rapport sur l'établissement des faits relatifs aux événements de l'immigration illégale: événements de Ceuta et Mellila durant l'automne 2005", 2007, p.11
17.	Houria Alami Mchichi, Bachir Hamdouch, Mehdi Lahlou, "Le Maroc et les migrations", Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Rabat, 2005, p.82.		

29. Interview 2
30. Interview 5
31. Groupement Antiraciste d'Accompagnement des Étrangers et Migrants based in Rabat
32. Association des Rencontres Méditerranéennes pour la Migration et le Développement based in Tangier
33. *"Moroccan civil society did not remain silent vis-à-vis the brutal treatment of migrants at the hands of both Spanish and Moroccan security forces. Some of the most important human rights groups advocating for the defence of migrants' rights emerged in the 2000s"* Gazzotti p. 38
34. Interview 3
35. Ibid
36. Interview 21 & 23
37. Interview 2
38. <https://www.lacimade.org/wp-content/uploads/2009/02/ETUDE-GADEM-janv2009.pdf>
39. Nadia Khrouz, Adila Ouardi et Hicham Rachidi, "Le cadre juridique relatif à la condition des étrangers au Maroc" au regard de l'application du pouvoir exécutif et de l'interprétation du juge, 2009, p.24
40. http://www.sgg.gov.ma/Portals/0/profession_reglementee/decretApplicationLoi02-03.pdf
41. <https://www.gadem-asso.org/festival-migrant-scene-rabat-1ere-edition/>
42. <http://www.migrantsdumonde.com/>
43. Interview 25
44. https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/fr/IP_13_513
45. <https://www.maroc-hebdo.press.ma/archives/le-peril-noir>
46. Sara Benjelloune, "Chapitre I : Nouvelle Politique Migratoire Et Opérations De Régularisation. Dans : La Nouvelle Politique Migratoire Marocaine." La nouvelle Politique Migratoire", 2017.
47. Leslie Gross-Wyrtzen & Lorena Gazzotti, "Telling histories of the present: postcolonial perspectives on Morocco's 'radically new' migration policy" | Published online: 03 Aug 2020 | Pages 827-843
48. Mehdi Alioua et Jean-Noël Ferrié, "La nouvelle politique migratoire", Université Internationale de Rabat et Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 2017.
49. Moha Ennaji, Jean-Marie Simon, Vivre ensemble au Maroc, 2018, p.102
50. Sara Benjelloune, "Chapitre I : Nouvelle Politique Migratoire Et Opérations De Régularisation. Dans "La Nouvelle Politique Migratoire Marocaine." La nouvelle Politique
51. <https://marocainsdumonde.gov.ma/strategie-nationale-dimmigration-et-dasile/>
52. <https://www.jeuneafrique.com/133986/societe/maroc-ceuta-et-melilla-les-migrants-pris-au-pi-ge/>
53. Interview 5
54. Interview 20
55. Interview 12
56. <https://www.jeuneafrique.com/133986/societe/maroc-ceuta-et-melilla-les-migrants-pris-au-pi-ge/>
57. Sara Benjelloune, "Chapitre I : Nouvelle Politique Migratoire Et Opérations De Régularisation. Dans "La Nouvelle Politique Migratoire Marocaine." La nouvelle Politique Migratoire", 2017.
58. Leslie Gross-Wyrtzen & Lorena Gazzotti, "Telling histories of the present: postcolonial perspectives on Morocco's 'radically new' migration policy" | Published online: 03 Aug 2020 | Pages 827-843
59. <https://observers.france24.com/fr/20150623-maroc-tanger-boukhalef-affrontements-migrants-marocains-clandestins-appartements>
60. <https://www.racines-aisbl.org/fr/node/772>
61. The play organised by the association Racines, the Theatre of the Oppressed of Casablanca and the Minority Globe brought together 10 actors from Morocco, Cameroon, Nigeria, Ivory Coast, Senegal and Ghana and was part of the Mix city project.
62. Tahar Benjelloun, Assia Djebbar, Abdelkebir Khatibi, Abdelwahad Meddeb, and Albert Memmi are among the Franco-Maghrebi authors and writers who have worked on and refined this concept, which they associate with diversity, plural identity, and peaceful cohabitation...Moha Ennaji, Jean-Marie Simon, Vivre ensemble au Maroc, 2018, p.8.
63. Interview 12
64. <https://www.cndh.org.ma/fr/communiqués/migration-la-commission-nationale-de-recours-adopte-de-nouvelles-mesures-permettant-de>
65. Interview 12
66. Ibid
67. <https://www.rfi.fr/fr/podcasts/20200208-maroc-accoucher-casablanca-enfer>
68. Fawda Islah "Aissatou ou l'enfer d'un accouchement à Casablanca", Dans "Migrations au Maroc : l'impasse ? ", Éditions En toutes lettres, collection enquêtes, novembre 2019, p.83.
69. Interview 3
70. https://www.academia.edu/38873319/Espace_imagin%C3%A9_et_espace_v%C3%A9cu_et_espace_n%C3%A9goci%C3%A9_parcours_crois%C3%A9s_des_migrations_espagnoles_et_subahariennes_%C3%A0_Tanger
71. https://www.kas.de/c/document_library/get_file?uuid=5757725d-390b-3cbf-1151-999a9653f572&groupId=252038
72. https://telquel.ma/2017/04/17/deuxieme-campagne-regularistaion-migrants-en-on_1543585
73. Ministre Chargé des Marocains Résidant à l'Étranger et des Affaires de la migration
74. Sara Benjelloune, "Chapitre I : Nouvelle Politique Migratoire Et Opérations De Régularisation. Dans "La Nouvelle Politique Migratoire Marocaine." La nouvelle Politique Migratoire", 2017, p.51.
75. Moha Ennaji, Jean-Marie Simon, Vivre ensemble au Maroc, 2018, p.103
76. https://marocainsdumonde.gov.ma/ewhatsi/2018/03/POLITIQUE-NATIONALE_Rapport-2017.pdf
77. See Blogpost: Figures of regularisation campaigns in Morocco: between ambiguity and ambivalence
78. Interview 7
79. Interview 14
80. <https://www.unicef.org/morocco/communiqu%C3%A9s-de-presse/hijra-wahimaya-les-droits-des-enfants-migrants-auc%C5%93ur-de-la-politique>
81. <http://marocainsdumonde.gov.ma/ewhatsi/2019/01/Coop%C3%A9ration-et-partenariats-internationaux.pdf>
82. https://gallery.mailchimp.com/66ce6606f50d8fd7c68729b94/files/a727e61b-bcdc-46e1-b3f5-bb9e3c8e8d01/20180927_GADEM_Cou_ts_et_blessures.pdf
83. Interview 5
84. <https://www.gadem-asso.org/le-gadem-denonce-linterdiction-illegale-du-festival-migrantscene-tanger>
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86. <https://www.jeuneafrique.com/683791/societe/pacte-de-marrakech-sur-les-migrations-le-maroc-champion-africain-de-la-migration/>
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88. <https://www.jeuneafrique.com/683791/societe/pacte-de-marrakech-sur-les-migrations-le-maroc-champion-africain-de-la-migration/>
89. <https://marocainsdumonde.gov.ma/ewhatsi/2021/10/Rapport-2020-5-10-VF.pdf>
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93. July 2022 figure, by early 2023 the number of subscribers had grown to 1,900
94. July 2022 figure, by early 2023 the number of likes had risen to 1,400
95. See Annex 8: Evolution of the number of views of the "Migrapress" Facebook page for distance meetings between May 2021 and February 2022 (Phase 1).
96. See Annex 9: Evolution of the number of views of the Facebook page "Migrapress" of the webinars between March and June 2022 (Phase 2).
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98. <https://www.bbc.com/afrique/https://www.bbc.com/afrique/monde-57157945>
99. https://www.hcp.ma/downloads/Enquete-Nationale-sur-la-Migration_t22402.html
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101. <https://www.gadem-asso.org/drame-sans-precedent-a-la-frontiere-de-melilla/>
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04.

Typology, trajectories and moral values of actors' commitment to migration aid

What competing discourses and practices centred on moral principles like humanitarian protection are mobilized in Moroccan acts of solidarity with migrants?

In this study, which begins in January 2022, we looked at several characteristics of migration actors. 28 people were interviewed in Rabat, Kenitra, Casablanca, Tangier, Tetouan, Martil, Meknes, Agadir, and Al Hoceima.

In the next section, we will try to understand the reasons for engagement in the field of migration aid by describing and mapping the migration assistance trajectories of the actors interviewed. We do not generalize to the full field of migration help due to the partial logic of our research, which is an exploratory study. Some tendencies are forming that must be validated or rejected by more extensive investigation.

Two distinct trends emerge:

-In the early 2000s, a certain style of organization emerges, primarily as a result of the humanitarian dramas of Ceuta and Melilla in 2004/2005. This group was extensively examined in Laura Feliu Martinez's paper "Transit migration in Morocco." Civil society attitudes and conduct regarding the problem¹." This article served as the foundation for the first phase's analysis.

-A new typology after 2014, as a result of the intention to adopt the National Immigration and Asylum Policy. In this section, we rely primarily on the interviews we conducted, supplemented by a critical reading of the

literature on the professional world of migration assistance (specifically, Lorena Gazzotti's analysis in Chapter 3 of her book "Immigration Nation: Aid, Control, and Border Politics in Morocco").²

The various trajectories and classifications are based on a study of our field data. Certainly, trajectories can be ambiguous, and many profiles fit under multiple categories. Journalists, for example, may come from the professional world of migration aid, and vice versa. Nonetheless, categorization helps us to create typical ideals and measure evolutionary patterns in order to hypothesize about the typologies of participants in the arena of aid to irregular migrants.

Phase I: TYPOLOGY: Post-2005 Association:

According to a historical activist from a northern Moroccan organisation, the organization of Moroccan civil society to assist the migrating people began towards the end of the 1990s with the formation of the North Network for Solidarity and Development (RNSD). By bringing together the civil societies of northern Morocco and Andalusia (Spain), this network will have a direct transnational dimension:

"This journey began in the late 1990s. Because of the high number of deaths on the Mediterranean, we convened three meetings between the two shores on the topic of sub-Saharan migrants. The first was in Cadiz in 1997, the second in El Hoceima in 1999,

and the third in Tangier in 2001 with the establishment of the network.” The major objective of setting up this network was to “raise civil society awareness in Morocco and Andalusia on the migration issue between the two Mediterranean shores” [Interview 1].

Following the tragic events of 2004-2005, Moroccan civil society organized itself to assist migrants, observe and expose abuses of migrants’ human rights, and advocate with authorities, the media, and public opinion. According to interviewee 1, this dynamic is mostly led by human rights organizations, which are aided in the field by philanthropic organizations.

“After the incidents in Ceuta in 2005, we were very supportive of the victims and spent a year visiting them and bringing them water or food in the Belyounech forest.” We planned the first campaign in the regions where the refugees were settled (approximately 1200 of various nationalities) in November or December, so that this solidarity could ensure the freedom of movement of these migrants.”

With the migration issue in mind, a set of associations specialized in migration issues, such as Al Chabaka (RNSD), will be formed in 2003³ as a result of these important events. According to an early Chabaka activist, the network was composed of:

“From Tangier to Al-Hoceima, the network included 64 associations, the majority of which had a progressive left-wing frame of reference and worked on very sensitive issues such as unemployment, the employment of unemployed youth, women’s employment, and alter globalism” [Interview 2].

“Moroccan associations that have mobilized in recent years around the issue of transit immigration can be classified as follows,” says researcher Laura Feliu Martínez. First, there are generalist associations, specialty groups, charitable organizations, and sub-Saharan migrant associations.⁴”

The former are mainly human rights organizations such as OMDH⁵ and AMDH⁶. They integrated very early the migration dimension in their advocacy for fundamental human rights in Morocco.

The second category includes organizations specializing in migration issues, mostly irregular Moroccan emigration to Europe, such as AFVIC⁷ and Pateras de la Vida. As “the reality on the ground changes, ” such organizations will begin to integrate the issue of transit immigration in Moroccan territory⁸. These organizations often have a local scope of action and are primarily comprised of volunteer members. With an increase in the number of deaths during transit attempts and repression of irregular migrant groups, other organizations with a national scope of action, including GADEM in 2006, were formed⁹.

The third category includes charitable organizations such as Caritas or the DDM¹⁰ that provide aid to irregular migrants. They mainly give material assistance, emotional support, and reception services to the most disadvantaged individuals.

The final group includes sub-Saharan migrant organizations such as the Council of Sub-Saharan Migrants (ARCOM)¹¹. According to Laura Feliu Martines “Their functioning focuses mainly on networking through contacts established via email and telephone.”¹²

The four aforementioned categories shape the field of migrant transit aid by focusing on awareness, advocacy, direct aid, and networking. They will facilitate the establishment of a legal and human rights discourse in Morocco towards migrants, notwithstanding their strong opposition to the security response to migration. They encourage people to report violations of migrants’ rights in transit zones and to take part in initiatives to humanize Moroccan migration policy. They bring the migration issue to the forefront of public conversation through their activism and numerous acts to assist and raise awareness about the

plight of irregular migrants. This activism will promote policy change on the part of the Moroccan state through the establishment of the SNIA in 2014.

Phase 2: Typology and trajectory after the introduction of the National Immigration and Asylum Strategy (SNIA) in 2014:

We questioned the applicability of a typology and trajectory classification due to the research’s bias. Does this typology reflect the reality of migration support, or does it merely reflect the networks we mobilized? Does the profile of the actors interviewed provide us with information about a specific sector, or does it reflect the selective affinities inherent in all research projects?

To answer these problems, we chose to expand this research by combining the interview responses in a cross-analysis of the speakers’ words. This enabled us to uncover similar trajectories, which we gathered and grouped into various ideal types:

Civil society (social workers, community activists, community volunteers)

Artists and cultural workers

Journalists and researchers

Group I: Civil Society

(13 Interviewees)

We divided the interviews into three categories: human rights activists, social workers in the field of vulnerability, and volunteers. We trace a trajectory towards migration aid for each interviewee, looking at what the actor was doing before entering the field of migration, when this junction occurred, and what the major reasons were for participating in this new trajectory.

Associative activist (4) : Interview 1, 2, 3 and 4

Interview / Gender	Before the Migration	Transition Year	Migration and Reason for Engagement
Interview 1 / M	In the late 1990s, he became a historical activist and began working in the issue of migration	--	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human rights • Humanism
Interview 2 / M	Human rights activist with a large national association	2017	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political activism • Discourse on law • Creation of an association for the defence of migrants' rights (2009)
Interview 3 / M	Activist in the alter-globalization sphere	2017	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Professional opportunity • Political activism • Creation of a research centre on migration (2016)
Interview 4 / M	Activist of regional human rights association	2018	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political activism • Discourse on law

Human rights activists are members of a protesting civil society in Morocco that promotes and defends human rights. These are structures that have a long history of advocating for human rights in Morocco. These organizations are both critical of national migration policy and of the European Union's decentralization of border control. These activists' journey begins with a commitment to the problem of human rights defence in general, followed by a specialization in migration issues. Personal engagement is a crucial component of migrant rights movement. Different interviewees explain their devotion following a traumatic encounter involving the experience of suffering of migrant people:

"On my way to Belyounech,[...], I saw for the first time a pregnant woman suffering in the forest without clothes." At the time, I was surprised, and I told myself, "This is a file

I cannot leave; I will devote all of my time to it, and it was more humanitarian and for human rights than anything else material." [Interviewee No. 2]

There is also an issue of identification with the vulnerability of migrants due to the personal background of the activists that pushes them to support and help migrant populations as the interviewee 3 tells us:

"Activism and the fight for rights are the same thing, there is always a personal motivation that pushes me to fight for migrants, it is the fight for fragile categories, I come from a working class neighbourhood that consists of people who do not have the necessary rights to live, this belonging plays a role in this motivation to engage in activism for migration issues"

This group's respondents began their migrant rights activism in the early 2000s, when migration problems were highly marginal in public discourse. While individual motivations and encounters with extreme vulnerable migrant populations remain important determinants in the commitment to support migrants, the long tradition of human rights struggles of these activists has brought the issue of migrant repression and human rights abuses to the forefront of public debate. According to one actor, before the SNIA, the subject of migration was taboo:

“Before 2013, associations that worked on migrants could be counted on the fingers of one hand because the issue was a taboo and was also subject to legal repression regarding a set of accusations against activists who show solidarity with migrants” [Interview 2].

Due to their seniority in the sector, the activists have extensive expertise in accompanying irregular migrants. They have been organizing humanitarian relief initiatives for irregular migrants and observing violations of migrants' rights since the early 2000s. All of their actions and words are structured by the discourse of the law and the monitoring of violations of human rights:

“In the beginning, the approach was more focused on human rights, which means the right to stay, the right to a card, the right not to be deported, then after around 2013, we started working on services, but for me, I always tended to engage on the human rights issue more than I tended to the service level... [Interview 3].

Human rights activists strongly criticize in their discourse the professionalization of migration work as this rather ironic passage from an interview with an activist indicates:

“One of the associations that works on cultural exchange, I call it the associative Titanic, it is an association that encompasses and sucks in millions of dirhams, it does beautiful and great activities and in the end it drowns like the Titanic. [Interview 2].

In their interviews, the majority of human rights activists indicate that they are engaged in migration assistance for political rather than professional reasons. Another witness declare:

“We have never made a profit on the migration issue; we rely in our actions on the solidarity network built over many years of work.” This is the basic difference between other organizations that are compensated for their efforts, which professionalizes advocacy [...]. We have always done voluntary solidarity work, and there are no programs in our network where we have been paid to work on the migration issue.” [Interview No. 1].

The discourse of activist purity helps to distinguish itself from the new kinds of engagement that emerged following the founding of SNIA. The growth of services for vulnerable migrant populations calls into question their dedication to the field of migration support by diluting their commitment to human rights with direct aid considerations. Their vehement criticism of European strategies of border delocalization is embedded in a worldwide framework of examination of the logics of development disparities between the North and the South. These associative actors also raise the finger at the Moroccan state for the arrest campaigns, population displacement, and persecution of migrant camps.

Social worker - vulnerability (7): Interview 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11

Interview / Gender	Before the Migration	Transition Year	Migration and Reason for Engagement
Interview 5 / F	Works in the field of cultural action in France	2014	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Association for the defence of the rights of migrants deals with cultural action • Professional re-orientation • Political activism
Interview 6 / F	Social worker for street children and women victims of violence Graduated INAS ¹³ Tangier	2017	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Joined the field of migration on the Hijra wa Himaya project • Professional opportunities • Skill development • Humanitarian speech
Interview 7 / F	Project Management in International NGO (2014)	2017	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In the same NGO, responsible for the migration program • Professional opportunity • Skills development • Humanitarian speech
Interview 8 / F	Social worker (social work graduate)	2018	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work in a large National NGO • Professional opportunities • Competence development • Humanitarian speech
Interview 9 / F	Project manager with the Spanish cooperation on projects targeting street children and women victims of violence / literacy campaign	2018	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Join the Hijra wa 7imaya project • Professional opportunities • Professional re-orientation
Interview 10 / F	Cultural projects manager	2021	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National Association on Migration • Professional opportunities
Interview 11 / F	Project manager in International Cooperation projects.	2021	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work in the field of migration • Professional opportunities

Following the implementation of the National Strategy for Immigration and Asylum (SNIA), a new profile in the field of aid to irregular migrants is emerging. Within the scope of programs funded by international cooperation, a group of people, largely women, is getting professionalized in the sphere of social action and accompaniment of migrants in irregular situations. These actresses have degrees in social work or project management and are turning to migration to hone their talents in working with vulnerable populations; to provide meaning to their employment by interacting with a highly vulnerable and needy population; and for humanitarian reasons.

From one vulnerability to another: developing professional social action for migrant populations:

This women-only category of actors works in the field of migration as project managers, social workers, project coordinators, and cultural project managers. Their paths to migration aid are similar because, with the exception of interviewee 5, they all come from the field of social action for vulnerable populations funded by international cooperation. In the early 2000s, the idea of vulnerability emerged as a reference for social action, replacing the category of social exclusion, which was deemed too stigmatizing for the target populations¹⁴. As a result, vulnerability should be defined as: "It is a universal concept (everyone is potentially exposed), relational and contextual (we are only vulnerable in a given context), structural (we are unequally exposed to vulnerability due to our position in the social space), individual (when faced with the same exposure, some will be more affected than others), potential (vulnerability is an injury that can occur), and finally, reversible (on which we can thus act)."¹⁵

This action framework has been implemented in Morocco as part of international cooperation-funded social programs including children in precarious situations, single mothers, women victims

of abuse, and newly migratory populations in transit. The actresses interviewed are what are known as vulnerability workers, as interviewee 6 explains:

"Since 2017, I have been working in the field of migration, having previously worked in many other areas, most specifically with street children and women victims of violence."

Supporting street children and women victims of abuse are two types of vulnerability that are addressed by national organisations in partnership with international donors. Following the development of assistance programmes for migrant populations linked to the implementation of the SNIA, the actors questioned will shift from one area of vulnerability to the other, eventually finding themselves in the field of migration. Five of the seven people interviewed work in the field of social support for people in vulnerable situations. A vulnerability labour market is emerging in the context of this research, which represents all job prospects in the associative sector associated to accompaniment and support services for vulnerable persons.

All of the interviewees say they got into migration for professional possibilities to learn new skills and expand their professional network. Thus, interviewee 6 informs us:

"I did not choose to work in the field of migration; I worked in the field of migration after feeling stagnant in my previous professional activities; I worked in the field of migration to gain new professional experience, to evolve in my career, and to acquire new skills."

We also notice the growth of professional social work graduates who, after completing their studies, work with the migrant community as their first or second professional experience. In this regard, interviewee 6 states:

"Working with migrants is a continuation of the social work training I received, the first experience was with the Orient Occident Foundation." I choose to work with vulnerable people, including migrants, to improve their living conditions rather than with migrants particularly."

The migration work is carried out within a broader framework of social work graduate development in Morocco.¹⁶ This professional category is governed by a statute defined in the law N° 45.18¹⁷ dealing to social workers, which regulates the profession by describing what diplomas are available and what domains of action social professionals can pursue. According to the Ministry of Solidarity, Social Development, Equality, and Family (MSDSEF), the number of people classified as "social workers" in the public and private sectors would be around 35,000 in 2020, with 57% of them being women, rising to 45,000 by 2025¹⁸. As one interviewee put it, this legislative advancement has helped actors to better value their work:

"This gives us recognition among our partner organizations. On the one hand, there are improvements and changes in the frame of reference that has become the referential of social work, and on the other, civil society institutions have engaged in projects with foreign organizations that adopt the logic of accountability and are interested in project outcomes. This contributes to the professionalization of the work" [Interview 8].

Different intervention scales:

Social action professionals and associative personnel with degrees in social work or master's degrees in management and prior experience in the associative area represent

the implementation level of national immigration policy. These immigration actors interact with Sub-Saharan migrants and implement elements of the National Immigration and Asylum Policy (SNIA) on the ground. According to interviewee 11:

"there are different levels of intervention in the field of migration: there are people who are in direct contact with the target population, people who are in technical support, and others who are in coordination."

Community workers, social workers, and educators have direct interaction with irregular migrant communities. Technical support staff are all those who are involved in carrying out technical activities, either internally or externally. The final category of coordination includes project management specialists who are in charge of program implementation at the local, regional, and national levels. These various levels of implementation are involved in projects funded by international institutions (IOM, UNICEF) and international collaboration (Spanish, French, and Belgian) with Moroccan associations selected through calls for projects.

Empirical knowledge and experience:

All of the actors interviewed for this study have gained empirical knowledge of the migratory reality through their daily interactions with migrant populations and their assistance in accessing services (health, children's education, asylum applications, administrative or legal support...). She did, however, state that she had gotten no first professional training on the migration topic. When asked if interviewee 11 had received any specific migration training, she replied that:

"To say a structured training no, I read a little the documents that exist especially the SNIA, what has been done, the position of Morocco in relation to migration, the profiles, the border areas, the current situation a little you read and everything, when I started

at the DDM I did a month of integration to understand a little, but with time of course you master more the context”.

As a result, these workers have a general understanding of migration policies - fundamental SNIA knowledge. On-the-job learning occurs through personal investment or by socialization and exchange of experience with other workers in this sector. According to interview 8:

“my view of migrants has changed before and after working in the field.” This is due to the intimacy I had with them as well as a greater understanding of their circumstances and everyday existence. Previously, I thought of them as foreigners traveling through for studies or anything.”

Through inter-subjective socialization, these modes of training determine a set of postures and utterances in the realm of migration. Training through socialization entails the accumulation of empirical information that would benefit from being valued based on the sharing of personal experience and working methods gathered during their trajectory.

Moral issues and precarious status:

This group of associative workers has an unclear relationship with migrants, ranging between genuine care for resolving vulnerable situations and exasperation in the face of various difficulties they cannot solve. This makes for a tough working atmosphere since it causes enormous moral issues. This scenario is attributable to a blatant lack of resources and support services, which are well below demand, as mentioned by the interviewee 11:

“It is difficult to work in migration because you work with a difficult target, I don't mean the population itself but rather the situations in which they live, the person arrives in Morocco until he has crossed 80% of the difficulties, he could be a victim of violence, rape, theft, accidents, they can die on the way, so they

arrive in Morocco already exhausted, they have to find where to sleep, what to eat and drink, they have to take a shower, they need they need a lot of things, and our means and resources are limited as it is the case for other structures, and when you can't give an answer to all these people, you sometimes find yourself frustrated, stressed because you can't give an answer to this person, not because you don't want to, but rather because you don't have this answer”.

The dissatisfaction, stress, and high level of personal involvement demanded by vulnerable migrant situations are sources of hardship at work for the professionals studied, who can no longer differentiate between their active and private lives:

“As a social worker, your work takes up a lot of your time; you work outside of work hours, making it impossible to have a life outside of work.” For example, sometimes when I go home, I get calls from a migrant who has been arrested by the police, and you have to interfere so that they don't send him to another city, which doesn't offer you a psychic break from the constant labour” [Interview 8].

As interviewee 11 points out, this labour entails an additional mental load for the mostly female workers:

“Sometimes you take the cases home with you in your personal life, thinking about them sometimes you lose sleep, even if you do the impossible, sometimes you don't manage to succeed, because the demand really exceeds the means, and that's what you have to take into consideration in the programming of the projects, you often receive a logical framework with indicators and everything but you don't manage to do it, because the rate of coverage of needs is always minimal” [Interview 11]

People working in this field of migration assistance have a precarious status depending on the projects, their duration and their renewal. A trend has emerged following the COVID-19 crisis, where recruitment is no longer based on a contract as an employee (guaranteeing a monthly salary and social protection) but on a service provision basis with a self-employed contract (monthly salary and no social protection).

Nevertheless, one of the major reasons for engaging in the field of migration is also the fact that they want to help a very vulnerable population. This requires a significant commitment on the part of social workers, which is widely recognized given the sometimes tragic situations in which migrant populations find themselves. Because of the humanitarian aspect of the task, there is an additional personal commitment that occasionally leads in pleasant human results:

“Because of the mentoring and coaching, I felt my role was very important and effective.”

As an example:

1-*“A refugee woman who had been mistreated by her husband and who had harmed her daughter did not know what administrative and legal procedures to follow, so I would guide them to legal channels with psychosocial follow-up. As a result, I feel proud that I did what needed to be done, because if I hadn't intervened, they wouldn't have been able to get out of the violence. Although these procedures are everyone's right, unfortunately, most of them are unaware that it is their right and that these services are available to them.”*

2-*“A Sub-Saharan refugee who is scared to go to the police station for fear of being detained and deported (the state occasionally deports Sub-Saharan refugees and migrants). But when I accompany him, I reassure him, and he receives the essential assistance or, at the very least, instruction or advice, all thanks to my presence.” [Interview No. 6]*

Volunteer in associations (2): Interview 12 and 13

Interview / Gender	Before the Migration	Transition Year	Migration and Reason for Engagement
Interview 12 / M	Association for the development of a peripheral district of Martil (2010)	2014	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2014 - 2018: Orientation and information centre for migrants (Tetouan) • Drama • Funding opportunity • Humanitarian
Interview 13 / M	Retired / frequents parish	2017	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Accompanies the humanitarian work of the parish. • Drama • Humanitarian

This category involves people who are active in the field of migration without being employed by an association, nor being a human rights activist. It is a separate category that is involved in the field of migration without any concrete political reason other than the desire to help others through an act of charity.

Our sample's associative volunteers are elderly/retired people who are participating in the field of migration out of humanitarian concern and in reaction to a tragic scenario. Following the events in Ceuta in 2014 and the COVID crisis, the main purpose for participating is to provide assistance to this vulnerable population. The degree and vocabulary of devotion distinguishes associative volunteers from human rights advocates. As interviewee 13 points out, the volunteers have no political motivation for their devotion:

“I don't want to change society, and I don't think I'm qualified to say which society is better than the other.” It's extremely complicated, but I actually start from the individual level, so here's helping one person and helping another little by little, it changes their life to them, it's activism but in a very restricted sense, not on a societal level, but on an individual level.”

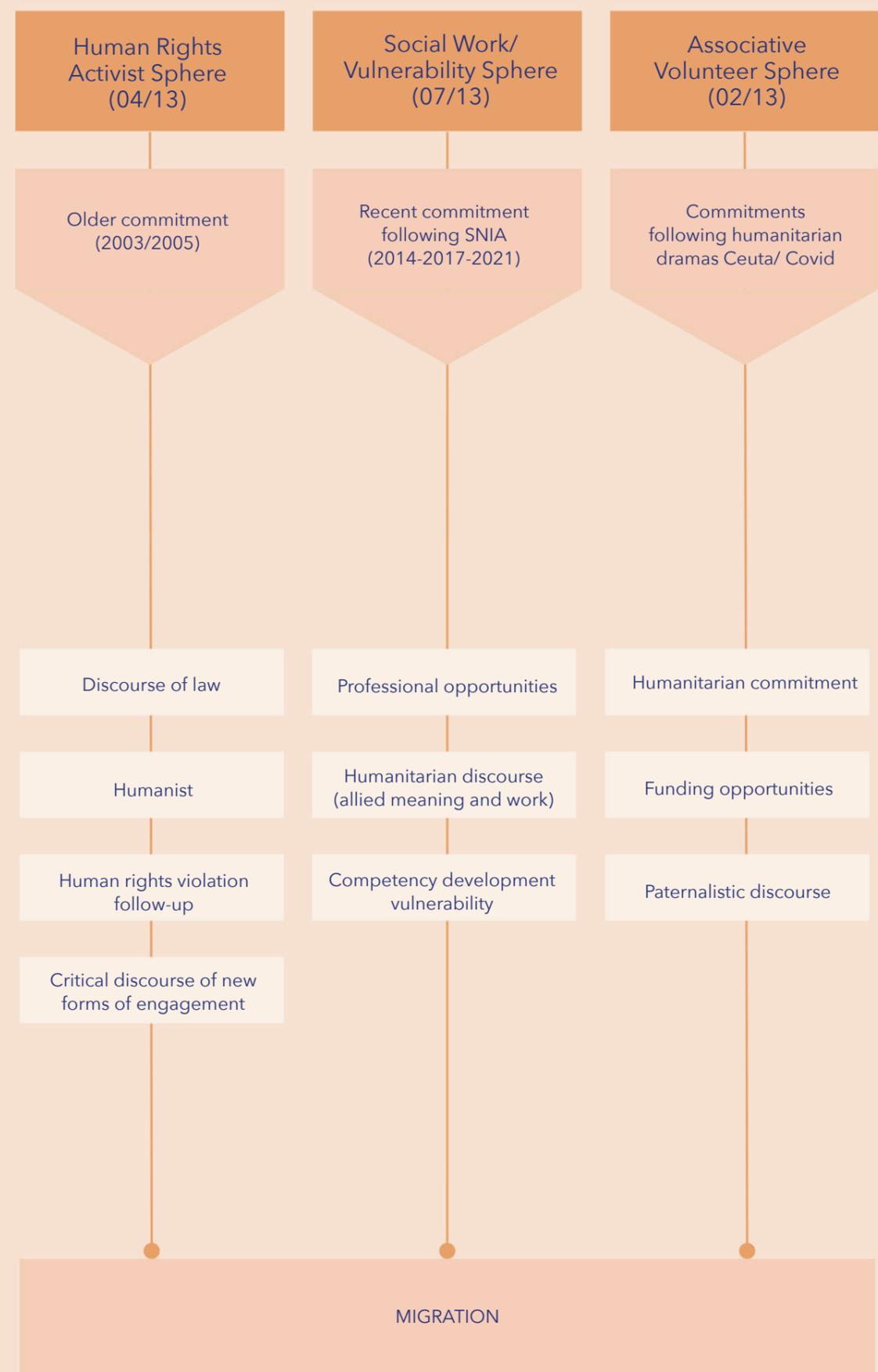
One of the main reasons that volunteers become engaged is to make a little contribution and aid those in vulnerable situations in their spare time. They build a family, a network of new friends, and contribute their knowledge to the work of migration help.

Synthesis:

Following the implementation of the SNIA in 2014, an analysis of the trajectories of persons working in the subject of migration reveals a new typology. Associative workers in the subject of vulnerabilities find a professional outlet in the field of migration aid. This category overlaps with another set of associative actors embedded in the network of human rights organizations. Before the creation of SNIA, these activists began supporting migrants. They primarily monitor abuses of migrants' human rights and work toward improving their reception and living conditions. Another more informal group of volunteers is involved in assisting migrants in the aftermath of big disasters (Ceuta and Melilla) or assisting already established groups in the event of a catastrophe (Covid-19).

The following figure is a summary of the several realms from which an act of solidarity with migrating populations might be initiated.

The referenced sphere, the date of their commitment, and the reasons for the commitment that came up most frequently in their response are stated in each box.



Group 2: Artist / Cultural Action (7 Interviewees)

We divided this category of actors into Moroccan artists (using migration as a subject of creation), migrant artists (using migration as a personal experience from which they create), and cultural entrepreneurs (who create spaces and/or initiatives around migration and/or migrants as a priority target).

Moroccan artist (2) : Interview 14 and 15

Interview / Gender	Before the Migration	Transition Year	Migration and Reason for Engagement
Interview 14 / M	Visual artist	2017	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creative project with a migrant rights association • Professional opportunity • Curiosity • Cross-cultural experience
Interview 15 / M	Photographer	2016-2018	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Migration Experience Photography Project • Professional opportunities • Intercultural experience • Humanitarian/Documentation

Migrant artist (3) : Interview 16, 17, 18

Interview / Gender	Before the Migration	Transition Year	Migration and Reason for Engagement
Interview 16 / M	Arrived for audio-visual studies in Morocco (Rabat) in 2019	2020	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creation of association around the cinema resulting from the migration and orientation towards the visual work (photo, cinema, documentary, fiction) • Professional opportunity • Migration experience • Intercultural experience
Interview 17 / M	Arrived in Morocco in 2013, studying computer science in Meknes	2016-2017	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Painter • Migration experience • Intercultural experience • Community action
Interview 18 / M	Arrived in 2015 in Morocco in transit to Europe.	2017-2018	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Visual artist: following a workshop with artists in Casablanca will develop his artistic practice • Migratory experience • Intercultural experience • Community action

Cultural entrepreneur (2) : Interview 19 and 20

Interview / Gender	Before the Migration	Transition Year	Migration and Reason for Engagement
Interview 16 / M	Associative actor abroad	2020	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2015 : production of a documentary on migration in Morocco - following the events of Ceuta and Melilla • 2018 : return to Morocco • 2020 : creation of an open artistic and cultural space for migrant artists • Migration experience • Professional opportunity • Intercultural experience • Humanitarian experience
Interview 17 / M	Arrived in Morocco in May 2012	2016-2017	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2014: volunteer in a collective of sub-Saharan migrants in Tangier • 2016: creation of a SARL cultural enterprise • Migration experience • Community action • Professional opportunity

The analysis of the trajectories of the artists and/or cultural entrepreneurs questioned throughout our research reveals a variety of paths that connect migration to artistic output.

The first category uses migration as a theme for artistic expression. Following the incidents in Ceuta and Melilla in 2014, several artists address the migrant issue sensitively in order to provide a different perspective. Artists are encouraged to offer workshops and collective production initiatives, such as photographic shows, as a result of their awareness and sensitivity to multicultural experience. One of the interviewed artists describes one of his artistic projects:

“I worked on a project about migration, stories, and movements.” It was a kind of workshop with migrants in Morocco (sub-Saharan Africans, Arabs, and Europeans) [...] And the work was developed in workshops every day for two weeks, from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m. They were creative workshops centred on the body and its image [...].” [Interview No. 14].

These seminars are moments of sharing in which migrants discuss their experiences on the sensitive register, producing moments of complicity and exchange. The artist that was interviewed tells us about these workshops:

“For me, workshops are exactly that, change is seen in a small circle, if we create change in our small circle and the circle evolves over time” [Interview 14].

The main reasons for the artists interviewed engagement with migration are changing Moroccans’ perceptions of migration, recording the difficult situations in which irregular migrant communities live, and establishing spaces for intercultural communication.

In this regard, the project “Away from the Dreamland” by a Moroccan artist interviewed is quite telling. He asked the migrants he met as part of his research endeavour to illustrate their migration paths. As a result, several subjective maps of their migratory route are exhibited with the photograph of the individual who created it. These created maps demonstrate the complexity of the migrant experience through the multiplicity of their trajectories. Each individual has travelled a significant route comprised of stages in various countries, experiences of deprivation of freedom, and times of forced labour. Through these careful introductions, art helps us to bring the human experience in all its richness at the core of the migration process¹⁹.

Another group of artists drew on their personal experiences with migration to create artistic and cultural projects. Sub-Saharan artists living in Morocco, as well as Moroccan and sub-Saharan cultural entrepreneurs, are included in this category. For Sub-Saharan artists, artistic practice emerged only after 2-3 years in Morocco. The artists face obstacles relating to their migratory condition in the country after arriving for reasons of transit to Europe or study. Difficult administrative and legal procedures, studies, and socioeconomic precarity keep artists from focusing on their art. After 2-3 years of volunteering with various cultural and artistic initiatives, they could make their artistic practice their primary focus.

After arriving in Morocco in 2014, a migrant artist questioned began to participate in social movements by forming a collective in the Boukhalef district. These activities attempted to present a fresh picture of Moroccan immigration. The acts primarily consisted of cleaning the area twice a week with the goal of connecting with the community. They used artistic and cultural tools in their activities and will later establish a limited corporation to further manage their activities. As a source of revenue, they started to teach music lessons, primarily guitar and drums, to dozens of children in the neighbourhood. Classes take place at home, each artist moves to the person’s home to give courses. The artist interviewed develops his artistic activity and works to value: *“Talented migrants who arrived on Moroccan and Tangier soil.” [Interview 20].*

The duration of this event is one of its most important characteristics. Art as a profession becomes significant the minute it creates a vista for installation. *“When an artist settles down and takes the time to develop projects and live from his art, there can be repercussions,” said one artist interviewed. [Interview No. 26]*

The need to establish spaces for community exchange is the primary motivation for cultural entrepreneurs. These actors’ spaces and professional structures serve to provide venues for migrants’ creation and dissemination, to build communal experiences between migrant and local populations, and to function as a professionalization structure for artists.

Group 3: Journalists / Researchers

(6 Interviewees)

The category of actors has been divided into two parts: researchers and journalists. This group includes all actors who generate information and/or documented discourse about migration based on field research and/or journalistic or investigative reporting. This type of actor is essential in the realm of migration because it creates awareness and popularizes the conditions of migrants' stay in Morocco, as well as participating in campaigning for migrants' rights.

Journalists (3) : Interview 21, 22 and 23

Interview / Gender	Before the Migration	Transition Year	Migration and Reason for Engagement
Interview 21 / M	Journalist	2004-2005	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Engaged in the theme of migration following the events in Melilla and development of a racist discourse in various Moroccan media Publication in 2019: Migration in Morocco: the impasse? Raising awareness / Revealing the reality of the migratory experience / investigated the exactions and violations of human rights Subject of professional interest Understanding of societal dynamics
Interview 22 / F	Journalism student	2013	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Attends GADEM activities as a student and is interested in the migration issue Professional opportunity Understanding of societal dynamics Member of the Network of Journalists on Migration
Interview 23 / M	Journalist/Associative activist	2017	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Following a training on migration journalism in the Mediterranean Creation in 2021 of Migrapress Professional opportunity Understanding of societal dynamics

Researchers (3): Interview 24, 25 and 26

Interview / Gender	Before the Migration	Transition Year	Migration and Reason for Engagement
Interview 24 / M	Master/PhD	2013-2014	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Specialization in the field of migration research for master and PhD • Professional opportunity • Understanding of societal dynamics
Interview 25 / F	Master/PhD	2016-2017	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Associate and researcher in the field of migration in master and PhD • Professional opportunity • Understanding of societal dynamics
Interview 26 / M	Master/PhD	2014-2015	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Commissioned to conduct research on migration by international NGOs • Specialization in research on migration becomes a subject of scientific interest • Professional opportunity • Understanding of societal dynamics

The category of actors has been divided into two parts: researchers and journalists. This group includes all actors who generate information and/or documented discourse about migration based on field research and/or journalistic or investigative reporting. This type of actor is essential in the realm of migration because it creates awareness and popularizes the conditions of migrants' stay in Morocco, as well as participating in campaigning for migrants' rights.

These actors pursue migration as a specialization in research and journalistic professionalization. Following 2014, there has been an increase in public interest in migration concerns, as well as an increase in academic research and journalistic investigations into migration issues.

This is an essential societal topic for academic research to examine from the standpoint of migrant movements and the logics of integration and transformation of Moroccan society. The SNIA resulted in a huge number of publications on the reality of migration in Morocco. One of the interviewees in this study has what could be termed a typical ideal background for migration research. After working with an international NGO on a different topic, the NGO commissioned him to conduct migration study. Despite the fact that the interviewee was not a subject matter expert, he set about doing such with a group of researchers. The work on this study and its publishing have become a resource for migration researchers. This researcher's work is of high quality scientific creation based on extensive fieldwork. Unfortunately, this type of research can only be financed by international entities with a budget. The advancement of migration research allows indigenous academics to acquire endogenous knowledge about migration challenges.

Working in the field of migration is viewed by journalists as a battle for the preservation of journalistic ethics. Thus, a journalist will inform us, while discussing a Moroccan journalist network focused on migration, that:

“That’s how the network works, to humanize the journalistic narrative about migrants and to lift them out of anonymity [...], it’s not only about showing them as numbers of dead in the Mediterranean, [...] There are those truths, and then there are the more nuanced social realities that emerge when you approach closer and put faces to the data. There are success tales that should be shared, [...]” [Interview No. 22]

One of the reasons the journalists questioned explored migration-related themes was to humanize the narrative and establish a more sophisticated approach to the reality of migration in Morocco. The journalistic community has occasionally made overtly racist statements, such as the front page of the publication Maroc Hebdo, which had the headline “Le Péril Noir” (The Black Peril) and featured a photograph of a migrant on the front. Another journalist believes that:

“Writing about migration is part of my job as a journalist, not a struggle, those who do the struggle are the civil associations that operate in border areas, like Belyounech in Tetouan and Bani Nasr.” [Interview No. 21]

General Summary

The most significant innovation since 2014 has been the emergence of a professional field associated to migrant help, the characteristics of which are as follows:

- The vast majority of these new actors began operating in the sphere of migration in 2016/17 as a result of the expansion of programs funded by international cooperation that accompanied policies of migrant population integration (SNIA).
- Social and cultural professionals, as well as activists, have no prior experience with migration concerns. They learn on the job while working with asylum seekers, refugees, and migrants. They have a background in the social field (in general).
- Social workers migrate from one vulnerability to another based on their professional goals, new project opportunities, and the acquisition of new skills in the field of assisting vulnerable populations.

- Social work is more challenging with migrant populations because of their condition; despite the efforts of associations and social workers, the latter do not satisfy the demands of their beneficiaries efficiently. As a result, the latter discover that all initiatives share the same vision and working approach, and that their condition is always the same.
- Social workers' administrative status varies and is variable (self-employed status, fixed-term contract, open-ended contract, project assignment contract), which impacts working conditions and thus their job and performance, influencing the reasons for engagement and disengagement.

01. Laura Feliu Martínez, « Les migrations en transit au Maroc. Attitudes et comportement de la société civile face au phénomène », L'Année du Maghreb, V | 2009, 01 novembre 2012, 16 octobre 2022. URL : <http://journals.openedition.org/anneemaghreb/611> ; DOI : <https://doi.org/10.4000/anneemaghreb.611>
02. Lorena Gazzotti Immigration Nation: Aid, Control, and Border Politics in Morocco. By Lorena Gazzotti. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022. 256p. Moha Ennaji, Jean-Marie Simon, Vivre ensemble au Maroc, 2018
03. Interview 1
04. Laura Feliu Martínez, opp cit
05. Organisation Marocaine des droits de l'Homme.
06. Association Marocaine des Droits Humains.
07. Association des Familles Victimes de l'Immigration Clandestine.
08. Laura Feliu Martínez, opp cit
09. Interview 5
10. Délégation Diocésaine de la Migration
11. Association des réfugiés et demandeurs d'asile congolais au Maroc
12. Laura Feliu Martínez, opp cit
13. Institut National de l'Action Sociale
14. <https://www.cairn.info/revue-informations-sociales-2015-2-page-10.htm>
15. Brodiez-Dolino, Axelle. « La vulnérabilité, nouvelle catégorie de l'action publique », Informations sociales, vol. 188, no. 2, 2015, pp. 10-18.
16. <https://www.cese.ma/media/2020/12/Avis-projet-de-loi-45-18-VF.pdf>
17. *"This bill also aims to regulate the profession of social worker and define the conditions of its exercise, as well as the attributions of social workers, as well as the obligations and responsibilities incumbent upon them, and to allow this category to be aware of their rights, duties, and the conditions of the profession's exercise, particularly in the context of relations with the employer, for both employees and those who exercise their missions independently."* Le travail social au Maroc entre flou juridique et précarité Lahbib Kamal dans Forum 2020/2 (n° 160), pages 6 à 13
18. <https://www.cese.ma/media/2020/12/Avis-projet-de-loi-45-18-VF.pdf> p. 8
19. <https://www.seifkousmate.com/away-from-the-dreamland#0>

05.

Arts, Culture and Migration

The SNIA, which was founded in 2014, aims to ensure the respect of human rights and the integration of migrant populations into national migration policies. It defines a work program with precise goals to be met through a series of actions and activities. Cultural and artistic activities are primarily mobilized in the "Education and Culture" program's particular objectives 1, 2, and 3. These cultural expressions are viewed as a means of integrating migrants through artistic "living together" activities. They are also involved in programs to raise awareness of issues of diversity, tolerance, and mutual understanding among diverse communities among government officials, authority figures, and the Moroccan people. These precise goals are achieved by two series of activities:

- Raising awareness in schools about immigration, cultural diversity, and living together
- Supporting the cultural integration and cohabitation of migrants and refugees

The following activities were selected for the year 2018:

- The supply of cultural spaces by the Ministry of Culture and/or local governments;
- The production of 10 artistic projects by the ministry encouraging coexistence and integration of migrants;
- The implementation of the Week of Migrants in partnership with other organizations.¹

In 2019, the ministry sponsored 30 cultural initiatives for organisations seeking to integrate migrants into Moroccan society, as well as host two festivals during migration and refugee weeks. Migration Week 2020 was arranged in a hybrid format of distance and face-to-face. Other events were cancelled due to Covid's circumstances.

According to a review of the National Strategy for Immigration and Asylum (SNIA) evaluation reports, the cultural approach is built on event-based celebrations, mostly during migration and refugee weeks. These celebrations last a week and mobilize civil society to promote the integration of Sub-Saharan migrants. Artistic workshops are being arranged with the goal of bringing together migrant and Moroccan audiences. Nonetheless, all of these activities are plagued by a lack of consistency and long-term viability. The performers interviewed for this study lament the following:

"The activities are too sporadic, there is no long-term vision, and it does not work at all or only partially." [Interview No. 9]

Migrants are summoned to these activities without prior work in order to produce quality performances. As a result, there is some reluctance to participate in cultural activities that only occur once a year². In this case, artistic and cultural tools enable the celebration of migrant communities without having any meaningful impact on the migrants' experience or their participation in a local artistic and cultural dynamic.

“Socio-cultural activities must be developed further because they are insufficient to meet all needs.” Time and financial constraints prevent the realization of established goals.” [Interview No. 8]

There is a conventional judgment made by field actors on the futility of the arts in a context of high precariousness of life associated to a migratory experience. Art would serve no use and would not be prioritized in migration difficulties. According to one of the volunteers we interviewed:

“What is most important for migrants is humanitarian aid, more than any party or art event, because the truth is that they are hungry, and you want to organize art events?” [Interview No. 12]

Nonetheless, these same actors will recall the most joyous moments, those of genuine exchange unconstrained by the postures and statuses of speaker or recipient, occurring during festival weeks, during the preparation of gastronomic and/or cultural events. The performers regard art as useless since it is viewed solely as amusement rather than as a means for creating these common moments of communication outside of the traditional relationship between association and beneficiary.

Thus, we are interested in the various ways in which activists, artists, and other people in Morocco creatively articulate and investigate themes of humanitarian protection and solidarity with migrants. We used an interview grid to address a wide range of creative and cultural acts associated to migration in order to answer this question. We concentrated on creative and cultural practices and their application by civil society actors. In this scenario, we sought to move away from simply viewing these acts as advocacy opportunities for migrants’ situations. The field research demonstrates a broader level of use of the artistic tool in solidarity and accompaniment activities for refugees. They can be found in:



In the category of living together:

In the jargon of the associative actors, “living together” activities include all creative and cultural practices utilised in the association’s activities. They include artistic practice training seminars, performances and displays of African items, collective inventions, and artistic activities for children and adolescents. As one of the association’s actors points out, the concept of living together results in a mix of communities, including a Moroccan public:

“For us, “living together” is a category of action that includes all artistic and cultural activities such as the organization of cultural events such as festivals, the World Migrant Day, festivals in partnership with other associations, artistic workshops of music, theatre, and so on.” Each country participates with its own artistic uniqueness; the events span 3 to 4 days, and living together necessitates a Moroccan audience” [Interview 6].

These activities enable groups of migrants to come together to present a facet of their culture. This will result in a communal activity in which migrants become involved in a desire to display their culture and artistic practice to a Moroccan audience. Beyond the issue of pride in displaying a part of one’s culture to an audience, artistic achievements contribute to this logic of coexistence by exposing a population that has previously been confined to an image of a dangerous and defenceless community.

The logic of cohabitation is usually perceived from the perspective of the host. Living together entails a migrant’s incorporation into Moroccan cultural moments, without necessarily noticing what the migrant culture does to the cultures of the host or transit nations. In this case, art serves as a means of constructing recognition for the migratory community. It is the sum of these meeting micro-practices that, while not changing the overall circumstance, allow the diverse groups’ visions to emerge. According to one of the associative players, the main benefit

of these events is the formation of a shared experience with the migrant population:

“What’s great is that we went to educational institutions and targeted all levels, from primary to secondary.” So we were used to see kids studying together, and the activities we were doing were just confirming that coexistence, and they were also gazing at each other, especially when they knew one other... the vision of coexistence between them was increasing.” [Interview No. 8].

However, the duration of the projects does not provide continuity to the activities with the beneficiaries, which can lead to frustration and exhaustion when engaging in short-term events. When asked about the outcomes of these activities and the limitations encountered in carrying out the activities of living together, an associative actor informs us:

“Civil society institutions face numerous constraints, including financial ones, and the majority of these projects have a limited lifespan.” And when it comes to follow-up, it can take years or even until a person reaches independence [...]. With little human resources, it is difficult to provide psychological, social, and recreational support. On the other hand, most programs prioritize amusement activities over cultural and artistic creation.” [Interview 8]

In the Awareness / Information / Education category:

Projects to raise awareness are largely aimed at high school students, government authorities (police, national education), and, ultimately, the Moroccan people. Throughout 2015, the anti-racism caravan project in schools in the Tangier-Tetouan-Al Hoceima region generated opportunities for students and migrants to interact. The purpose of these meetings was to have a migrant testify about their life story and trip to Morocco. According to the account of an associative actor³ who was involved in the organization of this caravan, which was funded by the Ministry of Migration, these moments were significant because they allowed for a double recognition. On the one hand, secondary school students sensed in the migrant's desire to leave the same issues they experience in their daily lives. On the other hand, on the part of the migrant, who, by recounting his/her narrative and journey - rated heroic by the students - allows for the students to put words to a horrific experience and gives him/her validity. In this situation, stereotypical images are set aside in order to focus on the person behind the migrant or student's social image. The goal of these seminars was to create an artistic trace through drawing or writing.

Forum theatre-derived theatrical forms have shown to be a useful instrument in public awareness initiatives. This dramatic genre, developed in Brazil and adopted by several Moroccan street theatre organizations, allows for the discussion of issues through acts played in public spaces by actors offering a problem that must be solved by the audience present. The audience is invited to participate in the play by proposing solutions and/or collectively reflecting on other approaches to address the initial issue. This artistic instrument is described as follows by a cultural actress who has experimented with these theatrical styles:

“The forum theatre; it is very interesting because it passes a political message on mobility and acceptance of the other, in this forum

theatre for example, the people present become actors, play roles[...] the public, the young people were very open and actively participated in imagining scenarios of integration and respect of migrant populations” [Interview 7]

The theatrical scenario provided allows people to share their thoughts on delicate themes such as racism and discrimination against immigration. It is a time to think on some facts and gestures that are common in society. Once again, these brief drawings will not change the reality of racism and discrimination, but they will allow us to discuss subjects in public that are rarely addressed in official and/or independent media. The theatrical form of *halqa*⁴ creates a new area for speech within society, where words can be used to address circumstances of racism and/or hegemony.

Case Study: Living Together Activity

AICEED: Association Initiatives - Citizenship-Education- and Development (Tangier)

AICEED, which was founded in Tangier in 2004, is an independent, non-profit, non-governmental organization with no political, trade union, or religious ties. Its primary goal is to help improve the living conditions of young people in disadvantaged situations. To that end, it creates and implements a socio-educational intervention model that enables the socio-professional integration of young people in precarious situations through the mobilization of social actors (both public and private), collaboration, and advocacy. They have established a second chance school for the integration of young migrants, whether they are isolated or not.

We were interested in the socio-cultural activities produced by the association for the population of young migrants in irregular status in the context of this research. Children of various nations and cultures (Moroccans, Ivoirians, Guineans, Cameroonians, Senegalese...) attend this school. These children do not speak the same language; some speak in their mother tongue, Arabic, French, and English, prompting the centre to make additional efforts to allow everyone to find their integration within the school and thus within Moroccan society through language and culture.

The function of socio-cultural activities in this project is critical for the beneficiaries' conviviality. These emotional and relational education exercises aim to improve young migrants' verbal and nonverbal communication skills, empathy, and cooperation. From the perspective of young migrants in irregular situations, artistic and cultural activities provide a respite that allows them to discover their talents in various workshops of the artistic fields, especially since many of them have never had the opportunity to participate in such activities. They also allow them to express themselves and expose their opinions on various subjects, as well as externalize all of their emotions and feelings.

According to them, these activities also allow people to discover each other, their culture and customs, to exchange...something that permits a greater knowledge of their differences, respect for the other, and respect for these differences. Despite the differences in nations, all of this contributes to the group's harmony and balance.

Our visits coincided with artistic workshops - Recycling and Music - organized by the association in partnership with the Fondation Orient Occident. The workshops were led by three migrant artists (Cameroonian and Guinean), whose administrative situation is not

regularized (no residence permit, expired passports), despite the fact that two of the three artists are partners and owners of an event company (which they were able to create with their passports valid at the time), and despite the fact that they pay taxes and fees for their company; they have not been able to get their residence permit in Morocco until now.

This activity has had advantageous effects on the beneficiaries on all levels, both psychic and artistic, and for them it is an opportunity to express themselves and have fun, as well as uncover their abilities and artistic tendency, resulting in a better coexistence. The beneficiaries have urged for a continuing of these courses.

Unfortunately, this form of activity has only a fleeting and ephemeral impact on the beneficiaries, since it does not have continuity in time, since most of the programs do not put as much attention to these activities and they are seen as subsidiary and not primary activities.

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f https://www.facebook.com/CentreXicsFcb/?locale=fr_FR

In the category of migration as a tool for artistic creation - saying the artistic experience differently:

Throughout the study, the arts and culture are mentioned as one of the only ways to gain access to the interiority of the migratory experience. The building of a barrier between the migrant's experience and the concerns of cultural adaptability and a society's capacity to tolerate or reject difference within it is possible through artistic and cultural work. The delicate testimony on what it is like to be a migrant in Morocco have the potential to expand the debate, shift lines, and establish micro interactions. These methods also enable migrants to move away from the role of victim and/or risk to society by becoming players in their own narrative and culture.⁵

Nonetheless, as we observed in the second half of this study, creative practice is synonymous with migrant integration once their stay in Morocco has been sustained and constant. This field observation is shared by a teacher-researcher who is conducting research on artists in exile. He claims that his artistic approach is mostly influenced by his time spent on Moroccan soil. The longer this period, the more the migrant's artistic practice matures and becomes consistent. He uses an African percussion group that performed in Meknes' Iheddim square as an example. They gradually established themselves as an essential entertainment of the location and had the option to diversify their income by performing at weddings. The growth of this practice could only happen because of the long-term presence of this music group in Meknes.⁶

Art is not simply a means for making visible a disenfranchised migrant population; it also provides for the development of a common language that allows the artist to communicate with society, as one migrant artist explains:

“Art is the only thing that can bring the world together [...] Art can transform and

do everything; it can turn negative things into positive ones; it is a system of exchange. Currently, I am working on the establishment of an Afro-Arab fusion; nearly all of Africa's rhythms are similar, and we are attempting to synchronize African and Moroccan art so that the populace can grasp the benefits of art.”
[Interview No. 20]

While the Moroccan artist interviewed argues that:

“Art will just raise awareness and open debates, it will never solve the problem because to solve the problem, we need to think about a strategy and a migration policy that will be inclusive, create opportunities, regularize situations, also educate in terms of society, so that there is no more racism and discrimination, that's how we will stop the problem, [Interview 15]

Artistic creation as a space for sociability:

Artistic and cultural practices can also be used to foster exchange and sharing between the migrant community and a part of the Moroccan population. Art is a location of in-between where opinions are communicated and sorrows, pleasures, and achievements are heard via sensitive expression. Thus, artistic practices become areas of sociability marked by meeting and exchanging. It promotes social connections and generates new forms of sociability for migrant communities⁷.

These programs have an impact on the various communities because they allow different migrant communities to share their culture. The migrant brings a culture and an education that can be shared, even in traditional forms, at cultural events. [Interview No. 28] One interviewee challenges the notion of artistic and cultural events as a form of sociability by pointing out that during debates:

“we have the impression that Moroccans share their suffering, but this is quite contradictory with other behaviours that we can see in reality (type racism, ignorance,...)”
[Interview . 6].

One of the most important initiatives we found using art as a space for sociability is the association Tatmin in Rabat.

Case Study: Tatmin space (Rabat)

Tatmin is a Moroccan law-governed association founded in 2020. Tatmin is an association that promotes the integration and insertion of migrants in Morocco by organizing seminars and artistic and cultural activities. It has organized gatherings centred on books, master lectures, live sessions, exhibitions, covers, internships, literary cafés, solidarity markets, and workshops since its inception.

Tatmin has long tried to promote cultural diversity and equitable chances by embracing people from many nations and organizing various activities such as fashion and style courses, art, music and languages, films, and photography, AfroDance, dramatic improvisation, and creative writing. She's also put on a styling and sewing workshop. Not to mention that she has developed a new concept called “Tatmin Cover” in which she hopes to host music groups in order to expose their talents and support their socioeconomic integration. Based on an interview with the director of an organization that arranges activities to help migrants integrate. He tells us that “it is necessary to create activities that directly involve them in Morocco, and this is the best way to integrate them.”

During the interview, he mentioned that the association promotes intercultural exchanges between Morocco and its continent because he sees economic, religious, and human links but not cultural links, which is why he tries to create different types of activities through the associative work by advancing that: “if we create activities like theatre, dance, creative writing, it can be any cultural activity and when Moroccans come and me And it is here that the decomplex is formed.”

We were able to attend and assist in the organizing of various events from April 06, 2022 to June 01, 2022, the period during which we were able to begin our case study. Among these are a round table discussion on March 8, a picture contest called “Urban Poetry,” night markets, and an exhibition called “From Here and There.” The night markets were the first event where we could watch public interactions; they were held every Thursday in April - 14, 21, and 28 April 2022 - and included creators displaying their works. These markets provided an opportunity for people to build relationships with one another, whether at the level of the stands and the sale of commodities or at the level of the ftour, which was a time of sharing and wisdom. The inauguration of the exhibition “From here and elsewhere” was also a happy occasion for the public, as it provided an opportunity for them to meet new people.

"I really liked the atmosphere, we find all forms of art, music with traditional and modern instruments, works of art with two different styles, people of different cultures (Moroccans, Sub-Saharan, and Europeans," said one of the women there. It is an exhibition that has attracted about 60 visitors.

We were able to tell from these and other activities that the Tatmin association is more than just a place for activities; it is also a place where most of them feel at home.

Contact the association:

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@ <https://www.instagram.com/association.tatmin/>

01. Rapport SNIA 2018, 2019, 2020
02. Interview 6
03. Interview 12
04. Traditional form of Moroccan theatre presented in public spaces
05. Ibid
06. Interview 26
07. *"Both panellists agree on the importance of artistic and cultural events in fostering social connections in urban settings." According to Marco Martiniello, "beyond the aesthetic or creative aspects, what influences participation in cultural activities is the desire to create or consolidate a link, to interact and rub shoulders."*

06.

General Conclusion

On June 24, 2022, 24 migrants were killed and 77 were reported missing during an attempt to cross at Melilla's Barrio Chino border crossing. This is not the first time migrants have perished while attempting to enter Spanish enclaves. Since 2005, a series of catastrophic occurrences (2008, 2013, 2015, 2018) in Ceuta and Melilla have resulted in scores of deaths among the migrant population, prompting outrage and collective mobilization. The incidents in Barrio Chino occurred as our study team convened in Tangier to begin the analytical phase of our field data in June 2022. The sad occurrences appear to be cyclical, acting as an echo and replay of what we have been reading and hearing, each time bringing to a close a series of initiatives done by the Moroccan state in partnership with or at the suggestion of the European Union.

Migration policies have a long history that dates back to the early 1990s. Following the implementation of visa rules with European countries, Morocco's migratory realities changed, putting strain on the country's land and maritime borders with Spain. Following that, in reaction to a repressive Moroccan border control policy that resulted in multiple deaths, northern Moroccan civil society gathered to expose the overcoming of migrants' human rights by establishing the first humanitarian relief campaigns. Civil society pressure, combined with Morocco's geostrategic objectives, will result in the development of the National Strategy for Immigration and Asylum (SNIA) in 2014, ushering in a new political discourse in Morocco. The emphasis was on integration difficulties, with regularization campaigns and even stricter border controls. In 2018, harsh practices of deportation of migrants returned to the forefront, strengthening migration control through the constant movement of migrants. The COVID-19 crisis, as well as numerous diplomatic crises with Spain's neighbour, has resulted in a policy of loosening and tightening border control in recent years, culminating in the terrible tragedy of Barrio Chino in Melilla in 2022. The analysis of these various migration phases reveals the establishment of a cyclical pattern of migration control oscillating between repression and integration policy, which is primarily determined by internal and external pressure from national and international civil societies, as well as the state of relations and geostrategic interests between Morocco and Spain/EU.

This migratory reality will result in a significant shift in the profile of people and organizations that support migrants' rights. The first phase of solidarity will mostly involve historical human rights organizations that will conduct vital work in advocating for, observing, and denouncing breaches of migrants' human rights, particularly along the Mediterranean borders. Humanitarian organizations with a benevolent motive will also take part in humanitarian aid initiatives. Following

that, the foundation of the SNIA resulted in the professionalization of migrant aid, particularly through the development of initiatives funded by international cooperation and the Ministry of Migration, which addressed the vulnerabilities of migratory populations. This new profile of people working in migration assistance initiatives coincides with Morocco's professionalization of the field of social action by giving chances for graduates of the National Institute of Social Action (INAS). The launch of this project also provided an opportunity for other actors, primarily women, to reorient themselves from one type of vulnerability to another, increasing their professional opportunities and career goals. Journalists formed a collective and then an association of migrant journalists to reply to defamatory and racist articles published in Moroccan media. Their goal is to publish articles, reports, and journalistic investigations for the general public in order to document the true experiences of migrant communities. All of these dynamics were at work during the events of Barrio Chino in Melilla, where many associations mobilized to assist the victims of this attempted crossing; researchers produced a nuanced discourse on this event; and journalists produced a quality investigation that had to put the official discourse into context.

Following the establishment of the SNIA, many artistic and cultural projects aimed at integrating migrant populations were developed. Their fundamental objective is to promote living together by making migrant communities' cultures known and by creating spaces for sharing and meeting between these various populations. The research revealed that viewing these actions just as means of advocating for migrants' rights is out of date. The field research revealed a broader level of artistic tool use in solidarity and accompaniment activities for migrants, including art and culture as a form of sensitive expression of the migratory experience, as a place for sociability and sharing, and as a subject of artistic intervention by artists committed to revealing other facets of the migratory reality. The SNIA also opened up new fields of social science research inside Moroccan universities concerning migration issues, particularly the role of refugees and asylum seekers - with the exception of Sub-Saharan migrants - in cultural and artistic initiatives and activities.

We would like to end this study by putting the so-called migration problem in context, in addition to the questions raised concerning the realities of migration.

In a nutshell, what are the realities of migration in Morocco in terms of concrete figures?

Researcher Lorena Gazzotti rightly points out that: *"Morocco has hosted immigrant communities well before the signature of the Schengen Agreement, to such an extent that the official number of foreign residents captured by Moroccan records was seven times higher in 1952, at the time of the Protectorate, than in the 2014 census. European migrants have always formed an important foreign presence in Morocco, which outnumbers that of Africans in the official census."*¹

The foreign population was expected to be 84,001 in the 2014 census, or 0.25% of the Moroccan population. 33,615 of the 84,001 persons were of European origin. Natter Katarina, one of the researchers, states:

*"Even higher estimates of around 200,000 migrants do not challenge the overall conclusion that immigration remains a minor phenomenon in Morocco especially when considering the size and continuous growth of Morocco's emigrant population, estimated at 4 million in 2012"*²

All of these data assist to put the "migration problem" in context, which, even in the most optimistic estimates, accounts for 0.57% of Morocco's total population.

According to an article published in the newspaper "Le Monde" on 06/01/2023, the figure of unauthorized migration to Spain was as follows: *"In 2022, illegal immigration decreased by 25.6% compared to the previous year, with 31,219 arrivals compared to 41,945 in 2021, according to figures published by the Spanish Ministry of Interior."*³

According to the Centre for Global Development, the need for immigrant labour in the European Union and the United Kingdom will amount to millions of employees over the next several years: *"The European Union and the UK will be short tens of millions of workers by 2050 due to an aging population and insufficient levels of migration, according to a new study from the Centre for Global Development."*⁴

As a result, enormous efforts are expended to control a population that is more essential in the rhetoric of migration control than in fact. These control methods result in thousands of deaths along North Africa's land and marine borders.⁵

What would be the reason for such a deployment in speech and control acts?

Lorena Gazzotti, a researcher, suggests that, in the face of Europe's racist discourse on the logic of the "great invasion" of the populations of the South, security policies are directed first and foremost at potential migrants rather than actual migrants. Thus, she indicates: *"In this securitised puzzle of migration control, the need to transform 'sub-Saharan migrants' into a sector of intervention in their own right is not based on the number of migrants actually living in Morocco, but on the number of migrants who could arrive and, implicitly, who could move to Europe."*⁶

Moroccan director Leila Kilani will give voice to several refugees in illegal situations attempting to enter Europe in a beautiful documentary titled "Tangier, the Dream of illegal immigrants"⁷, "Even if they dry up the sea and build a barrier from the bottom of the sea to the sky," one of them replied, "we will always find a way to pass because, in the end, it is a human construction, and any human construction has flaws."⁸

This bridge demonstrates the reality of human movement as part of human history, in addition to displaying the determination of migrating people to cross. Rather than continuing to obstruct movement by placing migrants in irregular situations at the mercy of clandestine employment and human trafficking mafias, a genuine policy for the movement of migrant populations between the two Mediterranean coastlines must be implemented.

01. Lorena Gazzotti (2021) p. 54
02. Quoted in Lorena Gazzotti (2021) p. 63.
03. https://www.lemonde.fr/afrique/article/2023/01/05/en-espagne-demantelement-d-un-reseau-d-exploitation-de-migrants-marocains_6156754_3212.html
04. <https://www.cgdev.org/article/europe-be-short-44-million-workers-2050-without-increased-immigration-new-study-finds>
05. <https://www.france24.com/fr/%C3%A9missions/reporters/20221021-migrants-morts-sous-x-en-mer-m%C3%A9diterran%C3%A9>
06. Gazzotti (2021) p. 67
07. Documentary "Tanger, le rêve des brûleurs", 2002, Leïla Kilani http://www.film-documentaire.fr/4DACTION/w_fiche_film/11412_1
08. Ibid

07.

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08.

Annexes

Annex I: List of interviewees

Interview number	Role / function	Interview date
Civil society		
Human rights		
Interview 1	Historical activist of the migration issue - Al Hoceima	29/05/2022 in person
Interview 2	Human rights activist 1 - Martil	11/03/2022 in person
Interview 3	Human rights activist 2 - Rabat	29/06/2022 online
Interview 4	Human rights activist 3 - Tétouan	28/04/2022 in person
Associative worker		
Interview 5	Cultural Project Manager Migrant NGO - Rabat	15/05/2022 in person
Interview 6	Social Worker National NGO - Tangier	27/01/ 2022 in person
Interview 7	International NGO Project Manager - Rabat	27/04/ 2022 online
Interview 8	National NGO Social Worker - Tangier	01/06/2022 in person
Interview 9	Migration Project Manager National NGO - Tangier	13/06/2022 in person
Interview 10	Head of cultural project NGO National - Casablanca	28/03/2022 online
Interview 11	International NGO Project Manager - Rabat	15/01/2022 in person
Association Volunteers		
Interview 12	Association volunteer - Tétouan, Morocco	12/05/2022 in person
Interview 13	Association volunteer - Rabat , Morocco	28/06/ 2022 in person

Interview number	Role / function	Interview date
Artists / Cultural Entrepreneurs		
Artists		
Interview 14	Moroccan artist - Rabat	27 /01/ 2022 in person
Interview 15	Moroccan artist - Rabat/Tangier	05/07/2022 online
Interview 16	West African artist - Rabat/Kénitra	30/05/2022 online
Interview 17	West African artist - Tangier	05/06/2022 online
Interview 18	West African artist - Tangier	29/04/2022 online
Cultural Entrepreneurs		
Interview 19	Manager of cultural space - Rabat	17/03/2022 in person
Interview 20	Manager of a cultural SARL - Tangier	15/01/ 2022 in person
Journalists / Researchers		
Journalist		
Interview 21	Journalist 1 - Casablanca	15/01/2022 in person
Interview 22	Journalist 2 - Casablanca	30/01/2022 in person
Interview 23	Journalist 3 - Agadir	06/05/2022 in person
Researchers		
Interview 24	Teacher-Researcher - Agadir	24/04/2022 online
Interview 25	Researcher/associative actor - Rabat	28/03/2022 online
Interview 26	Teacher-Researcher - Meknès	29/06/2022 online
Other		
Interview 27	Associative Actor - Casablanca	05/04/2022 online
Interview 28	Director Educational Institution - Tangier	05/04/2022 in person

Annex 2: Classification of Interviewees by Gender

Interviewee category	Gender	
	M	F
Civil Society		
Human rights	4	
Social work		7
Volunteers	2	
Cultural workers		
Artists	5	
Cultural entrepreneurs	4	
Journalist / Researchers		
Journalist	2	1
Researchers	2	1
Total	19	9

Annex 3 and 4: Total arrests on the Spanish side and evolution of the number of migrants arrested between 1996 and 2000

Source: <https://library.fes.de/pdf-files/iez/03316.pdf> p.76

Tableau 6 : Arrestations totales côté espagnol
(toutes nationalités – voies maritimes)

Années	Voies maritimes	
	Détroit de Gibraltar	Îles Canaries
1993	4952	
1994	4189	
1995	5287	
1996	7741	
1997	7348	
1998	7031	
1999	7178	875
2000	16885	2.387

Tableau 5 : Evolution du nombre de migrants arrêtés entre 1996 et 2000

Années	Arrestations par nationalité							
	Marocains	Algériens	Subsahariens	Autres				
1996	6.701	86,5	815	10,5	142	1,8	83	1,0
1997	5.911	80,4	1.050	14,2	113	1,5	274	3,7
1998	5.724	81,4	1.002	14,2	76	1,0	229	3,0
1999	5.819	81,0	661	9,2	148	2,0	550	7,6
2000	12.858	76,1	253	1,5	3.431	20,3	343	2,0

Annex 5: Interceptions of illegal migrants between 2000 and 2007 according to origin

Source: <https://ipc2009.popconf.org/papers/92040> p.4

Tableau 2 : Les interceptions des migrants clandestins entre 2000 et 2007 selon l'origine

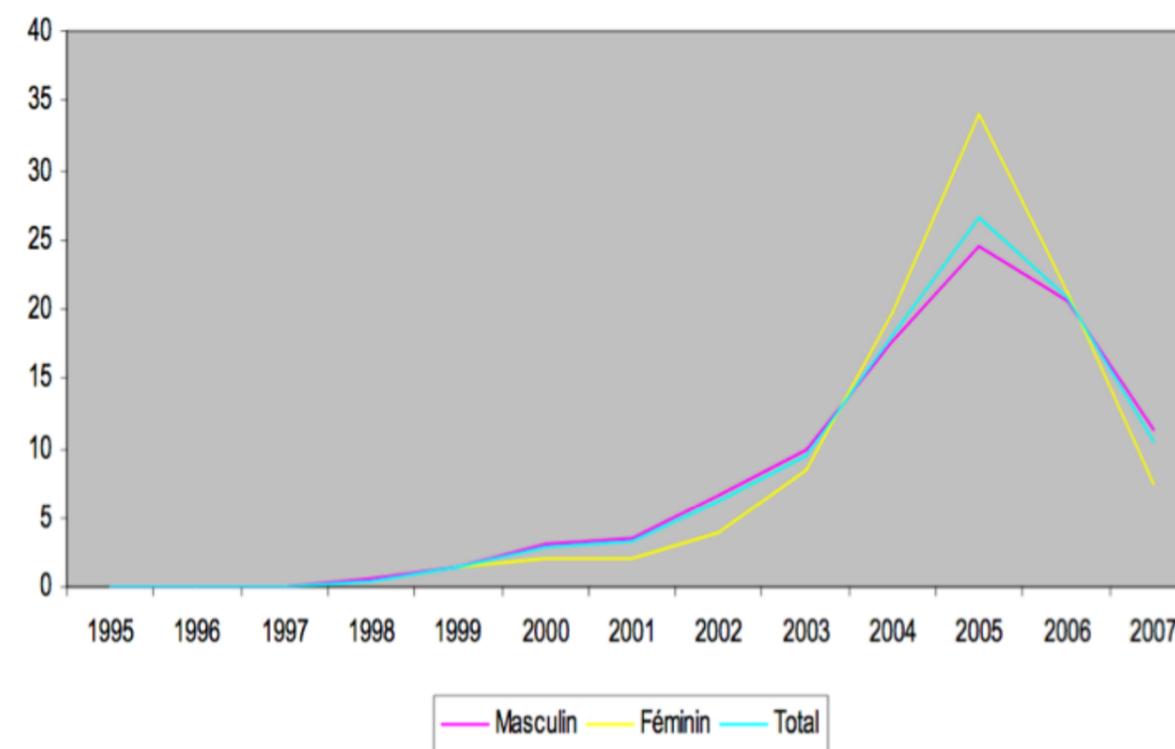
Année	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Nationaux	9.850	13.002	16.100	12.400	9.353	7.914	7.091	6.619
Etrangers	14.395	15.000	15.300	23.851	17.252	21.894	9.469	7.830
Total	24.245	28.002	31.400	36.251	26.605	29.808	16.560	14.449

Source : Ministère de l'Intérieur, Maroc.

Annex 6: Year of entry into Morocco of sub-Saharan migrants in percentage

Source: <https://ipc2009.popconf.org/papers/92040>

Année d'entrée au Maroc des migrants subsahariens (%)

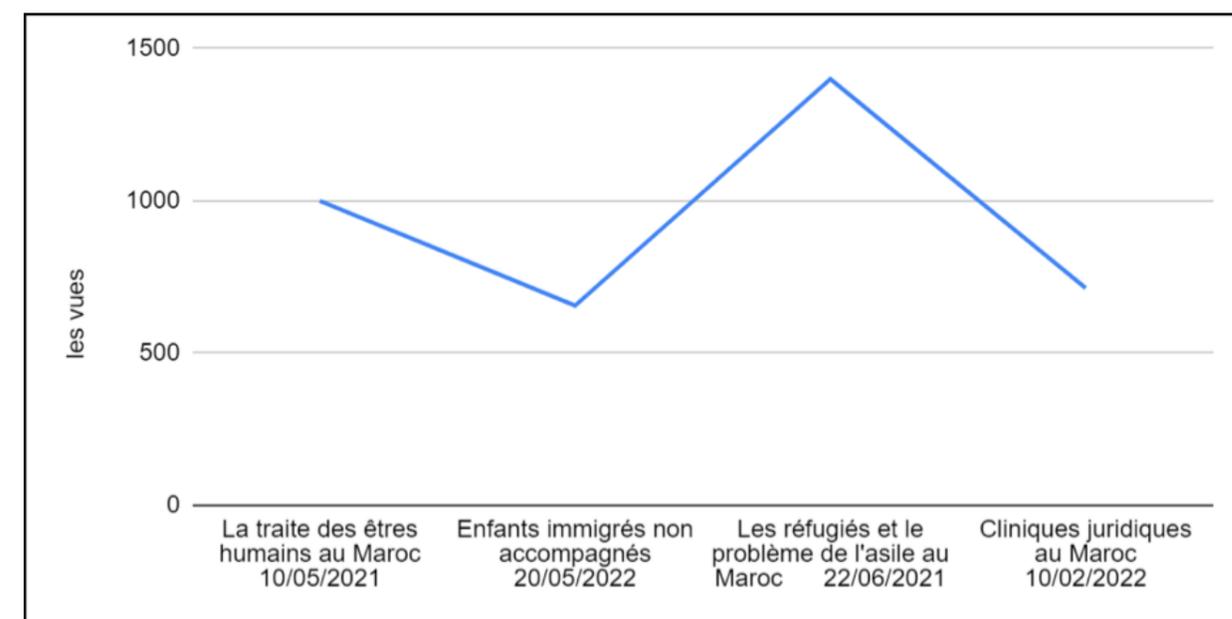


Annex 7: List of accredited academic institutions for migration and asylum training

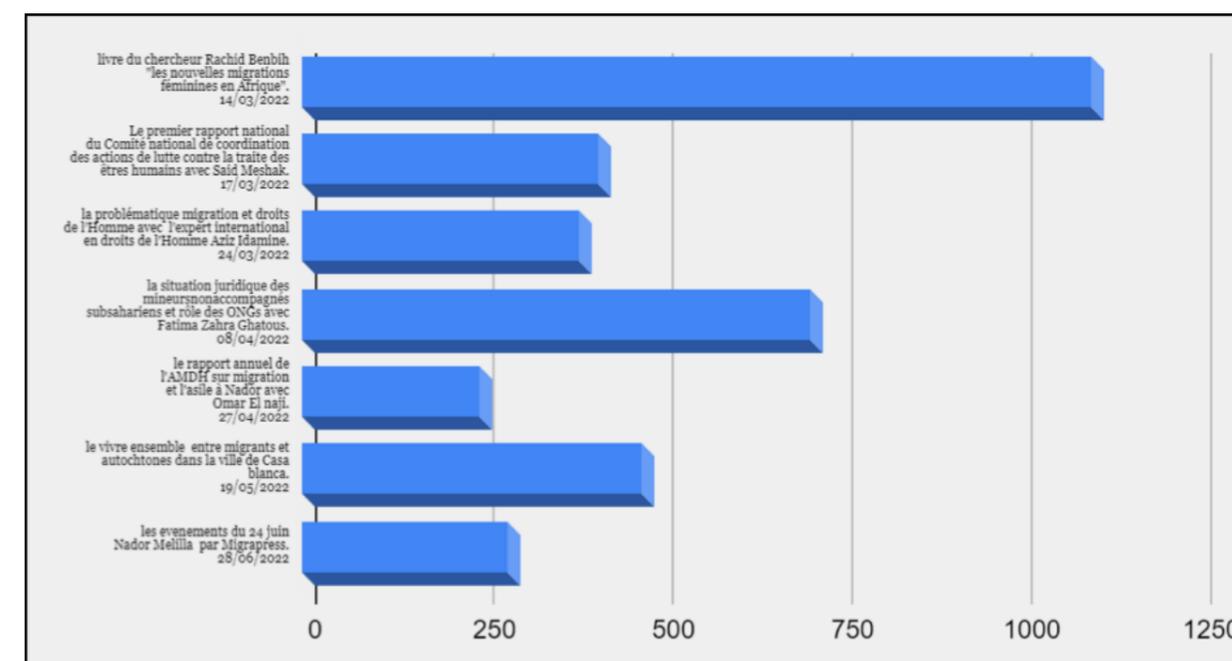
Source: <https://marocainsdumonde.gov.ma/ewhatisi/2021/10/Programme-11.pdf> p. 122

Université	Ville	Diplôme	Intitulé de la Filière
UM5	Rabat	Master	Migrations et Sociétés
ENRPU	Rabat	Master	Médias et Migrations
UMI	Meknès	Master	Histoire des migrations et des mouvements de populations dans le bassin méditerranéen
UMI	Meknès	Master	Droit international privé et migration
UIZ	Agadir	Doctorat	Aménagement du Territoire, Sociétés, Migration & Développement Durable
UIZ	Agadir	Master	Dynamique des sociétés : Migration, démographie et développement
USMS	Béni-Mellal	Master	Migrations Internationales : Espace et Société
UH2	Mohammedia	Master	Sociologie de la migration
UMP	Oujda	Master	Migration : Espace et société

Annex 8: Evolution of the number of views of the Facebook page “Migrapress” of remote meetings between May 2021 and February 2022



Annex 9: Evolution of the number of views of the “Migrapress” Facebook page from March to June 2022 (Phase 2)



About Madar :

This work was carried out in the framework of the Maghreb Action on Displacement and Rights (MADAR مدار, Arabic for 'path') Network Plus project, which aims to improve the humanitarian protection of vulnerable, displaced people in contexts of conflict in the central Maghreb region of Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia.

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MADAR is a multi-country network of professionals from civil society and research organisations, led by Professor Mariangela Palladino at Keele University.

Credits :

This study was conducted by Oumayma Aghzere, Mehdi Azdem, Abdessamad Khadiri, Tala Younes et Abdeslam Ziou Ziou.

Within the Madar Network Plus



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