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MIGRATION, MUTATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN MOROCCO

by

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## SUMMARY

International migration in Morocco is the result of a whole series of socio-economic factors, in particular a strong demographic growth rate, rural exodus, excess labour supply, income disparities. A policy of international co-operation must therefore take into consideration all of these elements in aiming to reduce the incentive to emigrate.

Emigration has had a positive impact on economic changes, especially through worker's remittances, and on social changes by sustaining the effects of government policies. However, the gap in standards of living between Morocco and host countries has decreased only very little. Therefore, the rural exodus will likely continue and the arrival of more numerous age groups on the labour market could further reinforce the incentive to migrate.

Policies of co-operation should therefore emphasize rural development (better infrastructure, creation of local poles of activity) and job creation, by encouraging small and medium enterprises and productive investment in order to fix populations in their home areas. In this vein, the reform of administrative structures, with a view to adapting and rationalising existing procedures, constitutes a necessary prerequisite to the encouragement of private initiative. Furthermore, improvements in the status of Moroccan women, notably through their widespread schooling, would involve them more fully in the process of modernisation within the country as well as lead to control of the birth rate.

## MIGRATION, MUTATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN MOROCCO

Abdallah BERRADA\*

### 1. Introduction

Contemporary international migrations in Morocco are but the reflection of its demographic and economic evolution and the political, economic and financial relations which the European countries have maintained with Morocco since the beginning of the century.

The rapid demographic growth experienced by Morocco over the past 40 years together, with the level of its economic development, explain to a large extent the intensity of the migratory flows in the direction of Europe and certain Arab oil states.

At present the Moroccan population is increasing by about 600 000 a year, as against 50 000 in the early decades of this century. The rural exodus which involves over 200 000 persons a year contributes to international migratory flows, mainly because of the backwardness of development in the Moroccan countryside as compared with the urban world. This exodus comes to swell the ranks of a population which is economically and socially poorly integrated into the urban world and, for this reason, increases the number of candidates for emigration to other countries.

Aware of these phenomena, and their medium and long-term repercussions, the Moroccan authorities introduced a family planning policy in 1966 which is now beginning to show results and has made it possible to reduce the birth rate. There has been a sharp fall in the fertility rate of Moroccan women over the past ten years, notably in the towns. This confirms the imminence of the demographic transition which in fact constitutes for the female town-dweller in Morocco a revolution in her social status through the growing role that she may be able to play in the development of the country.

However, while waiting for these demographic changes to produce their effects on mitigating the population increase, several tens of thousands of young people arrive on the labour market every year and a large proportion of them cannot find work because of the great distortions characterising labour market supply and demand. Despite considerable efforts made to create jobs in Morocco (1), there is still a great over-supply of labour which tends to increase unemployment amongst young people and in particular those with diplomas, whose education costs the country a great deal.

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These same young people, who legitimately hope to improve their economic and social situation, tend to seek various means by which to emigrate, generally to nearby countries, where there are better chances of work and social promotion. Despite the closing of frontiers, several thousand young people finally succeed in installing themselves more or less precariously in Europe every year, sometimes using methods which may endanger their lives.

Analysis of the migratory trends observed over the past two decades and of the prospects for the future, shows that these trends are likely to be extended and perpetuated in the absence of any policy aimed at satisfying the domestic demand for work, and at offering the upcoming generations appropriate and decent living conditions and social promotion. In fact, the many administrative measures and various regulations adopted in both host countries and in Morocco have turned out to be relatively ineffective and inoperative in controlling the phenomenon of migration. This is in fact equally true in regards to internal migration.

In the final analysis, the migration problem is very much a function of: the volume of jobs created in Morocco; the increases in the standard of living of the populations, notably those living in rural areas; social reforms; education for women; and the fight against poverty and its causes. It is only by means of a rapid development policy that it would be possible to limit the migratory movements in a durable fashion and without conflict. The present paper, prepared in accordance with these ideas, is intended to describe the different links existing, on the one hand between migration and development, and on the other between development and the slowing of migratory movements.

These analyses are made in the light of Moroccan experience. A study is subsequently done on the new forms of co-operation which Morocco should develop with the European countries concerned by this migration in order to consolidate its efforts to harness its human and material resources in the service of its development and of its economic, social and political equilibrium.

## 2. International migration in Morocco: history and recent trends

By virtue of its geographical position between Europe, Africa and the Middle East, Morocco is a country which has been a crossroads for migratory exchanges ever since antiquity. Several civilisations succeeded one another. The present population is the result of the mixing of peoples of different origin, mainly Berber-Arab, but there are also populations originating from Africa and Europe. The contemporary migratory history of Morocco is marked by the emigration of a large European colony in the first half of the 20th century and by a considerable emigration of Moroccans over the past 30 years.

Until 1952, the foreign population, mainly European, amounted to over 500 000 persons in the towns, or almost one-fifth of the urban population of the country and almost 6 per cent of the total Moroccan population, then estimated at some 9 million people. The European colony in Morocco was mainly composed of French but there were also Spaniards, Portuguese, Italians and Greeks. Following independence the movement was reversed, with the progressive departure of European nationals and Moroccan Jews.

Since the 1960s there has been an emigration movement of Moroccan workers heading mainly for France, which recruited several tens of thousands of unskilled workers over a period of 15 years to meet the needs of the labour market and diversify the origins of the foreign labour force, largely composed of by Italians, Spaniards, Portuguese and Algerians. Other European countries also sought to recruit Moroccans, such as Belgium, the Netherlands and, to a lesser extent, Germany, in order to have access to a labour force reputed to be serious, docile and disciplined. For their part, the Moroccan authorities looked favourably on this emigration which fitted into their strategy of openness to the outside world and which also enabled them to benefit from migrants' remittances, which were greatly needed by the country for the equilibrium of its balance of payments and to finance its investments. Emigration was also a means of training a skilled labour force which was intended to return to Morocco and constitute a vector for the transfer of know-how necessary to the country. However, it also acted as a labour market regulator given the fact that the labour supply was becoming increasingly out of proportion in relation to demand year after year. These departures of Moroccan workers to Europe were implicitly very much appreciated, though without the governments concerned being able to fully control them. As a result of international crises, attitudes were to change, and with them the very nature of migratory movements.

Before the suspension of immigration decided by the majority of European countries in the mid-70s, the migration of Moroccans to Europe was considered to be temporary: the migrant left with the intention of returning later. The migrant has changed since then, becoming more definitive in nature and tending to stay for a longer period of time. The migration which was geographically limited to the regions of Souss (in the South) and Nador and Al-Hoceima (in the North) and which essentially came from the rural world, gradually extended to other regions of the country and increasingly concerned the urban world, where expatriation was in fact previously little accepted socially.

The migration which had previously concerned only active men was to increasingly attract women and children (family reunion). This gave rise to problems hitherto unknown, such as those of immigrants' children and their place in the host country and the country of origin, their training, culture, employment and indeed their future. In addition, the migration of workers with no education was to be gradually replaced by the migration of trained and even qualified people, who had received training that was very expensive for Morocco, but found themselves unable to find work. Subsequently, other forms of migration increased in volume, notably illegal migration, especially in seasonal activities, permitted through the unavowed complicity of many employers, for example in the agriculture and construction industries.

These various mutations have not diminished the attachment of the Moroccan workers to their families and their country however. This explains the frequent visits to Morocco and the continuing increase in the transfer of funds to emigrants' families and the investments made in various sectors of the economy. The strength of family solidarity also explains the emergence of migratory networks which have made it possible to maintain migratory flows to the European countries, and this in spite of the drastic measures taken by the host countries and by the Moroccan authorities which had placed a very strict control on the issuance of passports during a period of 30 years, before

realising the necessity to liberalise this process. The introduction of visa requirements by European countries diminished the intensity of flows to Europe and forced potential candidates for migration to switch to other destinations: Arab countries, Canada, Spain, Italy, etc. and to imagine various subterfuges in order to emigrate, sometimes at the cost of their lives.

Contrary to the different forecasts, the past decade has seen a continuous increase in the number of Moroccan migrants in the different European countries. The findings of various statistical studies corroborate these trends. By way of example, we may note that the number of Moroccans born outside France increased by 20 per cent between 1982 and 1990. In Spain there were 48 000 legalisations of Moroccan migrants in illegal situations in 1992 and these added to of the 16 000 in 1987. It is estimated that the minimum number of Moroccans in Spain is about 80 000. The estimate of the total number of Moroccans in eight European OECD countries was a little over 1 million in 1990 (2).

### 3. Migrations and structural changes in Morocco

Omnipresent in the social and economic landscape of contemporary Morocco, the effects of international migration are also very present on the cultural and demographic levels. These migrations have contributed much to the social changes which have taken place in Morocco, and especially regarding demographic behaviours closely linked with increasing the standard of living, the cultural level of the population, improving the status of women, and urbanisation.

{On the economic level: ever greater migrants' remittances, ever better used}

In the space of 20 years, transfers of the savings of Moroccan migrants abroad (see Table 2) have increased considerably. The average annual growth recorded between 1971 and 1991 was in the order of 20 per cent. With the exception of a few years when a slowing was recorded, four periods can be distinguished through an analysis of the time series of these transfers.

1. Between 1970 and 1975 there was very strong growth, averaging about 46 per cent a year. This is explained by the results of setting up a system for collecting migrants' savings by the People's Bank of Morocco.
2. Between 1976 and 1980 the rate of increase was more modest (14 per cent a year on average). This trend could be explained by the slowing of emigration flows after the change of policy in the host countries.
3. Between 1983 and 1986 there were again relatively high rates of increase (25 per cent a year on average).
4. Lastly, the most recent period is characterised by less vigorous growth (7 per cent) of transfers, with two extreme situations. The year 1988, in fact, saw a sharp fall in transfers as a result of the elimination of the exchange bonus of 5 per cent which had been granted by the Ministry of Finance for sums sent by emigrants through

official channels to their country of origin. On the other hand, 1990 was characterised by a very sharp increase in the transfers recorded, because of the devaluation of the Dirham in May 1990. This devaluation of the Moroccan currency encouraged a good many migrants to transfer more money home, even going so far as to borrow in the immigration country to be able to take advantage of this fall in the Dirham.

Analysis of the origin of the funds transferred shows the predominance of remittances from European countries (94 per cent of the total as against only 5 per cent from the Arab countries). Two-thirds of these transfers are from France, followed by the Netherlands (9 per cent), Belgium (7 per cent), West Germany (5 per cent) and lastly Italy (4.5 per cent).

In addition, it can be seen that transfers represented an amount equivalent to an increasing proportion of imports, i.e. 26 per cent in 1991 as against 11 per cent in 1971, and of GDP, 7 per cent and 2 per cent respectively for the same years.

In 1991, Moroccan migrants' remittances exceeded US\$ 2 billion and amounted to 8 per cent of the GDP and 80 per cent of the deficit in the balance of trade in goods and services. If we take into account the various forms of transfers in kind and compensatory practices, the weight of this important resource for the national economy turns out to be even greater. Traditionally the money sent by migrants was mainly used for the purchase of consumer goods; the living expenses of the members of the household remaining in Morocco (food and clothing, household equipment, purchase of a car); and the purchase of a dwelling.

A change is now being noticed, admittedly as of yet hesitant but nevertheless significant, in the use of these savings and the gradual emergence of a new entrepreneurial culture among the emigrants. They are starting to become interested in making productive investments and also becoming more concerned about their future and that of their children: purchase and development of agricultural land, small-scale hydraulic projects, establishment of modern stock farming units, agricultural equipment. Substantial sums belonging to emigrants have also been invested in the tourism sector, and notably in hotels and restaurants. Over the past few years we have also seen more or less successful attempts at investment in certain industrial sectors, notably small ready-made clothing enterprises, agrofood and small production units connected with the building industry.

{Urbanisation: international migration as a factor accelerating urbanisation in }  
{Morocco}

To a large extent, the families of emigrants of rural origin preferred to live in a town in order to send their children to school and to facilitate their contacts with the emigrant, possibly with the view of joining him or her in the host country by means of family reunion or after obtaining a labour contract abroad.

A good number of rural villages were able to obtain socio-educational facilities under the effects of strong immigration connected with the international migration which changed their status to that of urban centres.

Migrants' remittances together with investments in various sectors of the urban economy made it possible to improve the living conditions of the population in general terms, though with a certain amount of dysfunctioning and disorder in the urban areas due to the acceleration of urban growth, such as the proliferation of precarious and insalubrious housing.

{Schooling and education: migration has favoured schooling and made it possible }  
{to reduce the gap between girls and boys}

One of the main concerns of emigrants is ensuring schooling for their children in order to give them a better chance in life and permit a socio-cultural integration different from that which they experienced themselves. In fact in recent decades there has been a true promotion of emigrants' children who have acceded to secondary and even higher education, the improvement being particularly marked in the case of girls.

{Improvement in the status of women: migration has favoured changes in the }  
{social status of women and their position in society}

Formerly confined to domestic or agricultural activities, the Moroccan woman has come to participate in the management of household affairs and to assume considerable responsibility for its functioning. This is particularly true for the women and daughters of emigrants who, in their absence, have had to become integrated in administrative and economic circuits and have come into contact with the world outside their household. In doing so they have contributed to social change and greatly promoted its development.

{Social change and the reduction of social disparities: through their }  
{remittances, emigrants have made a real contribution to the reduction of social }  
{disparities and poverty in Morocco}

The decade of the 80s was characterised by a significant reduction in social disparities. Migration was not unconnected with this important change. The fact is that in 1985 almost 6 million people were considered to be in a situation of poverty. By 1990, according to World Bank estimates (3), the number of such disadvantaged people had diminished by almost 30 per cent. The household standard of living survey carried out in 1990/91 (4) showed a very substantial improvement in the standard of living, even for the poorest households. The poverty threshold at that time was 10 per cent in the towns and 18 per cent in rural areas. Similarly, the share of national consumption for the top 20 per cent of the richest households, which amounted to 14 times that of the poorest 20 per cent at the end of the 70s, was only 8 times in the survey and is continuing to fall.

In 1990, the average Moroccan spent 6 780 dirhams during the year, or twice as much as in 1985, i.e. an annual increase of 11 per cent in current dirhams and 5.1 per cent in constant dirhams. This improvement in the standard of living was almost 5 times that recorded between 1970 and 1985. This substantial improvement is becoming visible in Morocco's social landscape, which is characterised by a growing demand for goods and services.

The role of the different contributions of international migration in this evolution is incontestable, notably in the reduction of the disparities.

These contributions are both direct and indirect, since they concern populations which were to a large extent rural, and which have recently become urbanised and benefited from the socio-educational facilities of the towns and the possibilities of social promotion which opened up to them.

{Changes in demographic behaviour: international migration has helped to }  
{accelerate the demographic transition, notably in the towns}

Increasing access to education for Moroccan women, their access to gainful employment and contact with the outside world, have done much to make them aware of the disadvantages of an excessively high fertility rate and the need for better birth control. The attitudes and practices of Moroccan women with regard to birth control have fundamentally changed in the towns. The Moroccan woman now uses the various forms of contraception available. The synthetic fertility index in the urban milieu fell from 6.58 children per woman in 1973 to 2.85 in 1987 (5). In the rural areas, however, fertility has not fallen so sharply, the synthetic fertility index now being 5.9 children per woman as against 7.85 twenty years ago.

#### 4. Development, migration and co-operation

For its economic development, Morocco opted very early for strategic choices based on liberalism, the encouragement of private initiative and openness to the international economy.

{Development strategy: the choices made}

Morocco has developed the key sectors of its economy to meet a continually growing domestic demand, as well as to increase its exports. The Moroccan economy, though handicapped by a good number of unfavourable factors, such as the droughts that strike the country, is characterised by an original internal dynamic as demonstrated by the positive results recorded under the structural adjustment programme introduced in 1983.

Concerned with productivity and competitiveness, the Moroccan authorities decided to proceed to the privatisation of public enterprises. Some 600 state enterprises and companies will be put up for sale over the next few years in favour of national and international private capital. This decision confirms the process of disengagement from productive sectors which the Moroccan state has been pursuing since the introduction of the structural adjustment programme. With the rehabilitation of public finances now under way, privatisation should lead in the medium or longer term to a politico-economic restructuring of the development instruments. With the reduced involvement of the state in economic activities, the gradual elimination of administrative and political shackles on private initiative should encourage an entrepreneurial class which has proved its worth in a good number of sectors, but which could still do better. Textiles, agrofood, engineering and construction may be mentioned without forgetting the provision of certain services usually provided by the state, such as primary, secondary and higher education and vocational training, a good proportion of which is already dispensed by increasingly numerous private institutions. The Moroccan banking system is also a major asset for development.

Examination of Moroccan demographic and economic indicators over the past ten years bears witness to both the relative pertinence of the strategic choices and their appropriateness with respect to some of the population's aspirations. In the future, these basic advantages will no doubt favour the development of modern Morocco, especially if account is taken of the expected effects of the deceleration in demographic growth.

{The arrival of the demographic transition is opening new development prospects }  
 {for Morocco}

Demographic analyses carried out during the past twenty years show that the Moroccan population is resolutely engaged in a continuing process of reducing the fertility rate under the influence of socio-cultural evolution on the one hand, and the changes which have more particularly concerned women on the other, with the latter increasingly gaining access to the labour market and seeing their social status gradually improve. Many sources of data of different types produced by different bodies (6) converge to confirm this tendency over the past twenty years and make it possible to make the following forecasts to horizon 2015:

Projection of the synthetic fertility index to horizon 2015

Residential milieu	1990	2000	2015
•••	•	•	•
Urban•••	2.49	2.11	2.10
Rural•••	4.95	3.67	2.10
Total•••	3.59	2.73	2.10
Index (1992 = 100)	100	76	59
	•		•

{Source:}• Centre d'études et de recherches démographiques, 1992 (average variant).

These trends are in all probability going to reinforce one another in favour of the intensification of the family planning programme which concerns an ever increasing number of women.

Thus in half a century Morocco will have passed from a high fertility rate to controlled fertility comparable to that of the European countries. With a synthetic fertility index of 2.10 in the year 2015, Morocco would achieve the rate of replacement of generations (7). A few years later, the average Moroccan woman will have about 1.84 children, a level comparable with that of a French woman today (1.82).

In terms of the population, the effects of this falling trend in the fertility rate on demographic projections has already made itself felt, to the extent that the population in the year 2000 is expected to be 29.6 million (8) with a majority living in an urban environment (54 per cent of the total population). Beyond this date the urban population will increase to about 32 million before reaching its stable level; the rural population will arrive at this situation after having peaked at 15 million. In the meantime, the rural

exodus will have swelled the town population very greatly and will have had very serious effects on the socio-spatial and economic organisation. This may even be a serious handicap for the country's development.

{Accelerated rural exodus: a challenge for contemporary Morocco}

While less than 100 000 country dwellers moved to the towns during the 60s, the migratory balance from the rural to the urban area was estimated at 271 000 in 1987, these people being generally poor, with no skills and no means of production. These considerable numbers swell the population of the peripheral zones of the conurbations and compromise rational growth. Upstream, the rural areas of Morocco are increasingly deprived of their human resources which are vital for their development. Downstream this migration maintains an unfavourable demographic pressure on the towns which may be highly detrimental for their social and economic equilibria.

These migrants maintain an informal sector and an underground economy as well as considerably increasing the number of unemployed and underemployed workers and constitute potential candidates for emigration abroad. Recent studies in fact show that these migratory flows of rural origin towards the towns have significant extensions in emigration abroad. The networks built up since the 60s continue to function, admittedly to a lesser extent, but with poles of attraction which exert their influence on the rural world via the towns and the small and medium "urban" centres.

If the future prospects for rural exodus are examined, it can be seen that if the present level is maintained to horizon 2022 it will have led to a 70 per cent increase in the urban population with all the attendant consequences for the towns and for international migration. According to the findings of the 1986-88 national demographic survey, almost one million Moroccans migrated during 1987. About 71 000 emigrated abroad and 32 000 returned to re-establish themselves in Morocco (see Table 5). This survey covered a national sample of 30 000 households distributed throughout the country, 65 per cent in urban areas and 35 per cent in rural areas. The results available cover the seven economic regions of the country. The 30 000 households were surveyed five times between October 1986 and October 1988. Questions relating to migratory movements were posed from the second survey onwards and covered the place of residence of each member of the household and the date of each event (nature of the migratory movement, place of immigration or emigration and main reasons for migration).

These trends made the authorities aware of the need to set up a regional development and town planning policy. A national land use and development plan (schéma national d'aménagement du territoire - SNAT) is at present being drawn up and is being backed up by very detailed studies aimed at better understanding and better regulating the internal migratory flows. The aim is to channel these flows to new destinations, such as small and medium towns and the under-populated regions. These measures cannot succeed however without human resource development. The more even distribution of the population over the national territory will favour the appearance of new development areas and make it possible to attract investment and create more jobs.

{Educational systems and vocational training: the major reforms introduced }  
{should make it possible to better meet the needs of the Moroccan economy and }  
{society}

The reforms introduced in 1984 and 1985 were aimed at generalising basic education, developing vocational training and integrating training in employment. In 1992 almost 120 000 young people were receiving vocational training, almost one-third of them in private schools set up since the reform. Several dozen types of courses have been created to meet the needs of employers and the technical and technological evolution of Moroccan enterprises. In order to bring educational and vocational training institutions closer together and promote the insertion of young qualified people in enterprises, a National Council for Youth and the Future (Conseil National de la Jeunesse et de l'Avenir - CNJA) was created in 1990. According to a study carried out in June 1992, the insertion rate of young people qualifying under the CNJA initiative is 43 per cent. These actions, notably carried out in the context of the Forum for Employment and the Information and Assistance Programme for the Creation of Enterprises (Carrefour de l'emploi et du Programme d'information et d'assistance à la création d'entreprises - P.I.A.C.E.), are opening up new horizons for young Moroccans in the different sectors of the national economy.

{The development of agriculture, industry and tourism: strategic choices aimed }  
{at satisfying an increasing domestic demand and opening up to the international }  
{economy}

Several measures have been taken in favour of these sectors which are considered to be key for Morocco's development. In particular we would note the creation of several specialised institutions for advice and technical assistance for farmers. The Caisse nationale du Crédit agricole has greatly contributed to the development of this sector. Specific laws were promulgated to encourage national and international investment through tax exemptions and aid for job creation, while favouring the deconcentration of industries hitherto mainly located on the Atlantic coast. Advantages were also granted to investors in the tourism sector, which permitted the creation of several tens of thousands of jobs and greatly contributed to the promotion of Moroccan arts and crafts which now employ some 950 000 people. The findings of the annual survey of the active population show that in 1987 a total of 139 168 jobs were created, mainly in the service sector and industry. Two years later, job creations increased by 10 per cent with the stepping up of activity in services and in building and public works. These two activities virtually doubled the number of jobs created, increasing respectively from 69 285 to 123 562 and from 12 356 to 22 715 between 1987 and 1989 (see Table 6). The year 1990 confirmed the dominance of these two branches which accounted for virtually all of the 105 948 jobs created. Alongside these encouraging developments however it is necessary to point out the precariousness and vulnerability of jobs in agriculture, silviculture and fisheries, as well as in industry.

In the rural areas, the survey carried out in 1986 by the Direction de la Statistique registered fairly modest unemployment at about 5.6 per cent, but underemployment is a very serious problem since it concerned about 75 per cent of the population. This survey highlighted the dominance of agricultural activities in rural areas, which employ 8 workers out of 10. The situation remains rather worrying in view of the hazards connected with the climatic conditions: drought has been a powerful factor leading to migration from rural areas to the towns.

{Social development: an absolute necessity for the socio-political and economic }  
{equilibrium of modern Morocco}

During the past three decades, priority was given essentially to economic aspects, social problems being more or less pushed into the background by this major preoccupation. The social situation of the workers was long neglected before starting to gradually improve. However, as regards housing, drainage, drinking water supplies in the towns, and health, a substantial proportion of households are still living in precarious conditions.

The reforms planned here aim at improving the living conditions of the most disadvantaged households by providing them better access to the social services mentioned above and the means to obtain easier access to employment and to investment credits granted by banks to encourage private initiatives.

{Labour market prospects: large numbers will arrive on the labour market in the }  
{next few years}

Studies concerning future labour supply in Morocco (9) show that on average the period 1990-1995 will see an additional 193 000 people a year seeking work in the towns and 96 000 in the rural areas, one-third and one-quarter of them, respectively, being women. These figures are the balance between the 404 000 new entries to the labour market and the 115 000 exits. Labour supply will not be able to totally satisfy this growing demand according to the trend observed over past years: one million jobs were created between 1960 and 1982.

Unemployment in the towns has never ceased to grow in recent years, rising from 13.9 per cent in 1985 to 16.3 per cent in 1989 and is probably over 17 per cent at present. In the case of women, the present unemployment rate is over 20 per cent. This growing unemployment is all the more worrying among young people with diplomas emerging from the educational system. The fact is that almost two-thirds of young people with higher education qualifications were unemployed in 1990. This proportion is inversely correlated to the educational level reached, insofar as it is almost half (48.7 per cent) for secondary school leavers and one-quarter (25.8 per cent) for those with only primary education, as against only 12 per cent for active people with no training or schooling.

It is thus absolutely necessary to consider the urgent and important measures that need to be taken to contain this rising employment among educated young people.

{On the institutional level: ambitious political and administrative reforms, but }  
{difficult to implement}

The reform of the public administration as a development instrument is a major preoccupation and should concern essentially administrative decentralisation and deconcentration, with the regionalisation of certain administrative structures accompanied by the provision of substantial human and financial resources. The administration must endeavour to be more efficient in the management of public monies, the fight against corrupt practices and the traffic of influence.

In the same way, it is essential for Morocco's development to simplify administrative procedures and formalities which are often cumbersome and tedious, notably for economic agents. The eagerly awaited creation of a single office to receive national and international investors will greatly facilitate the task.

The reforms introduced and those awaited in the different social and economic fields will not fail to facilitate Morocco's development. However in view of the scale of the needs and investments necessary for job creation, there should be co-operation with developed countries in order to support and consolidate the efforts made.

#### 5. Conclusion: co-operation with Morocco is essential for its development

As a developing country having to cope with the multiple problems associated with rapid demographic growth, Morocco has made pertinent strategic choices for its development, based on liberalism, openness to the international economy and the adoption of a structural adjustment programme. This has enabled it over the past ten years to start rehabilitating the public sector and open the private sector to international competition and competitiveness while at the same time maintaining the major socio-political balances. The final objective is to achieve stable, durable and socially equitable growth with a better distribution of resources.

This is the context in which present day Morocco must to be situated and in which the contours of effective and well-targeted international co-operation oriented towards the structuring axes and generating jobs capable of helping to retain populations and reduce the intensity of internal and international migratory flows have to be defined.

At its present stage of development, Morocco is concerned with three fundamental objectives: mastery of the financial equilibria, economic growth, and social development. While the country is on the way to achieving the first two objectives, there still remains a great deal to be done to achieve the third. The fact is that Morocco's efforts in this direction are greatly handicapped by the weight of a large destitute population poorly integrated into the development process, notably in the rural areas. International co-operation should therefore be mainly directed at the following high-priority fields:

- a) The development of the rural areas which have fallen far behind as compared with the towns and whose demographic growth still remains high is a fundamental precondition for durable national growth without conflicts. To this end it is essential to equip the rural world with water and electricity and the basic infrastructures necessary to encourage investment and job creation. In addition, appropriate vocational training in agricultural and forestry techniques, stock raising and rural crafts should accompany the training given at present which is based on general education. Once this is acquired, it will encourage young people to leave the rural areas and install themselves in the periphery of the towns and swell the ranks of the unemployed.

Craft activities and small and medium enterprises should be encouraged to be set up in rural areas to create jobs there, thus favouring the development of the douars (large villages) into service centres where country dwellers can receive a certain number of administrative, social, financial and economic services (issue of certificates, health care, justice, agricultural centres, bank branches).

The development of small and medium hydraulic schemes would enable farmers to save water and better resist the vagaries of the climate. More generally, co-operation in the rural areas should lead to the diversification of the rural economy, thus making it possible to make the active population more independent of the harmful effects of drought.

- b) In correlation with this primary objective, care must be taken to introduce appropriate mechanisms to stem the rural exodus which is feeding the migratory flows towards the towns and to foreign countries and which is causing a sufficient level of perturbation to seriously compromise the economy of the towns and the organisation of the urban areas. Providing appropriate facilities in the rural areas is an important step in this direction.
- c) The normal consequence of these first two objectives will be to reduce social disparities as an essential step on the way to boosting the middle class which will constitute a kingpin for development and guarantee social and political stability in Morocco.
- d) The reform of the administrative institutions is also a major area for international co-operation in order to adapt and modernise the existing structures and procedures. This reform will facilitate investment and job creation. It is an essential precondition because in many cases the administration becomes a blocking factor which discourages any private initiative.
- e) The need to encourage the initiatives of young entrepreneurs desiring to create their own enterprises through providing both technical and financial assistance and setting up a project bank for their benefit cannot be overestimated. International co-operation in this field could have very positive effects by making it possible to build upon the experience of Morocco over the past two years and contribute to the creation of jobs which will themselves generate other jobs.
- f) Lastly, the reform of women's status is likely to guarantee the success of these co-operation prospects, notably through the large-scale schooling of girls which will enable the Moroccan woman to fully play her role in modern Morocco and have mastery over her fertility.

It is through the conjunction of these different targeted co-operation actions, whose essential aim is to multiply job creation in all fields and in particular in the rural areas, that it will be possible in the longer term to effectively and durably fix the populations in their regions of origin and in their country. In doing so, there will be a gradual reduction in the incentive to emigrate.

Such would be the principle structuring axes with which the international co-operation of Morocco might be concerned and which would enable the country to meet the requirements of the future and satisfy the needs of an increasingly numerous and demanding labour force.

By virtue of its geographical position and its strategic choices, Morocco should be considered an essential partner for the Western world. Its development would constitute a factor for regional stability and enable it to be a model and an interface for the development of a good number of African and Arab countries. Thus co-operation between Western countries and Morocco should fit into the framework of the global development strategy of the region, from which all countries should profit in the longer term.

Thanks to such development prospects, Moroccan migration will gradually be reduced, with a probable reversal of the situation in the longer term, and with more Moroccan emigrants returning home to invest and to aid in technology transfer.

## NOTES

1. By way of example, 150 000 jobs were created in 1990.
2. Trend in International Migrations (SOPEMI), OECD, 1992 (the eight countries are France, Netherlands, Belgium, Italy, Germany, Spain, Switzerland and Sweden).
3. The insertion of the disadvantaged in economic life, World Bank, Report 7903 M9R, September 1990.
4. "Enquête nationale: Niveau de vie des ménages 1990/91". direction de la Statistique, March 1992.
5. Enquête démographique nationale. Rapport préliminaire. Direction de la Statistique 1986-87, November 1989.
6. These were in particular the socio-demographic surveys carried out during the 70s by the Direction de la Statistique, the Centre d'études et de recherches démographiques, the Ministry of Public Health and other specialist institutions.
7. See United Nations: World Population Prospects for 1990, page 493, 1991, New York.
8. Projections made earlier estimated the Moroccan population at almost 35 million in the year 2000.
9. Evolution et perspectives de la demande d'emploi: 1990-95, pages 58-59. Abdallah BERRADA, 1991.

Table 1: The evolution and rate of increase of the Moroccan immigrant population in the principal European countries during the 1980s

Countries	Population at the beginning of the decade	Population in 1990 (Base 100 at the beginning of the decade)	Comparative Index
France (1982)	441 300	584 700	133
Netherlands (1980)	83 400	156 900	155
Belgium (1981)	110 200	141 600	123
Italy* (1990)	** 77 971	-	-
Germany (1980)	35 900	67 500	159
Norway (1980)	1 300	2 200	157
Spain (1991)	49 500	-	-
Sweden (1989)	1 200	-	-
Switzerland (1989)	2 000	-	-

\* Eurostat-Demographic Statistics.

\*\* The number of Moroccans living in Italy at the beginning of the 1980s was insignificant.

{Source }: SOPEMI, Trends in International Migration, OECD, 1992.

Table 2: Trends of remittances by Moroccan residents abroad

Years• •	Amount in billions of dirhams•	Evolution %• ••	Rate of comparison
1971••	0.4802••	51.6••	100
1972••	0.6403••	33.5••	133
1973••	1.0208••	59.4••	213
1974••	1.5572••	52.5••	324
1975••	2.1596••	38.7••	450
1976••	2.4180••	12.0••	504
1977••	2.6521••	9.7••	552
1978••	3.1760••	19.7••	661
1979••	3.6965••	16.4••	770
1980••	4.1476••	12.2••	864
1981••	5.2420••	26.4••	1 092
1982••	5.1145••	-2.4••	1 065
1983••	6.5154••	27.4••	1 357
1984••	7.6807••	17.9••	1 600
1985••	9.7322••	26.7••	2 027
1986••	12.7303••	30.8••	2 651
1987••	13.2679••	4.2••	2 763
1988••	10.7004••	-19.3••	2 228
1989••	11.3449••	6.0••	2 362
1990••	16.5372••	45.8••	3 444
1991*••	17.3281••	4.8••	3 609
1992**••	18.5•••	6.8••	3 853

\* With the average value of the US dollar being 8.70 drihams in 1991, the amounts transferred during that year reached about 2 billion dollars.

\*\* The data presented here concern the period from January to October 1992 for an amount of 15.616 billion dirhams. The estimates given for 1992 by the Office of Exchange present an amount of 18.5 billion dirhams, the equivalent of 2.18 billion US dollars or 11.56 billion French francs.

1. This deals exclusively with the remittances carried out by moroccan residents abroad through bank and postal transfers, and exchange transactions on the national territory in banknotes, travellers cheques, or with a credit card.

{Source :} Statistics of the Office of Exchange.

Table 3: Remittances related to income from employment by country  
(in millions of dirhams)

.....	1987•	1988•	1989•	1990
France•••••	9 277.8	6 887.1•	7 524.4	10 944.3
Belgian-Luxembourg Economic Union•••	895.5•	889.1•	798.8	1 195.5
Netherlands•••	1 027.7•	908.2•	852.6	1 513.2
Western Europe•••	698.1•	588.4•	572.0•	873.2
Italy•••••	111.3•	91.0•	157.9•	444.4
Denmark•••••	43.1•	42.7•	39.2•	57.4
United Kingdom•••	214.8•	174.7•	188.0•	251.5
Spain•••••	100.6•	169.1•	137.1•	123.4
Switzerland•••	93.2•	111.7•	135.0•	165.7
United States•••	47.2•	69.6•	68.2•	70.9
Libya•••••	90.9•	76.4•	106.3•	79.4
Saudia Arabia•••	300.0•	323.1•	357.0•	321.4
United Arab Emirates••	209.3•	210.1•	235.2•	292.5
Irak•••••	17.4•	14.5•	20.8•	23.6
Kuwait•••••	24.0•	25.4•	27.0•	22.2
Other Countries•••	117.0•	125.3•	124.6•	158.6
Total •••••	13 267.9	10 700.4•	11 344.1	16 537.2

{Source:}• Office des Changes.

Table 4: Changes in remittances by Moroccan residents abroad,  
GNP and imports (in billions of dirhams)

Years	Total Sums			Indexed			Ratios	
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(a)	(b)	(c)	(a)/(b)	(a)/(c)
1971	0.4802	21.383	4.224	100.0	100.0	100.0	2.25	11.37
1972	0.6403	22.689	4.361	133.3	106.1	103.2	2.82	14.68
1973	1.0208	24.915	5.497	212.6	116.5	130.1	4.10	18.57
1974	1.5572	33.602	9.232	324.3	157.1	218.6	4.63	16.87
1975	2.1596	36.418	11.828	449.7	170.3	280.0	5.93	18.26
1976	2.4180	41.316	15.276	503.5	193.2	361.6	5.85	15.83
1977	2.6521	46.820	18.156	552.3	219.0	429.8	5.66	14.61
1978	3.1760	55.154	16.139	661.4	257.9	382.1	5.76	19.68
1979	3.6965	62.043	18.018	769.8	290.2	426.6	5.96	20.52
1980	4.1476	70.161	19.743	863.7	328.1	467.4	5.91	21.01
1981	5.2420	76.737	26.272	1091.6	358.9	622.0	6.83	19.95
1982	5.1145	90.088	30.429	1065.1	421.3	720.4	5.68	16.81
1983	6.5154	94.635	29.099	1356.8	442.6	688.9	6.88	22.39
1984	7.6807	104.840	37.908	1599.5	490.3	897.4	7.33	20.26
1985	9.7322	119.310	42.806	2026.7	558.0	1013.4	8.16	22.74
1986	12.7303	134.334	41.942	2651.0	628.2	992.9	9.48	30.35
1987	13.2679	156.689	41.582	2763.0	732.8	984.4	8.47	31.91
1988	10.7004	181.583	44.933	2228.3	849.2	1063.8	5.89	23.81
1989	11.3449	191.576	52.362	2362.5	895.9	1239.6	5.92	21.67
1990	16.5372	207.876	63.576	3443.8	972.2	1505.1	7.96	26.01
1991	17.3281	232.680	66.450	3608.5	1088.2	1573.2	7.45	26.08

(a) = Remittances of Moroccan residents abroad.

(b) = GNP at current prices.

(c) = Imports.

{Source :} Activity Report of the Bank of Morocco.

Table 5. Number of persons migrating in 1987  
(thousands)

From Sector	Destination				Total
	Urban Sector	Rural Sector	Morocco	Foreign	
Urban	290	103	393	45	438
Rural	374	148	522	26	548
Morocco	664	251	915	71	986
Foreign	27	5	32	-	-
Total	691	256	94		

{Source:} National demographic survey 1986-88. Preliminary report.

Table 6: Employment created in the Moroccan urban sector

Division of economic activity	1987	1989	1990	Percentage of employment created in 1990
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	-1 290	-3 395	+4 657	4.4
Industry	64 539	17 164	-3 804	-3.6
Construction and Public Works	12 356	22 715	30 428	+28.7
Services	69 285	123 562	75 659	+71.4
Unspecified Activity	-5 722	-6 859	-992	-0.9
	139 168	153 187	105 948	100

{Source :} Surveys of the urban labour force, 1987-1991 (preliminary results).  
 Direction de la Statistique.

END-OF-TEXT