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Disconnection Between Rhetoric and Reality: The
Case of Black Migrants in Morocco

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Abstract:

This thesis examines the Moroccan new policy of migration implemented in 2014, focusing on regularizing and integrating Black sub-Saharan African migrants. Historically a country of emigration, Morocco has become a key transit core for migrants in route to Europe, leading to significant demographic shifts. These changes have presented challenges for both host communities and migrants, particularly regarding social cohesion and integration. The 2014 migration policy strategy was a critical action in addressing these challenges, granting legal residency to many undocumented migrants and improving access to public services like healthcare, education, and employment. The policy also aimed to align Morocco's migration framework with international human rights standards, signaling a commitment to a more humane approach to migration management.

However, the findings highlight a disconnect between the policy's intentions and the realities experienced by migrants in the country. While the reforms have led to some improvements, black sub-Saharan migrants still face significant barriers to full integration as racial discrimination remains a persistent issue excluding blacks from social cohesion and integration in host community. The absence of effective legal mechanisms to oppose racism and penalize discriminatory acts aggravates current situation, leaving many Black migrants marginalized and behind. These challenges underscore the limitations of the current migration strategy in fostering meaningful inclusion.

The thesis concludes by stressing the need for a more comprehensive approach to migrant integration that goes beyond policy reforms and blocks the societal attitudes behind racism and exclusion. Morocco's migration strategy must not only focus on regularizing migrants' legal status but also work to counter xenophobia and promote social cohesion. This involves greater engagement with both host communities and migrant populations to foster mutual respect and understanding. Additionally, the research emphasizes the importance of including short-term transit migrants in integration efforts, as their presence also contributes to Morocco's ongoing social transformation.

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Introduction

Morocco, a country at the intersection of Africa and Europe, took a simple boat trip from Tangier to Spain, carrying more than mere baggage, but a luggage of hope and dreams ruthless for a brighter future. Morocco became a significant transit and host country for migrants including refugees and asylum seekers from sub-Saharan Africa. Those individuals often embark on dicey journeys seeking safety, opportunities, and a gateway to Europe. Once they get to Morocco, though, they may face a tough choice: should they keep going toward Europe, sometimes putting their lives at risk at the border, or should they wait for an unknown amount of time to be resettled by UN agencies while trying to fit in with Moroccan society, where racist speech against black people is a clear legacy of colonialism, while the government of Morocco starts campaigns and policies to help migrants avoid human rights violations and being kicked out of the host community.

Then in middle of 1990, Morocco has transitioned into a destination country for migrants from sub-Saharan Africa. Although, the immigration is reasonable compared to Moroccan emigration, it marks a noteworthy shift. Sub-Saharan Africans migrants are entered by asylum seekers and refugees feeling conflict or looking for opportunities and use the state as a transit door before bidding Europe dream. When in Morocco, they may try to enter Spanish territories Ceuta and Melilla. Moreover, due to Spain's restricted repatriation agreements with sub-Saharan countries, handful migrants are eventually released. For many black migrants, Morocco is not the main goals but only a transit point on their path to Europe, the idea of reaching Europe came a hope for better opportunities, living conditions and safe starting from armed conflict. However, the reality of making this passage is uptight with difficulties and risky step specially after 2022 where Morocco and Spain straightened cooperation to address illegal migration to Europe, both nations are revitalizing their relationship by enhancing border security measures in alignment with European migration policies, which are increasingly restrictive. Spain continues to externalize its southern border through close cooperation with Morocco, thereby perpetuating an area characterized by rights violations. Moreover, with more, migrants failing or not attempting

to reach Europe, many opt to settle in Morocco rather than return to their countries, thousand firm in cities as Casablanca, Rabat and Fez finding work in informal services.¹

Sub-Saharan Africans and refugees face violent racist attacks and discrimination more frequently compared with white migrants from Syria and Yemen. Police regularly conduct raids in immigrant neighborhoods, and some are even deported to their country of origin without proper checks, violating the principle of nonrefoulement.

In November 2012, a Moroccan weekly magazine, Maroc Hebdo, depicted sub-Saharan migrants as a “Black Danger” associating them with drug trafficking, prostitution and security threat.² In addition, to the racist periodic comments, the Moroccan politicians also blamed migrants, especially black Sub-Saharan citizens for increasing unemployment rates through citizens. In response to incriminating migrants and institutional racism. The Moroccans’ civil societies emerged including human rights organizations, associations for migrants and sub-Saharan groups, and local supports as GADEM Association, FOO and others. These actors not only provide support and run advocacy campaigns for the rights of refugees, particularly those who are black and more vulnerable to harassment, but also advocate for improved integration and anti-racism campaigns. Since refugees’ final destination is not a close reality, integration and social cohesion must do actions to maintain serenity between communities.

The Moroccan government categorized most of sub-Saharan immigrants as economic migrants proceeding to Europe. However, in 2007, the UNHCR signed an accord de siege with Morocco, leading to some improvements for refugees and asylum seekers. Later then, those with UNHCR registration cards faced less deportation threat and noted some improvement in access public healthcare and education. Nevertheless, many issues remain, as the Moroccan government generally does not issue resident permits to refugees and asylum seekers.³

¹ De Haas, March 2019. *Morocco: Setting the Stage for Becoming a Migration Transition Country?*
<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/morocco-setting-stage-becoming-migration-transition-country>

² Haiti, Morocco and the AU: A Case Study on Black Pan-Africanism vs. Anti-Black Continentalism
Online magazine article

³ De Haas, March 2019. *Morocco: Setting the Stage for Becoming a Migration Transition Country?*
<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/morocco-setting-stage-becoming-migration-transition-country>

In 2013 Morocco announced an immigration policy reform motivated by criticism of civil society, UN agencies and international actors about frequent violence against migrants. In August 2013, GADEM and other associations published a report describing migrant abuses, discomforting the Moroccan government internationally. In September 2013, the National Council of Human Rights (CNDH) released a report criticizing Morocco's government regarding lack of migration policy and neglect of migrant rights, advocating for asylum rights and regularization of unauthorized migrants. The royal Cabinet endorsed the report, initiating significant migration reforms.⁴

The Kingdom of Morocco is expected to perform within an image of a post-colonial nation, where approaches and ideologies should be centered democratic and humanitarian principles, and thus must defend against international accusations of intolerance and racism. After hard criticism, the King describes Moroccans as a homogenous and welcoming community that is allegedly "colorblind," often overlooking the experiences and complaints of sub-Saharan African victims of racial violence and exclusion⁵. With King Mohammed VI's endorsement and return to the African Union – which represents a dissolution from a legacy of colonialism and the acceptance to be an African country raising an subconscious awareness about racism and integration of black communities refugees leaving in Morocco; therefore, it reopened its Protection Office for Refugees and the Stateless, granted public education access to migrants' children, and announced a special regularization program for 2014. These reforms mark a significant shift from the past and demonstrate Morocco's assertion of independence from EU pressures and strengthen Morocco's strategic relations with sub-Saharan countries.

The new migration policy ratified in 2014 delegate a department- Ministerial for Immigration Issues to works in response of human rights violation of migrants and favorable initiative from dialogues concerning the racism migration problematic, and mostly the corresponding sub-Saharan countries. To enhance this orientation, Morocco presented to United Nations, the African

⁴ GADEM. (2018). Rapport du Conseil civil de lutte contre toutes les formes de discrimination. In <https://www.gadem-asso.org/en/state-of-discriminations-in-morocco/>. Retrieved August 18, 2024, from <https://www.gadem-asso.org/en/state-of-discriminations-in-morocco/>

⁵ Chreiteh, Leila, "A Racism Without Race: A Moroccan Case Study of Race Denial" (2016). Independent Study Project (ISP) Collection. 2517. https://digitalcollections.sit.edu/isp_collection/25147 (Leila Chreiteh is an independent researcher on racism and integration)

Alliance for Migration and Development this initiative to regulate migrants' situation and guarantee rights and integration within host community. It focuses on a common African vision and humanitarian principles that should govern migration issues and shared responsibility between countries of origin, transit and reception, and on the close link between immigration and development.⁶

1.1- Importance of Social Cohesion and Integration

When governments do not effort and guarantee policies to ensure the integration of migrants and refugees individuals can become marginalized and exposed to long term damage and risks, such as limited educational and jobs opportunities, language barriers, discrimination and strain to integrate in the host community, and forced return. Subsequently, there has been a growing focus on the integration and social cohesion of migrants between actors, including governments, scholars, and civil society since social cohesion plays a crucial role in promoting better relation and opportunities for citizens and host community, it can be described as "bonds" that maintain societal integration. Social cohesion demands inclusion of community members in governance systems, the creation of shared values, the reduction of inequalities, and the establishment of a common narrative⁷. So, in this framework I could analyses the social cohesion of black refugees and migrants in Morocco also how important is to adapt methods of inclusion in a host society with a veiled black racism toward refugees consequently creating barriers to blacks in Moroccan Society. Moreover, even those who are granted refugee status face significant challenges in integrating into Moroccan society since discrimination and racism are prevalent issues, with black migrants often facing social exclusion and prejudice.

⁶ Chreiteh, L. (2014, May). *Stratégie Nationale d'Immigration et d'Asile* [MA thesis]. <https://www.gadem-asso.org/en/state-of-discriminations-in-morocco/>; Morocco Official Website. Retrieved August 18, 2024, from <https://marocainsdumonde.gov.ma/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/Stratégie-Nationale-dimmigration-et-dAsile-ilovepdf-compressed.pdf>

⁷ J. King, S. (2023). Sub-Saharan African Migrants in North Africa: Morocco Shows a Way Forward. *MENA 360*. Retrieved August 18, 2024, from <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/sub-saharan-african-migrants-north-africa-morocco-shows-way-forward> (J. King, S. is a Professor of Political Science, Georgetown University).

1.2- Problem Statement

Racism and xenophobia are significant barriers to social integration for black migrants in Morocco. They often face discrimination in various aspects of life, from renting apartments to accessing public services. This social exclusion is aggravated by a lack of awareness and understanding among the local population about the circumstances of migrants and refugees.⁸ Cultural differences and language barriers further complicate their ability to integrate into Moroccan society. In many instances, black migrants are subjected to verbal abuse, physical violence, and systemic racism connotation as ‘abed which means black in Arabic and refers to slave, other name labeled to black is Mon Ami – friend in French but is a paradox expression to refer to black migrants as a way of exclusion. These acts of discrimination not only hinder their social integration but also contribute to a sense of insecurity and alienation. Community initiatives aimed at fostering dialogue and understanding between migrants and local populations are essential to overcoming these barriers and promoting social cohesion.

1.3- Research Problematic

1.3.1- Employment Challenges

The Moroccan job market is scarce in terms of opportunities for formal employment even for the local population. For refugees, the situation is a bit challenging due to legal restrictions, lack of recognition, and limited access to education and vocational training programs. Many refugees end up working in the informal sector, where they have unfair salaries, job insecurity, and poor working conditions. The informal job market often exposes refugees to exploitation and abuse, with employers taking advantage of their vulnerable status. The most common place FOR them to work is call centers or cleaning activities, rarely in restaurants or shop stores to maintain, the white community displacement.

⁸ J. King, S. (2023). Sub-Saharan African Migrants in North Africa: Morocco Shows a Way Forward. *MENA 360*. Retrieved August 18, 2024, from <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/sub-saharan-african-migrants-north-africa-morocco-shows-way-forward>

1.3.2- Housing and Living Conditions

Access to adequate housing is another significant challenge. Refugees often live in overcrowded and substandard conditions due to financial constraints and discrimination in the rental market since black minorities are not allowed to rent in residential areas where whites live, agglomerating them in specific areas as the Takadum- black refugees community in Rabat. Many are forced to live in informal settlements or shared accommodations with other migrants, which can lead to issues such as lack of privacy, poor sanitation, and heightened vulnerability to exploitation and abuse.

1.3.3- Community Support and Networks

Building a supportive community network is essential for refugees to feel integrated and supported in their new environment. Resources for providing support services, such as legal aid, language classes, and social activities to help refugees build connections with local communities, foster understanding, and reduce social isolation are often limited, and they rely heavily on international funding and volunteers.

Therefore, racism and xenophobia significantly hinder the social integration of black migrants in Morocco, manifesting through discrimination in housing, employment, and public services. These migrants face systemic racism, verbal and physical abuse, and exclusion due to cultural and language barriers.

1.4- Research Aim and Questions

This research aims to investigate the factors influencing social cohesion and integration of black migrants and refugees in Morocco, focusing on the interplay between governmental policies, community initiatives, and civil society efforts. Specifically, it will examine the impact of the Moroccan government's strategies and legal frameworks, including the new immigration policy implemented after 2014, on the integration process and the responsibility to protect minorities. Additionally, the study will explore how community-based actions and civil society organizations contribute to fostering a more inclusive environment, addressing the challenges of discrimination, employment, housing, and social support faced by black migrants and refugees.

Through this comprehensive analysis, the research seeks to identify effective approaches to enhance social cohesion and integration within Moroccan society.

To implement the mentioned research aim, the following questions will be referred during the research:

Questions:

- 1- What are the key challenges faced by black migrants and refugees in Morocco?
- 2- How do governmental agencies, community initiatives, and civil society organizations contribute to the integration and social cohesion of black migrants and refugees in Morocco to decrease anti-blackness trends?
- 3- What has been the impact of the new immigration policy implemented in Morocco after 2014 on the integration and social cohesion of black migrants and refugees and how is the state protecting black migrants?

1.5- Hypothesis and Variables

- The integration and social cohesion of the black migrants in Morocco has improved since the implementation of the New Policy on Migration in 2014, reducing the unveiled black racism violence response against minorities.
- Despite government efforts to control the situation, migrants in Morocco continue to face marginalization, exclusion, and human rights violations.
- Dependent variable: level of integration and social cohesion of black migrants in Morocco including social factors acceptance, livelihood, verbal abuse and inclusion in society.
- Independent variable: Implementation of a new policy on migration in 2014 – this factor influences the dependent variable; it is expected to have an impact on social cohesion and the integration of black migrants.

1.6- Limitations of the Study

This review encounters several notable limitations. First, the research is constrained by time, which limits the study's scope and necessitates a focus on qualitative methodology and a smaller sample size. Secondly, language barriers present a significant challenge, as some ethnic groups only speak their native languages. To overcome the mentioned limitation the author reviewed secondary data and literature, for quantitative data. Regarding the language barriers the author could find some refugees to translate from their native language to English/Arabic/French.

Methodology

2.1- Research Design:

Methodology the author applied in this research was qualitative, as — Qualitative seeks to understand a research issue from the perspectives of the local population involved and in obtain culturally specific information about the values, opinions, behaviors, and social contexts of populations⁹. The Author conducted interviews with Black migrants and refugees in Rabat-Morocco from different ethnicity and actors from civil society, lawyers and specialists.

The author's selection of the sample in Rabat aimed to ensure a diverse and representative group of black African citizens by considering nationality, gender balance, age range, and residency within the city.

2.2- Sample and Participants:

Nationality and Ethnic Diversity: Participants were chosen from various African countries to reflect the cultural and ethnic diversity within the black African community in Rabat. This diversity helps capture different perspectives influenced by varying socio-cultural backgrounds.

⁹ Center for Quantitative Studies. (2020). Qualitative Research Methods Overview. In *Qualitative Research Methods: A Data Collector's Field Guide*. Retrieved August 18, 2024, from <https://course.ccs.neu.edu/is4800sp12/resources/qualmethods.pdf>

Gender Balance: The sample included both male and female participants to understand how issues such as discrimination, access to resources, and social integration might impact individuals differently based on gender. Gender balance ensures a comprehensive examination of experiences and challenges faced by all members of the community.

Age Range: Participants encompassed a wide range of ages, including young adults, middle-aged individuals, and seniors. This age diversity allows for the exploration of how challenges and opportunities evolve over different life stages. For instance, younger individuals may face issues related to education and employment, while older individuals might encounter challenges related to health care and social inclusion.

Fair Representation: The sample size was designed to provide a fair representation of the black African population in Rabat, avoiding over-representation or under-representation of any specific subgroup within the community. This approach enhances the credibility and applicability of findings to inform interventions and policies that support the community's integration and well-being. Along with primary qualitative methods, this study also used quantitative secondary data and other qualitative secondary data to help understand and analyze how black migrants and refugees in Rabat, Morocco, fit in with their new communities and the problems they face. Quantitative secondary data, like official statistics and reports from governmental and non-governmental organizations, gave more information about migrant population trends, employment rates, housing conditions, and how easy it is for them to get to public services. These data helped contextualize the qualitative findings and identify patterns or trends that supported or contrasted with qualitative observations.

Other qualitative secondary data sources included academic studies, research reports, and literature reviews focusing on migration, refugee integration, and social cohesion in Morocco and similar contexts. These sources offered theoretical frameworks, comparative insights, and in-depth analyses of related issues, enriching the interpretation of primary qualitative findings. By integrating diverse secondary data sources, this research aimed to triangulate findings, validate interpretations, and provide a more comprehensive understanding of the complex dynamics influencing the lives of black migrants and refugees in urban Morocco. This mixed-methods approach allowed for a nuanced exploration of both individual experiences and broader socio-

economic and political factors shaping integration processes in the study context. The interviews were conducted between April 16 and June 28, 2024.

2.3- Data Collection and Analysis:

By considering these criteria, the research aimed to gather a comprehensive range of perspectives and experiences related to social cohesion, discrimination, access to services, and other challenges faced by black African citizens of varying backgrounds and ages living in Rabat.

In this research, the author used a comprehensive qualitative methodology adopted to explore the social integration and challenges encountered by black migrants and refugees residing in Rabat, Morocco. The study employed participant observation to observe and document natural behaviors and contextual factors in participants' everyday lives. Semi-structured interviews were conducted to gather in-depth insights into individuals' personal histories, perspectives, and experiences, particularly focusing on sensitive topics such as discrimination, housing, employment, and access to services (see annex 1). Additionally, focus group discussions were facilitated to engage participants in structured yet open-ended conversations about cultural norms and community dynamics, providing broad overviews of issues pertinent to different cultural groups within the black African community in Rabat. These discussions were designed to encourage participation and interaction among participants, fostering a deeper understanding of collective experiences and viewpoints. Open-ended interviews followed an informal conversational style guided by a questionnaire, allowing flexibility for participants to elaborate on their responses and share personal insights in a comfortable setting. Field notes, audio recordings, and transcripts constituted the primary data sources, enabling detailed analysis and interpretation of the qualitative data gathered. This methodological approach aimed to uncover nuanced perspectives and provide a holistic understanding of the integration processes and socio-cultural dynamics shaping the lives of black migrants and refugees in urban Morocco.

The Author was cautious in her interviews do no harm approach toward the respondents, respecting the confidentiality and privacy. For the interviews, a total of 30 (15 men and 15 women) black migrants and refugees and 5 nonblack migrants (3 men and 2 women) were selected based on different countries. In addition, there are 8 employers (3 females and 5 males) as well as representatives of NGOs, lawyers and associations in Rabat (see annex 2).

2.4- Limitations:

In addressing language barriers, the author demonstrates fluency in the spoken languages of some interviewers; however, in certain cases, respondents only communicated in their native language. To address this issue, the review enlisted the support of a trusted translator. In this research, a comprehensive qualitative methodology was adopted to explore the social integration and challenges faced by black migrants and refugees in Rabat, Morocco. During interviews, detailed notes were taken, and explicit consent was obtained to record audio, with all recordings deleted immediately after anonymized transcription and coding for confidentiality and data security. Focus group discussions provided a structured yet open forum for participants to discuss cultural norms and community dynamics, generating comprehensive insights into issues relevant to diverse cultural groups within the black African community in Rabat. Open-ended interviews, conducted in an informal conversational style guided by a questionnaire, allowed participants flexibility to elaborate on their responses in a comfortable setting. Data sources included field notes, anonymized transcripts, and coded data, facilitating rigorous analysis and interpretation. This methodological approach aimed to uncover nuanced perspectives and provide a holistic understanding of integration processes and socio-cultural dynamics affecting black migrants and refugees in Morocco, adhering to ethical guidelines and ensuring participant anonymity and confidentiality throughout the research process.

Chapter 1: Theoretical Framework

1.1- Integration: Inclusion and Social Cohesion:

According to IOM -International Organization for Migration ¹⁰, integration refers to the process of mutual adaptation between migrants and host societies, where migrants become part of the social, economic, cultural, and political foundation of receiving community. This process involves shared responsibilities between migrants and host communities and encompasses concepts like social inclusion and cohesion. Integration is a multifaceted and cross-sectoral issue

¹⁰ *INTEGRATION AND SOCIAL COHESION: KEY ELEMENTS FOR REAPING THE BENEFITS OF MIGRATION*. IOM. Retrieved August 19, 2024, from <https://IOM-Thematic-Paper-Integration-and-Social-Cohesion.pdf>

that touches on various policy areas, including the economic, social, legal, cultural, and civic domains, and influences every aspect of the lives of migrants and their communities.

To gain a better understanding of what integration means in a society we can delve into:

Integration includes:

- Inclusion:
 - Social inclusion – health, education, and housing
 - Economic inclusion – labor market and access to financial services
 - Civic and political participation
- Social Cohesion:
 - Anti-discrimination
 - Countering xenophobia
 - Promoting mutual understanding

Integration is a complex and mixed process and not a uniform solution that works in the same way in migrant contexts. The integration approach diverges depending on a country's policies regarding adaptation and multiculturalism. Furthermore, integration and social cohesion depend on the type, duration, and purpose of migration; however, they are essential for stable and inclusive societies. Whether migrants are in a country temporarily or permanently, the risk and consequence of missing policies to include migrants in the host society could be more damaging than the economic risk for the welcoming country.

Effective integration requires substantial political, social, and financial investments to grant enduring solution for everyone involved; moreover, comprehensive policies across different sectors are necessary to guarantee a holistic integration approach, and these should be developed through partnerships among governments, intergovernmental organizations, civil society, private sector actors, and migrants themselves. Integration services and support for social cohesion play a crucial role in facilitating access to healthcare, education, and employment, aiming to ensure migrants' social and economic inclusion.¹¹

¹¹ *INTEGRATION AND SOCIAL COHESION: KEY ELEMENTS FOR REAPING THE BENEFITS OF MIGRATION*. (n.d.). IOM. Retrieved August 19, 2024, from <https://IOM-Thematic-Paper-Integration-and-Social-Cohesion.pdf>

Policies work better when they take a "whole community" approach, setting clear expectations and responsibilities for migrants and the receiving society, including authorities at all levels. Providing access to basic services that should go hand in hand with preparing local communities for newcomers. It's also important to promote shared values and create an environment that allows migrants to reach their full potential and become active members of society. Several factors have an impact on integration. These include migrants' reasons for moving how long they plan to stay, their socio-economic status, and the political climate and attitudes in the host country. Migrants often face challenges during their journey, which can affect their health and mental well-being. It's also crucial to consider gender when addressing these issues, sex and gender play a role in every part of the migration experience, women and men might face different obstacles to integration because of societal expectations and biases about their roles, both in their home countries and where they settle, discrimination in public institutions and negative attitudes from local communities also create significant barriers to successful integration.¹²

The concept of integration is widely used but has varied interpretations as per discussed by Ager, associated professor refugee studies at Columbia University, and Strang, associated professor refugee studies at Queen Mary University, reference Robinson's, researcher at the European council of Refugees and Exiles, description of integration as a "chaotic concept," suggesting that while many use the term, its meaning is understood differently by most.¹³ Although a universally accepted definition of integration is elusive, it is still valuable to establish some general conclusions to guide research. Despite definitional differences, there is consensus among researchers and theorists that integration should not be equated with assimilation.

Multiculturalism requires that minority identities are preserved rather than being replaced by a single dominant culture. The British anthropologist, Harrell-Bond defines integration as a state where host and refugee communities coexist and share resources with no more conflict than that

¹² *INTEGRATION AND SOCIAL COHESION: KEY ELEMENTS FOR REAPING THE BENEFITS OF MIGRATION*. (n.d.). IOM. Retrieved August 19, 2024, from <https://IOM-Thematic-Paper-Integration-and-Social-Cohesion.pdf>

¹³ Ager, A., & Strang, A. (2008). Understanding Integration: A Conceptual framework. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 21(2), 166–191. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fen016>

found within the host community itself, though she acknowledges this may oversimplify the concept.¹⁴

People often talk about integration, but they don't always mean the same thing. Ager and Strang mention Robinson's view that integration is a "chaotic concept." This means that although many people use the word most understand it, we can't find one definition that everyone agrees on, but it's still useful to draw some general conclusions to guide our research. Even though experts define it, they all agree that integration isn't the same as assimilation. In a multicultural society, minority identities should stay intact rather than being replaced by one main culture. Harrell-Bond says integration happens when host and refugee communities' live side by side and share resources without more conflict than you'd see in the host community. She admits this might be too simple a way to look at it though.¹⁵

Kuhlman, anthropologist at University Press, Amsterdam, challenges the notion that we can measure integration against marginalization and claims this view doesn't meet what theory should predict. Still, he points out that keeping your identity while becoming part of the new society plays a big role in integration¹⁶. The migration researcher at Wageningen University & Research Centre, Kuhlman also says integration has many sides and touches on where you live, money, politics, laws how you feel, and culture.¹⁷ He bring up "structural factors" that change based on the type of migrant, he also worries about using "integration" to describe lots of social processes, thinks the word might lose its meaning. Even with these doubts, and admits integration is still the best term we have, though we don't know what it covers. He lists several things linked to integration. These include legal protection, rights as a citizen, laws against

¹⁴ *Integration Literature Review*. (2010). [Literature Review, Scottish Refugee Council]. Retrieved August 19, 2024, from <https://www.scottishrefugeecouncil.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/Integration-Literature-Review-Feb-2010.pdf>

¹⁵ Ager, A., & Strang, A. (2008). Understanding Integration: A Conceptual framework. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 21(2), 166–191. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fen016>

¹⁶ Kuhlman, T. (1990). *Burden or boon? A study of Eritrean refugees in the Sudan*. Free University Press.

¹⁷ Kanet, Roger E. "Integration Theory and the Study of Eastern Europe." *International Studies Quarterly* 18, no. 3 (1974): 368–92. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2600160>.

discrimination, and teaching about different cultures, among others. He also notes that while these aim to help integration, they often lead to policies that don't fit together well and just react to problems.

Bosswick and Heckmann, sociologists at European Forum for Migration Studies, point out four types of integration: structural, cultural, interactive, and identification, structural integration involves getting rights and access to key institutions like job markets and political systems, cultural integration means learning the main skills of the dominant culture, but it's worth noting that this process also has an impact on the host society¹⁸. Interactive integration is about being accepted into the social circles of the host society, which often depends on cultural integration happening first. Identification integration, or feeling like you belong, is considered the last step in this process.

The European Commission's "Handbook on Integration" links integration to its results focusing on getting rid of inequalities and gaining skills. The Commission stresses that state duties play a key role, and that people can take part once certain state processes are set up. According to Wales university professors on refugees' integration, Threadgold and Court use Ager and Strang's framework to define integration pointing out six main signs that need attention: housing, health and social care, child welfare, safety, community togetherness, jobs, and schooling.¹⁹

They also point out the problems in defining integration, the link these issues to bigger questions about what it means to be "integrated." Most studies look at economic integration but pay less attention to other areas like political involvement and social integration. They believe integration happens at both higher and less scales, with local, regional, national, and European structures having an influence on it and stress how important community groups are in helping integration at the local level. They talk about how these groups can adapt and meet the different needs of newcomers.

¹⁸ Bosswick, W and Heckman F. (2007). Integration of migrants: contribution of local and regional authorities. In <https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/en/publications/2007/integration-migrants-contribution-local-and-regional-authorities>

¹⁹ *Handbook on Integration for Policy-makers and Practitioners* (third edition, Vol. 1). (2009). Directorate-General Justice, Freedom and Security. https://migrant-integration.ec.europa.eu/sites/default/files/2010-04/doc1_12892_168517401.pdf

The idea of integration more complex by asking what refugees should integrate into and it propose that integration could mean blending into an existing ethnic group, a local setting, a "community of interest," or the wider national society. Each of these options involves different steps. They also worry about the possible downsides of integration in one area, like job integration affecting other areas such as welfare integration. What's more, they highlight that integrating into disadvantaged or marginalized groups can keep social exclusion going instead of overcoming it.²⁰

The idea of social exclusion came about after the Amsterdam Treaty in 1997 where Castles describes it as not giving people their rights, resources, or what they're entitled to²¹. For people who move to a new country, this often shows up as not having political rights feeling hesitant about where they can live and dealing with racism. Social exclusion is easily observed in robust neighborhoods as in the case of Morocco the Blacks could be observed in ghettos by nationalities, defined as areas that have bad services, lots of social stress, crime, and fights between different races.

Threadgold and Court wrap up by pointing out key issues needed to integrate for example include policies and plans to fight poverty and hardship offering language skills classes, teaching host communities, and dealing with negative views and media coverage²². They also stress the need to tackle the political talk used in integration policies, set the beginning and end of the refugee experience, confront racism and fear of foreigners, acknowledge how current policies affect genders, think about the impact of trauma and being left out, and make sure to consult with refugee communities.

²⁰ *Integration Literature Review*. (2010). [Literature Review, Scottish Refugee Council]. Retrieved August 19, 2024, from <https://www.scottishrefugeecouncil.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/Integration-Literature-Review-Feb-2010.pdf>

²¹ Scharpf, F. W. (2002). The European social model. *JCMS Journal of Common Market Studies*, 40(4), 645–670. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-5965.00392> (Scharpf IS A German professor and Emeritus Director of the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies)

²² Threadgold, T., & Geoff Court. (n.d.). Refugee Inclusion: A Literature review. <https://web.archive.org/web/20150126215547/http://www.werconline.org.uk/pdf/Terry2005.pdf>.

Policies tend to focus in specific areas of integration, such as structural or cultural aspects, but tackle the whole issue. Help revolves around schooling, jobs, and keeping cultural traditions alive, but these are just parts of a bigger integration process that starts with acknowledging rights. While this rundown gives a general look at theoretical arguments on integration, it's also crucial to put these debates in context by looking at what countries do to bring newcomers into the fold when it comes to minority groups.

1.1.1- Integration Domains

Ager and Strang point out key areas that show how well people integrate, it includes housing, jobs, schooling, and health, basic issues like citizenship and rights play a big role in how people access and do in these areas. Moreover, rights are the bedrock of integration policy making governments answer for keeping these rights; however, just having rights doesn't always mean people can use them well. Ager and Strang stress that rights cover human worth, fairness, freedom to choose one's culture, justice, safety, and being on one's own. They call these "first order" rights. From these come "second order" rights like being a citizen bringing families together and being treated the same. Study finds that everyone agrees equal rights are key to integration, those rights help refugees and non-refugees live together in peace. But it's tough to figure out how to measure this equality since host communities themselves aren't all the same or equal.²³

1.1.2- Employment

Economic factors especially jobs, play a key role in integration, The European Commission's 'Handbook on Integration' stresses how getting a job helps immigrants succeed in the job market long-term.²⁴ The right to work and the chance to get a job that fits one's skills are key to integration as well job security, as more stable residency permits make immigrants more likely to put effort into fitting in with society and the workforce. This process also involves recognizing

²³ Ager, A., & Strang, A. (2008). Understanding Integration: A Conceptual framework. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 21(2), 166–191. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fen016>

²⁴ *Handbook on Integration for Policy-Makers and Practitioners* (third edition, Vol. 1). (2009). Directorate-General Justice, Freedom and Security. https://migrant-integration.ec.europa.eu/sites/default/files/2010-04/doc1_12892_168517401.pdf

qualifications, which not helps people get jobs but also allows them to move around in the job market.

Kuhlman's early research aimed to develop a model for the economic integration of refugees those moving between developing countries and noticed the absence of clear definitions and theoretical frameworks to measure integration, which has made it hard to grasp the integration process²⁵. Even with these barriers, work plays a key role not just for financial stability but also to boost self-esteem and to offer chances for social and cultural interaction. Yet, Threadgold and Court highlight that joblessness and underemployment remain big problems for refugees²⁶. Many end up in jobs below their skill level, made worse by the loss of skills during the asylum process.

1.1.3- Citizenship and Structural Factors

Bloch highlights how citizenship and settlement rights play a key role in integration; it also points out that different immigration statuses, like refugees, asylum seekers, or those with Exceptional Leave to Remain (ELR) come with varying citizenship rights. Bloch claims that not having full citizenship can make it harder to join the job market and might cause the host society to see migrants as outsiders. It is important to highlight that not only the case of citizenship access but also permissions to state in the country and gave the same basic needs access as any citizen of the country.

1.1.4- Housing

Many studies stress that good housing plays a crucial role in helping refugees settle in. Phillimore and Goodson's research, for instance, found it to be the most vital aspect. Threadgold and Court pointed out that housing is seen as a basic human right, as stated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights²⁷. It is also emphasized the need to have "a home that's safe, stable, and secure," an idea the Home Office agrees with, that housing quality and suitability matter a

²⁵ Kuhlman, T. (1990). *Burden or boon? A study of Eritrean refugees in the Sudan*. Free University Press.

²⁶ Threadgold, T., & Court, G. (2005). *Refugee inclusion: A literature review*. Cardiff School of Journalism, Media and Cultural Studies.

²⁷ Threadgold, T., & Court, G. (2005). *Refugee inclusion: A literature review*. Cardiff School of Journalism, Media and Cultural Studies.

lot. It suggests considering that immigrant families are often bigger when making decisions about where to house them.

The British sociologists at University of Birmingham, Phillimore and Goodson connected housing to Maslow's hierarchy of needs pointing out that shelter is a basic need, for refugees, getting a home has a special meaning signaling the end of their travels and the beginning of tackling other needs. Therefore, refugees often had to move around a lot, with many changing homes several times in just a few months.

Phillips also pointed out signs of subpar living conditions and instability for recent immigrants' refugees, who often need to relocate because their housing is temporary. She claimed that reported housing satisfaction doesn't show housing quality, given low expectations and few other options. Phillips described housing integration as getting access to good, secure long-term, and affordable homes in a safe area²⁸. Findings stressed the need to prepare for asylum seekers and refugees arriving, provide ongoing help for the long haul, support recognized refugees as they move on, and fight against racial harassment and worried about the lack of data on people moving elsewhere, which makes it hard for local planners to do their job. They also highlighted that refugee expressed overall contentment with their social housing and neighborhoods, they occasionally mentioned anti-social conduct. In Motherwell, authorities placed refugees in social housing units throughout the town, which prevented them from clustering in less desirable accommodations. Most families liked their homes, and changes in living arrangements over time happened because of family size shifts. Their research indicates that in areas with decent social housing and well-planned integration, housing can help integration, or at least not get in its way.

1.1.5- Education

Education plays a key role in showing how well people fit in, say Phillimore and Goodson and a point to two main things: how well refugee kids do in school and how many refugees finish job training courses²⁹. In their research, education ranked third in importance for fitting in just after

²⁸ Phillimore, J., & Goodson, L. (2006). Problem or opportunity? asylum seekers, refugees, employment and social exclusion in deprived urban areas. *Urban Studies*, 43(10), 1715–1736. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00420980600838606>

²⁹ Phillimore, J., & Goodson, L. (2006). Problem or opportunity? asylum seekers, refugees, employment and social exclusion in deprived urban areas. *Urban Studies*, 43(10), 1715–1736. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00420980600838606>

housing and jobs, education becomes the top factor in settling down also they found that refugees didn't do as well in school as most people. Most of what they learned was from English classes for non-native speakers (ESOL). They stress we need long-term studies that look at how education affects fitting in overall as a key factor for integration since it is very hard to include migrants if they are not able to communicate in the local language.

It also investigated education for refugees in Motherwell focusing on schooling for kids and English classes for adults. The research showed that refugee children first went to bilingual support units to check their English skills and once they got good at English, they moved to local schools. Scholars also found that refugees needed to learn about other parts of host community life, like how to pay bills and get benefits. They pointed out a big problem: refugees got too much information too fast, meaning they often forgot a lot of what they learned.

1.1.6- Health

Health results serve as a crucial sign of integration, as Ager and Strang point out³⁰. Yet, they warn that comparisons need to consider overall inequality levels and the right groups for comparison. Threadgold and Court referencing the World Health Organization stress that complete health, and thus health integration goes beyond just the lack of illness or disability; it covers total physical, mental, and social wellness.

Save the Children pointed out that refugee kids need the same basic things as all children—like a place to live, school, healthcare, and support. But they might also need extra help with language, getting used to a new culture, and dealing with trauma. Also, gaps in their schooling might mean they need more support in the education system. Threadgold and Court mentioned the Cattle Report, which talked about "crushed hopes" among second and third-generation immigrants. Despite their aspirations, these individuals continue to encounter hardships and limited opportunities, leading to social dissatisfaction and difficulties. Furthermore, the discovery of health issues among refugees led people to anticipate these health requirements even before their

³⁰ Ager, A., & Strang, A. (2008). Understanding Integration: A Conceptual framework. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 21(2), 166–191. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fen016>

arrival. When refugees got there, they got help signing up with a doctor and going to their first appointment. One key thing they learned was that refugees talked about health issues related to trauma once they felt safe. Health workers knew that mental health problems would keep going, so they'd need ongoing help and money.

1.1.7- Social Connections

Ager and Strang's study on social interaction looked at three areas that overlap: social connections social bridges, and social links. They described "social bonds" as the ties that connect members within a group, "social connections" as the ties between these groups, and "social links" as the ties between people and state structures, like government services³¹. People they talked to in their research pointed out obstacles to social interaction such as being unfamiliar with others and language barriers.

Ager and Strang saw integration as going beyond just equal access to services viewing on social capital ideas like "bonds," "bridges," and "links."³² The authors discovered that most refugees in their research thought their area was welcoming. Some were more careful pointing out that all areas have both good and bad parts. Nonetheless, they noted a difference between being welcoming and being real friends, most friendships started at work or through kids' schools.

In addition, they noticed that refugees in Motherwell kept in touch with each other but didn't see themselves as a tight-knit group showing that "social bonds" weren't as strong. Ager and Strang discovered that social connections play a key role in an integrated community regardless of whether the people they talked to were refugees or not. This discovery points to integration as a give-and-take process, which affects how research should be set up. Also, Ager and Strang emphasized the value of "social bonds," like having family nearby, which allows people to keep

³¹ Ager, A., & Strang, A. (2008). Understanding Integration: A Conceptual framework. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 21(2), 166–191. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fen016>

³² Ager, A., & Strang, A. (2008). Understanding Integration: A Conceptual framework. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 21(2), 166–191. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fen016>

up familiar cultural practices and helps them feel more settled. These connections, whether with extended family or immediate family also boost health mental health.

Ager and Strang mentioned Muller's studies on how "ethnic enclaves" help people which differ from ghettos because people live there longer³³, they also brought up family reunion pointing out that it's tough and stressful. They asked if people could fit in when they're apart from their families. Ager and Strang also found proof of social bridges even small chats with locals had a big positive effect on how refugees felt. When it came to social links, they stressed the need for "cultural competence," which includes knowing the language and culture. But they said there needs to be a balance between learning English and offering translation help. Getting used to a new culture, plus making negative comparisons to their own culture, led to refugees feeling alone and even down.

1.2- Defining Social Cohesion in Theory and Practice

Social cohesion has captured the attention of academics and policy makers since the 1800s. Its definition by Burns and interpretation have changed a lot from political, social, and economic approaches³⁴. People know it matters for things like how well communities bounce back and how happy individuals are. However, experts can't agree on one definition or what key parts compose social cohesion.

The British Academy points out several key parts of cohesion including a sense of who we are and where we fit in how we work together in society taking care of each other, remembering our shared past, and looking out for what's to come. This goes beyond just getting along or not fighting. Baylis ³⁵spotted eight signs of cohesion, these range from feeling like you belong, to thinking alike, to respecting differences, to having similar levels of wealth, and more. Different

³³ Ager, A., & Strang, A. (2008). Understanding Integration: A Conceptual framework. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 21(2), 166–191. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fen016>

³⁴ Burns, J., Hull, G., Lefko-Everett, K., & Njozela, L. (2018). *Defining social cohesion* (SALDRU Working Paper Number 216). SALDRU, UCT. Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/11090/903>

³⁵ Baylis, I., Beider, H., & Hardy, M. (2019). *Cohesive societies literature review*. The British Academy. <https://www.thebritishacademy.ac.uk/documents/296/Cohesive-societies-literature-review.pdf>

experts focus on different things, based on whether they see cohesion as a fixed state or something that keeps changing.

This review combined theory-led and evidence-led approaches to analyze social cohesion, it used theories from experts as Bottoni, social cohesion research fellow at City University of London, along with policy reports, to guide the search for relevant measures; however, the absence of a widely accepted definition has led to various ways to measure social cohesion. Well-known models such as Bottoni views cohesion across individual, group, and societal levels using indicators from surveys like the European Social Survey.³⁶

In the UK big surveys like Understanding Society and Community Life measure social cohesion. They often use tools from academics; on the neighborhood cohesion scale, but it is not clear if these tools measure the same thing. Also, outside markers, like the ones the Home Office uses, give more concrete signs of social cohesion, these include how many people register to vote or how much people trust the police. Still, we need to check if these markers show social cohesion.

In the end, because we don't have one clear definition of social cohesion that everyone agrees on, we measure it in different ways. Currently most measurements come from big surveys or outside markers. But we still don't understand how well these measurements capture what social cohesion is.

1.2.1- Measures of Social Cohesion

To find useful measures of social cohesion used in the UK from 2010 to 2023, researchers looked at academic papers, reports, and big social surveys. This search, along with advice from experts and found 23 sources of ways to measure and show social cohesion. From these, they boiled down 23 ideas that kept coming up³⁷. These ideas include:

- Belonging/Identity: How much people feel like they fit in or connect with an area.
- Civic Engagement: Taking part in community activities or public issues.

³⁶ Bottoni, G. (2018). A multilevel measurement model of social cohesion. *Social Indicators Research*, 136(3), 835-857

³⁷ Abrams, D., Davies, B., & Horsham, Z. (2023). *Rapid review: Measuring social cohesion*. University of Kent and Belong Network. <https://doi.org/10.22024/UniKent/01.02.101469>

- Connection, Social Provision, Social Relations: How well people interact and bond with others.
- Economic Indicators: The financial health, stability, and fairness of a community.
- Embeddedness: How long people have lived in an area and if they plan to stay.
- Free From Discrimination/Respect: Whether people feel respected and not discriminated against.
- Health Indicators: Overall health measures and the healthcare quality systems.
- Human Capital and Education: How much schooling people have and other measures of their skills.
- Inter-Group Unity/Division: How united or split different social groups feel.
- Legitimacy of Institutions/Democracy: How fair and effective do people think institutions are?
- Neighborliness: How much do people in a community help each other out?
- Openness and Tolerance of Others: How willing people are to work with those from different backgrounds.
- Political Engagement: How much people take part in political stuff.
- Political Trust: How much people trust politicians and government bodies.
- Population Stability: How often people move in and out of a community.
- Public and Social Infrastructure: What's available to help people in the community connect.
- Social Mixing and Contact: How often people interact with folks from different walks of life?
- Social Order: How safe people feel and how they think about crime in their area.
- Social Trust: How much do people trust others in their community.
- Trust in Institutions: How much do faith people have in society's organizations.
- Trust in Political Leaders: How much do people believe in their political figures.
- Willingness to Help Others: How ready people are to lend a hand to their neighbors.
- Willingness to Improve Neighborhood: How keen are people to take part in making their local area better?

Exploring social cohesion shows it's complicated and always changing, with many ways to define and measure it, most scholars discussed previously concluded that it matters for strong communities' social growth, and people's happiness, but nobody can agree on one definition. This leads to different ideas and ways to measure it, like in the British Academy's Cohesive Societies program and other studies. Social cohesion has many parts such as the feeling of belonging, trusting others, and having stable economic situation, so one measure can't capture it all. It needs to look at both what people think and real-world facts. Therefore, the review found 23 things that help make social cohesion, from getting involved in your community and trusting politicians to health and public buildings. The fact that so far, no theory can agree on a definition means because is constantly changing and in need of continue studies, figuring out social cohesion will stay a big challenge. Still need smarter ways to measure it and which can prove work and to bring all these different ideas together to understand social cohesion. ³⁸

1.3- Social Transformation

Social transformation theory offers a structure to understand major shifts in societies over time. This theory covers several areas, including changes in politics, economics, technology, population, and culture. Here's a thorough overview based on the search results:

1.3.1- Definition and Framework

Social transformation refers to a fundamental shift in how societies are organized, and resources are shared. It's a broad framework that aims to combine insights from different fields to examine "big change" in a complete way. The theory stresses five linked areas:

- Political: How governments change, who holds power, and shifts in political systems.
- Economic: Changes in how money works, job markets, and ways people make things.
- Technological: New tech that changes how societies work and talk to each other.

³⁸ Abrams, D., Davies, B., & Horsham, Z. (2023). *Rapid review: Measuring social cohesion*. University of Kent and Belong Network. <https://doi.org/10.22024/UniKent/01.02.101469>

- Demographic: How populations change, including where people move, birth rates, and older folks.
- Cultural: Changes in what people think is normal, what they value, and who they are.

These parts work together shaping how society changes.

1.3.2- Historical Context

Over time, societies have gone through changes often called "modernization"; nevertheless, understanding these shifts has been tough because different fields of study don't work together well, and people shy away from big theories. Social transformation theory tries to fix these problems and yield a way to look at how societies change that works for different places and times.

1.3.3- Application of Social Transformation Theory

- Mobility and Migration: The theory helps to understand the complex mobility situation in places like Morocco. Research shows that Morocco has seen big changes in society due to shifts in the economy more people moving to cities, and changes in population. These factors have an impact on how people move around, both inside Morocco and to other countries, as they look for better chances.
- Impact of Migration: Migration drives social change and is also a result of it. For example, when Moroccans come back from Europe, they often bring new ideas about politics and what they want from life, and this affects how local people think about government and social change showing how moving to a new place can kick off bigger changes in society.
- Cultural Change: The theory also highlights how cultural change plays a part in changing society. As the world becomes more connected through globalization, cultures mix and swap ideas. This can shift what people value and see as normal, which has an impact on how society sticks together and how people see themselves.

1.3.4- Challenges and Critiques

While social transformation theory offers a useful framework, it faces some issues:

- Complexity of Change: Social change doesn't always follow a straight line and many things have an impact on it, so it's hard to guess what will happen.
- Resistance to Change: Society often pushes back against change from big organizations and powerful groups that like things as they are.
- Contextual Variability: Social transformation looks different in different places, depending on their history, culture, and politics.

Social transformation theory gives us a full picture of the delicate and connected changes that happen in societies in consequence of the framework discussed before. By looking at the political, economic, tech, population, and cultural aspects, experts can figure out what's behind social shifts. In places like Morocco where people moving in and out is a big deal, this theory sheds light on how change works and how local and worldwide factors mix.

Therefore, conceptual framework to understand social changes, does this by bringing in the idea of social transformation as a big-picture thinking tool. The concept of "transformation" comes from the anthropologist Karl Polanyi's work his book *The Great Transformation*³⁹ which helps to explain how social change isn't straightforward and often involves conflict when looking at modern market economies and how they interact with modern states. Polanyi said that trying to pull markets away from society, making a "market society," caused problems like unfairness and people feeling out of place in their own culture.

Polanyi's idea of the "double movement" explains how societies try to bring economies back into social structures when market forces cause disruption. These pushbacks can look different - they might be social-democratic changes or more radical responses like fascism. This view is different from the usual smooth pictures of progress. It highlights how conflict, struggle, and uneven modernization play a part in shaping society.⁴⁰

³⁹ Polanyi, K. (2001). *The Great transformation the political and economic origins of our time* (2nd ed., Vol. 1). Beacon Press. <https://inctpped.ie.ufrj.br>

⁴⁰ Polanyi, K. (2001). *The Great transformation the political and economic origins of our time* (2nd ed., Vol. 1). Beacon Press. <https://inctpped.ie.ufrj.br>

The concept of social transformation has an impact on deep structural changes in society going beyond everyday social shifts or the ups and downs of specific governments. It points out that social transformation can be viewed as basic changes in how society is organized and how resources are shared affecting core values and power structures, those changes are often not easy to see right away and that visible shifts may not always point to deeper changes. In the end, the framework tries to reach a balance between the need to spot general trends in social change and to consider differences aspects across various societies and historical contexts.⁴¹

Talking about foreigners and social transformation in Morocco it gives a good understanding to comprehend the big changes happening in today's Moroccan society and the big picture of social transformation⁴². Moreover, a group of researchers who have examined foreigners in Morocco, many of whom have worked with the CJB (Centre Jacques Berque) to help scholars from different schools and fields share ideas; those researchers, from PhD students to seasoned academics in areas like sociology, anthropology, literature, or political science, took part in the study days about "Presence of Foreigners, Cosmopolitanism, and Social Changes in Contemporary Morocco." This gave them a chance to show their findings, swap thoughts, and compare their views and research methods.

The driving point comes from wanting to add to the research on migration in Morocco from different angles. In recent years most studies have looked at movements from sub-Saharan Africa. These works have examined sub-Saharan migration from many sides—money matters cultural aspects legal issues, and more. But they've led to a one-sided view of immigration. Other parts of mobility and foreigners living in Morocco haven't gotten much attention from scientists or the media. Also, some overused ideas, like "transit migration," "expat," "illegal migrant," or "sub-Saharan," have taken over public talks, those terms need new real-world and knowledge-based study to understand them better and define them more.

Life for people in transit is often challenging specially for black migrants that in addition to the current migrant faced in receiving country there is a black racism turning things way difficult for

⁴¹ De Haas, H. (2010). *Migration transitions: A theoretical and empirical inquiry into the developmental drivers of international migration* (International Migration Institute Working Paper No. 24). University of Amsterdam.

⁴² De Haas, H. (2014). *Morocco: Setting the stage for becoming a migration transition country?* Migration Policy Institute.

black migrants. Therefore, they face a lack of protection, instability, exclusion, and sometimes even government crackdowns. But it's also a process of constant change new ideas, teamwork, and sometimes, unit, a kind of social shift. People on the move adapt to and claim their travel spaces marking their journey with stops that build connections. Edges become safe spots, "planned wandering" becomes a livable experience, and these stops turn into "habitable" phases. So, the interactions between these phases give birth to a movement-based economy and even create a sort of world-minded coherence that ties together sub-Saharan Africa, the Maghreb, and Europe. This happens not just through political action but also through the links these travelers keep with national and international activist groups that support them and act as go-betweens.⁴³

Consequently, the work extends the meaning of "migrant" to cover different types of foreign stays and residences in Morocco, it also investigates how society and politics change in Morocco and among foreigners living there bringing culture and experience as add value to the country as a response a social transformation observation. Legal immigration, which doesn't get as much attention, has a growing impact on the economy and society, likely to change the Kingdom even more in the future not forgetting that for almost 60 years since becoming independent, Morocco saw many people leave and it created an all-inclusive group of about five million Moroccans living in other countries. Now Moroccan society and politics need to think about how to handle immigration that can enhance for the economy, works well for society, and is okay with voters. These issues tie into complex and unclear facts about Morocco's job market, the jobs of different government groups, and the types of foreigners in Morocco making them hard to control and explain. At the same time, foreigners living in Morocco play a key part in (re)shaping how people see the country and its national identity. They do this through their contacts with Moroccans and what they want and ask for from Morocco.⁴⁴

⁴³ Khrouz, N., & Lanza, N. (2015). *Migrants au Maroc: Cosmopolitisme, présence d'étrangers et transformations sociales*. (Nadia Khrouz is an associated professor on Political Sciences at International University of Rabat and migration specialist.)

⁴⁴ Khrouz, N., & Lanza, N. (2015). *Migrants au Maroc: Cosmopolitisme, présence d'étrangers et transformations sociales*. (Nadia Khrouz is an associated professor on Political Sciences at International University of Rabat and migration specialist.)

1.4- State Responsibility to Protect

1.4.1- State Duty to Safeguard Migrants and Refugees

- **Legal Framework:** International law requires countries to respect, protect, and fulfill the rights of everyone in their territory, including migrants and refugees. This duty stems from many human rights treaties and agreements and makes countries responsible for ensuring the safety and dignity of all people, no matter their migration status.

1.4.2- Positive and Negative Obligations:

- **Positive Obligations:** Countries must take action to protect migrants and refugees from harm. This means they need to provide access to asylum procedures make sure living conditions are safe and humane, and help people get essential services like healthcare and education.
- **Negative Obligations:** Countries need to avoid actions that could hurt migrants and refugees including unlawful detention, refoulement (forcing refugees back to a country where they face threats), and discrimination based on nationality or status.

1.4.3- Accountability for Forced Migration:

The concept of state responsibility also includes accountability for actions that lead to forced migration. Countries that break international law such as through armed conflict, persecution, or damage to the environment, may have to account for the resulting displacement of people. This accountability can include:

- **Reparations:** Countries might have to provide reparations to affected populations including payments or helping to resettle displaced individuals.
- **Safe Haven:** States that create conditions that force people to flee might need to take in and protect these migrants. They should see this as their duty, given that their actions led to the migrants' tough situation.
- **Mixed Migration Context:** Mixed migration where people move for different reasons like money, politics, or the environment, makes it hard to apply protections. Some migrants might not fit as refugees or asylum seekers, but they might still need protection because

of what made them leave. Recognizing "state-impacted migrants" - those who had to leave because of another state's actions - can widen the protection scope under international law.

- International Cooperation: Protecting migrants and refugees is a global responsibility that requires countries to work together. The Global Compact for Safe, Orderly, and Regular Migration stresses shared duties and promises to guard migrant rights. It makes sure countries join forces to tackle migration issues.
- Challenges in Implementation: Even with these duties putting protective steps for migrants and refugees into action often runs into roadblocks, including: (a). Political Pushback: Some countries might refuse to accept migrant because of home politics or anti-immigrant feelings. (b). Limited Resources: Countries that take in many migrants might struggle with not having enough resources. This can affect their ability to provide proper support and protection.
- Legal Gaps: Uneven use of global laws and rules can cause differences in how countries treat migrants.⁴⁵

States have a duty to protect migrants and refugees, this duty is based on international law and has an impact on both what states must do and what they can't do. Countries need to take action to defend the rights and welfare of these at-risk groups and also be on the hook for things they do that force people to move. To make sure migrants' and refugees' rights are respected and protected worldwide, it's key to boost teamwork between countries and tackle the hurdles in putting these ideas into practice.

This framework argues that states that violate the sovereignty of another state should be held accountable for accepting migrants who are forced to flee because of such actions. The Articles on State Responsibility, developed by the International Law Commission and finalized in 2001, offer a legal foundation for holding states responsible for their internationally wrongful acts. These articles explain general secondary rules of international responsibility and what happens when a state breaks a primary rule of international law. They are based on principles of

⁴⁵ Dadhania, P. R. (2022). Reimagining sovereignty to protect migrants. *Yale Journal of International Law Online*, 47, 71. Available at <https://scholarlycommons.law.yale.edu/fs/384> . (Dadhania, P. R. is a researcher at Yale University on State Responsibility of Protect).

customary international law. When a state commits an internationally wrongful act that breaches another state's sovereignty, the injured state can invoke the Articles to demand that the responsible state rectify the harm caused.

According to the articles, an internationally wrongful act is one that is attributable to a state under international law and constitutes a breach of an international obligation. Sovereignty violations are among the most serious breaches of international law, as emphasized by the United Nations Charter, which mandates respect for the political independence and territorial integrity of states. After committing such a wrongful act, the responsible state is obligated under the Articles to provide a remedy, which may include cessation of the act, reparation, and satisfaction.

The framework suggests that making amends could involve giving legal status in the responsible country to people who had to escape because of that country's wrongful actions. This method of doing things aligns with the idea of putting things back the way they were, which attempts to fix the situation as if the wrong act never happened. While money might not fully fix the harm that these affected migrants went through when a country's boundaries were violated for a long time offering them legal status could do a better job of bringing back their safety and financial stability.

However, implementing the Articles in this situation presents several challenges, and establishing a clear link between the wrongful act and migration over time is influenced by numerous factors. Likewise, the state-focused nature of the articles means that only countries, not people, can claim responsibility. This could make it difficult to use the framework. There are practical worries too. Affected countries might not want to help people leave, and countries at fault might worry about taking in too many migrants.

Even with these obstacles, the concept of state responsibility offers a fresh way to think about protecting migrants and to reconsider how states are held accountable for violating sovereignty.

International law makes it clear that everyone has rights and basic freedoms, no matter who they are. To increase clarity, use active voice: Furthermore, international law mandates that countries must uphold, safeguard, and ensure the fulfillment of these rights. However, when discussing immigration regulations, we frequently overlook the obligations immigrants bear to the countries they relocate to. This matters not just because of the law, but also because it affects how well

immigrants fit into society, how societies get along, and how local people feel about newcomers. For immigrants to blend in well, both they and the local community need a social behavior change to adapt to the new society and host community needs to integrate with the new migrants in the country. This works best when everyone feels they have a duty to follow important rules, like obeying the law and shared values give both immigrants and locals a common goal to work towards.

The duty to follow a country's laws and rules has many sides when it comes to migration, it covers laws for everyone, including citizens as well as rules just for foreigners entering and staying in the country. These include visa terms, work rights, and rules about going back home. Governments have a key job making sure future migrants can find quality information about their rights and duties. One way they do this is through programs before people leave that get them ready for life in their new country; however, those programs, along with other work to help migrants fit in and get along with locals, could be part of what's suggested and promised in the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly, and Regular Migration.

1.5 Existing Principles

The New York Declaration stresses that "refugees and migrants to observe the laws and regulations of their host countries" (para. 39). This duty is also outlined in the 1990 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (Migrant Workers Convention). Like Article 2 of the 1951 Refugee Convention Article 34 of the Migrant Workers Convention says the Convention doesn't free migrant workers and their families from following the laws and rules of any transit or employment State, or from honoring the cultural identity of these States' inhabitants. Also, Article 33 of the Convention gives migrant workers the right to learn from their origin, transit, or employment state about their admission conditions as well as their rights and duties under the law and practice⁴⁶. This responsibility involves taking steps to spread this information or making sure employers, trade unions, or other relevant groups provide it, and working with other countries when needed.

⁴⁶ Gammeltoft-Hansen, T., & Tan, N. F. (2018). The New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants: Towards a hybrid model of refugee protection? *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 30(4), 715–743. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ijrl/eez018> (Thomas **Gammeltoft-Hansen** is professor with special responsibilities in migration and refugee law at the University of Copenhagen.)

Migrants have duties and responsibilities in both transit and destination countries. But these duties aren't unlimited. They must line up with States' international law obligations respecting all migrants' human rights, no matter their status. Member States restated in the New York Declaration that non-discrimination is key to ensuring human rights for all. This applies regardless of race, color, sex, language, religion political or other views national or social background, property, birth, or other status, including migrant status. International law allows differences based on nationality or migrant status for voting rights and the freedom to move within states. Under international law (Article 25 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)) citizens can vote. The freedom to move and choose where to live in a State is guaranteed to people "within the territory of a State" (Article 12(1) ICCPR)⁴⁷. For migrants who entered a host country or whose stay has been made legal, any restrictions on their freedom to move or different treatment compared to citizens must be justified, needed, balanced, and in line with other human rights, including non-discrimination. The same goes for limits on any other human right.

Human rights law across borders applies to everyone under a state's control meaning that other rights also play a key role in capping what host countries can ask for or demand from migrants. The law must see migrants as people just like citizens (Article 16 ICCPR). They have a right to fair treatment and protection in all legal matters covering issues like moving in or out of a country, facing criminal charge, being held, kicked out, or being sent back home. Courts and judges must treat migrants, no matter what kind of case it is. Everyone deserves a fair trial (Article 14 ICCPR). Countries can still tell migrants to leave. Nevertheless, they can do this "based on a choice made in line with the law." Migrants must have a chance to argue why they should stay (Article 13 ICCPR and Article 22(2) Migrant Workers Convention). If sending them back might put them in danger or split up their family, this is true. So, kicking out large groups or individuals without good reason is not allowed. The duty to follow the host country's national laws has many aspects which include rules about entering the country laws that apply once you're inside the country and under its control, and laws that come into play if you enter or stay.

⁴⁷ Gammeltoft-Hansen, T., & Tan, N. F. (2018). The New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants: Towards a hybrid model of refugee protection? *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 30(4), 715–743. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ijrl/cez018>

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1- Transit Migration Context in Morocco

The migration research is defined on two ends of migration: the decision and means of migration and the impact of migration on host and sending society. Moreover, a common strategy of migration is the transit migration that have been gaining more attention recently; so, migration is influenced by in the transit phase because it is underline the concept that migrants are, for some, not only a movement to home country to the final country destination, but it is also a process of continuous movement and semi or permanent settlement in transit area.⁴⁸ The concept of "transit migration" is distorted as migration from state A to state C through state B. However, this notion presents several epistemological, methodological, and empirical challenge, the Associate Professor and Senior Researcher at Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS), University of Oxford, Düvell points out the hidden line between transit migration and repeated or multiple migration. Some researchers classify migrants who lived in a host country for long periods as transit migrants, which undermines migration theories like collective connection and culture of migration.⁴⁹ These theories suggest that once a person migrates, they are more likely to continue migrating. Many migrants cross the Sahara Desert to reach North Africa, from where they try to enter Europe due to its geographical proximity to Europe and the presence of the Spanish exclaves Ceuta and Melilla, Morocco has been an attractive transit zone for African migrants. However, the borders of Europe in North Africa are closing rapidly, making it extremely difficult for migrants to transit to Europe from Morocco. As a result, migrants regularly 'get stuck' in the transit country, which has far-extensive effects on migrants' lives and Moroccan society.

The author observes between actual transit migration and mental transit migration, noting that interview-based research may not accurately reflect migrants' true intentions since as a part of the journey and mental stress from leaving home country, migrants tend to identify and adapt for the

⁴⁸ Stuck Between the Desert and the Sea: The Immobility of Sub-Saharan African 'Transit Migrants' in Morocco Schapendonk, J. 2008, Part of book or chapter of book (Rittersberger-Tiliç, H.; Erdemir, A.; Ergun, A. (ed.), Rethinking Global Migration: Practices, Policies and Discourses in the European neighborhood, pg. 129-143)

⁴⁹ Düvell, F. (2006). Crossing the fringes of Europe: Transit migration in the EU's neighborhood. (COMPAS Working Paper WP-06-33). Oxford: University of Oxford

values and similarity of the host country. The Netherlands sociologist who studies integration at Morocco, De Haas argues that the term "transit migrant" can be disingenuous, as some migrants view North Africa, as the case of Morocco, some migrants find jobs opportunities and the support of the UN agencies being comfortable to risk to desired final destination.⁵⁰

Moreover, transit migration should be considered a phase in the migration process for various types of migrants, rather than a distinct migration category. It also emphasizes the importance of understanding the "migration-asylum nexus," that explain the interconnected reason for migration. In case of Morocco, several factors contribute to the absence of consistent data, including limited population censuses in North Africa, open movement across ECOWAS member states, and visa-free entry to Morocco for citizens of Sub-Saharan and West African countries. It is challenging to differentiate between "legal" migrants, documented refugees, and irregular migrants ("sans papiers"), as countless irregular migrants' presence in the country, while some regular migrants are "in transit" waiting for resettlement even if they have no intention to leave the transit country anymore. Furthermore, transit migration values trust on migration intentions or ambitions rather than actual migration flows. The intra-Africa and transit migration to Europe is frequently vague, as there are more sub-Saharan Africans living permanently in the Maghreb than in Europe⁵¹. After middle of 1990s, flanking changes in emigration patterns, Morocco has also emerged as a destination for migrants from sub-Saharan Africa, Europe, and other regions. Although the scale of immigration remains modest compared to Morocco's large emigration, this marks a significant change from the past. The population of African immigrants in Morocco, particularly from countries such as Senegal and Mali, which benefit from visa-free travel, has been increasing, including students and workers. Furthermore, the African immigrant population now includes asylum seekers and refugees fleeing armed conflict and oppression in countries like the Democratic Republic of Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, Cameroon, Nigeria, Sudan, Yaman, Syria and Iraq. Moreover, significant number of African migrants use Morocco as a moving step in their attempt to reach Europe. Many enter Morocco from Algeria, crossing the

⁵⁰ De Haas, H. (2006). Trans-Saharan migration to North Africa and the EU: Historical roots and current trends. Migration Information Source. Retrieved from <http://www.migrationinformation.org/Feature/display.cfm?id=484>

⁵¹ Stuck Between the Desert and the Sea: The Immobility of Sub-Saharan African 'Transit Migrants' in Morocco Schapendonk, J. 2008, Part of book or chapter of book (Rittersberger-Tiliç, H.; Erdemir, A.; Ergun, A. (ed.), Rethinking Global Migration: Practices, Policies and Discourses in the European neighborhood, pg. 129-143)

Sahara, and may then try to enter the Spanish enclaves on Morocco's northern coast. However, those who fail or decide not to attempt the crossing often choose to settle in Morocco rather than return to their unstable and poorer home countries. Tens of thousands have semi-permanently settled in cities like Casablanca, Rabat, and Fez, where they find jobs in the informal service sector as a call centers, domestic work, trade, agriculture and construction. Increasing numbers of migrants from sub-Saharan Africa and other African countries have begun traveling to Morocco on visas, seeking education and employment in both skilled and unskilled sectors. The presence of sub-Saharan immigrants has also contributed to greater religious diversity and revitalized Christian life in predominantly Muslim cities.

The Moroccan approach toward migration and asylum policies reflects a complicated interaction of strategic interests, human rights considerations, and regional dynamics. As highlighted in the text, Morocco has transitioned from being primarily a source country for migrants to becoming a significant transit and settlement country within the broader regional migration solution. This alteration emerged a necessity to reconsider the Morocco's policy framework and its support with both European Union and African partners.⁵²

Premature migration and asylum policies in Morocco were characterized by their improvised and temporary regulations, often implemented through progressively measures with little to no focus on human rights violations against migrants as state responsibility to protect those groups. When human rights considerations were included, they often provided as political gestures targeted at "humanizing" the security measures imposed on migrants. Deficient in a consistent national framework, Morocco's posture was largely reactive, formed by changes in European policies that wanted to give voice to their migration challenges through elimination solutions such as readmission agreements, voluntary return programs, and deportations. Consequently, the protection of migrants' fundamental rights and freedoms oscillated significantly, with periods of increased rights protection⁵³—such as the implementation of measures to protect vulnerable

⁵² Zaanoun, Abderrafie (2023) 'Migrant and Refugee Rights in Morocco: Between Strategic and Exceptional Solutions', *Rowaq Arabi* 28 (2), pp. 31-53, DOI: 10.53833/UDJW1968 (Abderrafie Zaanoun is a law and political science researcher and visiting Professor at the Faculty of Legal, Economic and Social Sciences of Tetouan).

⁵³ Berriane, M., de Haas, H., & Natter, K. (2015). Introduction: revisiting Moroccan migrations. *The Journal of North African Studies*, 20(4), 503–521. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13629387.2015.1065036>

migrants and the provision of humanitarian training for border police—followed by periods where a security-focused approach succeeded. This latter approach managed to more frequent arrests, discriminatory practices, and limited adherence to human rights standards when pull apart migrant camps.

Since 2000, Morocco's migration models changed significantly, placing the country as an intermediate link between African and Mediterranean migration systems. While Morocco continues to experience emigration, it now also maintains with considerable transit migration, immigration, and the settlement of migrants from sub-Saharan Africa, Europe, and other regions. These social transformation changes reflect extensive global trends, including the effects of globalization and global connectivity through channels, commerce, and transport connections. Although the overall number of immigrants remains relatively small, their growing presence introduces new social and legal challenges as well as opportunities related to diversity and integration, issues more commonly associated with traditional immigration countries. This shift has triggered new discussions around national identity, human rights, and religious diversity, leading to policy changes and adaptation for new society. This developed situation challenges the traditional view of Morocco as just a "sending country" and “transit country” but a final unexpected destination changing the country context and view toward migrants residing there.

Since 2000, immigration has gained political attention in Morocco, moderately pushed by European governments' growing interest in controlling migration to Europe via Morocco. However, while "transit" migration from Africa to Europe has dominated Moroccan discourse on immigration over the past decade, research shows that immigration into Morocco is far more diverse and complex.

This special issue focuses on three main scopes of immigration to Morocco that have influenced social transformations:

- (i) the consolidation of Morocco as a destination for students and workers from sub-Saharan Africa;
- (ii) the establishment of Morocco as a permanent residence for irregular migrants and refugees from the broader region, prevailing policy changes and increased political awareness within Morocco; and

- (iii) the rise of immigration from regions like Asia, the Middle East, and especially Europe following the 2008 Global Economic Crisis.

The first factors concern the increasing number of West African migrants who come to Morocco to study and work, as migration is rooted in older models of pre-colonial trans-Saharan mobility, including trade, annexation, and pilgrimage.

Briefly, Morocco's evolving role in global migration reflects significant shifts in both emigration and immigration patterns. While traditionally a country of emigration, Morocco has increasingly become a destination for migrants from sub-Saharan Africa, Europe, and beyond. Morocco now serves as both a transit and settlement country, driven by historical ties, economic opportunities, and geopolitical factors. The complexities of transit migration challenge simple categorizations, highlighting the dynamic and complex nature of migration, where migrants' intentions and realities often diverge depending on the conditions of leaving. As Morocco continues to adapt its policies and identity in response to these changes, the country is prepared to cooperate a more major role in the regional and global migration landscape.

2.2- Morocco Migration Policy:

Morocco's migration policy has experienced significant transformations since the adoption of the National Strategy for Migration and Asylum in 2014. This shift reflects a precise commitment to human rights and integration, particularly concerning Sub-Saharan African migrants. The policy intends to regularize undocumented migrants, provide access to essential services, and enhance social cohesion.

2.2.1- New 2011 Constitution

The 2011 Moroccan Constitution was a significant response to the demands for reform that arose during the Arab Spring. Here are the key details and implications of the constitution, particularly regarding discrimination and social cohesion:

- Overview of the 2011 Constitution

The constitution was adopted following widespread protests in 2011, with a referendum held on July 1, 2011. It aimed to address calls for democratic reforms while maintaining the monarchy's power.

- Key Features:

Defines Morocco as a democratic, social, and constitutional monarchy.

Establishes the separation of powers among the executive, legislative, and judicial branches.

Recognizes Amazigh (Berber) as an official language alongside Arabic, promoting linguistic and cultural pluralism.

Guarantees fundamental rights, including freedom of expression, assembly, and association.

ARTICLE 8:

Men and women shall enjoy equal political rights. Any citizen of age enjoying his or her civil and political rights shall be eligible to vote.

ARTICLE 9:

The constitution shall guarantee all citizens the following:

(a) freedom of movement through, and of settlement in, all parts of the Kingdom.

(b) freedom of opinion, of expression in all its forms, and of public gathering.

(c) freedom of association, and the freedom to belong to any union or political group of their choice. No limitation, except by law, shall be put to the exercise of such freedoms.

ARTICLE 10:

No one shall be arrested, put into custody or penalized except under the circumstances and procedures prescribed by law. The home shall be inviolable. Search warrant shall be issued, and investigation ordered under the conditions and procedures prescribed by law.

ARTICLE 11:

Secrecy of personal correspondence shall be preserved.

ARTICLE 12:

Opportunities for employment in public offices and positions shall be uniformly open to all citizens.

ARTICLE 13:

All citizens shall have equal rights in seeking education and employment.⁵⁴

2.2.2- National Strategy for Migration and Asylum

The National Strategy for Migration and Asylum, adopted in December 2014, marked a pivotal change in Morocco's approach to migration. This strategy was developed in response to the increasing presence of migrants and refugees, particularly from Sub-Saharan Africa, and aimed to align with international human rights standards. It set forth 27 goals and 81 projects designed to manage migration flows while respecting the rights of migrants and ensuring access to public services such as healthcare and education. Since the implementing this strategy, Morocco has regularized approximately 50,000 undocumented migrants, granting them legal status and the ability to work. This initiative was part of a broader humanitarian approach that replaced the previous security-focused policies that often-criminalized irregular migration.

Extract from the Speech of the King addressed to the nation on the 38th anniversary of the Green March. Rabat, November 6, 2013:

“The privileged relations which unite Morocco with the countries of sub-Saharan Africa are political and economic. These are, fundamentally, centuries-old human and spiritual ties. In view of the situation which prevails in some of these countries, many of their citizens immigrate to Morocco in a way legal or illegal. Once a crossing point to Europe, our country has transformed into a destination for residence. Faced with the significant increase in the number of immigrants from Africa or Europe, we invited the government to develop a new global policy relating to immigration and asylum issues, following a humanitarian approach consistent with our country's

⁵⁴ Constitution of Morocco. (2011, July 29). <https://www.refworld.org/legal/legislation/natlegbod/2011/fr/17605>

international commitments and respectful immigrant rights. To illustrate the particular interest that we attach to this aspect, we wanted to entrust a department Ministerial for Immigration Issues. Morocco's credibility in terms of human rights is confirmed, among other things, by the reception largely favorable to this initiative from the parties directly concerned by this problematic, and more particularly the sister sub-Saharan countries, the States of the European Union, and the various UN, regional and international bodies and organizations concerned by the migration phenomenon and human rights. To reinforce this orientation, Morocco presented, on the sidelines of the General Assembly of the Nations. This year's United Nations, the African Alliance for Migration and Development initiative. It is an initiative focused on a common African vision and humanitarian principles that should govern to migration issues. It is also based on shared responsibility between countries of origin, transit and reception, and on the close link between immigration and development. Because the migration problem concerns all States and all peoples, we urge the international community to become strongly involved in dealing with this phenomenon, to prevent the humanitarian disasters it causes..."⁵⁵

This speech, delivered by Moroccan King, summarizes Morocco's developed method to migration, highlighting the country's shift from being primarily a source of emigration and a transit point to Europe, to becoming a destination for migrants, particularly from sub-Saharan Africa and Europe.

It emphasizes that Morocco's relationship with sub-Saharan Africa is not merely political or economic but deeply embedded in historical, social, and religious connections. This statement emphasizes the cultural and social connections that Morocco shares with African countries, suggesting these relations make Morocco a welcoming destination for African migrants. The speech also nods a significant transformation in Morocco's role within the migration landscape. Historically perceived as a passage point for migrants aiming for Europe, Morocco is now recognized as a destination for residence. This alteration reflects numerous global migration trends and its importance as a safe and attractive place for migrants to settle. Therefore, a new global policy on immigration and asylum that aligns with Morocco's humanitarian values and international commitments. The speech demonstrates Morocco's commitment to preserving the

⁵⁵ *38th anniversary of the Green March*. (2013, November 6). King Addressed to the Nation on the 38th Anniversary of the Green March. Rabat, November 6, 2013, Rabat, Morocco. <https://www.mre.gov.ma>

rights and dignity of migrants, reducing the country from purely security-driven or exclusionary migration policies often seen in other areas. The creation of a dedicated ministerial department for immigration underscores the importance that Morocco places on immigration issues. This move reflects an institutional commitment to manage migration in a structured and systematic manner, ensuring that policies are coherent, comprehensive, and aligned with international standards. The King's speech reflects a position of Morocco as an actor in the field of human rights, particularly in the context of migration. The favorable reception of Morocco's immigration initiatives by sub-Saharan countries, the European Union, and international organizations suggests that Morocco's policies are seen as legitimate and effective by key stakeholders. Moreover, the introduction of the African Alliance for Migration and Development initiative highlights Morocco's leadership role in influencing a cooperative African response to migration. This initiative is based on shared responsibility among countries of origin, transit, and destination, emphasizing the interconnection of migration and development. It also reflects a pan-African vision where migration is managed in a way that promotes development and respects human rights. Finally, it concludes with a call to the international community to take stronger action in addressing migration. By urging global involvement, the speaker acknowledges that migration is a complex, global issue that requires coordinated and collaborative solutions to prevent humanitarian crises. The speech reflects Morocco's strategic positioning as a leader in migration governance, both within Africa and on the global stage. By emphasizing humanitarian principles, shared responsibility, and Morocco's historical ties with Africa, the speech presents Morocco as a compassionate and proactive actor in the migration debate. The creation of specialized governmental structures and the launch of international initiatives further demonstrate Morocco's commitment to addressing the challenges and opportunities presented by migration in a comprehensive and rights-based manner.

The national immigration and asylum strategy is part of the continuity structuring measures initiated by Morocco since September 2013:

9/9/2013: thematic report relating to the situation of migrants and refugees in Morocco by CNDH, National Human Rights Council

10/9/2023: King Mohamad V orders the government to develop an immigration policy and plan an operation act.

10/10/2023: formation of a ministry in charge of Migrations Affairs.

6/11/2013: develop a global policy for issues relating to immigration and asylum, following a humanitarian approach consistent international commitments and respect the rights of migrants.

11/11/2013: official announcement of the operation to regularize the situation of foreigners staying illegal in Morocco.

24/12/2013: residence permit first batch distribution for refugees and asylum seekers.

2/1/2014: operation launch to regularize the situation of foreigners staying in Morocco.

18/12/2014: adoption by the Government the National Strategy for Immigration and Asylum.⁵⁶

The Kingdom of Morocco stated deep concern over exploitation faced by migrants, especially vulnerable groups like women and children. Morocco views the Global Compact on Migration as a crucial opportunity for the international community to establish global migration governance that aligns with the interests of origin, transit, and destination countries, centering on migrant welfare. Recognizing the complexity and evolving nature of migration, including the rise in south-south migration, Morocco advocates for cooperation at all levels, involving local actors, the diaspora, civil society, the private sector, and scholars. Morocco emphasizes the need to address migration's root causes through comprehensive policy and operational responses. Global migration governance should be guided by principles of solidarity, shared responsibility, human rights, and partnership. The Kingdom calls for decisive, collective international action to manage migration and confirms its commitment to international obligations and human rights. Morocco impels the Global Compact to focus on key principles: prioritizing human rights, promoting sustainable development to make migration a choice, emphasizing shared responsibility and cooperation, and nurturing social integration to combat racism and xenophobia. Morocco also calls for improving existing legal standards, addressing gaps in international law, and

⁵⁶ Moroccan Government. (2018). *Stratégie nationale d'Immigration et d'Asile*. Morocco Royal Family. Retrieved August 18, 2024, from <https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&url=https%3A%2F%2Fmarocainsdumonde.gov.ma%2Fwp-content%2Fuploads%2F2018%2F02%2FStrate%25CC%2581gie-Nationale-dimmigration-et-dAsile-ilovepdf-compressed.pdf&psig=AOvVaw3HJhW3PSeLHNfP8v35WkT4&ust=1724093402863000&source=images&cd=vfe&opi=89978449&ved=0CAQQn5wMahcKEwiwkunWmv-HAxUAAAAAHQAAAAAQBA>

establishing a mechanism for implementing, monitoring, and reviewing the Treaty's objectives. Additionally, Morocco advocates for the creation of a special fund to address migration crises and the root causes of forced displacement, enabling rapid and flexible responses to emergency situations.⁵⁷

2.2.3- Regularization Campaign 2016/2017

The second regularization campaign took place from December 15, 2016, to December 31, 2017. The criteria were less bureaucratic compared to the 2014 campaign: women and their children, unaccompanied children, spouses of Moroccan nationals or foreigners in a regular situation, foreigners who can evidence a professional activity, but do not have an employment agreement, foreigners that could not verify five years of residence in Morocco, but who have a college education or an equivalent. Over 28,000 applications were received during campaign. In total, the two regularization campaigns in 2014 and 2016-2017 led to the regularization of more than 49,000 migrants. Those who benefited from the 2016-2017 campaign received residence permits valid for three years, an addition one-year permits granted in 2014. The regularized migrants were able to access SNIA (National Strategy for Immigration and Asylum) programs and benefit from the Régime d'Assistance Médicale (RAMED) health insurance system. Therefore, in the 2016-2017 campaign suppress the success of the 2014 initiative by increasing eligibility criteria and granting longer residence permits, regularized migrants and guaranteed them access to basic rights and services in Morocco.⁵⁸

2.3- Return to the African Union and Regional Dynamics

The Morocco returns to the African Union (AU) in January 2017 marked a significant moment in diplomatic history, it ended a 33-year absenteeism which withdrew from the Organization of

⁵⁷ Moroccan Government. (2018). *Moroccan position on the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration Preamble*. Morocco Royal Family. Retrieved August 18, 2024, from <https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&url=https%3A%2F%2Fmarocainsdumonde.gov.ma%2Fwp-content%2Fuploads%2F2018%2F02%2FStrate%25CC%2581gie-Nationale-dimmigration-et-dAsile-ilovepdf-compressed.pdf&psig=AOvVaw3HJhW3PSeLHNfP8v35WkT4&ust=1724093402863000&source=images&cd=vfe&opi=89978449&ved=0CAQQn5wMahcKEwiwkunWmv-HAxUAAAAAHQAAAAAQBA>

⁵⁸ Jamal, B. (2021). Current Moroccan immigration and Asylum policy: Eight years after the adoption of the “New Policy.” *Arribat – International Journal of Human Rights*, (1), Volume: 1, Issue: 1.

African Unity in 1984, caused by the AU's recognition of the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) as a member reminding that Morocco claimed Sahrawi as their territory.

King Mohammed VI's Speech: In his speech submitted at African Union, King Mohammed VI expressed a deep sense of belonging, stating: "Africa is my home, and I am coming back home." He emphasized the importance of being part of the united efforts to address its challenges, suggesting that Morocco's influence is more effective as a part of the African Union. The King articulated a vision of unity, stating, "When a body is sick, it is treated more effectively from the inside than from the outside".⁵⁹

He also highlighted Morocco's comprehensive identity, which includes Arab, Berber - Amazigh, and Maghrebi elements, reinforcing the notion that Morocco is an essential part of Africa. This feeling was rebounded by various Moroccan officials that perceived the decision to return to the African Union as a strategy to enhance Morocco's influence on the continent and to further economic ties with Sub-Saharan Africa. Morocco's return to the AU was backed by 39 of the 54 member states, reflecting a substantial diplomatic effort on Morocco's part to build alliances, particularly with countries in West and Central Africa. The King was involving with the parties' states to promote investments and economic partnerships, contributing to country readmission. However, the background of this return remains complex due to the ongoing dispute over Western Sahara. While Morocco's entry to the AU was seen as a diplomatic victory, it also meant that Morocco would have to coexist with the SADR within the organization, raising questions about how this dynamic would cooperate in future AU discussions and initiatives.⁶⁰ The reenjoyed to the African Union signifies a strategic shift in its foreign policy, aiming to reinforce the African identity and influence in Africa whereas routing the challenges presented by the Western Sahara conflict. In addition, King Mohammed VI's emphasis on unity and collaboration wondering a broader vision for Morocco's role in Africa, seeking to contribute positively to the

⁵⁹ Moroccan Government. (2018). *Moroccan position on the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration Preamble*. Morocco Royal Family. Retrieved August 18, 2024, from <https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&url=https%3A%2F%2Fmarocainsdumonde.gov.ma%2Fwp-content%2Fuploads%2F2018%2F02%2FStrate%25CC%2581gie-Nationale-dimmigration-et-dAsile-ilovepdf-compressed.pdf&psig=AOvVaw3HJhW3PSeLHNfP8v35WkT4&ust=1724093402863000&source=images&cd=vf&opi=89978449&ved=0CAQQn5wMahcKEwiwkunWmv-HAxUAAAAAHQAAAAAQBA>

⁶⁰ Fernández, H. A. (2022, January 14). *Morocco returns to the African Union amidst unresolved issues - Elcano Royal Institute*. Elcano Royal Institute. <https://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/en/commentaries/marruecos-vuelve-a-la-union-africana-entre-interrogantes/>

continent's development and stability. The implications unfold Morocco engagement more deeply with its African partners, balancing national interests and reality of regional dynamics.

Therefore, the return to African Union reflects a recognition of Morocco's African identity and a commitment to adopt measurements against migrants' human rights violations, particularly for Sub-Saharan Africans. King Mohammed VI's speeches and policies make clear Morocco's threefold identity as both Arab and African nation. He consistently expressed that Morocco is not only part of the Arab world but also deeply rooted in Africa. This perspective is crucial in reshaping social transformation attitudes towards Black Africans, as it emphasizes a shared legacy and collective prospect within the continent. He also stated that despite absence from the AU, link to African nations have remained strong, strengthening the idea of unity among African peoples. As part of the 2014 National Strategy for Migration and Asylum, the Moroccan government made progress in dealing with the status of migrants and refugees through the regularization process. In 2016, there was a large-scale campaign to integrate undocumented migrants, mostly from Sub-Saharan Africa, into the host community. This initiative aims to provide access to essential services and legal protections, thereby promoting social cohesion. Morocco's return to the AU should promote cultural and economic initiatives that enhance the image and integration of Black Africans that have been harassed for so long. The government with the support of the civil society promoted cultural festivals and exhibitions that celebrate African heritage. This cultural engagement helps to promote mutual understanding and respect among different ethnic groups, which is essential for social integration. Despite some positive outcomes, there are still challenges where racism and discrimination against Black Africans persist in Moroccan society, and the legal frameworks do not fully address racial inequalities. The 2011 constitution guarantees equality but does not explicitly mention race, leaving gaps in protections for marginalized communities. This lack of explicit legal recognition can impede efforts to contest discrimination effectively. Therefore, Morocco's return to the African Union represents a significant opportunity to reshape its national identity and promote the integration of Black migrants and refugees. By emphasizing its African roots and implementing policies that support inclusivity, Morocco can work towards a more cohesive society. However, addressing the triggering issues of racism and discrimination is essential for successful integration and an inclusive national African identity. The success depends on government's commitment to not only legal reforms but also cultural and societal changes that embrace diversity as a strength.

2.4- Unveiled anti-black racism:

Anti-Black racism in Morocco manifests through various forms of discrimination, including pejorative statements, social exclusion, and violence. This systemic issue is deeply embedded in historical background associating black with slavery and community attitudes that degrade Black image. The issue of race relations become gradually substantial in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region because the increase of migration flows and the ancient marginalization of Black communities.⁶¹ According to a survey conducted by Arab Barometer's Seventh Wave to assess how citizens across MENA perceive racial and anti-Black discrimination reveals that while majorities in most surveyed countries recognize racial discrimination as a serious problem, fewer perceive anti-Black discrimination to be an issue, except in Tunisia, where both forms of discrimination are widely acknowledged. Interestingly, perceptions of anti-Black discrimination do not consistently vary by education level, though women are more likely to report both racial and anti-Black discrimination.⁶² While many citizens express a desire for greater representation of Black individuals on television, this sentiment coexists with negative portrayals in media, particularly in comedies. Despite recognizing racial discrimination as a problem, relatively few reports experiencing it personally, and among those who do, most do not report it to authorities. The report highlights the need for further research into how race is understood in the region, as well as greater societal and governmental efforts to address discrimination.

The report draws on data from the Arab Barometer's Wave VII, which surveyed nearly 23,000 citizens across ten MENA countries between 2021 and 2022, examining public perceptions of racial and anti-Black discrimination.⁶³ Anti-Black discrimination, rooted in the historical association of Blackness with slavery, is seen as a systemic issue in the region. The report calls for a deeper reckoning with the legacies of slavery and colonialism, which continue to affect Black populations in the MENA region today and stresses the importance of addressing both racial discrimination and anti-Blackness as part of a broader effort to combat systemic racism

⁶¹ Project on Middle East Political Science. (2021, September). **Racial formations in Africa and the Middle East: A transregional approach.** *Project on Middle East Political Affairs*, 41.

⁶² Hiliza, N. (2022). *Racial discrimination and Anti-Blackness in the Middle East and North Africa*. Arab Barometer. Retrieved August 18, 2024, from <https://www.arabbarometer.org> (Hiliza is a researcher at Kigoma District Council)

⁶³ Hiliza, N. (2022). *Racial discrimination and Anti-Blackness in the Middle East and North Africa*. Arab Barometer. Retrieved August 18, 2024, from <https://www.arabbarometer.org>

and promote inclusivity⁶⁴. It aims to raise awareness among policymakers, academics, and the public by providing insights into citizens' views on racial and anti-Black discrimination and offering context for these perceptions. It underscores the need for further exploration of race relations in MENA and for policies that tackle the root causes of discrimination and promote greater representation and social cohesion.

In several countries surveyed by Arab Barometer, the percentage of citizens who recognize racial discrimination as a problem is higher than those who recognize discrimination against Black individuals specifically. This disagreement is particularly evident in Iraq, where 67% of citizens see racial discrimination as an issue, but only 31% believe that anti-Black discrimination is a problem. Iraq's Afro-Iraqi population, estimated at 2 million, primarily in Basrah, has long faced marginalization, including high illiteracy, poverty, and limited political representation, drawing back to their ancestors, who were East African slaves brought by Arab traders in the ninth century.

In contrast, Morocco and Sudan stand out, with Morocco being one of only two countries where more citizens recognize anti-Black discrimination (43%) than racial discrimination in general (37%). Morocco, with a history of anti-Black racism rooted in the enslavement of Black Africans, now serves as a transit core for approximately 700,000 Sub-Saharan migrants' route to Europe. Those migrants, mostly residing in cities like Casablanca, Rabat, and Tangier, with a expose to human rights abuses due to migration restriction procedures assisted by the European Union. Arab Barometer's reveals that 42% of Moroccans consider discrimination against Black individuals a substantial problem, and 40% recognize the discrimination faced by Sub-Saharan migrants, indicating a growing awareness of anti-Black racism in the country.⁶⁵

The report on racial discrimination and anti-Blackness in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) reveals that many citizens in the region differentiate between racial discrimination and anti-Black discrimination. While a majority in five of the nine surveyed countries recognize

⁶⁴ Amin, B. (2020, June 10). **Anti-blackness in the Arab world and the violence that doesn't get a hashtag.** *Scene Arabia*. <https://scenearabia.com/Life/Arab-Anti-Blackness-Racism-and-the-Violence-that-Doesn-t-Get-A-Hashtag> (Amin B. Jahromi. Medical Anthropology, Health Humanities, Critical Care, Education. University of London University of London. United Kingdom.)

⁶⁵ Hiliza, N. (2022). *Racial discrimination and Anti-Blackness in the Middle East and North Africa*. Arab Barometer. Retrieved August 18, 2024, from <https://www.arabbarometer.org>

racial discrimination as a significant issue, only in Sudan and Tunisia margins perceive discrimination against Black individuals as a serious problem. This divergence may be due to linguistic differences, a lack of understanding, or the silence surrounding anti-Black racism in the region. Those findings emphasize the need to address anti-Blackness specifically within discussions of race relations in the MENA region. The debates on race, slavery, and current anti-Blackness in MENA should be clarified, considering local histories and cultural perspectives.

Chapter 3: Findings

3.1- Policy Implementation

After conducting a literature review and implementing a set of policies to protect migrants in Morocco, the research reveals that, despite the implementation of a new migration policy in 2014 to end decades of strict border control and sovereign regulation over migrants' lives, the policy initially appeared to be open to integration and social cohesion, demonstrating independence from the European agenda and serving as a model for the African Union. The findings show some progress in the situation regarding regularization of migrants, treatment of foreigners, and state commitment to migrants' human rights especially against journalists and protestors who connotated hate speech alongside migrants and especially the black sub-Saharan. Civil societies and international organizations began to denounce the violent border enforcements, such as raids and forced displacement, perpetrated by the Sub-Saharanans. The CNDH, a pioneer in advocating for better human rights treatment and access to documents, denounced these abuses in the Ceuta and Melilla enclaves. However, to address this issue, nongovernmental organizations collaborated with the newly established Migrant Affairs Commission to identify border abuses, facilitate the integration of foreigners into public services like schools, and combat violence against migrants in non-border cities. Despite the implementation of the new policy to regulate certain situations, black migrants interviewed concurred that raids and violence persist due to the absence of a legal force to enforce and hold accountable state officials responsible for these abuses, which are also still linked to criminalization. The announcement of the new migration policy, according to some human rights advocates, was a strategic move to bolster diplomatic ties with African countries and address the international embarrassment following the publication of numerous reports denouncing human rights violations against black sub-Saharan Africans. In the

case of Morocco, which enacted a migration policy in 2014 and presented it as a humanitarian initiative, numerous civil societies participated to fortify diplomatic ties with Europe and Africa, and to unveil Morocco's rationale as a migration policy player. However, they observed significant tensions and contradictions when scrutinizing the theoretical aspects of the law and its practical implementation, resulting in a perceived disconnect between the policy's objectives and its impact on the impacted community.

According to interviews with humanitarian officials about what the policy meant, it was an interesting mix of liberal and authoritarian government, as a very authoritarian monarchy regime came up with a liberal migration policy. They also said it was a way to make things easier with African countries over the dispute over the Sahara, which is what pushed for this flexibility in implementation. They might agree, though, that the Ministry of Interior, Migration Affairs, civil society, and other groups are doing a good job of providing legal documents under the new policy and not delaying any papers to speed up the process of becoming a citizen and getting access to some services. In addition to what was already found, the policy doesn't change the fact that black migrants are being forced to leave the borders and other cities in Morocco in order to live in a white society where there aren't any black sub-Saharan Africans. As a result, this forced internal displacement is seen as an illegal racialized method that makes it harder for them to find a place to live, a sense of belonging, and a way to make a living. Moreover, even after the new policy, the IOM led the voluntary return program performed after state violence against black migrants. The findings underscore the complexity of the issue of belonging and exclusion, highlighting the unstable and constantly negotiated nature of this process. State violence against racialized migrants and others underscores the emergence of transnational socialites in the aftermath of such violence and exemplifies the fluctuating grounds of belonging that migrants encounter. It also highlights the complex role of migrant leaders in Morocco, who symbolize the tensions between integration and exclusion within the country's migration policy framework. These leaders, whose activism and deep knowledge were crucial to the policy's development and success, faced systemic barriers that prevented them from advancing within the "humanitarian aid industry," leaving them in financially precarious situations. This exploitation of migrant leaders sometimes led them to exploit their own communities by facilitating connections to smuggling networks, which blurs the lines between "good" and "bad" migrants and challenges the traditional notion of migrant sub alterity.

3.2- Morocco Responsibility to Protect Black Sub-Saharan Africans:

In the case of legal framework to respect, protect, and fulfill the rights of everyone in their territory, including migrants and refugees. This duty stems from many human rights treaties and agreements and makes countries responsible for ensuring the safety and dignity of all people, no matter their migration status. Therefore, in the case of the migrants in the Moroccan territory, paper regulation and freedom of mobility are present, but when analyzing how migrants feel safe and are living with dignity the context change: blacks are still viewed as slave and inferior, they cannot work in many sectors restricting their access to income and a dignity life, when it comes to housing they cannot leave in any white area, for citizens and white foreigners.

3.2.1- Positive and Negative State Obligations:

- **Positive Obligations:** Morocco needs to take action to safeguard migrants and refugees from the harm they face in their daily lives. This means they need to provide access to asylum procedures make sure living conditions are safe and humane, and help people get essential services like healthcare and education that are still a challenging for the state and the refugees.
- **Negative Obligations:** Morocco still has unlawful detention, refoulement (forcing refugees back to a country where they face threats), and discrimination based on nationality or status against black migrants. The international legal framework for refoulement does not hold the state accountable.

3.2.2- Mixed Migration Context:

The context of mixed migration is evident in Morocco's migrant flux, where individuals migrate for various reasons from their home countries. These reasons may include internal armed conflict, as in the case of Sudanese refugees, or the pursuit of better life conditions, such as employment and education, from Ghana and Cameroon, respectively. This type of migration poses a challenge for the state in identifying the type of migration and determining the necessary protections for migrants. Some migrants might not fit as refugees or asylum seekers, but they might still need protection because of what made them leave. Recognizing "state-impacted migrants" - those who had to leave because of another state's actions - can widen the protection scope under international law.

3.2.3- International Cooperation:

Protecting migrants and refugees is a worldwide duty that needs countries to work together. The Global Compact for Safe, Orderly, and Regular Migration stresses shared duties and promises to guard migrant rights. It makes sure countries join forces to tackle migration issues, Morocco had all UN agencies working with local organizations and civil society to ensure protection to refugees; however, the lack of state intervention in means of law enforcement against discrimination and abuses make improvement slow and not protected to migrants.

3.2.4- Challenges in Implementation:

Even with these duties putting protective steps for migrants and refugees into action often runs into roadblocks, including:

- **Political Pushback:** still some politicians and most of the host community refuse to accept black migrants because of race discrimination and fear of threats to security and access to employment.
- **Limited Resources:** Despite Morocco's significant economic improvements and increased access to opportunities for its citizens, many migrants struggle to maintain a decent standard of living due to the country's ongoing development and the scarcity of jobs, water resources, and law enforcement. This can affect state's ability to provide proper support and protection.
- **Legal Gaps:** Uneven use of global laws and rules can cause differences in how countries treat migrants and although Morocco has implemented many new policies to regulate and control the situation of migrants and promote equality it is still in need of a law or amendment to protect black migrants who are the most affected by abusive behavior from host community.

The current Moroccan policy on immigration and asylum, introduced in 2013, is embedded within a broader human rights reform initiated in 2000. This shift is marked by the 2011 Moroccan constitution, which emphasizes human rights for both citizens and foreigners. Moroccan Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) played a critical role in advocating for improved conditions for immigrants and refugees, leading to the Moroccan National Human Rights Council (CNDH) releasing a report in 2013. This report highlighted inhumane treatment of

migrants and urged the government to develop a comprehensive immigration and asylum policy. The King of Morocco endorsed these recommendations, setting the stage for the new policy.

Regionally and internationally, Morocco has been actively involved in migration management discussions, participating in various dialogues and partnerships. These include the Dialogue on Migration in the Western Mediterranean, the Euro-African Dialogue on Migration and Development (Rabat Process), and the Migration and Mobility Partnership with the European Union.

3.2.5- Principles

The Moroccan immigration and asylum policy is guided by three main principles:

- **Humanitarian/Human Rights-Based Approach:** This principle ensures that the rights of immigrants and refugees are respected, particularly regarding protection from inhuman treatment and ensuring their access to basic rights.
- **Comprehensive Approach:** The policy integrates efforts from various stakeholders, including institutional departments, CSOs, and international organizations. It aims to manage migration through regularization, combat irregular migration, and link migration with development to benefit both immigrants and the host country.
- **Shared Responsibility:** This principle emphasizes the collaboration between different national entities and civil society to create an environment that ensures the full enjoyment of rights for migrants and refugees.

3.2.6- Components

The 2013 policy introduced a comprehensive framework addressing the needs of irregular migrants, refugees, and combating human trafficking. Key components include:

- **Exceptional Regularization of Irregular Immigrants:** Morocco launched regularization campaigns in 2014 and 2017, allowing nearly 50,000 irregular immigrants to obtain residence permits. This was a significant step, making Morocco the first country in North Africa and the Arab world to regularize such migrants.
- **Regularization of Refugees Recognized by the UNHCR:** The Moroccan government, following the King's instructions, established a commission to regularize refugees

recognized by the UNHCR. This initiative aligns with Morocco's commitment under the 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol.

- **Upgrading the Legal and Institutional Framework:** Morocco has been working on new laws concerning immigration, asylum, and combating human trafficking. These laws are designed to align with international human rights standards and the Moroccan constitution.
- **National Immigration and Asylum Strategy (SNIA):** Launched in 2014, the SNIA aims to facilitate the integration of immigrants and refugees, ensure equal opportunities, and improve societal perceptions of foreigners. This strategy includes programs in education, healthcare, housing, employment, and more, supported by national and international partners.

These components reflect Morocco's commitment to a humane and comprehensive approach to migration, with a focus on rights, integration, and international cooperation.

The 2011 Moroccan Constitution was a significant step towards promoting equality and democratic governance. However, the lack of explicit mention of race and the challenges in implementing protective measures for marginalized communities highlight the need for further reforms. By enacting comprehensive anti-discrimination laws, promoting public awareness, and supporting marginalized groups, the Moroccan government can foster a more inclusive society that embraces its diverse identity and enhances social cohesion. Recommendation on policy on discrimination Morocco was one of the first Arab countries to ratify the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families in 1993, although its ratification law was only published in the Official Gazette in August 2011. This delay reflected the broader context of Moroccan policy, where the democratic transition and transitional justice process of the late 1990s did not significantly improve the situation of documented migrants.

As the challenges of managing cross-border human movement intensified, there was a growing recognition that sectoral, temporary measures needed to be integrated into a coherent strategy. This strategy would align both internal and external factors, grounded in international frameworks that promote practical measures to reduce violations against migrants and refugees. The 2011 Moroccan constitution, particularly Article 30, underscored this need by guaranteeing

non-nationals the same fundamental freedoms as Moroccan citizens. The National Human Rights Council (CNDH), the Inter-ministerial Unit on Human Rights, and the International Organization for Migration (IOM) worked together to create a guidance document in July 2013 that pushed for a legal and institutional framework that could adapt to the changing nature of migration.

Subsequently, the CNDH published a report calling for a comprehensive public policy on migration that would uphold human rights and be based on international cooperation. This report provided a reference point for the authorities to develop a new perspective on migration that would address the actual needs of migrants and refugees and align with emerging international trends, such as the recommendations of the Global Forum on Migration and Development, which urged countries to integrate migration issues into national policies by 2014.

On December 18, 2014, the Moroccan government approved the National Strategy for Migration and Asylum, making it the first country in the Middle East and North Africa to adopt a strategic plan on migration and asylum. The strategy outlined 27 goals and 81 projects, aiming to manage migration flows comprehensively while respecting human rights, avoiding discrimination, and ensuring equal access to basic services for both citizens and non-citizens.

As part of this strategy, national legislation was aligned with international standards. In 2016, Morocco ratified the International Labor Organization (ILO) Convention No. 143 on Migration in Abusive Conditions and began the process of ratifying ILO Convention No. 97 on Migrant Workers and ILO Convention No. 118 on equal treatment in social security for citizens and non-citizens. These efforts reflected a broader international framework emphasizing responsible, sustainable migration management, as outlined in the Sustainable Development Agenda (2015–2030), which calls for the improvement of legal and institutional migration systems to reduce inequality and facilitate safe and regular migration.

To further modernize the legal and institutional regulation of migration, a committee was formed under the supervision of the Inter-ministerial Unit on Human Rights. This committee's work led to the enactment of legislation to curb irregular migration, such as the 2016 Law 27.14 on human trafficking, which amended the Penal Code to criminalize human trafficking, including the smuggling of migrants. An executive decree issued in 2018 clarified the implementation of this law, setting out the functions and composition of the national committee responsible for coordinating anti-human trafficking efforts.

Regarding asylum, the CNDH advocated for policies to integrate refugees and their families into housing, health, education, training, and employment, while also ensuring respect for the principle of non-refoulement. These recommendations formed the basis for an asylum law drafted in March 2014. Asylum seekers must navigate complex procedures at the UNHCR and the Office for Refugees and Stateless Persons, despite the law's scheduled discussion in December 2015 and subsequent revisions in 2017 and 2018.

Despite a review of the draft law on asylum completed in February 2019, the law remains unpublished, complicating the process for asylum seekers, who must deal with inconsistent operations at the Office for Refugees and Stateless Persons. While the office's role has expanded to assist in determining refugee status, it lacks the necessary resources to function effectively. This situation underscores the need to streamline asylum procedures and unify the regulatory framework, given the involvement of multiple government agencies, including those responsible for the interior, foreign affairs, justice, and human rights. The deteriorating conditions faced by asylum seekers have led the state to initiate extraordinary regularization processes to grant them access to basic services.

The analysis major focus is the securitization of migration, a trend that has gained prominence in recent years. This approach has led to the criminalization of irregular migration and an increased emphasis on border control and security measures. This securitization often comes at the expense of a more human rights-oriented approach to migration management.

The paper presents a nuanced argument regarding the effectiveness of different policy approaches in addressing the human rights situation of migrants and refugees in Morocco. It posits that fluctuations in the human rights conditions are closely tied to the nature of the state's measures. More strategic and participatory approaches, which involve multiple stakeholders and consider long-term implications, tend to be more effective in fulfilling human rights requirements. Conversely, exceptional or ad hoc measures, while potentially offering quick solutions, are often less sustainable and less responsive to the diverse needs of migrant and refugee populations.

A critical point raised in the text is the apparent disconnect between Morocco's rhetorical commitment to human rights in migration and asylum policies and the reality on the ground. This discrepancy is attributed, in part, to the influence of security-driven solutions often dictated by

the European Union. The document suggests that international standards for the treatment of undocumented migrants are poorly applied in practice. This implementation gap is exacerbated by the fact that economic policies often remain unchanged, failing to address the root causes of migration. Furthermore, the text notes that migration policies in countries of origin and transit frequently mirror the European model, which may not always be appropriate for local contexts.

The analysis concludes with a call for the development and reorientation of national migration and asylum policies. It emphasizes the need for these policies to better meet the actual needs of migrants and refugees, particularly considering new challenges emerging in the region. The document strongly advocates for promoting a human rights-oriented approach to managing migration and asylum affairs, suggesting that this should be a priority for policymakers and stakeholders involved in shaping Morocco's migration landscape.

By presenting this comprehensive overview, the text provides valuable insights into the complexities of migration governance in Morocco and the broader region. It highlights the need for a balanced approach that considers security concerns, economic realities, and human rights obligations, while also emphasizing the importance of developing context-specific solutions that can effectively address the multifaceted challenges posed by contemporary migration patterns.

3.3- Social Cohesion and Integration:

3.3.1- Access to Education:

Before the law's implementation, migrant children must register with the UNCHR and obtain permits to attend public schools. Despite the new policy's enthusiastic enrolment of all migrant children in public schools, integrating them into the host community remains challenging. Morocco's new immigration policy, initiated in 2013, emphasized providing access to education for migrant and refugee children, regardless of their legal status. The Ministry of Education issued a circular in October 2013, ensuring that all children could attend public and private schools, following the principle of the best interests of the Child. To support the integration of these children into the education system, the Delegate Ministry in charge of Moroccans Residing Abroad (DMMRA) partnered with the Ministry of Education and various civil society organizations (CSOs). This collaboration focused on enrolling migrant children in regular and

preschool classes. Additionally, the government, through CSOs, offered non-formal education to children who had missed out on schooling, allowing them to re-enter the formal education system or pursue vocational training.

Some migrants who have children in Rabat public schools shared some points about their children's educational experiences when I questioned them about access to education. I focused on the question: how integrated children are, and the feeling of belonging:

The first thing they mentioned that it is difficult for children to communicate with the host community since not all migrants speak French and Arabic, so a step forward being able to integrate is overcoming the language barriers. Speaking Darija is a match point in integration. Largely, parents of students agreed that an important step to the belongingness is the capability to communicate in local dialect to create connections with peers and professors. Another important issue was the cultural and religious differences. Since migrants came from different backgrounds, students must adapt to the local religion and culture, which in many cases is totally different from their realities. Furthermore, students demonstrate a desire to share their own culture and religion with their classmates; however, societal acceptance of certain differences poses challenges to the process of cultural cohesion. Discrimination: Racism immediately surfaced when students were asked about their friends and conversations in school. Parents shared personal accounts of their children experiencing verbal abuse related to their color, origin, and migrant status, not only from their peers but also from teachers, and to a lesser extent, from their own parents. Some expressions shed light on their experiences with racism, including exclusion from activities, lack of fraternization, lack of friends, exclusion from extracurricular activities, and, in certain instances, prohibition from using school bathrooms. They also harassed them, calling them names such as *Azzi/Azzia*, *Mon Ami*, and another offensive Arabic name, *Darija*, which is typically used to refer to a black person. Nonetheless, most students agreed that not all teachers were racist or discriminated against them.

Language barriers to access education: Migrant children in Morocco face significant challenges regarding language, particularly when it comes to the proficiency exams children have to take to enroll in the school one in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and second in Moroccan Colloquial Arabic (Darija). Some children who arrived in Morocco at a young age or were born found it easy to integrate and take the exams in Darija. However, children who arrive in Morocco at an

advanced, age around 12 or older, often struggle with Darija and MSA, which impedes their ability to interact socially and succeed academically. Although French is a widely used language in Morocco, it is less so among children from lower socio-economic backgrounds and is not a focus in public schools. These children frequently speak French or their native language.

The difficulties with MSA are particularly pronounced, as it is the language of instruction in several core subjects like Arabic, geography, history, and philosophy. This language barrier leads to frustration and academic setbacks, with some students expressing feelings of hopelessness and noting that they had to repeat grades due to their struggles with Arabic.

Despite these challenges, some migrant children exhibit strong self-agency and resilience. They recognize the importance of taking responsibility for their own integration into the school environment. For example, some students proactively seek to interact with their Moroccan classmates and believe in the importance of revising and practicing the language to overcome barriers. This proactive approach indicates their awareness of their role in the integration process, demonstrating their adaptability and determination to succeed despite the obstacles they face.

Morocco has made efforts to integrate migrants and refugees into vocational training programs and the labor market. Regardless of their legal status, they have access to vocational training through the National Mutual Aid (Entraide Nationale) and various Civil Society Organization (CSO) projects. During the 2014-2015 period, 460 migrants, half of whom were women, received training in fields such as hospitality, cuisine, IT, construction, child education, and entrepreneurship. These programs were offered in cities including Rabat, Casablanca, Fes, Sefrou, and Oujda, aiming to equip participants with skills for job opportunities and support the creation of cooperatives and income-generating activities.

3.3.2- Health

When asking migrants about health services, they agreed that Morocco has made significant strides in providing healthcare access to migrants and refugees, regardless of their legal status. Through the National Immigration and Asylum Strategy (SNIA), migrants and refugees can access free preventive and curative care at primary healthcare centers and emergency care in hospitals.

Morocco's healthcare system is organized under a broader system known as Mandatory Health Insurance (AMO), which is divided into two sectors: the CNSS for private sector workers and La CNOPS for public sector employees. Additionally, RAMED is a public insurance program designed for people living in poverty, which theoretically includes migrants. However, in practice, accessing healthcare under RAMED can be challenging for migrants due to legal and administrative complications.

The 2003 Law n°02-03 guarantees fundamental rights such as healthcare, education, and the right to work for asylum seekers and refugees. However, the process for obtaining asylum or refugee status falls under the jurisdiction of the UNHCR, not the Moroccan government, which complicates the implementation of these rights. Consequently, migrants often face barriers to accessing healthcare services through RAMED

Additionally, regularized immigrants and refugees who are economically disadvantaged can access a medical insurance scheme similar to that offered to poor Moroccan citizens under the National Insurance Medical System. According to the Ministry of Health, it also includes migrants and refugees in national outreach and awareness campaigns for diseases like tuberculosis, HIV/AIDS, and sexually transmitted diseases, benefiting 2,650 individuals in 2017-2018.

Special attention is given to women migrants and refugees, particularly pregnant women, who receive comprehensive pre-natal and post-natal care. Notably, migrants and refugees were also included in Morocco's national COVID-19 vaccination campaign, ensuring equal access to vaccines alongside Moroccan citizens. However, migrants have access to medical services, the issue is that expensive treatments and laboratory exams are not available in public health so financially it is impossible to provide hospitals, clinics and laboratories.

3.3.4- Employment:

When it comes to job access, it's important to note that it's the second reason, after internal armed conflict, for migrants to arrive in Morocco. They arrive with the expectation of better life conditions and opportunities, whether they choose to stay in Morocco or travel to Europe as their final destination.

After interviews and focus group discussion not only with refugees but also with humanitarian staffs we can observe that access to jobs in the context of Morocco is very scarce for migrants, especially for the black ones, depending on the area migrants live, jobs offered for them are very restrictive for example in Fes and Marrakesh most of them work in the agriculture field and in Casablanca and Rabat most work in call centers; nevertheless, independently of the location one thing is very explicit they cannot work directly with the people as waiters, sales, or any public appearance especially in Rabat and Casablanca the main reason is the priority for nationals and color of the skin where Moroccan society has to maintain the a white vitrine to show and black color is associated with criminalization, mafias and somehow may make people uncomfortable in their presence – it how they describe their experience leaving in Morocco. Therefore, local NGOs collaborate with UN agencies, such as FOO, to encourage migrants to work in local cooperatives that produce hand-made products like oils, soaps, honey, and other traditional items produced by the Amazigh and host communities. This type of work serves as a means of generating income and integrating migrants into the host community. Regarding access to job the opportunities are limited and even the wage paid for refugees are not enough to maintain a quality life and cover expenses in addition, the abuse from managers and business owners is recurrent since migrants do not have any work law protection being implemented – it is only present in the paper, but when then complain about their rights the answer is very clear you can just leave the job. Call centers and construction have become the primary employment sectors for migrants in Morocco, particularly for those from sub-Saharan Africa. These sectors provide essential opportunities for migrants, especially those fluent in French, which is a key requirement for most call center jobs.

In 2013, it was estimated that about 10,000 Senegalese nationals were employed in Moroccan call centers, representing over 20% of the industry's workforce. This is notable given that foreigners constitute less than 1% of Morocco's overall labor force, underscoring the importance of call centers in providing jobs for sub-Saharan migrants.

Over the past 15 years, the call center industry in Morocco has seen significant growth, with nearly 500 centers employing more than 45,000 people. This expansion has been driven by the rising demand for French-speaking workers, leading to targeted recruitment of migrants from

countries like Senegal, Cameroon, Congo, and Côte d'Ivoire. Some call centers even go as far as to recruit directly from Senegal and covers new employees' travel expenses.

Despite the growth, employment conditions for migrants in call centers vary considerably. Senegalese nationals often enjoy the same employment rights as Moroccans, including formal work contracts. In contrast, other sub-Saharan migrants frequently face informal employment with little job security. Employment practices range from having no contracts to offering "semi-legal" contracts that may not fully comply with labor laws, leaving workers uncertain about their rights and benefits, including health insurance and social security.

The high-pressure environment of call centers can be stressful, with workers often required to meet stringent sales targets under close supervision. Despite these challenges, many migrants view these jobs as temporary means to earn money and support their families back home. Specifically, Senegalese migrants often move to Morocco for the higher wages offered in call centers compared to those in their home country.

This situation exemplifies labor market segmentation, as migrants frequently find themselves confined to jobs that locals may shun despite possessing comparable qualifications. Fluency in French allows many sub-Saharan migrants to fill a specific niche in the job market, even though the work may offer limited career advancement and come with difficult working conditions.

3.3.5- Profile of sub-Saharan African:

According to an interview with the Director of the Gadem Association, the proportion of sub-Saharan migrants living legally in Morocco has been progressively increasing, though it remains lower compared to European migrants. We conducted the last census in 2013 to estimate the number of sub-Saharan Africans in Morocco and found that they made up 18% of the total foreign resident population. However, she asserted that this number has since increased due to the internal armed conflict in their neighboring countries. However, due to global and regional contexts, as well as Morocco's geographical position, migration will continue to be a significant issue for the country in the coming decades, with implications for security, demographics, society, culture, and religion.

In terms of their origins, Senegalese nationals represent the largest group among sub-Saharan migrants, Morocco, Ivorians, Guineans, Congolese, and Malians (15%). Other significant

nationalities among irregular migrants include Nigerians, Cameroonians, Sudanese and Bissau-Guineans.

Educationally and professionally, students form the dominant group among sub-Saharan migrants has likely increased due to Morocco's evolving African policies and regional political changes. In addition to students, many migrants work as small-scale traders, particularly in import-export businesses, food, and African crafts. Others are involved in communication, media, consulting, and telecommunications services. A notable group of political refugees from countries like the Democratic Republic of Congo, Nigeria, Central African Republic, and Côte d'Ivoire also resides in Morocco. Recently, Morocco granted political refugee status to over 600 individuals from various nationalities.

3.3.6- Housing:

I had the opportunity to visit Quartier Takadoum, a popular area for irregular migrants in Rabat, as I conducted most of my interviews there. Takadoum has emerged as a crucial location for sub-Saharan migrants, who utilize the neighborhood as a temporary residence during their transit in Morocco. This is due not only to the neighborhood's affordable rent, but also to the fact that many black migrants face discrimination in other areas due to their skin color, a situation that does not affect white migrants like Syrians and Yamens. Compared to other quarters in Rabat, which is a very expensive city, Takadoum boasts low rent, established migrant communities, and a limited police presence. The built environment has not only limited access to certain areas of the city but has also deprived these marginalized groups of basic resources. Consequently, Takadoum suffers from frequent violence and poor living conditions where residents are at constant risk. This makes Takadoum a crucial example of a form of control, where it is a clear form of exclusion toward migrants from political life by manipulating space and preventing essential resources. Therefore, this type of neglect leads to violence and deprivation that affect the migrants' well-being and social cohesion with host community. However, due to the poor condition and space control of the quarter migrants have formed community organizations and established complex social networks that provide support and, in some cases, even engage in political advocacy. They usually organize themselves based on their nationalities, so it is very common to find the same nationality leaving in the same compound.

The factors that have pushed Takadoum to the margins of the capital also contribute to its substandard living conditions and leaving the neighborhood with only basic resources.

Takadoum boasts a primary school, a middle school, a health center, two police stations, a main market street, the souk, as well as convenience stores, pharmacies, and cyber cafés.

In addition, with any barely state intervention, Takadoum has become an ideal location for clandestine activities, residents have unregulated housing, and sellers trade without any permission from the state. Takadoum's scarce police existence makes it a charming destination for irregular migrants. During my visit I observed that police officers only patrolled the bounds of the souq with no interference when needed, ignoring many crimes in the area as if there were no Moroccans so they would not intervene if the violence was between them. This lackluster policing both benefits and harms the neighborhood's residents, some migrants assumed that officers avoid the area as much as possible out of fear. While this allows irregular migrants, residents, and individuals involved in illegal trade, the neighborhood is characterized by violent crime, theft, and sexual assault (that was reported by woman migrants). Residents, especially women, expressed their fear and they avoided leaving home at night to avoid any harm or abuse against them.

In a conversation with migrants when they are waiting for their class at FOO, they described Takadoum as the poorest area in Rabat - referred as a "ghetto." And she strongly advised me not to visit the quarter again alone or at night. My Moroccan friends, all of whom lived in wealthier parts of the city, also warned me not to go there alone. After conducting numerous interviews, I was able to confirm the extent of violence and crimes in this quarter. Many migrants in the area reported experiencing knifepoint robberies, and one of them showed me a deep scar on his hand from the attack. They clarified that such crimes are common and do not discriminate based on migrant status, gender, or race; both perpetrators and victims could be Moroccan or immigrants. : Furthermore, they all concur that poverty and limited access to basic necessities are the primary causes of crime in Takadoum. Although migrants state that most crimes against them are committed by Moroccans, authorities tend to view the violence as a "community problem" that occurs among migrants.

3.3.7- Racism

During the interview with the black Sub-Saharan migrants, I observed the complexities and challenges in discussing racism in Morocco. The migrants clearly stated their treatment and the differences in behavior based on their skin color. Prior to the study, I believed that religion could be a main factor in exclusion in Moroccan society; however, racism against blacks is the most dominant factor in exclusion.

The Moroccan state, through its official media, tends to deny or minimize the existence of racism, often reframing it as isolated incidents from citizens toward black migrants; however, humanitarian officials and migrants agree that the state tends to focus on and highlight any crime committed by the blacks' migrants increasing hate speech and abuse against blacks. The state's emphasis on nationalism and unity often leads to a portrayal of criticism or acknowledgment of racism as a threat to national cohesion, further complicating open discussions on the subject. The Moroccan state's use of nationalist language plays a crucial role in shaping public perceptions of race and racism according to the new mindset – they are an African country, not only Arab but when it came to treatment they forget, and cases of hate speech and criminalization is very recurrent in Morocco. By promoting a narrative that emphasizes Morocco's modernity, the state structures an adaptation of "Moroccan-ness" that habitually excludes or marginalizes non-Arab, non-Francophone, and particularly Sub-Saharan African identities. This exclusion is reflected in the public discourse, where racism is often denied or justified through various instruments, including blaming the victims or backing the story to position Moroccans as victims.

The reactions to campaigns like "My Name is Not Azzi" illustrate the tension between the state narrative and grassroots efforts to address racism. While these campaigns aimed to raise awareness about racism and promote tolerance, they were met with significant resistance, both from the state and the public. This resistance often manifests a denial of the problem or a statement that such issues are not present in Moroccan society, reflecting an unwillingness to confront racial issues.

In addition to the questionnaire, migrants mentioned revealing significant variation in how Moroccans perceived them. The response associated blacks with a bad smell, slavery, inferiority, and the association of race with something negative. This speech sheds light on Morocco's

limited discourse on race and challenges the process of addressing racism, given the lack of a clear understanding of the concept. Moreover, it is very common to hear Moroccans refer to a black as Mon Ami, Azzi, Aswad and other pejorative connotations to express exclusion and denote them as black people.

However, we can conclude from interviews and focus group discussions that denying racism at the highest levels of government makes enacting change very difficult. Without public acknowledgment and debate, efforts to address racism are likely to be suppressed.

In conclusion, the text provides a detailed examination of the socio discourse environment in Morocco concerning race and racism. The state's denial and the public's limited understanding of these concepts pose significant barriers to addressing racial issues in the country. For any meaningful change to occur, there needs to be a shift in both state rhetoric and public discourse, acknowledging racism as a real and systemic problem that requires concerted efforts to address.

3.4- Social Transformation:

The theory helps to understand the complex mobility situation in places like Morocco. Research indicates that Morocco is experiencing societal changes because of economic shifts, an increase in urban population, the influx of migrants, and the intervention of UN agencies and other organizations to support and mitigate the state's efforts to protect migrants. Migration drives social change and is also a result of it. For example, when Moroccans come back from Europe, they often bring new ideas about politics and what they want from life, and this affects how local people think about government and social change showing how moving to a new place can kick off bigger changes in society. On the other hand, the necessity of the government adapting to migrants with different backgrounds is a key point in social transformation. The adaptation of the authoritarian regime creates more liberal laws to mitigate the migration issue and integrate those minorities into society. The arrival of migrants underscores the role of cultural change in transforming society, as they bring their unique language, religion, culture, and traditions from their home countries, which they then integrate into the host community. This can shift what people value and see as normal, which has an impact on how society sticks together and how people see themselves.

3.5- Challenges and Critiques

While social transformation theory offers a useful framework, it faces some issues:

- **Complexity of Change:** since racism and blackness is still a difficult topic to discuss in Moroccan society, it shows a high level of complexity to change and accept them.
- **Resistance to Change:** Resistance to Change: The host community clearly demonstrates the challenges of adapting to the new reality and black migration. Despite numerous NGOs conducting community-based projects aimed at integrating black migrants and the host community, they have observed a division based on color and nationality. This divide extends not only between Moroccans and migrants, but also between migrants themselves, often based on country of origin and religion. Consequently, resistance to change persists in both communities.

Indeed, life in transit is often extremely challenging, marked by a lack of protection, instability, and experiences of exclusion and state repression. However, it can also be a period of significant change, innovation, cooperation, and even solidarity—representing a form of social transformation. Transmigrants actively shape their migratory environments, making marginal spaces into refuges and turning stages of their journey into livable places. This process generates a flow of movement, creating a cosmopolitan network connecting sub-Saharan Africa, the Maghreb, and Europe. Such networks are supported by political mobilizations and connections with national and international activist organizations. The study highlighted how legal immigration is increasingly influencing Moroccan society and economy, suggesting that it will continue to shape the country's future. Despite the growing importance of these issues, there are still doubts surrounding the Moroccan labor market, the role of different institutional actors, and the varying categories of foreigners in Morocco, which complicate the understanding of these dynamics. Additionally, foreigners in Morocco, through their interactions and expectations, play a crucial role in redefining the country's image and national identity. These changes show that more people are moving to and from Morocco. This makes it harder for the country to adapt to the constant changes in society and forces us to think about working together with other countries in the region.

Chapter 4: Recommendation

Morocco's new migration policy is far from being a model of human rights protection, but it emerged at a time when Europe's handling of illegal migrants was facing increasing criticism. This policy attempts to humanize the management of sub-Saharan migrants, highlighting aspects of immigration that have been overshadowed by security concerns. The policy also strengthens South-South cooperation, rooted in historical friendships between Morocco and several African states, such as Gabon, Senegal, and Mali. This cooperation encourages cultural, political, and economic exchanges between these countries, facilitated by the French-speaking majority in sub-Saharan Africa and the existing communities in Morocco.

One notable aspect of this cooperation is the role of Moroccan higher education, which has become increasingly attractive to young sub-Saharan Africans. Despite limited rigorous studies on the subject, it's clear that Morocco's strategic positioning in Africa, supported by economic and diplomatic agreements, plays a significant role. Each year, hundreds of sub-Saharan students migrate to Morocco for education, reflecting a global trend of increasing student mobility.

This trend benefits Moroccan higher education institutions, which offer a diverse range of programs that cater Africa's development needs. This not only enhances Morocco's influence in Africa but also potentially cultivates future leaders in various sectors. The integration of these students is crucial for both Morocco and the students themselves, as their educational choices align with the broader strategic interests of states, amidst ongoing competition in economic and social development.

Equality Before the Law: The constitution states that "all Moroccan citizens shall be equal before the law" (Article 5). However, the lack of explicit mention of race creates ambiguity in legal protections against racial discrimination. This can hinder efforts to promote social cohesion, particularly for marginalized groups such as black Africans and Amazigh communities.

Challenges in Implementation: While the constitution enshrines principles of equality, the absence of specific legal frameworks addressing racial discrimination may lead to continued societal inequalities. Discrimination against black migrants and refugees, as well as Amazigh communities, can persist without explicit legal recognition and protections.

Cultural Identity and Integration: The recognition of Amazigh as an official language is a positive step towards acknowledging Morocco's diverse cultural identity. However, the integration of Black migrants and refugees remains a challenge, as systemic racism and social exclusion can undermine national unity and cohesion.

Government Responsibilities to Secure Protection and Solidarity:

To enhance social cohesion and protect marginalized groups, the Moroccan government should take the following actions:

Enact Comprehensive Anti-Discrimination Laws: The government needs to establish clear legal protections against racial discrimination. This includes amending existing laws to explicitly prohibit discrimination based on race, ethnicity, and nationality.

Promote Public Awareness and Education: Implementing public awareness campaigns to educate citizens about diversity and the importance of inclusion can help combat stereotypes and foster understanding among different communities.

Support Marginalized Communities: Develop targeted programs to support the integration of Black migrants and refugees, including access to education, healthcare, and employment opportunities. This can help address the barriers they face in Moroccan society.

Strengthen Civil Society Engagement: Empower civil society organizations that advocate for the rights of marginalized groups. Supporting these organizations can enhance their capacity to address discrimination and promote social justice.

Implement International Human Rights Standards: Align domestic laws with international human rights treaties to which Morocco is a party. This includes ensuring that constitutional rights are interpreted in accordance with international standards.

Conclusion:

The research aimed to analyze the impact of the migration policy, after 10 years of implementation, on the social cohesion and integration of black migrants and the state's responsibility to protect those minorities. The central questions for the research were the following:

- 1- What are the key challenges faced by black migrants and refugees in Morocco?
- 2- How do governmental agencies, community initiatives, and civil society organizations contribute to the integration and social cohesion of black migrants and refugees in Morocco to decrease anti-blackness trends?
- 3- What has been the impact of the new immigration policy implemented in Morocco after 2014 on the integration and social cohesion of black migrants and refugees and how is the state protecting black migrants?

I conducted interviews in Morocco with black migrants, lawyers, and humanitarian actors to understand how the adoption of a migration policy aids them in confronting racism and achieving integration. Morocco's journey toward developing a comprehensive migration and asylum policy is emblematic of the broader social transformations taking place within the country. The evolution of these policies, particularly since the 2011 Constitution, highlights Morocco's dual commitment to human rights and national security. While the country has made significant strides, such as ratifying key international conventions and introducing the National Strategy for Migration and Asylum in 2014, the practical implementation of these policies reveals persistent challenges that need to be addressed.

Morocco's migration landscape is characterized by the increasing presence of sub-Saharan African migrants, who bring with them diverse cultural, economic, and political influences. This influx has catalyzed significant changes within Moroccan society, challenging traditional norms and pushing the country to adapt to a more multicultural reality.

However, the process of social transformation is not without its difficulties, a pressing issue is the persistence of racism and social exclusion, particularly against black sub-Saharan migrants. Despite Morocco's official narratives of unity and modernity, racism remains a significant barrier to the integration of these communities. This is further compounded by the Moroccan state's reluctance to fully acknowledge and address racial discrimination, which is often dominated by nationalist rhetoric and a focus on security concerns. The denial of racism, both at the state and societal levels, perpetuates the marginalization of black migrants and undermines efforts to create a truly inclusive society.

Moreover, the challenges faced by migrants in Morocco are multifaceted as inconsistent asylum procedures, inadequate resources, and the ongoing criminalization of irregular migration

highlight the need for further reforms. The employment landscape for migrants is also problematic, with many facing exploitation, job insecurity, and discrimination; moreover, these issues are impaired by societal preconceptions that often refer migrants to specific jobs, reinforcing cycles of marginalization and exclusion. Housing conditions for migrants, particularly in impoverished neighborhoods like Quartier Takadoum in Rabat, reveal significant spatial and social exclusion, with poor living conditions and a lack of state intervention creating environments of violence and deprivation.

Education and healthcare, while areas where Morocco has made commendable efforts to include migrants, also present significant challenges. The right to education for all children, regardless of legal status, and access to healthcare services, including during the COVID-19 pandemic, are positive steps. However, language barriers, cultural differences, and discrimination often impede the effective integration of migrant children into the education system, limiting their opportunities for social mobility and contributing to broader societal divisions.

To traverse these difficulties and achieve true social cohesion, Morocco must take several actions. We conducted interviews in Morocco with black migrants, lawyers, and humanitarian actors to understand how the adoption of a migration policy aids them in confronting racism and achieving integration. Additionally, there must be a concerted effort to align domestic laws with international human rights standards, ensuring that constitutional rights are interpreted in a manner consistent with these global norms.

Public awareness and education campaigns are also crucial for combating stereotypes and fostering understanding among different communities. These initiatives can help to break down the racism that contributes to the marginalization of migrants, promoting a more inclusive and cohesive society. Supporting marginalized communities through targeted programs that provide access to education, healthcare, and employment opportunities is essential for addressing the barriers they face in Moroccan society.

Furthermore, the role of civil society organizations in advocating for the rights of marginalized groups should be strengthened. These organizations are critical in addressing discrimination and promoting social justice, and their ability to effect change must be enhanced through greater government support and engagement. Morocco's efforts to promote cooperation, particularly with African nations, also offer a valuable framework for managing these societal shifts. By

encouraging cultural, political, and economic exchanges, Morocco can strengthen its ties with the African continent and foster a more inclusive environment for migrants.

In summary, while Morocco has made important strides in developing policies that promote the integration of migrants, significant barriers remain. Addressing these challenges requires a holistic approach that prioritizes human dignity, reduces inequalities, and promotes social cohesion. By taking concrete steps to strengthen its legal and institutional frameworks, enhance public awareness, and support marginalized communities, Morocco can better fulfill its constitutional promise of equality and democratic governance.

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Appendices:

Annex 1:

1- Interview Guide for Migrants

A case study on the impact on the new policy migration strategy implemented by the government in 2014 impact black sub-Saharan African in the process of social cohesion and integration in the country and with the host community. As part of a study conducted by me, a student in the Arab Master's for Democracy and Human Rights Program, at the Faculty of Law and Political Science of the Université Saint Joseph, Lebanon, I would like to invite you to participate in my research. The interview will take approximately 2 hours I do not expect any consequences correlated with your participation; however, you can stop the interview or withdraw from it at any time. This consent form is essential to ensure that you comprehend the purpose of your participation and to your agreement to do this interview.

- the interview will be recorded, and a transcript will be produced, but names will not be mentioned in any part of research.
- the transcript will be analyzed by me only.
- the actual recording will be destroyed.
- All the content of your interview will be used in my thesis which may be published

Participants Signature

Thank you for being a part of my study!!

Questionnaire:

Demographic Data:

What is your age?

What is your sex?

What is your marital status?

What is your nationality?

What is your migratory status?

In what year did you enter Morocco?

How did you enter Morocco?

How many years have you been living in Morocco?

Do you have permanent residence or permission document?

After the new migration policy implemented in 2014, is it easier to access documentation and regularization?

Since you have been in Morocco, were there any time you did not have a valid residence permission? Did you were detained by authorities because lack of proper documentation?

What is your intended country of final destination?

Discrimination:

Would you describe yourself as being a member of a group that is discriminated in Morocco?

Regarding what? Color, race, nationality, religion, gender?

Do you know any organization in Morocco that support people migrants?

Is there any law in Morocco that forbids discriminations based on color, ethnic, religion and its acts? What about the new policy on migration implemented in 2024, could you observe any improvement and actions taken against discrimination?

Have you seen or heard about campaigns against black discrimination that includes host community?

When out in public, how often do you worry about being exposed to verbal abuse, physical attack and/or offensive gesture?

Do you avoid certain spaces as public transport, beach, shops or cafes?

Did you suffered any type of harassment or abuse because your migration status, color, or nationality?

If yes, did you reported for the authorities?

If yes, the police handled your complaint?

If yes, they take any action?

Is there organization supporting on this matter?

Did you witness a case of discrimination against black migrants?

In any time, were you prevented from expressing or carrying out religious customs and practices?

I want to ask you about the host community are there aware about the black discrimination trendy in Morocco. In your opinion, is there any improvement after the migration policy regarding awareness about discrimination and racism?

Economic integration:

Do you have a job?

Is it an informal or formal sector?

How many hours you work per day?

Are you exposed to any abuse and racism at work?

What is your household's income including assistance? Can it cover basic expenses (rent, food, transportation)?

Are you sending money to your country of origin? Do you have any dependents there?

If you are not working, what are the main reasons? Are you looking for a job?

On average, what is your monthly expenditure?

Do you have access to opportunities regarding employment and training?

If you have a degree, could you practice here?

Education:

Since you arrived in Morocco, have you participated in education programs, trainings, language courses or classes? Who is offering?

How many years of schooling you have completed? What is your high education level in your country? what is your formation?

Do your children have access to education in Morocco? If yes, is it a private or public institution? Were they exposed to racism against their color? Are they integrated with other children? If not, what are the main reason for not attending school?

What is your opinion about the quality of education offered to black migrants in Morocco as a refugee or asylum seeker?

Do you or your children attend schools or vocational schools in Morocco?

Linguistic Integration:

How do you consider your language skills in speaking Derija and French?

Since your arrival, have you enrolled in a language course?

Communication has many components as reading, listening, writing, and speaking. Please describe your skills in each component.

Do you face any barriers because of language? What measures do you take to resolve these issues?

how do you communicate with other migrants with different mother tongue? If applicable

Livelihood Integration:

Where do you live here in Morocco?

Is there crime and violence the area you live?

Are there any services in the area you live?

Do you have access to health services? If not, what is the main reason for no health assistance?

Is your house near to any HPC or hospital?

In case of medical issue where do you and your children go for medical assistance?

How have you obtained information about health services for migrants?

Did you were exposed to any discrimination when trying to access the services?

Do you have access to food? What type of food is included in your diet?

do you have problems with your accommodation? Do you the following items in your house?

Tap water, indoor toilet, shower, connection to public sewerage, and electricity.

Does your accommodation and neighborhood have any problem?

Could you easily access housing in your community? Do you face any discrimination to rent in a specific area?

Do you socialize with the local community and neighbors?

Do you have access to justice and law enforcement in your community?

Do you access to drinking water?

How physically safe do you feel during day?

How safe do you feel walking alone at night in your neighborhood?

How worried are you about be a victim or crime in your neighborhood?

Is there any police station and police car rounding the area?

What are the services being provided in your neighborhood? Schools, PHC, health services, shops, safe space for children.

What is the monthly average rent?

How many rooms are in the house? How many people live with you? Do you have any rent assistance?

Migration experience:

How did you enter Morocco?

What were the reasons for coming to Morocco?

Have you applied for family reunification?

Is Morocco your final destination? If not, where?

What is the status of your application for resettlement?

Does new migration policy facilitated your entry? And for status determination?

Do you receive any financial support as finding a job, cash assistance, language classes, finding places to stay, school for children? Which organizations did you approach?

Do you feel able to stay and live in Morocco? What makes you feel that way?

Are the people in your local area of the same ethnic group as you?

Do you have any plan to stay in case of non-resettlement or do you prefer to leave?

Do you come alone?

How did the new migration policy facilitate the experience? Is there any difference comparing with the previous policies?

Social integration:

How emotionally attached do you feel to Morocco?

Do you feel you belong in the society?

How often do you interact with other migrants and citizens? For example in schools, public services, neighborhood?

How often do you feel isolated?

How often do you go out with citizens for a meeting, a coffee, a dinner?

Do you participate in any group or association? Could be at work, sports, religious.

How often are you invited to participate in social activities within the host community?

How do you feel about your support network?

Do you feel part of the community?

How often have you experienced tensions or conflicts with host community?

How often have you experienced been treated less respected than others? Unfairly in public places?

Have you been criticized by your accent?

How often you feel harassed or threatened?

Had people make negative comments about your skin color?

In your opinion, how host community view migrants on society?

What could be a major issue for a successful integration?

Could the following measures improve social cohesion and integration? Integration programs as language courses, values and norms shared at society, enrolment of children at school, ensuring same rights as citizens, and strong measures to tackle racism.

Is the government doing enough to foster the integration of migrants into society? In which way black migrants are presented in the media?

Is the migration policy affected in the social cohesion within the host community?

2- Interview Guide for Experts:

Dear participant A case study on the impact on the new policy migration strategy implemented by the government in 2014 impact black sub-Saharan African in the process of social cohesion and integration in the country and with the host community. Therefore, I would like to invite you to participate in my study by conducting an interview that may last for one hour. In this interview, some questions related to the experience will be asked and if at any time you want to resume interview, feel free. I would like to note that that the interview will be recorded, but the records will be destroyed once the transcription is done, and it will only be used for study purposes. With genuine credits and appreciation for your involvement.

Questionnaire for Experts

Name:

NGO:

Position:

Why Moroccan government need to make a migration management system procedure integrated?

What was the motivation for the new strategy policy of migration?

Could you explain more about the policy and its implementation?

What is the role of your organization to support black migrants? What action are being taking to raise awareness and tackle racism against blacks?

What are the services provided to black migrants in Morocco?

Is there any discrimination law?

Are authorities effective in case of complaint about racism?

Is the new policy being monitored to guarantee migrants are receiving the services?

What is the profile of refugees?

How are their status determined?

How are the new policy protecting migrants, especially for Black Sub-Saharan Africans?

How Moroccan society views black migrants?

Do your report many racism incidents from migrants?

In your option, is the Moroccan society adapting for the new social transformation?

Is there any awareness campaign against black racism?

Has host community and migrants a resistance to change and adapt for the new society?

How the new strategy guarantee and claim migrants' rights, especially for black minorities?

NB: the follow up questions changed based on the interview response since the interviews were conducted as an open conversation.

Annex 2:

Experts Interviewed:

Name	Position
Aminata Pagni	Specialist in migration monitoring, policies, and rights at GADEM Association
Saiid Azelif	Legal expert at GADEM Association
Meryem Benhida	Communication and media specialist on racism speech at GADEM association
Elkbir Lemseguem	Lawyer specialized in migration
Hamza Abia	Social assistant at FOO
Nouridenne Dandoun	Chef of pole psychosocial support for black migrants at FOO
Hasnae El Karfa	Protection specialist at CNDH

Annex 3

Nationalities interviewed:

Nationality	Number
Cameroon	5
Sudan	5
Guinea	5
Senegal	5
Nigeria	5
Ghana	5
Syrian	2
Yemen	3

Annex 3:

Local NGOs working on social cohesion and integration and migrants' protection:

GADEM Association: antiracist advocacy group in support of foreigners and migrants.

FOO: Foundation Orient-Occident

CNDH: Conseil National des Droits de L'homme

UN agencies:

UNHCR: UN Refugee Agency

IOM: International Organization for Migration