

# The Role of Family Networks and Migration Culture in the Continuation of Moroccan Emigration: A Gender Perspective

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*About 1.5 million people of Moroccan origin live as legal migrants in the countries of the European Union. For several decades, emigration has affected various provinces of Morocco. In some regions, the process started more than 40 years ago; in others the migration experience is much more recent. This study seeks to portray from a micro perspective the ongoing migration processes from Morocco, in particular to Western Europe. Emphasis is placed on the effect of family networks and migration culture on the intention to emigrate of Moroccan men and women without international migration experience. We focus especially on gender differences since the position and the roles played by men and women both within the family and within Moroccan society are very different. This gender distinction reveals remarkable differences between men and women in the intention to emigrate, and in its explanation. For men, emigration intentions are stronger in regions having a migration culture, while at the same time the presence of family networks abroad has a negative but small effect on the emigration intention. For women, however, the existence of a migration culture has no effect on the intention to leave the country, whereas family networks abroad tend to increase this intention. Interestingly, women with a paid job and who judge their financial situation negatively have the highest emigration intentions. This may indicate that, among Moroccan women, the more modernised, especially, intend to migrate. The more conservative Moroccan women are not likely to express an intention to migrate on their own. Rather, they behave in a manner that suits the husband or family. This behaviour may, or may not, include an emigration decision.*

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## Introduction

During the 1960s and early 1970s, several European countries such as France, Belgium and the Netherlands recruited tens of thousands of unskilled Moroccan workers in order to solve national labour shortages. This migration flow was in line with the Moroccan authorities' strategy of coping with high unemployment and benefiting from migrants' remittances, which were greatly needed to reduce the balance of payments deficit. Foreign labour recruitment stopped around 1973, but this did not end the migration flows from Morocco (or similar countries) to Europe. Labour migration was followed by family migration, first in the form of family reunion, later through family formation (especially by marriage).

In the migrant receiving countries, restrictive policies have abandoned all but family ties as a legitimate reason for immigration. Therefore, the role of family networks should certainly not be disregarded when studying international migration. However, from the perspective of the migrant sending countries (i.e. Morocco), the intention to migrate abroad is also influenced by factors other than family ties.

In recent years it is increasingly being recognised that the role of men and women is rather different in family migration and migration networks. That is why we have to take the gender dimension into account. The aim of this article is therefore to study the differential roles of family networks and migration culture for migration intentions in a gender context. In the following section we discuss theories that address the continuation of international migration flows, in particular the social capital theory and the theory of cumulative causation. Next, we develop a number of hypotheses based on the amalgamation of both theories within a gender perspective. These hypotheses form the basis for an empirical analysis of migration intentions of Moroccan men and women to European countries. After a short description of the source data, as well as the statistical model used to test the hypotheses, the results will be presented. A section with main findings and discussion concludes this article.

## Accounts of the Maintenance of International Migration

Several theories address the continuation of international migration flows. Two predominant theories are the *social capital theory* and the *theory of cumulative causation* (Massey *et al.* 1998).

The social capital theory assigns importance to the functioning of interpersonal social networks between migrants in receiving countries and relatives in sending countries (Hugo 1981; Massey *et al.* 1998; Sycip and Fawcett 1988; Taylor 1986). The focus of the theory is on micro-level behavioural factors that generate and perpetuate international migration. The principal argument of this theory is that an existing migration flow will continue because the costs and risks for potential new migrants are lower if they maintain social relations with relatives in a country of destination. Contact between potential migrants in migrant-sending countries and household members

living abroad (so-called shadow members) leads to increased intentions of the former to emigrate as well.

The theory of cumulative causation argues that over time international migration tends to sustain itself. Causation is cumulative in that each act of migration alters the social context within which subsequent migration decisions are taken. A kind of *culture of migration* develops as a result of the expansion of networks. The main characteristic of such a culture is that migration is an accepted and desirable method for achieving social and economic mobility, a higher income, or an improved lifestyle, which cannot be sustained exclusively by dependence on local resources. In addition, over time foreign labour migration becomes integrated into the structure of values and expectations of families and communities. As a result, young people contemplating entry into the labour force do not consider other options: they expect to migrate internationally as part of the normal course of events. In other words, at community level, migration becomes deeply embedded in the repertoire of people's behaviour, and the values associated with migration become part of the community's values (Massey *et al.* 1998).

An important new development in international (transnational) migration studies is the acknowledgement of the role of gender (Boyle 2002; Chant 1992; Chant and Radcliffe 1992; De Jong 2000; Ellis *et al.* 1996; Fincher 1993). The gender dimension is highly relevant for Moroccan migration to Europe as well. Originally, in the 1960s and early 1970s, migration from Morocco to Europe was triggered by work reasons, which, in that period, applied predominantly to men. Women entered in this migration process in a dependent position. They followed their husbands for family reunification during the 1970s and 1980s. More recently, in the process of family formation, many second-generation male migrants seek a spouse in the country of origin. This puts female migrants again in the dependent position of 'trailing spouse'.

Various empirical studies have shown that the determinants of migration and migration intentions for men and women tend to differ. While men generally have the major income role, women are expected to contribute to family and parental support (De Jong 2000). Although for Moroccan women this is (still) the prevailing situation in the migration process, it is by no means the only situation observed in reality. A small but significant group of women sees migration as a means to escape from an environment where they have as few rights as dependent children (Salih 2001). These women often migrate alone, and hope to find opportunities in the receiving country that they would never have had when staying in Morocco. For these women migration is a step towards modernisation.

The role of women in the international migration process has also increased as a result of structural changes in the economies of receiving countries, where service and care-oriented sectors have shown higher growth rates in recent decades than the traditional male-dominated industrial sectors that attracted labour migrants in the 1960s and 1970s. Many female migrants end up as domestic workers in dual-earner households in the Western world. This certainly applies to Moroccan women seeking work in Europe (Salih 2001). Furthermore, the share of women in the migration flows from Morocco to Europe has grown substantially. For instance in 1995, women amounted to 46 per cent of the annual inflow of Moroccan immigrants to the Netherlands,

whereas in 2001 this share increased to 53 per cent. Gender is therefore a central dimension in explaining international migration intentions of Moroccans.

Considering gender in theoretical accounts of international migration maintenance involves more than adding a sex variable to explanatory models of international migration intentions (Ellis *et al.* 1996). However, due to the different socio-cultural settings and the different roles and positions of women in developing societies, the picture becomes much more diversified when adding the gender dimension. It is therefore very difficult to make generalisations about the role of gender in the migration processes (Chant and Radcliffe 1992). An overall theoretical framework is still lacking, and much work remains to be done in this field (Boyle 2002; Fincher 1993). Nevertheless, from the gender literature when applied to the Moroccan case we can deduce at least three different motivations for female emigration: (1) the traditional motivation as trailing spouse; (2) to work in the city or abroad to earn money for the family; and (3) a way out from a life with a traditional dependent status, and away from obedience to male kin. Unfortunately there are no detailed figures about the relative size of flows triggered by these motives. As will be seen below, the survey on which our analysis is based offers only little additional direct evidence. In spite of this, it is plausible to assume that, for Moroccan women who migrate to Europe, the trailing wife motive, which has a history that goes back to the 1970s, is still the dominant type. The labour motive is more recent, and although smaller in size, is becoming more important. The escape motive is the most recent, and probably the smallest in size.

### **Developing Hypotheses About Gender and Emigration Intentions**

Migration theories are assumed to be gender-neutral (Chant and Radcliffe 1992), and despite the fact that gender is now recognised as an important dimension in migration research, existing theories do not reflect this increased awareness. This is even more the case for the explanation of migration intentions. In a gender-neutral setting, the social capital theory and/or the theory of cumulative causation may explain migration intentions of potential migrants. We have seen that the migration behaviour of women may be triggered by at least three different motives: trailing wife, work, and escape. Below, we will see to what extent the social capital theory and the theory of cumulative causation cover these motives, and whether we need additional explanations.

According to the social capital theory, the presence of relatives abroad should have a positive influence on the intention to emigrate of non-migrants. In this theory, when applied to the Moroccan setting, family reunion and formation are the most important motives. For women in this role the existence of a family network may be even more important than for men. Hence, the trailing spouse is an integral part of this theory. Nevertheless, the labour motive for international migration has also become more important for Moroccan women, and similar to male labour migration, family networks abroad in this context may be important as well. Women in this role are often caught in multiple demands (Salih 2001). On the one hand, they are modernised in the sense that they are allowed to earn money, and sometimes live separately from their families. On the other hand, they are still highly dependent on, and obedient to their

families. For instance, if their parents in Morocco or elsewhere need support or care they are expected to quit their job and return to their family (Salih 2001). The third migration motive for women, to escape from traditionalism, will most probably not be directed by family networks. On the contrary, women seeking independence will try to break away from their family ties.

Trailing spouses also fit naturally into the theory of cumulative causation. It is the natural role for women in this culture to be obedient to their husband and follow him abroad. Moreover, if daughters are allowed to work away from their families, the migration culture may dictate, as for their brothers, that they seek work abroad rather than in Moroccan cities. So, the theory of cumulative causation describes the first two migration motives of Moroccan women as a variant of male motives. The escape motive for migration fits less easily in this theory. On the one hand, women may be more aware of migration opportunities in an environment where it is 'normal' to move abroad; on the other hand, a migration culture dictates that women conform to another migration role, that of the trailing wife or working daughter. Summing up, in both theories the trailing wife is the complement of the male worker, and if they are triggered by work reasons women behave in much the same way as men. The escape motive cannot be explained by these theories. In order to do so, we need another explanatory mechanism. For this, we hypothesise that women who see migration as a way out of prescribed gender roles are more emancipated than others.

Regarding the social network theory and the theory of cumulative causation, the following two hypotheses may be postulated:

Hypothesis 1: *The presence of a family network abroad has a positive effect on the migration intentions of men and women who have not yet migrated.*

Hypothesis 2: *The existence of a migration culture in the region has a positive effect on migration intentions of men and women.*

The question, however, is which effect is stronger and are there differences in this respect between men and women? Faist (1997) concluded that the embedding of networks in migration systems is more successful in explaining the direction than the volume of international migration. This argument applies more strongly to men than to women, since for women in their (still dominant) role as trailing spouse the existence of a husband abroad is a necessary condition to migrate. It may apply also to those women whose motives are to work abroad, but this is still a smaller group. Based on this reasoning, we postulate the following dual hypothesis, which is different for men and women:

Hypothesis 3a: *The existence of a migration culture has a stronger effect on migration intentions for men than the presence of family networks abroad.*

Hypothesis 3b: *For women who migrate in their role as trailing wife, the family network is more important than the existence of a migration culture.*

Hypothesis 3b cannot be tested directly, since we cannot distinguish women according to migration motive. Instead, we test it on *all* women. Under the assumption that the trailing wife motive is the dominant one, we expect that this result will be significant.

We acknowledge that for the smaller groups of women with other motives, this hypothesis is not necessarily true (labour motive) or may even have the opposite sign (escape motive).

The next hypothesis deals with the effect of emancipation or modernisation on women's migration intentions. From the discussion in the previous section we may conclude that there are positive effects of the level of emancipation on migration intentions of women. This will be the case for women with a labour motive, and especially for women with an escape motive. Therefore, we postulate the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 4: *Women who have a higher level of emancipation are more inclined to emigrate.*

## Data and Method

### *Sampling and Data Collection*

The data used in the present study were collected in 1997 on behalf of the Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute/Eurostat survey project on migration from the southern and eastern Mediterranean region and from Sub-Saharan Africa to the European Union (Schoorl *et al.* 2000). Morocco, as a major migrant sending country, was included in the project. In all countries in the project, regionally representative rather than nationally representative sample designs were made.

Morocco consists of 16 regions and 49 provinces. While suitable sampling frames were absent, information from previous migration studies and expert knowledge led to the selection of five provinces in which international migration had either long been important or, by contrast, had recently become important. In addition to differences in levels of economic development, these provinces differ with respect to the starting period of the migration process and the orientation of emigrants to countries of destination. In each of the five provinces both rural and urban survey locations were selected.

In the north of the country, bordering the Mediterranean Sea, the province of Nador (in the Oriental region) was selected because of the high and established level of emigration, in particular to the Netherlands and Germany. In the south, bordering the Atlantic Ocean and south of Agadir, Tiznit (part of the Souss-Massa-Draâ region) was selected, as it is the main place for established emigration of Moroccans to France. More recently, international migration has also become important in the provinces of Settat (part of the region of Chaouia-Ourdigha, near the Atlantic Coast and Casablanca), Khénifra (part of the region of Meknes-Tafilalt, in the mountainous and dry central-southern region) and Larache (part of the Tangier-Tetouan region, northern Atlantic coast, south of Tangiers).

The survey selected migrant households, defined as households in which at least one member has moved from the country of origin. The design also included a comparison group of non-migrant households. In principle, all persons in the households above the age of 18 were eligible to be interviewed as well as members currently living abroad

**Table 1.** Persons interviewed in the Moroccan survey by province

	Current migrant	Non-migrant	Return migrant	Total
Khénifra	312	423	54	789
Larache	219	511	50	780
Nador	304	256	49	609
Settat	333	387	46	766
Tiznit	253	336	55	644
Total	1,421	1,913	254	3,588

(current migrants) who were perceived to be part of the household. The head of the household provided information for the household as a whole. Proxy persons were allowed to answer questions for absent members.

A total of 1,952 households were successfully interviewed. Table 1 shows the distribution of the persons interviewed by province. The fieldwork was carried out in the period June–October 1997. For more details, see Schoorl *et al.* (2000).

### Variables

The dependent variable in our analyses is the intention to migrate abroad. Household members aged 18 or older, without international migration experience (non-migrants), were asked ‘Do you intend to emigrate?’ (0 = no; 1 = yes).

The variable ‘family network abroad’ is the operationalisation of the effect of the social network theory. It has two possible outcomes (0 = no; yes = 1) and was constructed by means of the variable ‘parents, brothers, sisters or children living abroad’ (0 = no; 1 = yes) and the variable ‘living in a household with at least one current migrant abroad’ (0 = no; 1 = yes). The category ‘no family network’ applies to households with no family abroad and no current migrant(s) abroad.

The operationalisation of the theory of cumulative causation into a variable ‘migration culture’ was more difficult to establish. In this study the variable ‘migration history of a region’ is used as a proxy for migration culture. This means that this variable has a value 1 for non-migrants living in the provinces with an established migration history (Nador and Tiznit) and a value 0 for non-migrants living in the provinces with only recent migration experience (Larache, Settat and Khénifra). Table 2 shows the differences in this respect between the regions mentioned.

The variables ‘education’ and ‘having work or not’ indicate to some extent the level of emancipation of women. Highly educated women, and participation in the workforce, may correlate with the level of emancipation of Moroccan women. Table 3 summarises these variables. The level of education has been transformed into three dichotomous variables with ‘no education’ as the reference.

Finally, a number of other variables, which show up in empirical studies of migration intentions and behaviour (e.g. Bilsborrow *et al.* 1997; van der Erf and Heering 2002), are used as controls. These variables are also listed in Table 3.

**Table 2.** Emigration from Morocco by region's migration history and sex (%)

	Migration history					
	Established (Nador and Tiznit)			Recent (Larache, Settat and Khénifra)		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
No emigration	49	68	54	69	91	76
One emigration	49	32	44	31	9	24
Two emigrations	2	0	2	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	853	377	1,230	1,583	736	2,319

Note: Percentages are based on weighted figures.

**Table 3.** Individual and household variables used in the analyses of the effects of family networks and migration culture on emigration intentions

<b>Emancipation variables</b>	
Attained level of education	Primary compared to none (0 = no; 1 = yes) Secondary compared to none (0 = no; 1 = yes) Higher compared to none (0 = no; 1 = yes)
Work	Currently working (0 = no; 1 = yes)
<b>Other individual variables</b>	
Age	Age in years (18, 19, ...)
Agesquare	Square of age in years
(Ever) married with children	Compared to single (0 = no; 1 = yes)
(Ever) married without children	Compared to single (0 = no; 1 = yes)
<b>Household variables</b>	
Rural	Location is rural (0 = no; 1 = yes)
Financial situation	Sufficient or more than sufficient (0 = no; 1 = yes)
Relative deprivation	Worse compared to same (0 = no; 1 = yes) Better compared to same (0 = no; 1 = yes)

Regarding the individual variables, age has been included as well as the square of age. The latter variable was added because of the assumed non-linear relationship between age and the intention to emigrate, i.e. an increasing intention with rising age in the younger life stages, then saturation, followed by a decreasing level in older ages. Marital status and the presence of children were put together, resulting in two dichotomous variables: (ever) married with children and (ever) married without children, with 'single' as reference.

Regarding the household variables in the analyses, the variable 'rural' was included, indicating socio-economic differences between urban and rural residence. Furthermore, two indicators for the financial status of a household were added. The 'current



financial situation' relates to the question whether the head of the household judged this situation as sufficient/more than sufficient (1) or insufficient/barely sufficient (0). The concept of relative deprivation derives from Taylor and Stark (1991) and amounts to the financial situation of households as compared to neighbouring households. Two dichotomous variables were created: more relatively deprived and less relatively deprived than other households.

*Model*

The hypotheses formulated above were tested by means of logistic regression analysis. In principle, logistic regression uses ordinary least-squares regression on logit-transformed values of dependent and independent variables. The aim is to estimate the effect of independent variables on the dependent variable by means of the (log of the) odds-ratio (or relative risk). This ratio represents the probability that the event occurs divided by the complementary probability that the event does not occur. In this article the odds-ratio relates to the probability that a non-migrant intends to emigrate compared to the probability that he or she does not intend to emigrate. In its multiplicative form all coefficients are centred around one. A value that is statistically significant higher than one indicates an increase of the intention to emigrate after a one-unit change of the independent variable: a value below one means a negative effect of the independent variable. The models that we present below have the following form:

$$\frac{p}{1-p} = \alpha \cdot \beta^1 x^1 \cdot \beta^2 x^2 \cdot \beta^3 x^3 \cdot \beta^4 x^4 \dots \beta^K x^K$$

where  $p$  is the probability of having an emigration intention, the  $x^k$  are explanatory variables ( $k = 1, \dots, K$ ), and  $\beta^k$  are coefficients to be estimated. The  $\alpha$  is a scaling parameter.

According to the hypotheses stated, the expected signs for the coefficients are shown in Table 4.

**Results**

*Statistical Description of the Variables in the Analyses*

Descriptive statistics of all variables used in the logistic regression analyses are given in Table 5. It appears that about one in four Moroccan men without international

**Table 4.** Expected signs for the coefficients (denoted as  $\beta$ s)

Hypothesis	Expected sign of $\beta$
1	$\beta$ (family network) > 1
2	$\beta$ (migration culture) > 1
3a	$\beta$ (migration culture) > $\beta$ (family network) for men
3b	$\beta$ (family network) > $\beta$ (migration culture) for women
4	$\beta$ (higher education) > 1 and $\beta$ (work) > 1 for women

**Table 5.** Descriptive statistics of variables used in the analyses

	Men	Women	Total
Number of respondents	1,020	893	1,913
<i>Dependent variable (%)</i>			
Intention to emigrate	27.4	5.6	17.2
<i>Independent variables</i>			
Family network abroad is present (%)	41.5	60.9	50.5
Migration culture exists (%)	31.9	29.9	30.9
<i>Emancipation variables</i>			
Attained level of education (%)			
None	63.6	77.8	70.3
Primary	21.1	14.7	18.1
Secondary	11.8	6.2	9.1
Higher	3.5	1.3	2.5
Paid work (%)	59.7	5.6	34.4
<i>Individual control variables</i>			
Mean age	37.4	34.9	36.3
Marital status/children (%)			
Married with children	52.0	61.6	56.5
Married without children	3.0	5.4	4.1
Single (without children)	45.0	33.0	39.4
<i>Household control variables</i>			
Location is rural (%)	34.9	25.6	30.6
Relative deprivation (%)			
Better	8.0	8.8	8.4
Same	72.0	77.7	74.6
Worse	20.0	13.4	16.9
Financial situation (%)			
More than sufficient	3.8	6.0	4.9
Sufficient	42.5	53.2	47.5
Barely sufficient	35.4	27.3	31.6
Insufficient	18.3	13.4	16.0

migration experience intends to emigrate against only one in twenty Moroccan women. Nevertheless, a large proportion of the female respondents has one or more relatives abroad. For men, this proportion is substantially lower. As regards the existence of a migration culture, there are no differences between men and women.

Most respondents have no formally-recognised education at all. Only about one-third of the men, and about one-quarter of the women, have some form of education, which is mostly only at primary level. The contrast between men and women is striking when it comes to paid work. About 60 per cent of the men have paid work, against only six

per cent of the women. Furthermore, men are generally somewhat older, more frequently single, better educated and more often living in rural areas than women. They are also more pessimistic about their financial position, both in absolute and relative terms.

*Results of the Statistical Analysis*

Table 6 contains the results of two logistic regression models, one for men and one for women, in which these hypotheses were tested simultaneously. The first hypothesis is rejected for men, and confirmed for women. For men, the presence of relatives abroad

**Table 6.** Effects of independent and control variables on the probability that Moroccan non-migrants intend to emigrate

	Men		Women	
<i>Independent variables</i>				
Family network abroad is present	0.73	*	1.86	*
Migration culture exists	1.73	***	1.48	ns
<i>Emancipation variables</i>				
Attained level of education:				
Primary	0.60	**	1.27	ns
Secondary	0.67	ns	0.75	ns
Higher	0.77	ns	2.14	ns
(No education = reference group)				
Paid work	0.85	ns	3.98	***
<i>Individual control variables</i>				
Age	1.21	***	1.13	ns
Square of age	1.00	***	1.00	ns
Marital status/children:				
Married with children	1.10	ns	0.65	ns
Married without children	1.38	ns	0.54	ns
(Single without children = reference group)				
<i>Household control variables</i>				
Location is rural	2.13	***	1.33	ns
Relative deprivation:				
Better than other households	1.16	ns	0.24	ns
Worse than other households	2.08	***	0.74	ns
(Same = reference group)				
Financial situation:				
Sufficient or more than sufficient	0.76	ns	0.37	***
<i>Model constant</i>	0.06	***	0.02	*
<i>Goodness of fit</i>				
Nagelkerke R square	0.30		0.16	
<i>N</i>	1,020		893	

Note: \*\*\* p < 0.01; \*\* p < 0.05; \* p < 0.10; ns = not significant.

decreases rather than increases the intention to emigrate. Interestingly, the second hypothesis is confirmed for men, but not for women: the existence of a migration culture promotes the migration intentions for men, but not for women. These results support for men the conclusion of Faist (1997), stating that family networks have no effect on the size of the flows, and that migration culture is the main push factor. Consequently, for men hypothesis 3a is confirmed: the coefficient of migration culture is larger than the family network coefficient.<sup>1</sup> For women, hypothesis 3b states that family networks are dominant, not migration culture. This is also confirmed by the results. In fact, migration culture is not even significant.

The fourth hypothesis applies to women only. The level of modernisation is indicated by two variables: educational level, and having paid work or not. From the descriptive analysis it was already clear that very few women have paid work, and that women have on average less education than men. The logistic regression analysis reveals that education has no effect on the intention to migrate for women, but that there is a large and positive effect of having paid work. Thus, there is at best only partial support for hypothesis 4: work matters but education does not. We also tried a variant of this specification, by including the interaction between work and education, so that we could test the assumption that the combination of some form of education *and* work increases the migration intention, but this did not improve our results. This result, that of being economically active without education, fits the 'domestic worker' image of female migrants.

These results reveal an interesting difference with men. Whereas for men having paid work is no incentive to move abroad, for women it is a highly important factor. At the same time, having enjoyed some form of education actually *reduces* the propensity for men to emigrate. This conclusion is confirmed by the results of another study (van der Erf 2003), which showed that more education results in a shift from external to internal migration.

The other individual and household variables show results broadly in line with previous research, but there are again some significant differences between men and women. First, for men the effect of age has an inverted U-shape, but there is no relationship for women. Combining age with age-squared for men results in an increasing intention up to age 25.8 years, and a decreasing intention afterwards. Marital status, and having children or not, are not important for both sexes. Furthermore, the intention to emigrate for male Moroccan non-migrants is higher in rural areas than in urban areas and is also higher for those who feel themselves to be financially worse off than others. Women who perceive their financial situation as sufficient have less intention to emigrate, and for them there is no difference in migration intention between rural and urban locations.

## Conclusions and Discussion

The results of this study support the analytical gender-specific approach of migration intentions among Moroccan non-migrants. For men, it is migration culture that

matters; for women, family networks are more important. Thus, this research provides some support for the applicability of the theory of cumulative causation for men, and social capital theory for women. It is also clear that for women the situation is more diversified, reflecting diversity of migration motives. From the literature at least three migration types, based on underlying motives may be postulated: the trailing wife, female labour migration, and escape migration. Our analysis presented some support that, for women, being economically active is a strong stimulus for migration intentions. Although we did not have explicit evidence about the motivations for these intentions, it is obvious to assume that women who are economically active in Morocco tend to migrate (at least partially) for work reasons. At the same time, most of them have hardly any education, and surely will end up in the bottom segments of the labour market in receiving countries, such as domestic work.

Male Moroccan non-migrants have greater intention to emigrate than female Moroccan non-migrants. The well-known variables that have an effect on male migration intentions are age (positive up to age 26), the degree of urbanisation of the area in which they live (higher in rural areas), and relative deprivation (higher if more deprived). Furthermore, men are sensitive to the existence of a migration culture in a region. Within this culture, migration is considered to be the only way to improve one's standard of living, that is, those who stay are losers, those who leave are winners. From this perspective, it is somewhat puzzling that the presence of relatives abroad reduces instead of stimulates this attitude of men. However, this phenomenon may be due to the transnational character of migration. The literature on transnational migration suggests that migration is not always a permanent move, but a temporary sojourn in the life-course of migrants (Basch *et al.* 1994; Portes 1999; Smith 1998, 1999). As a consequence, it may be family strategy to limit the number of family members abroad in order to keep a foothold in the country of origin. Therefore, men in families which already have males living and working abroad would be less prone to migrate themselves.

Women are much more tied to family relations: in their traditional role as being subordinate to their husbands, or as dependent daughters to their parents. Even in their relatively new role as foreign workers, these family ties are binding. For most of these females, their goal is not self-fulfilment, or being a winner, but to earn money for their family. This is further corroborated by the result of the financial situation variable. If the household perceives its current financial situation as sufficient or more than sufficient, there is little need for wanting to move abroad.

For some of the working women emigration may also be an attempt to escape from traditional society, but we found only partial support for the emancipation hypothesis. If educational level had been important as well, there would have been more support for it. For men, higher education reduces the intention to move abroad. Instead, they tend to choose urban destinations in Morocco.

Regarding the validity of the results, two important critical notes have to be made. The first relates to the concept of migration intention. Although migration intention may be seen as a predictor for migration behaviour (Ajzen 1988), at the end of the day the majority of intentions are not followed by actual migration (Schoorl *et al.* 2000).

At the same time, actual migrants may also be people without previous migration intentions. In the Moroccan case, presumably the first statement refers especially to men and the latter to women. This is corroborated by the fact that, despite the large difference observed in this study in migration intentions between men and women, the sex ratio of Moroccan immigrants into Europe is much more balanced. For instance, in the Netherlands, there are at present more Moroccan female immigrants than male, and their share has been rising in recent years. Hence, further research should indicate to what extent variables affecting migration intention resemble variables affecting actual migration behaviour.

Within this context, the reason why only a few female Moroccan non-migrants express the intention to emigrate calls for more attention. The different role of women, compared to men, in the Moroccan society apparently makes them rather reticent when it comes to intending to migrate abroad. Women, in their role as trailing wife, are not expected to have, and certainly not to express, separate opinions from their husband. The implicit assumption behind a two-step migration model of the form 'intention→behaviour', is that everyone has his or her own preferences that are expressed freely. Actual behaviour in this model is the result of trying to realise these preferences within the boundaries of economic and other constraints. In the traditional Moroccan setting (and in other developing societies) this framework may not be totally adequate to explain female migration intentions and behaviour. This phenomenon may also explain the relatively low statistical significance of the family network variable for the emigration intentions of women. More research should clarify whether this is specific for the Moroccan case, or applies more generally.

The second note concerns the operationalisation of the concept of migration culture. In this study, the migration history of a region served as a proxy for the existence of a migration culture. However, the challenge for future research is to define and measure migration culture more precisely, preferably against the background of the transnational character of migration. Migrants have multiple social and cultural ties: their family and other ties in the sending or other countries, and a social-cultural network in the receiving country. As a result, they may participate in a binational setting, which may lead to return moves back to their home country, or moves to other countries, either temporarily or permanently.

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### **Note**

- [1] Note that we can directly compare the size of the coefficient to assess the relative weights of the two variables, since both are measured on the same scale of 0–1.

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