Sub-Saharan Migrant Integration in Morocco: Oujda as a Case study

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European Economic Watch: Special Issue / November 2020

Édition électronique
URL: https://revues.imist.ma/index.php/rpe/article/view/23801

ISSN : 2509-0399
Date de mise en ligne : 26 novembre 2020
Pagination : 85-102
Reçu le : 23 juin 2020
Évalué le : 16 juillet 2020
Accepté le : 25 novembre 2020

Référence électronique
URL: https://revues.imist.ma/index.php/rpe/article/view/23801
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Abstract

This paper aims at investigating the extent to which sub-Saharan migrants’ integration can be established in the Moroccan context in general and in Oujda in particular. Moving beyond being a country of emigration to becoming a host country to migrants from different affiliations, and due to the increasing border control imposed by European Union, Morocco has become a hosting country mainly for sub-Saharan migrants who seek to refresh their social conditions. Hence, the emergence of economic and political ties between Morocco and some sub-Saharan countries becomes the core issue for politicians and economists. However, the total integration of these migrants must be at the head of political decisions because without it regional integration can never be fulfilled. In this regards, this article proposes to analyze sub-Saharan migrants’ integration in Oujda city by examining the extent to which they can reach a total integration in the Moroccan context. As a method of analysis, this article adopts unstructured interviews with 40 sub-Saharan migrants who come to Oujda either to study or to work.

Keywords: Integration, Sub-Saharan Migrants, Regional Integration, Oujda, Morocco

JEL classification: F22, R23

Résumé

Cette étude vise à déterminer dans quelle mesure l'intégration des migrants subsahariens peut être établie dans le contexte marocain en général et à Oujda en particulier. Au-delà du fait d'être un pays d'émigration, le Maroc est devenu un pays d'accueil pour des migrants de différentes affiliations, et en raison du contrôle croissant des frontières imposé par l'Union européenne, le Maroc est devenu un pays d'accueil principalement pour les migrants subsahariens qui cherchent à améliorer leurs conditions. Ainsi, l'émergence de liens économiques et politiques entre le Maroc et certains pays subsahariens devient la question centrale pour les politiciens et les économistes. Cependant, l'intégration totale de ces migrants doit être en tête des décisions politiques car sans elle, l'intégration régionale ne peut jamais se réaliser. A cet égard, cet article propose d'analyser l'intégration des migrants subsahariens dans la ville d'Oujda en examinant dans quelle mesure ils peuvent atteindre une intégration totale dans le contexte marocain. En ce qui concerne la méthode d'analyse, cet article adopte des interviews non structurés avec 40 migrants subsahariens qui viennent à Oujda soit pour étudier ou pour travailler.

Mots-clés: Intégration, Migrants subsahariens, Intégration régionale, Oujda, Maroc
Introduction

Morocco has long been thought to be a country of emigration. However, due to the increasing border control imposed by the European Union, Morocco has become a hosting country mainly for sub-Saharan migrants who seek to refresh their social conditions. Thus, sub-Saharan migration contributes to the transformation of Morocco into an immigration country.

What led to these changes in the situation of Morocco is the fact that there are historical and cultural relations that have linked Morocco with West-Africa which have contributed to the regional integration of Moroccan kingdom within West-Africa (Sambe, 2010). Moreover, the construction of a road that links Senegal with Morocco since 2002 has contributed in a way to the increasing circulation of goods and people between West-Africa and Morocco (Wippel, 2004).

However, Morocco becomes both a place to settle in and a bridge to use to reach the European dream (Lahlou 2003; de Haas 2005). This double-sided approach to Morocco, which sub-Saharan migrants adopt, entails a great awareness of the heterogeneity of those migrants’ experiences. While sub-Saharan migrant vendors seek to better their social situations, migrant students seek either to continue their studies at the university or apply for the job market. For this reason, once dealing with Sub-Saharan migration, researchers must bear in mind the controversial issue of heterogeneity while studying migrants’ experiences. In spite of the changes in the Moroccan policy, that took place in 2013 and which seeks to implement new measures to better the integration of migrants in the Moroccan society, theory is still different from practice.

Thus, this paper aims at investigating the extent to which sub-Saharan integration can be established in the Moroccan context in general and in Oujda in particular. Moving beyond being a country of emigration to becoming a host country to migrants from different affiliations, Morocco has become a hosting country mainly for sub-Saharan migrants. Hence, the emergence of economic and political ties between Morocco and some sub-Saharan countries becomes the core issue for politicians and economists. However, the integration of migrants must be at the head of political decisions because without it regional integration can never be fulfilled. In this regards, this article proposes to analyze sub-Saharan migrants’ integration in Oujda city which is situated in the oriental region of the northeastern Morocco near the borders with Algeria. To examine the extent to which these migrants can reach a total
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integration in the Moroccan context, this article adopts unstructured interviews with 40 sub-Saharan migrants who come to Oujda either to study or to work.

1. Literature Review

Recently, sub-Saharan migration has become an interest for many researchers from different disciplines due to the interdisciplinarity of the term migration. In a study entitled “Sub-Saharan migrants in Fes: A presence on the margins of an evolving city”, M. Berriane and M. Aderghal (2009) have found that sub-Saharan migrants in Fez suffer from marginalization especially when it comes to work opportunities. They affirmed that “relations between Sub-Saharan and Moroccan migrants in Fes have yet to move beyond the mercantile dimension of commerce, the offer of accommodation or a few precarious and poorly-paid jobs” (p.18).

In another study titled “Integration mechanisms of sub-Saharan migrants in Morocco: social encounters, insertion in urban space, economic integration”, Johara Berriane (2013) researches the condition of sub-Saharan migrants in Rabat and Fez between 2006 and 2011 to investigate the mechanisms of integration that these migrants go through. What have been found is that “Africans are often experiencing racism and are facing rejection from Moroccans. The reactions of locals towards sub-Saharan reflect on the one hand a socially fragmented and segregationist Moroccan society and on the other hand the existence of an assigned place for black Africans in the collective memory” (p.9).

In the same vein, Iman Bendra (2017) investigated sub-Saharan migrants’ experiences after the implementation of the new Moroccan migration policy. Her titled article “Sub-Saharan migrants’ life circumstances under the new Moroccan migration policy” demonstrates the similarities between documented and undocumented sub-Saharan migrants who face the same lack of integration mechanisms such as health services, access to the job market, housing and education.

In a study entitled “Analysing the Gendered Insecurities of Migration: A Case Study of Female sub-Saharan African Migrants in Morocco”, Jane Freedman( 2012) focuses on a gendered reading of African migration in Morocco to work on the insecurities experienced by migrant women. He has found that European immigration and co-operation policies with countries on the other side of the Mediterranean have intensified the gendered insecurity for female migrants coming from Africa and attempting to reach Europe. That is to say, in comparison to African male migrants, female ones face a lot of restriction on the basis of policies implemented in Morocco.
In another study that draws attention to the subject of African female migrants in Morocco, Inka Stock’s (2011) “Gender and the Dynamics of Mobility: Reflections on African Migrant Mothers and "Transit Migration" in Morocco” describes how motherhood changes the conditions of African migrant women in that it poses new gendered constraints upon their agency. Motherhood endorses their poverty and restricts their movement outside the private place as children need a lot of care once they are given birth. This study focuses on how the act of becoming a mother adds another restriction to migrant women.

While Inka Stock notes “motherhood” as an experience of restriction, LaDarien Gillette (2014) concentrates on African females’ sexual trafficking. In her influential research “Human Trafficking in Morocco: A Focus on Sub-Saharan Migrant Women”, which was based on conducting interviews with female migrants and migrant NGOs, she has found that sexual exploitation is highly remarkable in Morocco, yet it is not publicly admitted by migrants due to the lack of a clear legal penalty that condemns the victimizers.

In the same vein, I can refer to Ines Keygnaert et al (2014) “Sexual Violence and Sub-Saharan Migrants in Morocco: a Community-based Participatory Assessment using Respondent Driven Sampling” which is a research done by several scholars. In this article, applying community-based participatory research, they have found that sub-Saharan migrants face several types of violence. In their words, “seventy-nine respondents were personally victimized, 41 were forced to witness how relatives or co-migrants were victimized and 18 others knew of peer victimization.” (p. 1)

All these afore-mentioned researches have targeted the issue of migration in terms of the integration process that migrants are exposed to mainly in Rabat and Fez or they focus on a gendered reading to this type of migration. However, my research will take into consideration another hosting city which is Oujda to see whether the mechanisms of integration provided by local associations have contributed to decreasing the dislocation of sub-Saharan migrants or not without forgetting to interview some sub-Saharan migrants, regardless of their gender to analyze the extent to which Oujda city becomes a home city for them.

2. Conceptual Framework

2.1. Migration

The controversial concept of migration denies a fully-fledged definition to it as it is an interdisciplinary concept that changes its meaning from one context to another. However, a
simple literal definition to it is that it is “shifting of people or an individual or group of
individuals from one cultural area to another, which may be permanent or temporary”. So, for
many, migration is a simple dislocation from one land to a relocation in another land. However, it is necessary to note that the concept of migration is changing simultaneously and is becoming complicated with the passage of time. A well adequate definition that goes hand in hand with what the paper will discuss is that of Baker (1978). He states that migration “is the act of moving from one spatial unit to another”. The notion of spatiality is really evocative in the case of migration. As space involves cultures, identities and social practices, the shift does not only concern places but also spatial entities which both affect and get affected by migrants. Migration is also a spatial mobility that “implies multiple options: [it can be] directional and multiple, temporary or long-term, voluntary or forced” (De Christiane Harzig, 2009,p.2). This definition stresses the differences of migration patterns and migrants’ experiences which means that we should never homogenize a given migrant phenomena for heterogeneity is its prevalent feature.

2.2. Integration

The term migration is a chaotic concept according to Robisnon (1998,p.118). It is understood differently from one person to another suggesting that it must be “individualized, contested and contextual” (Ibid). Some individual experiences and the context in which they operate must be taken into consideration while studying migrants’ integration. While looking at this concept from a migratory paradigm, it defined as

The process by which migrants become accepted into society, both as individuals and as groups…. [Integration] refers to a two-way process of adaptation by migrants and host societies…[and implies] consideration of the rights and obligations of migrants and host societies, of access to different kinds of services and the labour market, and of identification and respect for a core set of values that bind migrants and host communities in a common purpose (IOM, 2011).

This definition stresses that to speak about migrants’ integration, we need to focus both on migrants’ responses to the integration mechanisms the host country provides as well the latter’s procedures to achieve migrants’ inclusion in society. In this study we focus on the different services that are provided to migrants in Oujda city.

3. Setting of the research

This research is based on three months (March, April, May 2019) field-work in Oujda city. It comprises interviews with sub-saharan migrants who either come to Oujda to pursue their
higher education or those who seek job opportunities. The sample involved 40 interviewees who are documented ones. Oujda city is chosen based on being an important entry point from Maghnia in Algeria for irregular migrants whose status has been regularized later. The city is situated in the oriental region of the northeastern Morocco near the borders with Algeria. There are many institutions that take care of migrants’ arrival in Oujda such as MS2 (Maroc-solidarité medico sociale), OIM and Wafae association. These associations have been known for their readiness to host migrants’ needs especially as far as basic needs (food, clothes, and medicine).

4. Methodology

4.1 Objective of the Study

This study aims at empirically investigating the extent to which Oujda as a host city provides integration mechanisms to sub-Saharan migrants.

4.2 Research Hypothesis and Questions

This research hypothesizes that in spite of the integration process that associations in Oujda provide to sub-Saharan migrants, a total integration is still questionable.

To validate or invalidate the research hypothesis, this paper seeks to answer these questions:

- What is the reality of the situation facing sub-Saharan migrants in Oujda?
- To what extent can sub-Saharan migrants be integrated in Oujda?
- What are the mechanisms of inclusion that sub-Saharan migrants are exposed to to facilitate their integration?

4.3. Population Sample

This research targets sub-Saharan students who are regular migrants who come to pursue their higher education in Oujda, regular migrant vendors in old Medina as well as some of the previously irregular migrants who shared with me their experience. The number of population is 40 participants. Thus, 40 interviews were conducted during the process of making this research. They were basically done in French, then translated into English.
4.3.1. Sample of Interviewees.

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4.4. Methods of Gathering Data and Analysis

4.4.1. Research Method: Unstructured Interviews

This research is qualitative as it relies on 40 interviews. The type of interviews conducted is unstructured ones. We believe that they enable researchers to have an open-ended
conversation with the participants without necessarily following the order of questions, which will surely enrich the research results (Bernard HR, 2011). Legard et al., (2003) states that an unstructured interview is a “conversation with a purpose” (p. 138) as its objective lies on allowing researchers to collect in-depth information. Within the same line of thought, Morse & Corbin (2003) describe the unstructured interview as a shared experience "in which researchers and interviewees come together to create a context of conversational intimacy in which participants feel comfortable telling their story”. Thus, the reason behind choosing this specific type of interviews is to elicit lot of information from the participants without giving them the feeling of being interrogated. It also helps participants share their dreams, fears and opportunities.

**4.4.2. Method of Analysis: Thematic Analysis**

The analysis is thematic as it focuses on identifying the common themes that the interviews grapple with. Mainly, this study adopts a latent thematic analysis as it helps "identify or examine the underlying ideas, assumptions, and conceptualisations – and ideologies - that are theorised as shaping or informing the semantic content of the data” (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p.84). The analysis concentrates on four important themes that are related to integration and migration.

**5. Dimensions of Sub-Saharan Integration in the Moroccan Context: Oujda**

Taking into consideration the stories sub-Saharan migrant students and vendors narrate, the following section analyses and discusses the different dimensions of integration that they are exposed to in Oujda. In this regard, I argue that in spite of the integration process that associations in Oujda, such as MS2 and Wafae associations, provide to sub-Saharan migrants, a total integration is still questionable in diverse sectors. I consider integration as a multi-dimensional process, which includes many aspects of which they are dependent on one another such as housing, education/literacy sessions, health services and work.

**5.1 Housing**

The first concern of sub-Saharan migrants, in general, is a place to live in. Once they first arrive in Morocco, they have to start their journey seeking a place to settle in. The removal of camps that sub-Saharan migrants used to rely on once they set foot in Oujda, due to the new migration policy, has led them to rent houses in both poor and rich neighborhoods. In the interviews, migrants stressed that renting poses a problem for the majority of them due to various reasons such as, the high prices of rent, the illegal status of some sub-Saharan
migrants and also the unavailability of landlords who accept to rent their houses to them. Maria, from Senegal, narrates her first experience with renting a house in a rich neighbourhood and says,

……I used to think that camps still exist in Oujda…unfortunately, I was disappointed once I set foot there…Looking for a place to spend my first night in was very tiring. I spent the night in the streets of El Qods with beggars because the price that the landlords wanted was very high”.

Due to the unavailability of houses to be rent, the renting prices increase to oblige sub-Saharan migrants to adapt to the living conditions. Not having access to renting is due to the refusal of many landlords to rent to sub-Saharan migrants which implies the racist and xenophobic attitudes of some of the local population. Martin, from Mali, expresses the unwelcoming behaviours of his neighbours in a poor neighbourhood in Oujda:

“When I find a place to rent with four other migrants, everything went well… However, easiness did not last more than ten days… Our neighbours complained to the landlords that we would be loud and dirty… Wallah, it is not the case..We came home at night to rest because we used to work during the morning and the afternoon..”

Desperately, Martin’s narrative explains the hardships sub-Saharan migrants face when accommodation is granted. These behaviours, they are exposed to, represent the internal racist stereotypes that some of the Moroccan people endorse. “Being loud and dirty” is a stereotype held against sub-Saharan migrants in general. What shows this is that before living next to sub-Saharan migrants, the Moroccan neighbours have already learnt somewhere that they are not proper and calm. This knowledge is transmitted from Media that tends to depict them in a very rude manner lacking all human traits.

**5.2 Education and Literary Classes**

When speaking about education, we need to divide it into speaking about the illiterate migrant population who are in need for language classes and also the literate ones who come to pursue their higher education in Morocco. For the former, the majority of my interviewees mention that in spite of the literary classes they attend, their level in Darija or French is still low due to various reasons. Rebecca, from Mali, states

“ We need basic needs such as a house to live in and work to earn money from…Language can be learnt easily if we are at ease”.

Another respondent from Senegal whose nickname is Lina added,
"Two months is not enough to learn a language... What we need to learn is the most commonly used words in workplaces such as prices, objects... Things like that... Other components of languages can be learnt later while interacting with people... The majority of literary classes focus on the basics of French and Darija..."

Providing new sub-Saharan migrants with literary classes especially that of language courses is a pivotal tool of integration. Learning the language of the host country facilitates communication with the local population. However, based on the responses of the majority of respondents, it has been proven that sub-Saharan migrants need more awareness about the important role of language classes as without them, they will not be able to succeed in the workplace. Other respondents show more recognition to the efforts that associations play especially when it comes to teaching them Darija and French. Maha, from Burkina Faso, states that

"I work as a vendor in the old Medina. At first, it was hard for me to negotiate the price with the clients. However, when I took language classes, the trainer helped me a lot in knowing the Moroccan currency and how to say numbers in Darija."

Economically speaking, these types of respondents look at the bright side of spending some time learning Darija. Other respondents speak about the advantages of learning centers in enabling them to earn more money in their work. What is needed is to raise awareness among migrant associations about the preconceptions that sub-Saharan migrants have vis à vis learning Darija before granting them with suitable jobs that go hand in hand with their skills.

As for the sub-Saharan migrant students who come to Oujda to pursue their higher education, their concerns are different from those of the illiterate ones. Elizabeth, from Cameroon, speaks about the work center in which she studies using a very optimistic tone. She articulates,

"The educational space plays a great role in my integration in the Moroccan context. The professors are very helpful in promoting a welcoming space for my Senegalese friend and I. At the very beginning, we were afraid of facing racism from professors and classmates because we were two strangers among 13 other Moroccan students. However, later on, my friend and I discovered that we are within our family."

Another Senegalese student who studies in ENCG mentions that,

"At the ENCG, there are a lot of sub-Saharan students which enables me to feel at home... There are also other Moroccan students who come from far cities to study in Oujda... Meeting these students who also leave their place of birth and family to pursue their higher education gives me a sense of comfort as I am not the only one who is obliged to adapt to the new environment (hahaha)."

Mohammed, from Burkina Faso, speaks about the advantages of studying in ENCG, and says
"Beside the free access to higher education in Morocco, studying in French is a very integrative manner for sub-Saharan students as it helps them communicate easily with professors and local students. Once you manage to speak the same language of the ones you spend most of your time with, integration becomes easy”.

These hopeful narratives are shared with the majority of sub-Saharan migrant students which shows that the educational space is the best atmosphere of integration. The educational space is an integrative one for the local population as well as it is the most common place in which friendships are built.

5.3. Health Services

Access to health services in Morocco is minimal due to various conditions that the sick ones must meet. For instance, there are two facilities of medical services in Morocco. For people who work in regular formal sectors, there is health insurance called (Assurance Medical Obligatoire). The Obligatory Health Insurance covers, for the insured and their family members in charge, the health care risks and costs inherent to illness or accident, maternity and functional rehabilitation. Thus, it confers the right to reimbursement and possibly direct coverage of the costs of curative and preventive care and rehabilitation medically required by the state of health of the insured person.

For other vulnerable people, there is RAMED (Regime d’Assistance Medicale) which is financed by the state and founded in 2002. It is based on the principles of social welfare and national solidarity for the people in need. Migrants have got the chance to benefit from the RAMED as well. However, generalizing this health service to cover migrants as well does not mean that the latter are no longer facing problems when it comes to having access to public hospitals. All my interviewees agree on the point that having the RAMED does not mean that you will benefit from medical care once you set foot in the hospital. Some of them mentioned that they have to wait several months to do urgent operations and checking. Their responses show that there is a huge gap between the patients’ demands and the hospital offers. Since there is a massive influx of patients in public hospitals, this poses problem also for local populations.

Other interviewees stressed that NGO representative such as Medecins du Monde (MDM) provides them with treatment for minor injuries such as a cold. Katrina desperately narrates her story,
“I am an illegal migrant who attempted to cross the borders from Algeria, and I fell in a hole. I spent there 10 days with my broken two legs and it was very cold. When they found me, my legs were frozen...They took me to Farabi hospital, and they decided to cut both feet otherwise they would be obliged to cut both legs if they wait a lot..They sent me to Rabat...After the operation, MDM provided me with psychological sessions to encourage me to accept my handicap... They also provided me with financial assistance to be able to oscillate between Rabat and Oujda to do the checking in”.

This response is worth quoting at length because it covers the hardship that illegal migrants go through to seek new opportunities in the host country. Unfortunately, the new opportunities this young lady seeks turn into new obstacles. Yet, the medical assistance she receives sheds light on the importance of NGOs in fostering migrants ‘integration. In spite of the agony that resides in the lady’s voice, she acknowledges the aids MDM provides to other migrants. She states that “MDM is doing a great job to migrants as they no longer feel that they are in a host country”.

In spite of the MDM aids, there are certain sub-Saharan migrants who newly arrive to Morocco and who know nothing about this organization. Hamada, from Senegal, mentions that

“I did not know about the facilities MDM play to improve the conditions of migrants... One day, I went to the doctor because I was suffering from a strong headache, and I used to lose consciousness from time to time... The doctor asked me to do some tests to know the reasons behind the health problems I was facing...I did not have money to do them...So, I forgot about it”

What must be stressed is to firstly raise awareness among newly arrived migrants especially undocumented ones about the possibility to gain assistance from organizations in Oujda. Their ignorance of these possibilities may put them in dangers. Moreover, local doctors must be sensitized about the terrible conditions of illegal migrants because what they endure in their journeys to Morocco is exhaustive. Most of the time, they lack financial aids, so it would be better to either check for free to some of them or orient them toward organizations that can interfere in case of their illnesses.
5.4. Work

As this study focuses both on students and vendors in the old Medina in Oujda, it is highly recommended to note that the majority of students I have interviewed do not have access to part-time jobs in Oujda. Alia, a student in ENSA, states that,

"The colour of my skin already defines whether I can work in Oujda or not. Even if my status is regularized, to have work in Oujda is still a dream that you cannot fulfill...My friends in Rabat can work in (centres d’appels), but here I have applied to them several times but no response",

What can be deduced from the non-access of sub-saharans to part-time jobs in Oujda is that financially speaking, those migrants are not integrated in formal sectors. However, when it comes to informal sectors, they can easily be exploited by the local population. The story of Khadija who works and at the same pursues her education in the faculty of Law in Oujda shows the inconveniences of informal sectors. She states,

“..The scholarship I get does not cover all my needs...I used to work as a part-time job for a family in Oujda for 1000dh a month taking care of an old lady in the afternoon till her daughter came from work. In the beginning, we agreed on being responsible for feeding the old lady and taking her to the bathroom. Later on, her daughter started asking me to clean her clothes and do all the house chores. I quitted after 4months”.

As it can be observed in the informal sector, the migrant is subject to underpaid, overworked and an exploited job.

For the vendors, they are situated next to Moroccan street vendors in old Medina. They rent some places there to sell Senegalese jewelry and body and hair creams. All the ones I interviewed are from Senegal. The cost of renting those places is 50dh, but most of the time Moroccan shopkeepers let them stand in front of their shops.

“The Moroccan shopkeepers are kind to me. They allow sitting next to their shops without paying anything. They are like family to me… One day, one of the guys attempted to steal my wallet, and three of the shopkeeper caught him and gave it back to me after beating him... We are family here.” (Najiba, Senegal)

The workplace is the most common space for interaction and integration of people in general and migrant in particular. The hospitality of the shopkeepers gives willingness to sub-Saharan
vendors to stay in Morocco. Najiba added "at the very beginning, I used Morocco as a transit country to reach Spain. Now, I am satisfied for two reasons. My family is near me and the atmosphere in Oujda is welcoming". All in all, this shows the sense of trust that is built between the local population and the sub-Saharan migrants.

6. Concluding Remarks

The influx of sub-Saharan migrants in Oujda has been dictated by a changing migratory context. Between their attempt to use Oujda as a transit city to reach Europe and their satisfaction with the offers of this small city, my interviewees survive. Based on the analysis of their responses, this research has come up with five key findings that are as follows.

- Housing is a key problem for migrants in general and sub-Saharan in specific due to the racist attitudes of landlords and the preconceptions that are disseminated against migrants.

- The unawareness of some sub-Saharan migrants about the usefulness of literary classes poses a problem in the process of their integration. Meanwhile, the lack of training sub-Saharan migrants, to provide them with certain skills as a primary preparation for the job market, is also a hindrance of integration.

- Psychological care is as important as the physical one. Hereby, associations must prepare more psychological sessions for migrants in general and illegal ones in specific to foster their integration within the new environment.

- There is a huge gap between formal and informal sectors when it comes to migrants’ work due to the absence of the former in Oujda. Sub-Saharan migrants suffer from both marginalization in formal sectors and exploitation in informal ones.

- A total integration can never be attained without improving migrants’ conditions in housing, education, health services and work.

Conclusion

This study has attempted to indepthly analyze the integration patterns that sub-saharan migrants are exposed to in Oujda. What has been found is that there are 4 fields that need to be taken into consideration before starting to talk about integration. To be integrated means that you have a house to live in, language courses to attend, physical/psychological care and a work to earn money from. However, what have been found is that sub-saharan migrants, under analysis, suffer from shortages in all the four fields. Without being totally integrated in the four fields, the migrant will never benefit from a social and a cultural inclusion in the host
country. Since to be socio-culturally integrated means to be in touch with local populations, those migrants still suffer from an intersocial and intercultural interaction.
References


