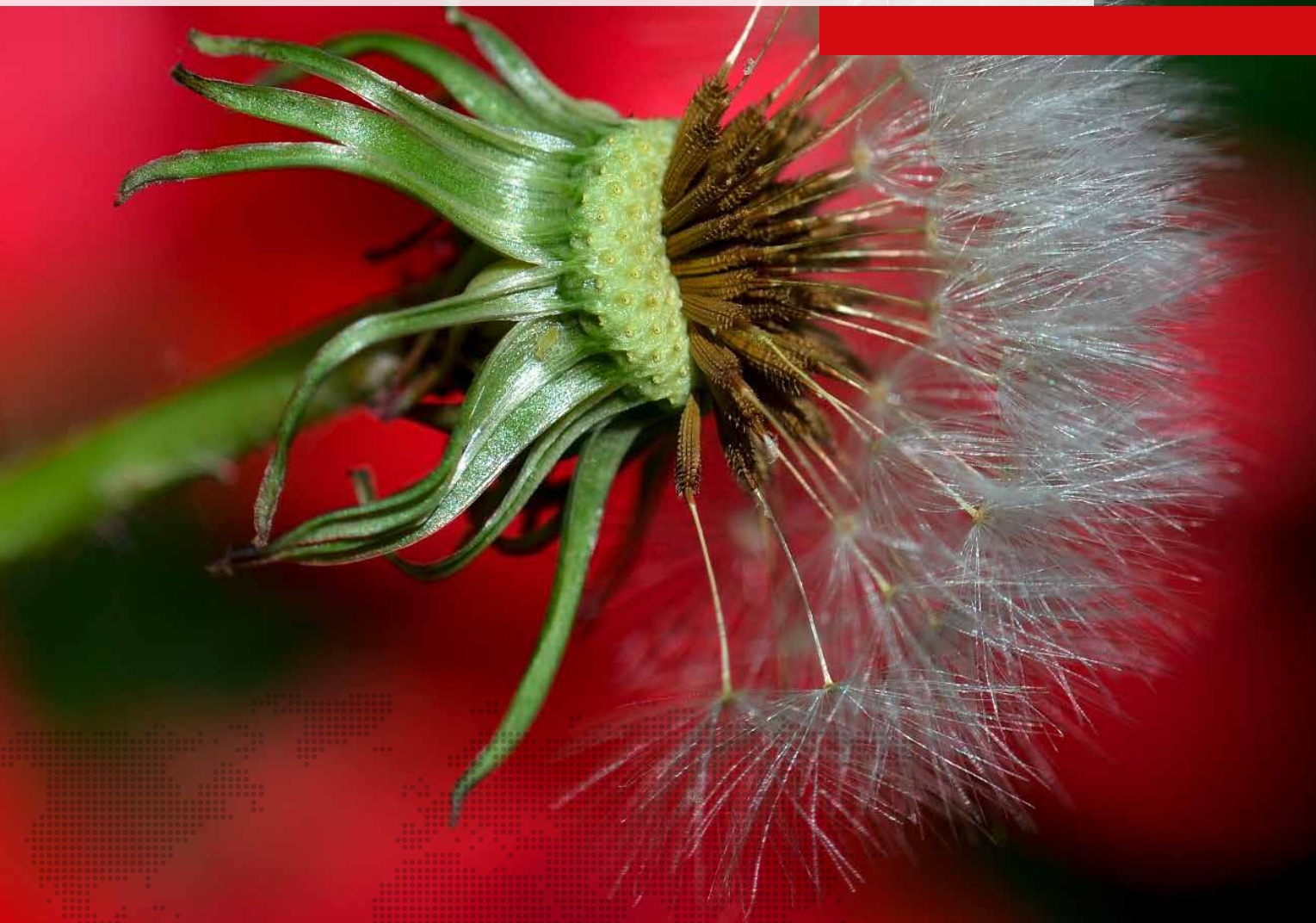


# Development activities of Moroccan migrant organisations in Germany



The study was carried out by the Migration for Development programme on behalf of the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ).

Around the world, societies are changing and individuals are on the move: around 250 million people currently live outside their country of origin. This evolving situation presents opportunities for all concerned: diversity and exchange across national borders provide impetus for economic, political and social progress – both in host countries and in countries of origin.

Migrants themselves play an important role in building bridges between countries. Through their expertise, ideas, experience and contacts, they stimulate sustainable change. In a variety of ways, they help their countries of origin to remain competitive, while simultaneously shaping society in their host countries. This interaction offers great potential for development. On behalf of the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), we support the activities of migrants from emerging and developing countries and advise our partner countries on how to use migration to advance sustainable development.

The Migration for Development programme focuses on four areas of activity:

- Knowledge transfer through returning experts
- Cooperation with diaspora organisations
- Migrants as entrepreneurs
- Migration policy advice

Stefan Metzger\*

26 May 2015

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# Summary

The starting point for this report is the central role that Moroccan migrants living abroad play in the development of Morocco. Money transfers to Morocco by the more than four million individuals abroad equate to more than four times the volume of public development funding provided to the country. In addition, Moroccan migrants also contribute to their country's development through their engagement in development activities within migrant organisations. This report examines the scope and nature of development activities carried out by Moroccan migrant organisations in Germany. In summary, these organisations have become increasingly involved in development initiatives since the early 2000s. Their work has been, and continues to be, facilitated by opportunity structures in Germany and Morocco and by transformations of the Moroccan migrant community. Since the turn of the millennium, Germany has recognised (Moroccan) migrant organisations as partners in its integration policy and increasingly promoted them as partners

in development cooperation. Since the 1990s, Morocco has been undergoing a process of liberalisation and modernisation, enabling the many Moroccan migrants living in Germany to participate in the development of their country of origin. At the same time, these migrants now increasingly have the necessary resources at their disposal to engage in development activities within migrant organisations. As a result, Moroccan migrants and their offspring in Germany offer substantial potential from a development policy perspective that can be further nurtured and promoted through appropriate supporting activities. Consequently, greater account should be taken of the wide range of Moroccan migrant organisations in Germany, promoting them as partners in development cooperation. This applies not only to Moroccan community organisations and graduate associations, but also to student initiatives, women's groups and youth organisations.



# Introductory remarks

This paper summarises the findings of and stages involved in compiling the expert report ‘Mapping and study of the development activities of Moroccan migrant organisations in Germany’ on behalf of the Centre for International Migration and Development (CIM)<sup>1</sup>. The study had two key research objectives: to identify Moroccan migrant organisations engaged in promoting the development of their country of origin within the context of migration from Morocco to Germany (the mapping); and to provide an overview of the history, structures and work of the actors involved in development activities and of Moroccan migrants as a group (the study).

As part of the report, research was undertaken between January and May 2015 to identify key Moroccan migrant organisations actively involved in development initiatives in Germany. Qualitative interviews were conducted during this period with representatives of these organisations.

Research discussions were also held with experts from the spheres of policy-making, development cooperation and social work. Finally, quantitative data obtained from government statistics was evaluated alongside the relevant academic literature.

Two products were created for the commissioning party. The first was a mapping resource for internal use consisting of a list of contacts of Moroccan migrant organisations in Germany involved in development activities and brief profiles of these organisations, including their respective missions. The second was the present study of the development activities of Moroccan migrant organisations in Germany.

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<sup>1</sup> The Centre for International Migration and Development (CIM) is a joint operation by the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH and the German Federal Employment Agency.

# 1 Introduction

On 21 May 1963, the Federal Republic of Germany signed a recruitment agreement with the Kingdom of Morocco to govern the migration of workers from Morocco to Germany. This agreement is usually viewed as the beginning of Moroccan migration to Germany. The 50th anniversary of the agreement signing was used as an opportunity to refocus attention on migration by Moroccans to Germany. In the federal state of North Rhine-Westphalia in particular a large number of cultural events were organised in early 2013, including readings of children's books, a photo competition, debates and exhibitions. A two-day event commemorating Moroccan migration was held in Berlin in June 2013 under the auspices of King Mohammed VI, jointly organised by the German-Moroccan Competence Network (Deutsch-Marokkanisches Kompetenznetzwerk (DMK)) and the Centre for International Migration and Development (CIM). Attended by political representatives from Morocco and Germany, including President of the German Bundestag Norbert Lammert, it paid tribute to the lifetime achievements of thousands of Moroccan migrants, whose stories and history appear to have largely faded from German collective memory (Charchira 2013).<sup>2</sup>

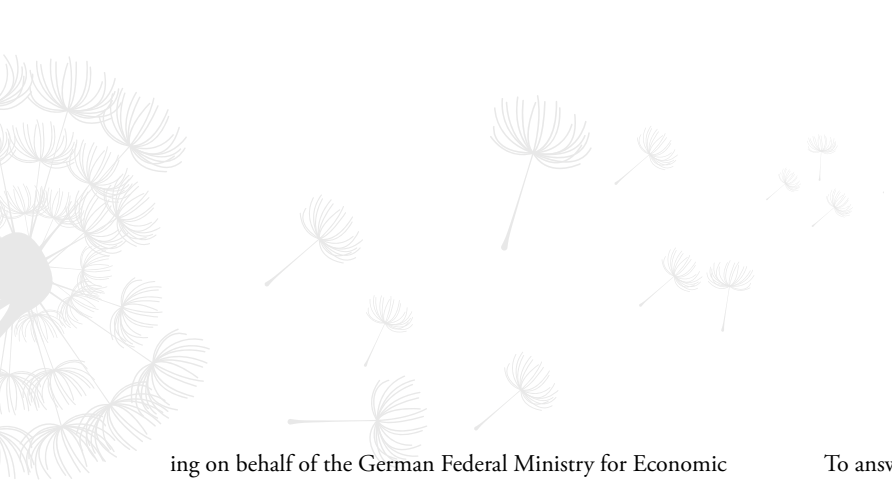
According to current figures, 153,000 individuals with a Moroccan migration background are now living in Germany, 67,000 of whom were born in the Federal Republic (Federal Statistical Office 2013a). Almost two thirds of these 153,000 individuals have German citizenship. Despite their significant numbers, this group of migrants is either overshadowed in the public consciousness by larger migrant groups, such as the Turkish community, or subsumed under the transnational and culturalised category of 'Arabs' or 'Muslims'. There are a number of reasons for their absence from the German public arena. For many years, Moroccan migration was concentrated in just two federal states, Hesse and North Rhine-Westphalia. While Moroccan migrants play a significant role in and around Frankfurt am Main and Düsseldorf, they have virtually no presence in most German cities and regions. Similarly, there are virtually no public figures with a Moroccan migration background on the political, cultural or sports scene in Germany. Nadja Benaissa and Senna Gammour, former members of the bands 'No Angels' and 'Monrose' respectively, footballer Karim Bellarabi from Bayer 04 Leverkusen and comedian Abdelkarim are exceptions.

Moroccan migrants living abroad are vitally important in the eyes of their country of origin. More people have emigrated from Morocco than from any other country in the Maghreb or, indeed, from many countries around the world (Lacroix 2005: 19, Martin et al. 2006: 123). Over four million people – one in nine Moroccans – live outside of Morocco (de Haas 2013: 75). Remittances to Morocco by Moroccan migrants alone were estimated in 2012 to be equivalent to more than four times the volume of public development funding provided to the country (World Development Indicators 2015). According to World Bank figures, a total of USD 6.5 billion was transferred to Morocco in 2012, the equivalent of almost 7 per cent of the country's gross domestic product (World Bank 2015). Moroccan migrants contribute to Morocco's development through a range of activities in their host countries: as well as money transfers and investments, these include programmes to improve local infrastructure, social, cultural and political projects, and the transfer of knowledge and expertise. Morocco is increasingly reaping the benefits of its workers being trained and its students completing degree programmes abroad: according to the Federal Statistical Office, 5,169 Moroccan students were registered at German higher education institutions at the beginning of 2012/2013 academic year (Federal Statistical Office 2013a: 55). Most of these students return to Morocco, taking with them their newly acquired skills (Khachani 2005: 15, inter alia), though even those students and skilled workers who remain abroad are increasingly setting up organisations and networks to pass on their knowledge to Morocco. Partnerships are being forged between universities, for example, and cooperation arrangements are being made between researchers and academics, entrepreneurs and experts from Morocco and Moroccan migrants living abroad. This financial, economic, social, cultural and civic transfer is fundamentally changing Moroccan society (de Haas 2007: 35).

While Morocco, in common with a number of other emigration countries, recognised the significance of its migrants as far back as the 1960s (de Haas 2005: 16, Castles 2008: 12, Iskander 2010), the last few years have seen governments of receiving countries also becoming increasingly aware of the considerable potential that migrants offer for the development of their countries of origin (Hunger 2005, de Haas 2006). Work-

<sup>2</sup> For more information see event website [www.marokkanische-migration-deutschland.de](http://www.marokkanische-migration-deutschland.de)





ing on behalf of the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), German development cooperation actors have helped harness the potential of migrants to develop their countries of origin. These actors have included the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH, operating through the Sector Project for Migration and Development, and the Centre for International Migration and Development (CIM) (Riester 2011). Nevertheless, GIZ and CIM faced initial difficulties in identifying projects by Moroccan migrant organisations in Germany that were suitable for support. While there were a number of reasons for this, the main obstacle was the largely individual nature of the development activities of many Moroccan migrants living in Germany. However, these activities have changed in recent years. Where past initiatives tended to be localised and limited in scope, involving informally organised donations in kind, efforts are now more sustained and formalised, with a stronger project focus, and are not limited solely to the transfer of goods and donations (Metzger et al. 2011). What has led to these changes? And to what extent and in what ways are Moroccan migrant organisations in Germany currently working to promote the development of Morocco?

To answer these questions, qualitative interviews and research discussions were conducted, quantitative data from public statistics analysed and relevant academic literature consulted as part of this report (Section 2). The report starts from the assumption that transnational development activities – in this case the development activities of Moroccan migrant organisations in Germany – also need to be explained through a transnational research lens (de Haas 2006; Metzger et al. 2011), because efforts to promote development are influenced both by conditions in the country of origin and the receiving country and by transnational interaction between these two nations. Consequently, the findings of this study will be presented at these levels (Section 3). Section 3.1 will examine the migration history of Moroccan migrants living in Germany, Section 3.2 will address the structures and features of migration, Section 3.3 will trace the Moroccan state's policy with respect to migrants, and, crucially, Section 3.4 will present the development activities of Moroccan migrant organisations in Germany. In Section 4, conclusions will be drawn and recommendations for action made for German development cooperation and the CIM Migration for Development Programme based on these findings.

## 2 Methodology

This study explores the research question outlined above in four successive methodological steps. The first step involved conducting research discussions with experts and key individuals (in particular social workers, academics and development cooperation representatives) with a good overview of the research field, a wide range of contacts and access to information from many different sources (Flick 2010: 166). These gate-keepers assisted with various aspects of this study, not least by helping to provide an overview of the field to be investigated and select relevant actors. This was particularly important for this report, as Moroccan migrant organisations in Germany are not centrally organised, making it difficult to gain an overview of the research field. The field is also highly dynamic because most activities are low-level and various migrant organisation startups have emerged in recent years. Historically, there has also been mistrust of state institutions, especially from Morocco. This adds to the difficulty of gaining access to migrant organisations. However, because the study's author built on contacts established in previous research projects, there were fewer issues with access (Metzger et al. 2011).

The second step involved selecting Moroccan migrant organisations in Germany that are engaged in efforts to promote Morocco's development. For the purposes of this study, the term 'Moroccan migrant organisation' is used to refer to a voluntary association founded by individuals in a migration context whose members and leaders are largely people with a Moroccan migration background (for the full picture, see Hunger 2002, Pries 2010, Thränhardt 2011). Such an organisation may be a cultural or mosque association, a political lobby organisation, a network, a company or federation, a student or academic body, a football club or other sports club, a women's organisation, a children's group or nursery, a youth organisation or club, a senior citizens' group or an education provider among others. The term 'development activity' is used to refer to any activity that contributes to the political, economic, social or environmental development of the country and thereby helps to improve living conditions for local people. It may involve the transfer of goods and foreign currency or the transfer of values, knowledge and expertise.<sup>3</sup> In line with this concept, qualitative, problem-

centred interviews (Hopf 2010) were conducted with representatives of all Moroccan migrant organisations in Germany identified by the study as being actively engaged in development activities. A rough guide was developed to enable interviewers to conduct the interviews in an open-ended way while at the same time broadly steering them (Helfferich 2005: 148ff.). A total of 25 interviews were conducted, either face to face or over the phone.

The third step involved analysing quantitative data on Moroccan migrants in Germany, making particular use of data from 2005 to 2013 from the microcensus on individuals with a migration background. The situation of Moroccan students in Germany was analysed using data from the Federal Statistical Office. The relevant academic literature on development activities in a migration context was also consulted. This study builds on past research work conducted by the author (Hunger/Metzger 2011, Hunger et al. 2011), in particular a comparative study of the development activities of Moroccan migrant organisations in Germany and France (Metzger et al. 2011).

The fourth step involved visits to events forming part of Moroccan Week in Germany, which was held in Düsseldorf, Frankfurt and Berlin between 20 and 26 April 2015. The week was organised by the Ministry of Moroccans Living Abroad and Migration Affairs and others. As well as observing the event, the author also conducted many conversations, including at a gala dinner with Moroccan Ambassador Omar Zniber, Morocco Consulate General in Düsseldorf Zouhair Jibraili and Minister in Charge of Moroccans Living Abroad Anis Birou and his delegation, and others with many different companies and representatives of Moroccan migrant organisations in Germany.

<sup>3</sup> For a comprehensive list of development-related activities, see AF-FORD (2000: 6).



# 3 Findings

## 3.1 *The history of Moroccan migration to Germany*

As mentioned at the beginning of this report, Morocco is one of the world's major emigration countries. More than one in nine Moroccans currently lives outside the country: official statistics for 2012 put the figure at over four million people, the majority residing in the Middle East and Europe, including Germany. To trace the migration history of people with a Moroccan migration background living in Germany and to place it in an international context, the migration and emigration history both of Morocco and of Moroccan migrants living in Germany will be outlined below. Virtually no other migrant group is as globalised as Moroccan migrants; their migration patterns have developed differently in different destination countries over time.

### 3.1.1 *Emigration history of Morocco before independence in 1956*

Until the 20th century, people emigrated from and migrated to Morocco along two axes (Charef 2003: 6): the east-west axis, running along the Mediterranean basin and linking Morocco with Spain and the Middle East; and the north-south axis, running from Morocco to sub-Saharan Africa. With the colonisation of Algeria in 1830 and Morocco in 1912, the east-west axis was initially the more significant as people used it to migrate to neighbouring Algeria before the north-south axis subsequently gained in importance (Charef 2003: 8, de Haas 2005: 7). In 1912, Morocco became a French-Spanish protectorate. The French part comprised the Moroccan heartland, while the Spanish part consisted of the Rif Mountains in the north of the country and a region in the south that is now the Western Sahara. This division of the country marked the starting point for larger migratory movements to the nations of the respective colonial powers. During the First World War, the increased demand for workers and soldiers was met in part by migrants from the then colonies. Between 1914 and 1918, some 35,000 Moroccans came to France to work, while an additional 34,000 to 40,000 joined the French army as soldiers (de Haas 2005: 6). Approximately 40,000 Moroccans from the Rif Mountains served in General Franco's army during the Spanish Civil War (Berriane 1996: 162). Moroccan migrants also fought in the French Army during the Second World War and in the decolonisation and independence wars in Asia, with 126,000 serving in the Korean and Indochina wars alone. While the majority

returned to Morocco after the fighting ended, a small number settled in France. When Morocco became independent in 1956, increased numbers of Moroccans were recruited to work in France via existing migration networks (Charef 2003: 8). By contrast, Spain was itself an emigration country at this time and sent workers to Northern Europe (Berriane 1996: 163).

### 3.1.2 *Emigration history of Morocco since independence in 1956*

After Morocco gained independence, economic and political crises in the country served to accelerate emigration, a trend that the Moroccan state and the governments of the destination countries supported. For example, Morocco signed recruitment agreements with Germany and France in 1963, Belgium in 1964 and the Netherlands in 1969. This led to the first instance of spatial differentiation between destination countries. Early recruitment campaigns by European countries were still carried out by recruitment agencies, but later, workers were increasingly recruited on an informal basis (Collyer 2004: 16ff.). For example, they were identified by compatriots already working in Europe or recruited directly in Morocco by specific industrial associations and individual companies. Beginning in the 1960s, many Moroccans travelled to Europe as tourists, found an employer and were subsequently granted residency. The number of Moroccans living in Europe increased tenfold between 1960 and 1970, from some 30,000 to around 300,000, rising further to 400,000 by 1975 (de Haas 2005: 8). This migration frequently took place in stages. Some Moroccans initially moved to France before moving on to other European countries, such as the Netherlands, Belgium and Germany. The 1973 oil crisis led to a gradual closing of labour migration channels in European countries. Moroccan migrants working in Europe had to choose whether to remain in Germany, for example, or return to Morocco. Most decided to settle permanently in Europe (de Haas 2005: 8). As a result, the decision by European governments to halt recruitment from the mid-1970s began to have the opposite effect of what they intended, as the number of migrants living in Europe increased significantly.



**Figure 1: Moroccan migrants and their offspring globally in 2012**

Europe		North America		Africa and the Middle East	
France	1,146,682	United States	33,047	Israel*	700,000
Spain	671,669	Canada	53,707	Sub-Saharan Africa	9,396
Italy	486,538			Africa (other)	2,509
Belgium	297,919			Libya	69,276
Netherlands	264,909			Algeria	45,451
Germany	126,954			Tunisia	30,635
United Kingdom	26,191			Saudi Arabia	35,724
Other	38,567			United Arab Emirates	15,935
				Middle East (other)	17,430
	3,058,429		86,754		926,356
				<b>Total</b>	<b>4,072,539</b>

\*Figures for Israel are estimates only.

Source: Author's diagram based on figures compiled by Hein de Haas (2013: 75).

The number of Moroccan migrants in Europe increased to almost one million between 1975 and 1992 (de Haas 2005: 8). Meanwhile, the restrictive immigration policies of northern European countries also resulted in the emergence of new destination countries for Moroccan migrants, such as Spain and Italy (Arab 2009, Delezenne 2013, Caruso/Greco 2013, Khaldi 2013), several Middle Eastern countries (Ezzine 2013), the United States and Canada (Beveridge et al. 2013, Abouzaïd/Azal 2013). While the families of many migrants came to join them in Europe up until the 1980s, many Moroccan migrants have since the 1990s been moving to Europe as 'marriage migrants' (Gutekunst 2014). A growing number of Moroccan migrants are also coming to Europe to study. Finally, since the 1990s, and following the introduction of increasingly tight restrictions on migration to the European Union, more and more Moroccans have been travelling to Europe unofficially, primarily to work in the agricultural, construction and service sectors (de Haas 2005: 9ff.). More than four million Moroccan migrants and their offspring now live outside Morocco, over three million of them in Europe (see Figure 1).

### 3.1.3 Countries of origin of Moroccan migrants living in Europe

The Moroccans living in Europe come from different regions of Morocco, leading to the emergence of different patterns of migration: It is striking that it is not always Morocco's poor-

est or most disadvantaged regions that are characterised by transnational migration, but rather its relatively open migration belts (de Haas 2007: 4). These are regions in which migration became an established tradition early on, leading to a 'culture of migration' (de Haas 2005: 12; Lacroix 2005: 29), for example, seasonal migration to Algeria or trade migration to other regions of Morocco. The three main regions in this context (shaded with lines in Figure 2) are the Rif Mountains in the north of the country, the Souss region around Agadir in the south and the river oasis region south of the Atlas Mountains.

The oldest and most significant migration region in the country is the Souss region. For centuries, those living in Souss travelled throughout Morocco as traders, later working as seasonal labourers in Algeria (de Haas 2005: 12). They came to France early on as workers and soldiers. To this day, most migrants from the region follow existing migration routes to France. The situation is similar in the river oases around the town of Agadir south of the Atlas Mountains: migrants began leaving this region for Europe in the 1960s, the majority for France and a smaller number for Belgium and the Netherlands. The Rif region, of great importance to the migrants living in Germany, differs from the two other regions of origin (Berriane 1996). Seasonal workers migrated from this region to neighbouring Algeria up until the end of the 1950s, only beginning to head to Europe after Morocco gained independence in 1956. While France was the main destination for migrants from the other

regions of origin, only around a third of migrants from the Rif region moved there; the rest headed for Belgium, the Netherlands or Germany (Reniers 1999: 685). There were two reasons for this: due to the colonial past, the Rif region had fewer ties with France, and other recruiting countries focused their efforts on this former Spanish protectorate to avoid competing with France for workers. Since the late 1980s, other areas have also become traditional emigration regions for Morocco (de Haas 2007: 4), with residents of the region surrounding Khénifra in the interior of the country heading primarily for Spain and Italy. Those living around Tangier migrate mainly to Spain and the UK, while most migrants from the Beni-Mellal region head for Italy. The majority of Moroccan students in Europe come from major urban areas and university cities such as Casablanca, Rabat and Kenitra.

Morocco has also been undergoing a transformation in recent years from an emigration country to an immigration country. Initially, it was used heavily by migrants from Africa as a transit country on their way to Europe. As the European Union's immigration policy becomes progressively more restrictive, many migrants are staying in Morocco for several years and applying for asylum there (de Haas 2013: 78-80). Morocco is also increasingly becoming a destination country for students from sub-Saharan Africa.

**Figure 2:** Regions of origin of international migration in Morocco



Source: Map from de Haas (2007: 4).

### 3.1.4 Migration from Morocco to Germany since 1963

Moroccan migrants came to Germany throughout the 1960s, initially via France on an individual basis with a tourist visa, but later increasingly as workers under the 1963 recruitment agreement concluded between Germany and Morocco (Klemm 2014). By 1973, 22,400 Moroccan migrants were living in Germany (Berriane 2003: 23); paradoxically, most Moroccan migrants came to Germany only after 1973, when the German Government put a halt to labour migration in the wake of the oil price shock and the resulting economic crisis. Moroccan migrants in Germany were then forced to decide whether to remain in Germany or return to Morocco. Those who remained in Germany were then joined by their families. Since the late 1980s, increasing numbers of Moroccans have also been coming to study at German universities. A growing number of Moroccan migrants have been coming to Germany without official residence permits in recent years as a result of Europe tightening immigration restrictions. Almost 1,200 Moroccans applied for asylum in Germany in 2013 (BAMF 2015: 206). Moroccan migrants are now by far the largest African migrant group in Germany, significantly outnumbering migrants from Tunisia and Ghana (Federal Statistical Office 2013a).

The majority of Moroccan migrants in Germany come from northern Morocco, primarily from the eastern Rif Mountains around the cities of Nador, Berkane and Al-Hoceima (Berriane 2014: 272-290). The first migrants to arrive in Germany in 1964 were workers from the iron mines of the Rif Mountains with whom German coal and steel companies already had links (Berriane 2014: 280). Until the 1970s, almost all Moroccan migrants living in Germany came from the Rif Mountains (Berriane 2003: 25), but from the 1970s onwards, an increasing number of them migrated to Germany from other regions of Morocco (Berriane 1996: 181). By the early 1990s, only half of the Moroccan migrants in Germany still came from the Rif region. Where migrant labourers had come almost exclusively from this region, very few of the Moroccan students who started arriving in the 1980s came from there (Kerouach 1998: 80).



## 3.2 Structures and features of Moroccan migrants in Germany

### 3.2.1 Number and citizenship

There are a total of 153,000 individuals with a Moroccan migration background (Migrationshintergrund)<sup>4</sup> currently living in Germany (Federal Statistical Office 2013a). Over 67,000 of them were born in Germany and almost two thirds (100,000) have German citizenship (Federal Statistical Office 2013a). Compared with other immigrant groups, the number of individuals with a Moroccan migration background who have taken on German citizenship is relatively high.<sup>5</sup> This is also related to the fact that Moroccan citizenship is granted for life and does not have to be given up in order to gain German citizenship.

### 3.2.2 Age structure and gender ratio

When Moroccan migrants started coming to Germany in the 1960s, their social structure was relatively uniform. They mainly consisted of largely unskilled young men who worked in the industrial sector (Berriane 1996: 169ff.).<sup>6</sup> The labourers of the 1960s and 1970s largely worked in the mining industry of the Ruhr and Rhineland regions and in the textile and chemical factories, in the food industry and automotive industry around Düsseldorf and Frankfurt am Main, increasingly also taking on unskilled jobs in the service sector. This uniform structure fragmented as new patterns of migration (see Section 3.2) emerged in response to the German Government's halt on the recruitment of migrant workers in 1973. Migrants became younger and increasingly female as women and children were brought to Germany to join male family members. A growing number of women are now coming to study in Germany. In 2013, 54% of individuals with a Moroccan migration background were male (83,000) and 46% female (70,000). Almost two thirds (98,000)

of those with a Moroccan migration background are currently under 35. Of these, nearly half (47,000) are under 15 (Federal Statistical Office 2013a). Compared with the population in Germany as a whole, the Moroccan population in Germany is particularly young: barely one third (some 29 million) of the total population in Germany is under 35 (Federal Statistical Office 2013a).

### 3.2.3 Education and employment

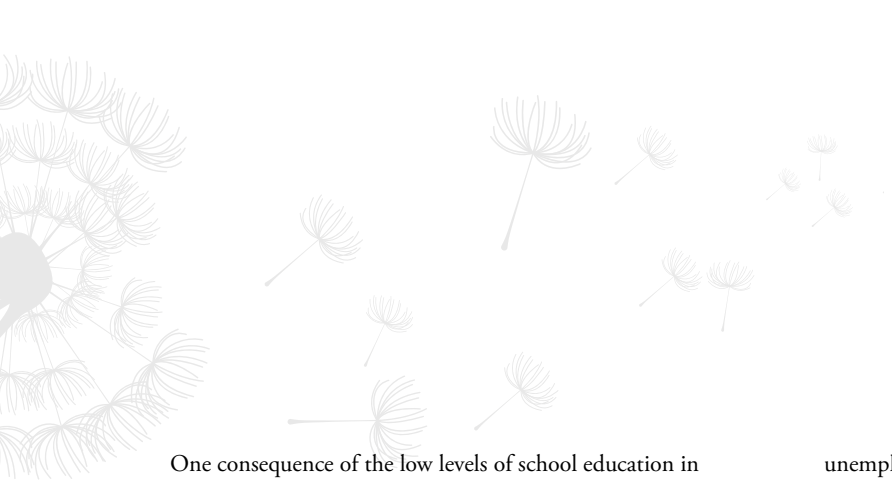
Most of the migrant workers who came to Germany in the 1960s and 1970s had little or no school education (Schüttler 2007: 8), and the illiteracy rate among this group was around 80% (Charchira 2005: 802). Although the situation has now changed significantly, the high illiteracy rate among these workers continues to have an impact on the social structure of subsequent generations. In 2013, more than one third (55,000) of individuals with a Moroccan migration background living in Germany were still completing their school education, due in part to the high proportion of young people in this group already mentioned. 25,000 had the Abitur, the university entrance qualification. In total, 72,000 had a school-leaving certificate (Federal Statistical Office 2013a). This represents a significant increase in the number of individuals with a higher school leaving certificate, something which is also reflected in the increase in student numbers (see below). At the same time, 25,000 people with a Moroccan migration background living in Germany have no school leaving qualifications, accounting for 16% of the migrant group as a whole. This figure is particularly high compared with the overall school drop-out rates for individuals with a migration background in Germany (9%) and the German population as a whole (3.2%) (Federal Statistical Office 2013a). Women with a Moroccan migration background are especially likely to drop out of school.

Thomas Kemper and Spogmai Pazun studied the educational participation rates of pupils with a Moroccan migration background in Germany during the 2008/2009 academic year (2014: 83-105). Despite a lack of data, they found that the educational participation rate of pupils with a Moroccan migration background was significantly lower than that of the non-migrant population. Pupils who have experienced migration in particular are disproportionately more likely to attend a special school and less likely to attend a *Gymnasium*, the highest of German secondary schools (Kemper/Pazun 2014: 96). Among the reasons for this, the authors cite the group's relatively low socio-economic status (see also Hajji 2009) and the tendency of the German school system to segregate students.

4 Since 2005, the Federal Statistical Office in Germany introduced a new category in the microcensus survey programme: people with migration background (Menschen mit Migrationshintergrund). According to the official definition, "the population group with a migration background consists of all persons who have immigrated into the territory of today's Federal Republic of Germany after 1949, and of all foreigners born in Germany and all persons born in Germany who have at least one parent who immigrated into the country or was born as a foreigner in Germany" (for more information see [www.destatis.de](http://www.destatis.de)). However, Federal Statistical Office data does not include individuals without an official residence permit in Germany. If it did, the figure would be somewhat higher.

5 By comparison, for example, 43% of individuals with a Turkish migration background and 56% of those with a Tunisian migration background have German citizenship (Federal Statistical Office 2012).

6 The WDR report by Jessica Agoku dated 6 March 2014 shows that also Moroccan women came to work in Germany (Agoku 2014).



One consequence of the low levels of school education in the early days of migration from Morocco to Germany was that people with a Moroccan migration background living in Germany usually worked in low-level jobs on the German labour market, which some of them still do so today. Kathima Bouras-Ostmann (2014: 45-49) analysed data from the German Federal Employment Agency. In 1980, most workers with a Moroccan migration background (around 47%) were still employed in the manufacturing and mining industry, while some 33% worked in the service sector and just under 20% in the construction industry. The ratio has since reversed: in 2011, around 75% were employed in the service sector, with just 20% still working in manufacturing and 4% in construction. The proportion of women in employment increased significantly from 1980 onwards, especially in the service sector. Nonetheless, their participation in employment is still very low. This is reflected in the unemployment rates for Moroccans in Germany, which are relatively high and have increased further in recent years (Bouras-Ostmann 2014: 47).<sup>7</sup> In 2012, unemployment among Moroccan migrants stood at 26.9% (German Federal Employment Agency 2013, in Bouras-Ostmann 2014: 48), over three times as high as for German citizens (8.1%) and higher than that for citizens of other countries of origin (13.8% for Greeks, 13.7% for Italians and 21.8% for Turks). The

unemployment rate for Moroccan women is particularly high at 40.7%. However, these figures need to be viewed in context, as they apply only to Moroccans without German citizenship living in Germany, not to those with a Moroccan migration background who have German citizenship.

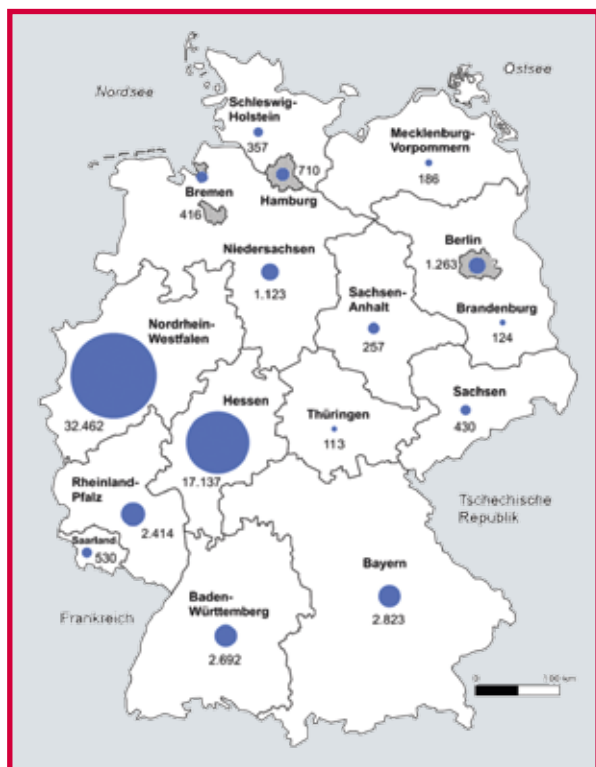
### 3.2.4 Regional distribution of individuals with a Moroccan migration background living in Germany

Individuals with a Moroccan migration background living in Germany are primarily found in North Rhine-Westphalia and Hesse. In the early years of migration in particular, many workers came from Morocco to work in mining and in the textile and chemical industries as well as in the food industry in the Ruhr and Rhineland regions (Berriane 2003: 25) and in the automotive industry in Hesse. The main centres of Moroccan migration were the cities of Frankfurt am Main and Düsseldorf. In 2012, almost three quarters of all individuals with a Moroccan migration background living in Germany were still concentrated in North Rhine-Westphalia and Hesse (Bouras-Ostmann 2014). Moroccan students especially are increasingly moving to other major cities and university towns (see Figure 3).

<sup>7</sup> There are no figures on the unemployment rate for individuals with a migration background for Germany. The figures of the German Federal Employment Agency refer to foreigners only. In this case, this means that the statements only apply to foreigners living in Germany.



**Figure 3:** Regional distribution of individuals with a Moroccan migration background living in Germany in 2011



Source: Bouras-Ostmann (2014: 44).

### 3.2.5 Moroccan students at German universities

According to UNESCO, a total of 37,569 Moroccans are studying outside Morocco (Alaoui 2013: 11). Migration abroad by Moroccan students is nothing new. In the past, most of the country's elite moved to major European towns and cities to study, especially in France, which is still the main destination country for Moroccan students. Since the 1960s especially, an increasing number of Moroccan students have come to France. In 2009, almost three quarters of Moroccan students globally studied in France. The second most important destination country for Moroccan students that year was Germany, with considerably fewer going to Spain, the United States and Canada.

Greater numbers of Moroccan students started coming to Germany from the end of the 1980s onwards. The number of Moroccans studying at German universities increased threefold from just 198 in winter term of 1982/1983 to 604 in winter term of 1989/1990, increasing again to 4,150 by winter term of

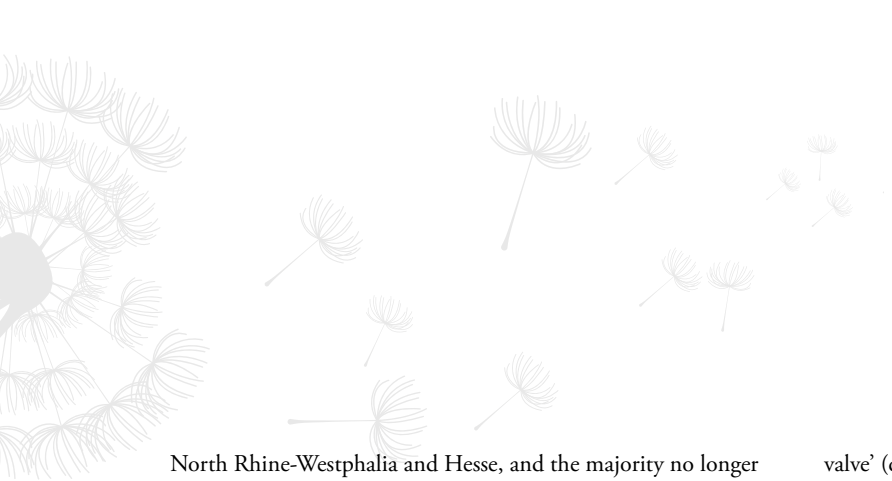
1995/1996 (Kerouach 1998: 79-80). The number of Moroccan students in Germany continued to rise steadily, reaching 8,097 in winter term of 2003/2004 (Federal Statistical Office 2004) before peaking at 8,212 in winter term of 2005/2006 (Federal Statistical Office 2006). A total of 5,169 students with Moroccan citizenship were enrolled at German universities in winter term of 2012/2013 (Federal Statistical Office 2013b), with only a relatively small proportion being 'non-mobile foreign students' (Bildungsinländer), i.e. having previously attended school in Germany. This makes Moroccans the second largest group of African students enrolled at Germany universities after Cameroonian students.

Closer scrutiny shows that around two thirds of these Moroccan students were enrolled at universities of applied sciences, while only about one third were studying at traditional universities, and that most were studying engineering or natural sciences. In winter term of 2012/2013, around 50% of these Moroccan students were enrolled on engineering courses, about 20% of them on maths and natural sciences courses, 18% on law, business and social sciences courses, and the remainder split in particular between language and cultural studies degrees (Federal Statistical Office 2013b). The vast majority of students in all subjects were male, with language and cultural studies courses being the only ones on which female students were not under-represented. Just 19% of all Moroccan students enrolled at German universities in winter term of 2012/2013 were female.

The majority of Moroccan students were studying at universities in North Rhine-Westphalia and Hesse. In recent years, an increasing number of universities outside these two federal states have been attracting students from Morocco. Universities, especially universities of applied sciences, in Frankfurt am Main, Düsseldorf, Bochum and Dortmund continue to be hubs for Moroccan students (Schüttler 2007: 34), though higher education institutions in Cologne, Aachen, Hanover, Bremen and Munich are becoming increasingly popular. All foreign students wishing to study in Germany are required to complete a pre-seasonal year. In winter term of 2011/2012, over half of new Moroccan students in Germany chose to complete this year in one of the states of the former German Democratic Republic (Federal Statistical Office 2012b).

As a result of Moroccan students coming to Germany, the pattern of migration from Morocco to the Federal Republic has become far more diverse. This is true in terms of their regional distribution in the country and with regard to their regions of origin in Morocco. They no longer study only at institutions in





North Rhine-Westphalia and Hesse, and the majority no longer come from north-east Morocco, the region of origin of most migrant workers from the 1960s onwards. Instead, Moroccans studying in Germany come from across Morocco.

Partnerships have also developed in recent years between universities in both countries, such as that between FH Aachen University of Applied Sciences and University Moulay Ismaïl (UMI) in Meknes. These two universities have offered a Moroccan-German degree programme in applied chemistry since 2010. In April 2015, the rectors of the two institutions signed a cooperation agreement at Düsseldorf City Hall on an additional degree programme in energy studies, which will be funded by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) and others. The long-term goal of the partnership is to set up a joint research institute in Meknes.

### 3.3 Moroccan state policy with regard to Moroccan migrants living in Germany

In April 2015, the Ministry of Moroccans Living Abroad and Migration Affairs organised Morocco Week in Germany. Involving a series of events in Berlin, Frankfurt am Main and Düsseldorf, it was piloted in Germany with a view to rolling it out to other European countries in future. Through putting on the event, Minister Anis Birou underscored the importance of Moroccan migrants living in Germany to the Moroccan state. For him, the aim of Morocco Week was to help Germans become better acquainted with Morocco. Another key target group of the central event in the plenary hall of Düsseldorf City Hall, which featured addresses from members of the Moroccan state and representatives from the spheres of German development and local policy, was Moroccans living abroad (*Marocains résidant à l'étranger* as they are referred to by the Moroccan state). Minister Birou also described the migrants as 'Morocco's ambassadors' to Germany and encouraged them to contribute to Morocco's development from Germany. At the same time, he voiced his clear support for the integration of Moroccan migrants living in Germany. This has all been part of a fundamental shift in Moroccan state policy in recent decades.

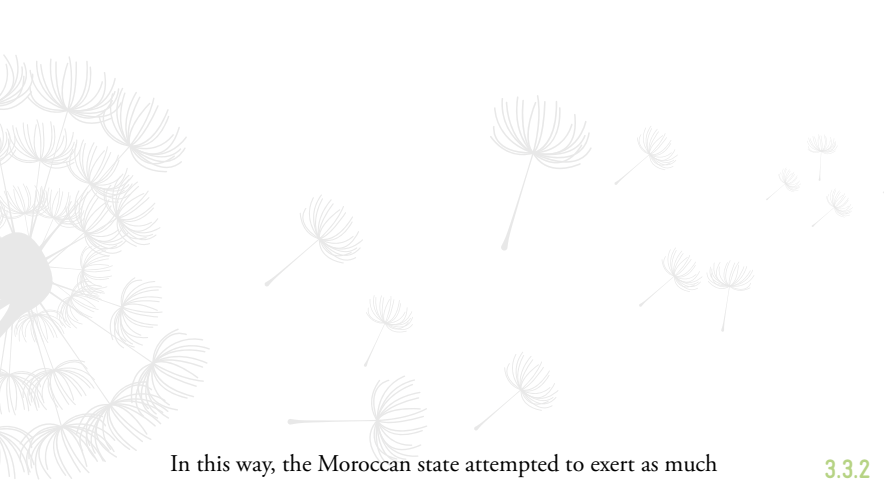
#### 3.3.1 Control policy under Hassan II

Since Morocco gained independence in 1956, the Moroccan state has supported the emigration of its citizens for both economic and political reasons (Charchira 2005: 802, de Haas 2005: 16). On the one hand, emigration was used as a 'safety

valve' (de Haas 2005: 16): the Moroccan state encouraged European countries to focus on recruiting workers from regions in which it was being weakened through conflict with the local population, such as the Rif Mountains. On the other hand, the government supported emigration in order to reduce unemployment. Consequently, as mentioned above, it concluded recruitment agreements with European governments throughout the 1960s (see Section 3.1), including with Germany and France in 1963, Belgium in 1964 and the Netherlands in 1969.

Shortly after the country gained independence the Moroccan state recognised the economic benefits of international migration and returning migrants (de Haas 2005: 16). During the 1960s, the state focused on money transfers and particularly on economic investment and knowledge transfer from returning migrants (de Haas 2007: 15). However, it changed its policy from the 1970s onwards, concentrating instead on money transfers; from the 1960s, it had been establishing a network of post offices and local banks in Europe and Morocco to facilitate foreign currency transfer. Thanks to macro-economic stability and an inflation rate that was relatively low compared with other states, its money transfer safeguarding policy proved comparatively successful (Iskander 2010), as the range of services on offer meant that money transfers were directed into official channels at an early stage.

While the Moroccan state actively involved Moroccan migrants in its modernisation strategy, it granted them only very limited rights to political participation. Although Moroccan migrants could not lose their citizenship under the country's citizenship legislation, they were not permitted to take part in Moroccan elections. At the same time, the government expressed its opposition to the 'integration' of Moroccan migrants in receiving countries (de Haas 2007: 17ff.), fearing that increased integration would cause money transfers to Morocco to dwindle. This concern was also reflected in the Moroccan state's then designation of migrants as 'Moroccans working abroad' (*travailleurs marocains à l'étranger*), whom it expected to return 'home' after a period of employment. King Hassan II himself spoke out in 1986 against Moroccan migrants participating in local elections in the Netherlands (de Haas 2007: 17). Even though migrants enjoyed lifelong Moroccan citizenship, King Hassan II described those in an interview with a French newspaper at the end of the 1980s as 'traitors' who were taking on foreign citizenship (interview with Hassan II in *Le Nouvel Observateur*, 1989, in de Haas 2007: 20).

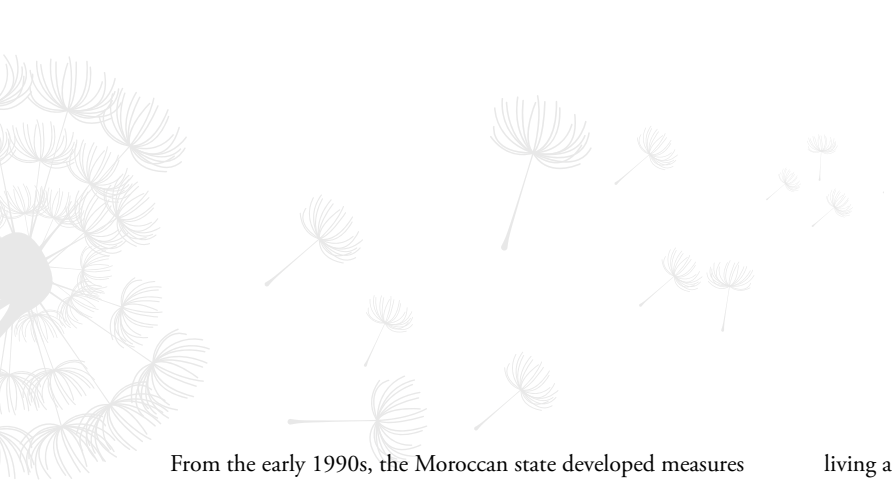


In this way, the Moroccan state attempted to exert as much control as possible over migrants in receiving countries. After two failed coups, in 1971 and 1972, and the tightening up of domestic policy that followed (*les années de plomb* or the ‘years of lead’; see Vermeren 2006: 44–84 for full details), controls were also tightened on migrants living abroad. ‘Friendship associations’ for workers and traders (*amicales des travailleurs et commerçants*) were set up in 1973 for the official purpose of facilitating contact between Moroccan migrants in Europe, Moroccan embassies and receiving countries (Lacroix 2013: 103). However, the Moroccan state instead used them as a way of working with Moroccan embassies and consulates to inform Moroccan migrants in Europe about political decisions by the Moroccan state in order to maintain a certain degree of control over migrants (Brandt 2006: 71ff). The aim was to prevent political activity and opposition initiatives (a particularly high number of the left-wing Moroccan opposition lived in France) and to stop migrants organising themselves politically in receiving countries. Opponents of the regime were kept under surveillance and harassed when they visited Morocco; many were not even permitted to travel to the country.

### 3.3.2 Liberalisation process since the 1990s

The liberalisation process in Morocco saw the state change its policy towards Moroccan migrants. From the late 1980s, domestic policy was relaxed and Morocco adopted a more liberal foreign policy (Vermeren 2011). Initiated by King Hassan II, this policy was continued after his death in 1999 by his successor King Mohammed VI. The Moroccan state also feared that, as migrants settled permanently in receiving countries and second and third generation migrants became increasingly integrated, money transfers would stagnate unless the state found other ways of securing migrants’ loyalty (de Haas 2007: 21). The state’s control policy had led many migrants to turn their back on the Moroccan state. Additionally, as these migrants became increasingly involved in the country’s development process, they began to call for more rights to participation and co-determination (see Iskander 2010).

Little by little, the Moroccan state started making concessions to the migrants and realigning its policy (de Haas 2007: 20ff.). The government officially declared an end to its control policy in 1991 with the disbanding of the *amicales* referred to above. However, these associations only really stopped their work in 2005. The integration of migrants in receiving countries was no longer viewed as treason, but as an opportunity. This is most clearly reflected in the fact that the Moroccan state changed the migrants’ former status as ‘workers abroad’ (*travailleurs marocains à l’étranger* or TMEs) to ‘Moroccans residing abroad’ (*Marocains résidant à l’étranger* or MREs). Instead of referring to them as workers who return ‘home’ after completing their tasks, the state now described them simply as ‘residents’. Against this backdrop, it no longer sought to prevent migrants taking on another nationality but actually encouraged them to do so. The Moroccan state now saw this as an opportunity for migrants living abroad to form a strong lobby for Morocco (de Haas 2007: 43).



From the early 1990s, the Moroccan state developed measures to maintain contact with migrant groups (Brand 2006, de Haas 2007: 23ff). In 1990, a department for Moroccans residing abroad was set up within the Ministry of the Interior. In 1995, this department was granted ministry status as the Ministry of Moroccans Living Abroad and Migration Affairs (*Ministère de la Communauté Marocaine Résidant à l'Étranger*). The Hassan II Foundation for Moroccans Residing Abroad was set up with state funding in 1996, followed shortly after by the Mohammed V Foundation for Solidarity. Both public organisations aim to promote the interests of migrants and maintain contact with them (Aboussi 2013). The Mohammed V Foundation for Solidarity began to develop 'Operation Welcome' (*Opération Marhaba*) in 2000 to make it easier for migrants to stay in Morocco during the summer months.<sup>8</sup>

The speech given by King Mohamed VI on 6 November 2005 provided the foundation text for a policy designed to integrate Moroccan migrants living in receiving countries to a greater extent into Morocco's development process and institutions (Aboussi 2013: 122-123). Building on this speech, the Council for the Moroccan Community Abroad (*Conseil de la Communauté marocaine à l'Étranger* – CCME) was set up in 2007. Chaired from the beginning by Driss El Yazami, an Moroccan intellectual living in France, the CCME facilitates networking between migrants and their organisations abroad (Dumont 2013: 113-117),<sup>9</sup> as well as advising the Moroccan state on migration issues. Integrating and networking migrant organisations in the receiving countries is a relatively new approach. For a long time, the Moroccan state sought to prevent migrants setting up their own organisations wherever possible. The King also promised to grant active and passive voting rights, including dedicated constituencies, to migrants

living abroad, enabling them to vote in Moroccan general elections. However, this project did not come to fruition; the Moroccan state suddenly abandoned its plans for migrants to participate in the country's general elections 2007. Nevertheless, the domestic policy pressure generated as part of the Arab Spring with the February 20 Movement (*Mouvement du 20 février*) as from 2011 culminated in a constitutional reform guaranteeing greater political participation rights to Moroccans living abroad (Aboussi 2013, El Yazami 2013).

Looking at the big picture, it can be seen that it was not until 1990 that the Moroccan state began to grant political participation rights to migrants commensurate with its efforts to involve migrants to a greater extent in the country's development, though these rights were implemented very slowly. As a result, the high expectations of the Moroccan state contrast with the small number of measures to support migrants and promote participation. As a delegated ministry (*ministère délégué*), the Ministry of Moroccans Living Abroad and Migration Affairs, set up in 1990, has few resources and little decision-making authority. Additionally, the Moroccan state's past control policy continues to have a negative impact on the attitude many migrants have towards state authorities. Dutch migration researcher Hein de Haas refers to the Moroccan state's policy change with regard to migrants living abroad as a move from 'hard control' to 'soft control' (de Haas 2007: 41). The problems that arise here could be described as the 'burden of history' and of the institutions concerned. This became clear in the many discussions conducted as part of this study with migrants engaged in development activities.

8 The Moroccan Government is increasingly seeking to reach out to the children of Moroccan migrants abroad. Summer holidays and holiday camps for the children of migrants are advertised on Moroccan satellite TV.

9 See the interview 'Une politique en faveur de la participation culturelle et citoyenne des Marocains du monde' with Driss El Yazami in the journal 'Hommes et Migrations' (El Yazami 2013).



### 3.4 *Development activities of Moroccan migrant organisations in Germany*

Moroccan migrants living in Germany have been involved in activities to promote the development of their country of origin ever since they moved from Morocco to Germany. For many years, their initiatives were largely informal and localised, with no formal structure. Their main activity was the transfer of money and donations in kind to family and acquaintances in Morocco. Since the turn of the millennium, however, it has become evident that Moroccan migrants living in Germany are increasingly coming together to set up initiatives, organisations and associations (see list in the Annex). As a result, their development activities are becoming more collective, formal and sustained in nature (Metzger et al. 2011). First, it is apparent that the reasons for this change are complex and that the activities of Moroccan migrants in Germany are extremely wide-ranging because of the diversity among Moroccan migrants as a group already alluded (see Section 3.2). This is also, and particularly, true of migrant organisations involved in promoting Morocco's development. The diverse nature of the migrant group is reflected in a diverse organisational landscape. As a proposed scheme for organising the results of the study, this report will differentiate between migrant organisations engaged in development activities according to the degree of mobilisation of their members (who is involved in the relevant organisations?). In so doing, the report will make a distinction between community organisations, which appeal wherever possible to all Moroccan migrants in a city or region in Germany, and Moroccan migrant organisations, which mobilise specific members as target groups, such as graduates, students, women and young people.

#### 3.4.1 *Types of Moroccan migrant organisations in Germany and their development activities*

**Moroccan community organisations in Germany: between self-help and selective support for Morocco**

Most individuals with a Moroccan migration background in Germany who are active in development engagement are involved in community organisations, often also referred to as 'cultural associations'. Set up when migrant labourers came to Germany from the 1960s onwards, these organisations have since undergone several name changes or been disbanded but were, and continue to be, important contact points for newly arrived migrants. Adopting a catch-all approach, they seek to reach all migrants in one city or region in Germany, who themselves often come from one particular city or region in Morocco. Düsseldorf and Frankfurt am Main are still home to many of these Moroccan community organisations, most of which are located close to mosque associations. Community organisations are social centres and places where cultural traditions are preserved. Members frequently meet together to drink tea and coffee on the association's premises, where language courses are sometimes offered too. The first generation of migrants often took German classes, but subsequent generations are increasingly taking courses in Arabic or Tamazight, a Berber language. In addition to encouraging social interaction, the associations focus on improving the situation of members in Germany through self-help initiatives. However, many community organisations are also engaged in activities to promote Morocco's development. Largely unstable and limited in time, these activities mainly revolve around financial donations or donations in kind. Cultural entertainment and benefit events are organised, with the proceeds being donated to those in need in Morocco. Additionally, these associations collect clothes and donations in the wake of natural disasters in Morocco, most recently following the catastrophic floods in November 2014. Members frequently club together to raise money for mosque-building projects in their regions of origin. Nevertheless, most of the traditional and self-help activities of community organisations are focused on the situation of Moroccan migrants in Germany.



One example of a community organisation in Germany is the 'Marokkanischer Verein' (Moroccan Association). Established in Munich in 1994, it operates as a cultural and religious centre and houses a café, a prayer hall, and space for women's groups and for Arabic and remedial courses. It supports orphans in Morocco and has undertaken a range of activities in the past, including transporting a decommissioned German school bus to Morocco. Additionally, it collects clothing and donations for those affected by natural disasters. In recent months, staff from 'Ingenieure ohne Grenzen' ('Engineers without borders') approached the Marokkanischer Verein to discuss a partnership for electrifying villages in Southern Morocco. The 'Marokkanischer Verein für die Tamazight-Kultur und Soziales' (Moroccan Association for Tamazight Culture and Society) (MVTKS) was set up in Frankfurt am Main in 1992 and is similar in structure to the Marokkanischer Verein in Munich. It was founded to promote Tamazight culture and has some 20 members who organise concerts and celebrations in Germany and work with mosque associations in Frankfurt am Main to run tuition projects for young people with a Moroccan migration background. To this end, the MVTKS also receives support from time to time from the Office for Multicultural Affairs of the city of Frankfurt am Main. It also undertakes activities every now and then to support people in need of help in Morocco, especially those in the Rif region in the north of the country, where most of the MVTKS members come from.

The findings of this study show that, while community organisations seek to reach all Moroccan migrants in a German city or neighbourhood, most of their members and leaders are men. Some of these men came to Germany from the Rif region as migrant labourers in the 1960s and 1970s. Women and young people have little if any presence in most community organisations, and only in recent years have community organisations been set up in which women play a more prominent role. One such organisation is the 'Deutsche-Marokkanische Gemeinde' (German-Moroccan Community) in Düsseldorf, which was established in 2013 as part of the events to mark the 50th anniversary of the Moroccan-German recruitment agreement. The organisation's founding members explained in an interview that, while there are many young people in Düsseldorf with a Moroccan migration background who are keen to become socially involved, these young people would not identify with the existing organisations. This was why they set up the Deutsche-Marokkanische Gemeinde. Most of its 20 or so members got to know each other during the elections for the city of Düsseldorf's integration council in May 2014, in which they stood as

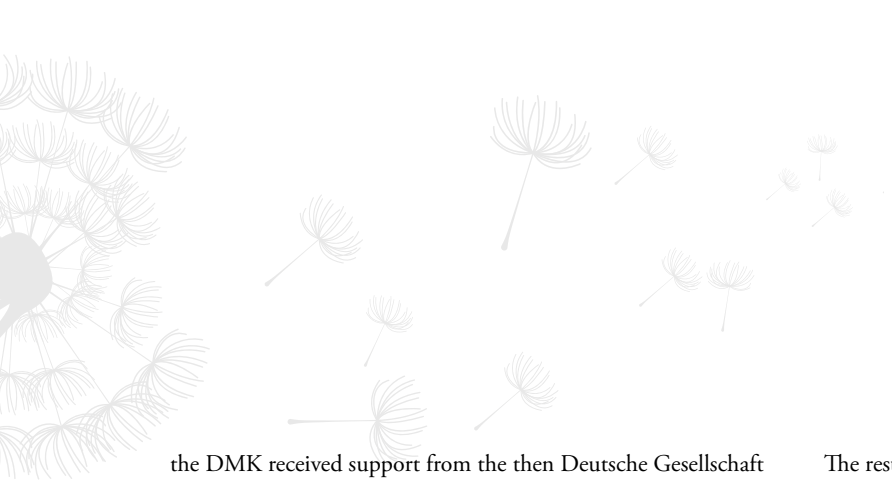
a team for election. They point out that the association's chair is a woman, as are half of its members. The organisation, which is still in the process of being established, intends to become involved in development activities in future.

#### Moroccan graduate associations in Germany: networking and transferring knowledge to Morocco

In addition to community organisations, the last few years have seen the first Moroccan graduate associations established in Germany, geared particularly to highly qualified Moroccan migrants. Most have been set up with the aim of promoting development and improving the lives of people in Morocco. One such association is 'Deutsch-Marokkanische Akademiker (DMA) e.V.', formed in 2012 by ten alumni of the Leibniz Universität in Hanover. The organisation's members wanted to pass on the experience they had gained as foreign students at German universities to Moroccan students arriving in Germany for the first time. Since its establishment, the DMA has carried out a range of projects, including an education programme for students from southern Morocco run in partnership with the French organisation 'Juste pour eux' ('Just for them'). Working with the Goethe-Institut in Morocco, the DMA has advised interested students and joined forces with the Centre for International Migration and Development (CIM) to organise orientation seminars for Moroccan students in Hanover. Finally, the association organised a fund-raising marathon in Hanover for Moroccan aid projects. The DMA now has a membership of between 50 and 60 volunteers from Hanover and other German university towns and cities, though it says it is still working to put its work on a professional footing. It has around 1,000 Moroccan students and graduates in Germany on its mailing list.

The 'Deutsch-Marokkanische Kompetenznetzwerk' (DMK) plays a key role among Moroccan migrant organisations involved in development activities. The DMK was set up in 2007 at the initiative of the then Moroccan Ambassador to Germany and formally registered in 2009. According to the association itself, its membership now comprises some 900 highly qualified migrants throughout Germany; between 10 and 20 of them are active on an ongoing basis. The main goal of DMK is to transfer technology and expertise to Morocco. The first highlight of its work was the 'Autumn university for Moroccan competence abroad', held in Fes in 2009. The event brought together some 450 people from Germany and Morocco to discuss development projects in Morocco. It was organised by the Ministry of Moroccans Living Abroad and Migration Affairs in cooperation with DMK and under the auspices of King Mohammed VI. Another major project was the 'IT caravan', a venture in which





the DMK received support from the then Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ). The project saw school students in Morocco being introduced to and trained in the use of software technology from Europe. DMK has also carried out many other projects (see also Hajji 2011, Hajji/Moket 2014).

DMK is the most professional Moroccan migrant organisation in Germany committed to promoting development and can also be considered the most successful nationwide Moroccan network in Germany, as many members are involved in other migrant organisations, such as 'Aamana e.V.' in Frankfurt am Main and 'Oum el Banine' in Düsseldorf. Setting up the DMK provided key impetus for the development activities of Moroccan migrants in Germany, creating real dynamism and encouraging Moroccan migrants in Germany to step up their commitment to development in their country of origin. Since the establishment of DMK, several not-for-profit projects have been implemented in Morocco, some of which with financial support from CIM. DMK mostly addresses academics (DMK itself uses the term "Moroccan expertise in Germany"). According to a survey of 73 DMK network members conducted by DMK itself (Hajji/Moket 2014: 257-258), 86% of members had the necessary qualifications for university entry and 78% had a university degree. Most of its members are men (71%), although it was chaired for several years by a woman. The vast majority of members (81%) migrated to Germany, most of them to study in the 1980s or afterwards. The association has very few women, young people born in Germany or Moroccan students currently enrolled on a degree course among its members.

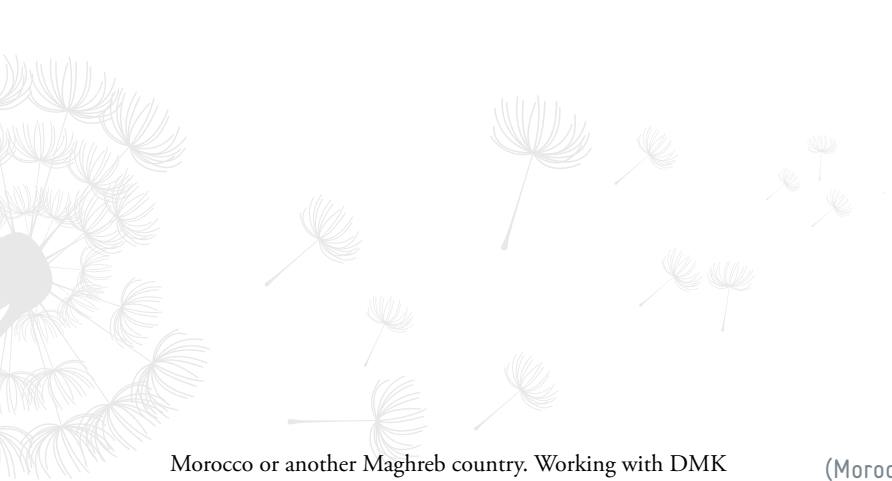
The results of DMK's own survey and the results of this study show that, as was the case with Moroccan community organisations, women are significantly under-represented in Moroccan graduate associations. This correlates with the findings outlined above about the characteristics of Moroccan student migration to Germany, with women making up just one fifth or so of current students (see Section 3.2). Young people with a Moroccan migration background born in Germany have little if any presence in graduate associations. Conversely, an increasing number of organisations and initiatives have been set up in recent years geared especially towards women and young people with a Moroccan migration background.

#### Moroccan women's groups in Germany: emancipation and empowerment of women in Germany and Morocco

In the last few years, a growing number of initiatives have been launched in Germany by women with a Moroccan migration background who are involved in development activities. The motivation for setting up all the women's groups whose representatives were interviewed as part of this study was to get self-help projects off the ground, primarily to improve the situation of women in Germany. The women's groups are geared exclusively to women. Projects with the fundamental aim of promoting emancipation were created in response to the fact that, in many sub-sectors of society, women in Morocco and within Moroccan migrant groups in Germany do not enjoy equality with men. As women have very little involvement in Moroccan migrant organisations, they set up their own groups. Women's groups were established in Aachen and Düsseldorf; in addition to having promoted self-help initiatives in Germany, they are now also engaged in development activities.

One such group is 'Oum el Banine', which was founded in Düsseldorf in 2008 by a group of women with a Moroccan migration background. The association is geared particularly to women and mothers in Düsseldorf who are originally from





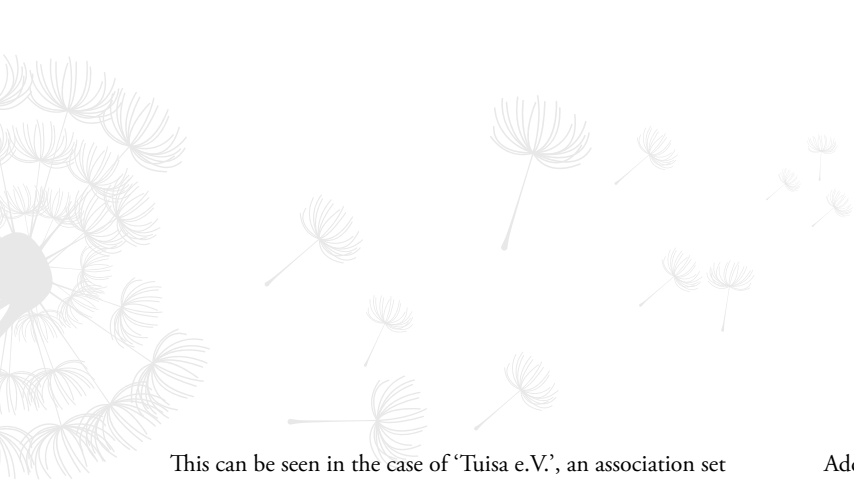
Morocco or another Maghreb country. Working with DMK and with the support of the Moroccan Chaabi Bank (which has an office in Düsseldorf), the association has been offering help with homework for young people with a migration background in Düsseldorf and reading afternoons for mothers and children in the city library. From a development perspective, the women are involved in supporting a school in Meknes and collected baby clothes in Düsseldorf for hospitals in Morocco. The 'Marokkanische Frauenvereinigung e.V.', a women's association founded in 2003, also works through its members in Aachen and the surrounding area to promote the interests of women and children in Morocco. After a small group from the association visited women in a village in southern Morocco with the support of the state-funded Hassan II Foundation, the group decided to support 'Association Ait Ali', a local organisation, with the construction of a women's centre to be used for a range of activities, including education, training and advisory projects. During the catastrophic floods in Morocco in November 2014, another group of women came together in Düsseldorf to set up the 'Massirat Tadamon' initiative (which roughly translates as 'solidarity for those in need'). Some of these women were already actively involved in other associations and initiatives in partnership with the 'Arbeiterwohlfahrt' ('Workers' Welfare') organisation. In this context, they organised a café-based women's meeting and city tours and trips around Düsseldorf for women with a Moroccan migration background to enable them to get to know 'their' city better (for example, to familiarise them with the public transport network). This women's initiative has so far supported a women's group in Morocco and is currently working with an association in Marrakesh.

#### (Moroccan) youth organisations in Germany: associations set up by and for young people with a Moroccan migration background

Young people with a Moroccan migration background born in Germany have little if any presence in the organisations mentioned so far. According to those interviewed as part of this study, there are two main reasons for this: these young people do not identify with their parents' organisations; and their sense of being connected to Morocco is diminishing over time<sup>10</sup>, partly because young people and young adults living in Germany do not necessarily spend their holidays in Morocco any longer. Added to this, many young people with a Moroccan migration background have only a rudimentary command of their parents' language. They mainly speak German and, in some cases, Tamazight (Didero/Pfaffenbach 2014). They have little or no knowledge of Moroccan Arabic or French, although French continues to be important when dealing with Moroccan authorities.

Where young people and young adults are interested in Morocco and in getting involved in development activities, they are often unable to identify with existing association structures, as these are dominated by their parents' generation and by graduates with personal experience of migration. According to a social worker interviewed as part of the study who has spent many years working with young people with a Moroccan migration background, young people need to be approached differently. Associations that are structured with regard to their parents' country of origin do not always chime with their lives and the way they spend their free time. These young people prefer to spend time with friends and acquaintances from school, the local neighbourhood or university, and these individuals are not necessarily from Morocco. Consequently, rather than focusing solely on Morocco, their development activities go beyond the borders of their country of origin.

10 The study 'Neue Heimat NRW - wo marokkanischstämmige Migranten zu Hause sind' ['Our new home in North Rhine-Westphalia - where migrants from Morocco feel at home'] by Maike Didero and Carmella Pfaffenbach (2013) illustrates vividly that young people whose parents and grandparents come from Morocco do not necessarily have a sense of connection with the country any longer, instead feeling a stronger sense of identification with the place where they live in Germany



This can be seen in the case of ‘Tuisa e.V.’, an association set up by young people with a Moroccan migration background in 2003 following an earthquake in Al-Hoceima in the Rif Mountains. Tuisa e.V. recruits young people from Gelsenkirchen and the Ruhr region in particular. In recent years especially, the association has gained many new members. According to its own figures, it now has 187 members and almost 5,000 ‘friends’ through its Facebook page. Almost all of its members were born in Germany, though their parents come primarily from Morocco and Turkey, as well as Bosnia, Iraq, Afghanistan and Syria. Although the board and most of the members are of Moroccan origin, the association does not necessarily see itself as ‘Moroccan’ but rather as a group of young Muslims living in Germany. Nonetheless, Tuisa e.V. is focused on promoting development activities by young people. The association is structured like a voluntary organisation, with one team meeting and one promotional campaign each month. Currently, it is running the ‘Einpfundtastische Aktion’ campaign on Facebook to encourage people to donate their refunded drinks bottle deposits to help fund drinking-water wells in Africa. The association’s goal is for young people to plan and carry out their own development project in a country of their choice, from design and financial planning to implementation. So far, numerous projects have been carried out in Morocco, Germany, Bosnia, Lebanon, Somalia and many other countries. The young people are guided and supported in their efforts by seven board and founding members. The association’s next big event is a charity concert with British Muslim pop star Sami Yusuf at Essen’s Colosseum-Theater in May 2015.

‘Zukunft plus e.V.’ is another association with a particular focus on young people with a Moroccan migration background. It was set up in 2013 as part of the celebrations to mark the 50th anniversary of the Moroccan-German recruitment agreement and has organised numerous cultural events in North Rhine-Westphalia, such as readings and discussions on the history of Moroccan migration to Germany. Founded by teachers and social workers of Moroccan origin, it is geared particularly towards young people in Düsseldorf, especially those with a Moroccan migration background. As well as implementing projects to improve the situation of young people in Germany, the association is currently working with other organisations to plan a nationwide congress of Moroccan students in the country. While Zukunft plus e.V. is still being established, it is already reaching young people with a Moroccan migration background who are largely unrepresented in other initiatives and associations.

Additionally, ‘RIF Kinderhilfsverein e.V.’ is reaching many young people and young adults through its work. This association was set up in 2005 in Mainz in which Moroccan migrants brought a seriously ill boy from Morocco to Germany for hospital treatment. In its first few years, the organisation had around 40 members, some of whom were born in Germany. RIF Kinderhilfsverein e.V. has been particularly involved in helping children and young people from the Rif Mountains in northern Morocco. Over the past two years, the association’s membership and activities have increased significantly. According to its own figures, it currently has 180 members, of whom almost half are female and one third were born in Germany. The association has now expanded its catchment area from Mainz to the Rhine-Main region. Similarly, its projects in Morocco are no longer confined to the Rif region. Rif-Kinderhilfsverein e.V. is currently assisting 20 sponsor children with their school education and medical treatment and supporting local school infrastructure. It has also funded hospital treatment in difficult cases. Projects are financed through donations and permanent sponsors including Fraport, IBM and smaller businesses from the region, many of which have links with Morocco. The association reaches young people by hosting a football tournament twice a year involving a total of 30 teams with over 200 players. The proceeds from the tournament are donated to development projects.

These examples show that, while young people and young adults who were born in Germany are largely unrepresented in the community and graduate organisations mentioned, they are involved in other organisations. By addressing target groups appropriately, youth organisations are managing to mobilise especially those young people that other organisations are not reaching. The youth organisations integrate young people into projects, thereby raising their awareness of development activities. The associations also use football to mobilise young people, such as in the case of the charity tournament hosted by Rif-Kinderhilfsverein e.V. As well as reaching numerous young people in Herne and the surrounding area, FC Marokko Herne is also working with the Moroccan Football Association, supporting development in Morocco. It would seem that, for young people born in Germany especially, it is important that their development activities reflect how they view themselves and are relevant to the world they live in; they are involved not only with ‘Moroccan migrant organisations’ but also with organisations that work in several countries of origin. For this reason, state institutions in Morocco have so far paid little attention to youth organisations. The same goes for student initiatives established in Germany in the last few years, which report that they are largely unrecognised by the Moroccan state.



### Moroccan student initiatives: academic advice and knowledge transfer

The findings of this study show that only a small number of Moroccan students arriving in Germany for the first time become involved in existing associations. Another reason for this is that, as described above, students are already pushed to their limits with their study programmes, meaning that they have little time and money left for voluntary and development activities (see Section 3.2). Nevertheless, a growing number of students at German universities have been getting involved in Moroccan student initiatives in recent years. While these initiatives were primarily set up to improve the situation of Moroccan students in Germany, they also transfer their experience and knowledge to Morocco.

A prime example of such an initiative is the ‘Dayzine’ student network. Roughly translated, ‘dayzine’ means ‘on the move’. The network was initiated in 2009 by students from the Ruhr-Universität Bochum and the University of Applied Sciences Düsseldorf with the aim of supporting Moroccan students coming to Germany for the first time and has three target groups: Moroccans interested in studying, Moroccan students in Germany and Moroccan graduates in Germany. The network offers these groups personal advice, workshops and seminars in Germany and, through partnerships with the Goethe-Institut and private language schools, in Morocco. Through its website, online radio programme and online workshops, Dayzine reaches large numbers of students and individuals interested in studying. According to the network itself, its Facebook page has

almost 10,000 followers, around 3,000 of them in Germany and 7,000 in Morocco. The events, which, as the initiators point out, cost very little to run, are financed primarily by the initiators out of their own pocket. Some travel expenses are paid by the Goethe-Institut and language schools in Morocco, and workshop and seminar rooms are occasionally provided by the international students department of the Ruhr-Universität Bochum. A Moroccan PhD student at the University of Passau, who goes by the Facebook name GerMarok, is pursuing a similar aim by providing support to students from Morocco enrolled at German universities. Like that provided by Dayzine, his online advice is targeted in particular at individuals in Morocco interested in studying and Moroccan students in Germany.

It became clear in compiling this study that as well as students being involved in their own initiatives, the existing Moroccan migrant organisations and networks in Germany involved in development activities were set up in the main by former students and university graduates, who remain their driving force. While still studying themselves, the student network members advise Moroccans interested in studying in Germany and those already studying in the country, thereby helping to reduce the information deficit in Morocco regarding studying in Europe and Germany. Nevertheless, students have so far received little, if any, support from the Moroccan state or German development cooperation. Nor does the Moroccan state gear its programmes to students abroad: almost none of the participants and guests at Morocco Week in April 2015 were students.



### 3.4.2 Opportunity structures in Morocco and Germany

#### Liberalisation processes in Morocco and the 'inherited fears' of Moroccan migrants

One reason why Moroccan migrants in Germany have stepped up their activities to support Morocco's development in recent years is that, as mentioned above, Morocco has undergone a political transformation since the 1990s (see Section 3.3, and Vermeren 2011). This point was emphasised by almost all the representatives of migrant organisations engaged in development activities interviewed as part of this study. One founding member of DMK stated clearly in an interview with the author of this study back in 2009: 'The reason that such an association can exist in the first place is that Morocco has undergone democratic shifts that have led many Moroccans [in Germany - author's note] to work to promote their country's development. If the political situation were the same as it was 20 years ago, then I don't think we could have set up this forum' (interview with a DMK member, January 2009). King Mohammed VI, who succeeded his father in 1999 and initiated wide-ranging reforms, has been particularly instrumental in this process. For Moroccan migrants living in Germany, most of whom still come from the Rif region in the north of the country (see Section 3.1), the King's actions in reaching out to this long marginalised region were especially significant. Without exception, all those interviewed said that the liberalisation process has significantly eased relations with the Moroccan state. The treatment of Moroccan migrants by the embassy and consulates in Germany has also improved during this time. The Minister of Moroccans Living Abroad and Migration Affairs is especially committed to developing and expanding links with migrants living in Germany.

Nonetheless, many migrants remain sceptical of the Moroccan state and its institutions. Despite the changes, the development activities of Moroccan migrants in Germany continue to be characterised by old fault lines. One individual interviewed as part of this study spoke of the 'inherited fears' of Moroccan migrants and their offspring in Germany, referring to the control policy (see Section 3.3). He said that, in particular, the relationship between migrants from the Rif region and the Moroccan state remained tense. Some of those interviewed pointed out that many migrant labourers had to leave their homes for political reasons, which is why they still have a difficult relationship with the Moroccan state. This is still reflected to this day in the fact that Moroccan migrant labourers from the 1960s and 1970s have little involvement in voluntary activities, whether

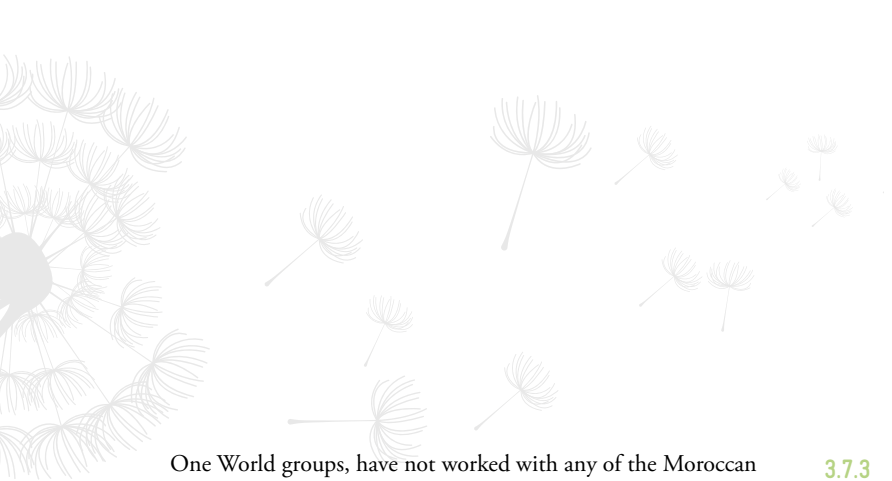
through social projects in Germany or as part of development initiatives for Morocco. As one interviewee pointed out, even their children and grandchildren have been 'immunised' as a result of their parents' history. As such, there is still a certain level of mistrust towards Moroccan institutions, the embassy, the consulates-general and their cooperation partners.

#### New development cooperation partners and concerns about Islamism in Germany

In addition to the liberalisation process in Morocco, opportunity structures in Germany have provided key impetus for the development activities of Moroccan migrants in Germany. From 2000 onwards, there was a rethink with regard to the role of migrant organisations in the integration process (see Hunger/Metzger 2011), and German development cooperation actors also became increasingly aware of the role of migrants and their organisations in development issues (Hunger et al. 2011). The German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) initiated the Sector Project for Migration and Development at the then Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) in 2006, as part of which GTZ created a pilot fund-ing programme to support the development activities of migrants and migrant organisations.<sup>11</sup> Since 2010, the Centre for International Migration and Development (CIM) has promoted development projects in migrants' countries of origin. CIM supports migrant organisations by providing advice, training and coaching for projects and by offering financial subsidies of up to EUR 50,000. Moroccan migrant organisations have also received support as part of these activities.

However, apart from the support provided by CIM and the then GTZ, there is little if any cooperation between Moroccan migrant organisations in Germany and development cooperation actors, such as non-governmental organisations (NGOs) engaged in development activities. With a few exceptions, Moroccan migrant organisations in Germany have been, and still are, supported largely by traditional integration policy stakeholders, especially welfare organisations, municipal institutions and, in individual cases, the Otto Benecke Stiftung e.V., which primarily supports foreign students and migrant organisations. By contrast, traditional civil society stakeholders in development cooperation, such as church organisations, NGOs and

<sup>11</sup> This process was inspired largely by developments at UN level and in other countries (see in particular de Haas 2006), especially France (Lacroix 2005, Musekamp 2008b) and the UK (Van Hear et al. 2004), where migrant organisations were recognised and supported as development actors far earlier than in Germany.



One World groups, have not worked with any of the Moroccan migrant organisations examined in this study. In addition to a lack of professionalisation among the migrant organisations, this may also have to do with the fact that civil society actors often see migrant organisations as new actors competing for already scarce resources, such as funding and political influence (Hunger et al. 2011). The lack of networking among Moroccan migrant organisations and civil society actors in the field of development cooperation is probably also down to the fact that most of the existing migrant organisations were until recently focused on activities in Germany and on smaller scale initiatives. Established development cooperation organisations still rarely engage in intercultural activities and, as a result, are often unaware of the development activities and potential of migrants living in Germany. In Morocco too, the migrant organisations examined rarely work with professionalised organisations.

Additionally, public discourse over the last few years on Islam and Islamism in Germany, Europe and the Middle East has had a detrimental effect on the civil society engagement and, by extension, development activities of Moroccan migrants. Even leaving all of this to one side, the Moroccan migrant group is overshadowed in the public eye by the Turkish migrant group, which is much larger and more publicly visible. In people's minds, Moroccan migrants are frequently grouped together with Turkish and other Middle Eastern migrants simply as 'Muslims'. One individual interviewed as part of this study expressed concern that this could create a negative image of people with a Moroccan migration background living in Germany and Europe. Whereas Moroccan migrants were valued as 'hard-working guest workers' in the early years of migration, they are now perceived primarily as Muslims or even Islamists in the wake of the September 11 attacks. The popularity of Salafist organisations among some young Muslims in Germany, especially those with a Moroccan migration background, and the Islamist terror attacks in Paris on 7 January 2015 are further fuelling this perception. Against this backdrop, a number of those interviewed as part of this study called for continued support for the civil society and development initiatives of young people.

### 3.7.3 Development activities and 'integration' of individuals with a Moroccan migration background living in Germany

The findings of this study have shown that it is highly-educated migrants with high-level jobs who are most active in migrant organisations involved in development work. This is especially true of the leaders of the migrant organisations examined, but also of many of the members of graduate and student associations. Migrant labourers who came to Germany in the 1960s are significantly less involved in development activities than educated migrants who came to Germany to study from the late 1980s onwards and who have since settled in the country. As a result, migrants from the Rif Mountains are underrepresented in the migrant organisations examined, though not in the community organisations. The leaders and members of development-oriented migrant organisations do not come from one specific region of Morocco.

There is a positive correlation between the development activities of Moroccan migrants and their level of participation in Germany society (Hunger et al. 2011). As suggested, most of the migrants working to promote development in their countries of origin are those who are considered to be well integrated in Germany and therefore have the resources needed to engage in development activities, such as university qualifications, a stable income and access to information and institutions (see also Portes et al. 2007, Sieveking et al. 2008, Metzger et al. 2011). Researchers speak in this context of a resource-dependency model (see, for example, Itzigsohn/Giorguli-Suacedo 2005, Baraulina/Borchers 2008). Moreover, involvement in development activities not only strengthens ties with migrants' countries of origin, but also helps develop constructive partnership-based relationships with organisations and institutions in Germany, which in turn have a positive impact on the social, economic and political participation of migrants in Germany (Riester 2011, Hunger et al. 2011). This offers potential both for the participation process and for development cooperation, potential that is being increasingly recognised in Germany too (see also Hunger 2005, Thränhardt 2005, Musekamp 2008a, Baraulina/Hilber 2010, Riester 2011).



# 4 Conclusions and recommendations for action

All in all, it is possible to identify a transformation in the development activities of Moroccan migrants in Germany over the last few years. In the early days of Moroccan migration to Germany, and up until the turn of the millennium, Moroccan migrants who engaged in development activities did so on an individual, informal and localised basis, primarily through transferring money and donations in kind to family and friends in Morocco. For a number of years now, though, Moroccan migrants living in Germany have become progressively more involved in initiatives, organisations and associations, working on a collective, formal and ongoing basis to promote Morocco's development. The findings of this study show that these changes have come about as a result of opportunity structures in both Germany and Morocco. This confirms the assumption stated at the beginning of this report that transnational activities such as the development initiatives of Moroccan migrants in Germany considered here also need to be explained by a transnational research lens. These activities have been, and continue to be, aided by opportunity structures in both Germany and Morocco, as well as by transformations among Moroccan migrants in Germany. Since the turn of the millennium, Germany has strengthened (Moroccan) migrant organisations within its borders as partners in integration policy and increasingly promoted them as partners in development cooperation. Since the 1990s, Morocco has been undergoing a process of liberalisation and modernisation, enabling the many Moroccan migrants living in Germany to participate in the development of their country of origin for the first time. At the same time, these migrants increasingly have the necessary resources at their disposal to engage in development activities within migrant organisations. As a result, Moroccan migrants and their offspring in Germany offer substantial potential from a development policy perspective that can be further nurtured and promoted through relevant supporting activities as part of German development cooperation. Building on the findings of this study, the report will conclude with six recommendations for action for the commissioning party and for German development cooperation.

## Recognising migrant organisations as partners in development cooperation

There is a great deal of interest among Moroccan migrants living in Germany in becoming involved in development activities and helping to improve the situation of people in Morocco. As part of this study, the author conducted interviews with a large number of motivated individuals who are demonstrating a high level of personal commitment to and voluntary involvement in promoting Morocco's development. More can be done to

encourage these activities by recognising and valuing migrants and their organisations as partners in development cooperation. For this reason, German institutions responsible for development and integration policy at national, federal state and municipal level should be made aware of the potential of migrant organisations to strengthen development cooperation. It is important in this context to give a positive but realistic picture of the situation, valuing the development activities of migrant organisations without overestimating them. This study is one of several clear indicators that (Moroccan) migrant organisations are making a particularly valuable contribution to Morocco's development through knowledge transfer and smaller-scale projects. By contrast, larger-scale projects are often beyond the expertise and capacity of these migrant organisations, which are mostly run on a voluntary basis, and so offer little prospect of success.

## Encouraging diversity among the Moroccan migrant organisations in Germany

The findings of this study also show that the diverse nature of the Moroccan migrant group translates into a diverse range of development activities. The development activities of Moroccan migrants in Germany range from non-professional development initiatives in community organisations (which tend to carry out activities to promote Morocco's development on a non-systematic basis and focus on transferring money and donations in kind to the country) to the professional activities of graduate associations that are increasingly engaging in project-based knowledge transfer. In order to fully leverage the potential that migrants living in Germany offer for Morocco's development, the full range of migrant organisations, including community organisations, graduate associations, student initiatives, women's groups and youth organisations, should be supported in their activities.

## Strengthening low-level engagement

In order to promote the full range of Moroccan migrant organisations engaged in development initiatives, it is also necessary to support those Moroccan migrants involved in low-level development activities. Particular support could be provided to women's groups and youth organisations to help them develop the capacity needed to build their organisations and professionalise their work. Training workshops and simple advisory services (such as an information line or an easily accessible advice centre) could be offered to address matters relating to the setting up of a registered association in Germany, achieving non-profit status, submitting project applications and applying





for funding, issues regularly faced by Moroccan (and other) migrant organisations in Germany. The research findings has also made clear that there is great demand for very smallscale, non-bureaucratic funding (subsidies and travel expenses of between EUR 500 and EUR 1,000), which could be met by low-threshold funding services. This would make it possible to support projects which are often very small but still worthy of support and to introduce motivated migrants to development project work. Additionally, it would also be helpful to draft a dedicated concept for young people with a Moroccan migration background, who could be made aware of their potential as the development actors of tomorrow, thereby motivating them to get involved. Such a concept could be drafted, for example, by the commissioning party in cooperation with representatives of Moroccan youth organisations, social workers and academics.

### Supporting Moroccan students in Germany

Alongside youth and women's organisations, Moroccan students have a particularly key role to play in making a sustainable contribution to development. By passing on their experience to new Moroccan students in Germany, acting as the first port of call for Moroccans interested in studying in Germany, and serving as role models, they often play a key part in transferring knowledge to Morocco even while they are still studying. Those who return to Morocco after completing their studies take with them the skills they have acquired at German universities. As the study shows, Moroccan students who (initially) remain in Germany after finishing their degree often get involved in a migrant organisation. In the view of the author, providing appropriate support to Moroccan students in Germany (also with a view to them successfully completing their studies at a German university) would provide significant leverage for development processes in Morocco.

### Bringing new cooperation partners on board for the future

The author also recommends that the commissioning party support the networking activities of migrant organisations. This applies both to the specialist and transnational networking initiatives of migrants and migrant organisations themselves and to networking between migrant organisations and civil-society

actors in the field of development cooperation. Networking Moroccan migrant organisations with established development cooperation agencies, for example as part of tandem projects with church organisations and civil society umbrella organisations, would appear to be especially important. Established civil society and development organisations can serve as intermediaries between migrant organisations, which are often small in size and less professional, on the one hand and specialist development cooperation agencies and administrative bodies on the other. Partnerships and networks create opportunities for unlocking new resources and gaining access to information. When it comes to networking activities, it is particularly important to ensure that they build on existing structures and networks. This is especially important given Moroccan migrants' widespread mistrust of the Moroccan state's top-down approaches and its cooperation partners alluded to earlier. Holding round tables with different actors, discussion groups and specialist conferences on specific issues relevant to Moroccan migrant organisations could help to build trust between the actors, resolve conflicts and facilitate cooperation. Only by providing opportunities for dialogue can new partners be found for the development initiatives of migrants.

### Improving the socio-economic situation of Moroccan migrants in Germany

It is important to point out in conclusion that approaches to promoting development activities by Moroccan migrant organisations are especially effective when the legal and socio-economic situation of Moroccan migrants is improved in accordance with the resource-dependency model presented in this study. This is the role not only of development cooperation actors but also of German and European policy-makers and society. As shown by this study, in some instances with examples, improving educational, training and labour market opportunities for migrants and recognising the qualifications gained in their countries of origin would also have a positive impact on their development activities, both at an individual level and in the context of migrant organisations. Anti-discrimination measures and efforts to combat stereotyping and Islamophobia would be key components of such a far-reaching and sustainable policy.

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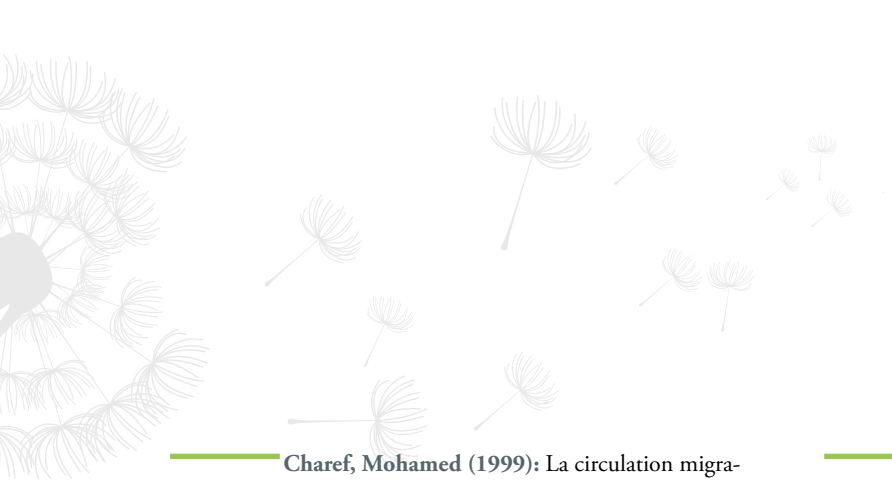
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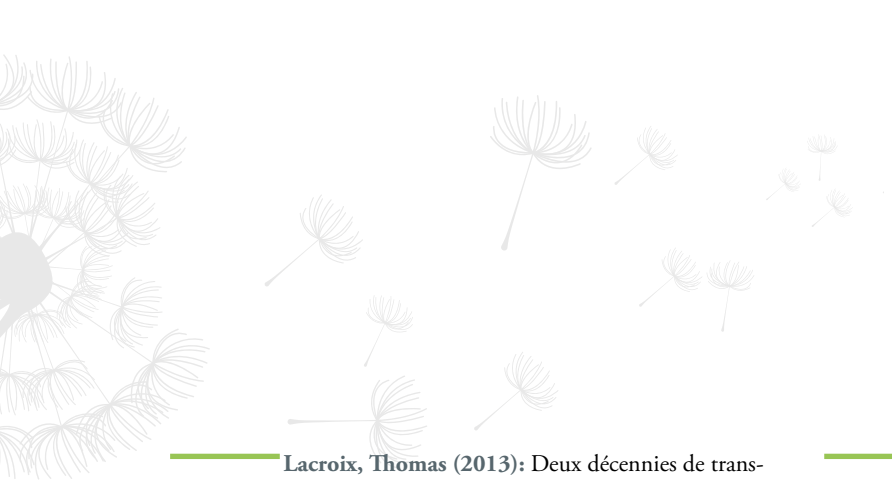
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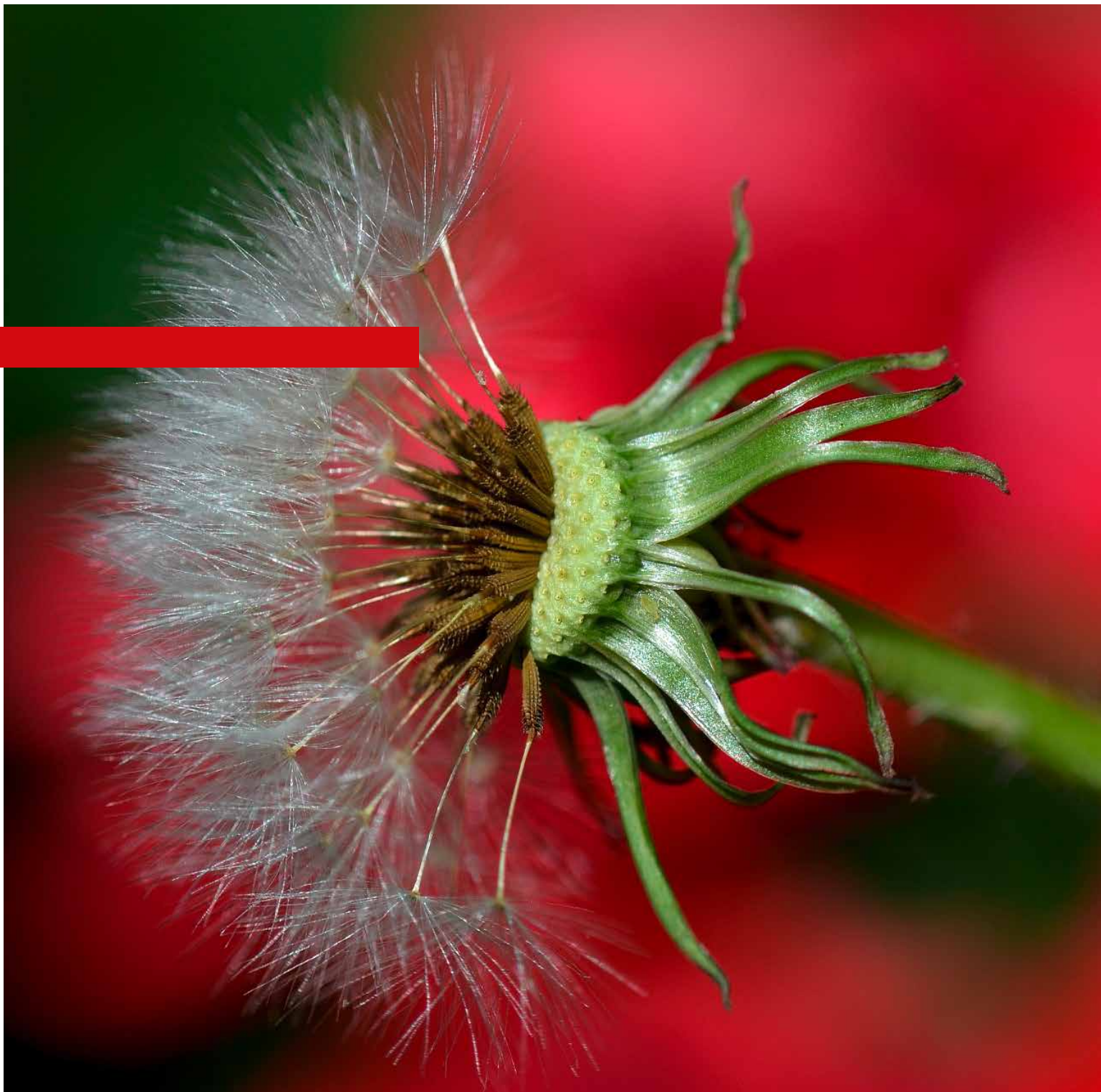


# Annex: List of identified migrant organisations in Germany involved in development activities

	Organisation	Location	Website
1.	Aamana – Plattform für Integration, Bildung und Entwicklung e.V.	Frankfurt am Main	<a href="http://www.aamana-ev.com">www.aamana-ev.com</a>
2.	Anoual e.V.	Essen	
3.	Dayzine	Bochum	<a href="http://www.dayzine.de">www.dayzine.de</a>
4.	Deutsch-Marokkanische Akademiker (DMA) e. V.	Hannover	<a href="http://www.dma-ev.de">www.dma-ev.de</a>
5.	Deutsch- Marokkanische Gemeinde e.V.	Düsseldorf	
6.	Deutsch-Marokkanische Gesellschaft e.V.	Dortmund/ Münster	<a href="http://www.deutschmarokkanischegesellschaft.de">www.deutschmarokkanischegesellschaft.de</a>
7.	Deutsch-Marokkanisches Kompetenznetzwerk (DMK) e.V.	Munich/throughout Germany	<a href="http://www.dmk-online.org">www.dmk-online.org</a>
8.	FC Marokko Herne e.V.	Herne	<a href="http://www.fc-marokko-herne.de">www.fc-marokko-herne.de</a>
9.	GerMarok	Passau/Facebook	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/pages/Germarok/800494233325339">https://www.facebook.com/pages/Germarok/800494233325339</a>
10.	Marokkanischer Verein e.V.	Munich	<a href="http://www.marokkanischer-verein.de">http://www.marokkanischer-verein.de</a>
11.	Marokkanische Frauenvereinigung e.V.	Alsdorf	
12.	Marokkanischer Verein für die Tamazight-Kultur und Soziales (MVTKS) e. V.	Frankfurt am Main, Germany	<a href="http://www.mvtns.de">www.mvtns.de</a>
13.	Massirat Tadamon / Aktive Migranten für Düsseldorf (AMD) e.V.	Düsseldorf	
14.	Oum el Banine. e.V	Düsseldorf	<a href="http://www.oumelbanine-ma.org">www.oumelbanine-ma.org</a>
15.	Rif-Kinderhilfsverein e.V.	Mainz	<a href="http://www.rif-khv.com">www.rif-khv.com</a>
16.	Touisa e.V.	Gelsenkirchen	<a href="http://www.tuisa.de">www.tuisa.de</a>
17.	Zukunft Plus e.V.	Düsseldorf	<a href="http://www.marokkanische-migration.de">www.marokkanische-migration.de</a> (im Aufbau)







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I [www.giz.de/migrationdevelopment](http://www.giz.de/migrationdevelopment)

On behalf of



Federal Ministry  
for Economic Cooperation  
and Development