

## Preface

This thesis concludes my study of human geography at the University of Amsterdam and is the result of research conducted in Taghzoute, Morocco during the months of June to September of 1999. The research falls under the framework of the project IMAROM, an international research project (1998-2001) financed by the European Commission and co-ordinated by the University of Amsterdam.

The subject of this thesis rose out of my interest in unequal gender-relations, which is still common in many societies. The IMAROM-project gave me the possibility to research gender-relations in a society that is based on patriarchal principles which often creates a subordinate position for women. With this study I hoped to gain more insight in the thoughts behind these relations.

Without the help of numerous people, this thesis would never have been written. First of all I would like to thank my supervisors Hein de Haas and Leo de Haan for the help they provided with writing my research proposal and thesis. Especially Hein helped me during all the phases of this research both in Morocco as in the Netherlands. Without him I would never have had the confidence to finish it. I also would like to thank Ad de Bruijne for giving his feedback in the final stages of this thesis.

Of the people in Morocco, who made my research there a memorable experience, I would like to thank first of all the women of Taghzoute, who have welcomed me in their homes and patiently answered my questions. These women carry their responsibilities with great strength and I have much respect for them. I would specially like to thank Fatima, my interpreter and dear friend. Without her support I would not have been able to conduct an interview and gain inside in the women. I also want to thank my host-family that made me feel completely at home. Furthermore I thank Hassan El Ghanjou, who supported me in the field with information and his sympathy.

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## Chapter 1

# Introduction

### 1.1 Introduction

Despite rapid changes in the last decades regarding gender equality, especially in the western world, women are still a vulnerable group in society in most parts of the world. Political, economic and social constraints often make them dependent on other members of society, especially on their male counterparts.

This particularly appears to be the case in patriarchal societies that can be found in North Africa, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia. In these regions women enjoy, because of their gender, little political, economic and social rights or power. According to literature, most women are restricted to household tasks and life within the household or confined to family labour without payment. In contrast to these women, men occupy the public domain and more authoritative positions. I became interested in the position of these women, because I was curious to find out the extent of the difference in position between the sexes. Moreover, I wanted to find out how women themselves perceive these differences.

The IMAROM-project<sup>1</sup> offered the possibility to research gender relations in a country based on patriarchal principles. This project studies the relation between migration, land and water use and the exploitation of resources in four oases in Morocco and Tunisia. My purpose was to look at the effects of migration on women.

My research is situated in the Todgha Valley in southern Morocco. The Todgha Valley is an oasis, which is characterised by strong outmigration predominantly by men. These men often leave their wives and families behind to find work in the cities of Morocco or abroad. I decided to focus on the women left behind by their husbands because I expected to find substantial changes for these women. I wanted to investigate how these women cope with the changes caused by the migration of their husband, especially the differences concerning the decision-making processes within the household and the women's daily activities.

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<sup>1</sup> IMAROM is an international research project (1998-2001) financed by the European Commission (INCO-DC, DG XII, IC18-CT97-0134) and co-ordinated by the University of Amsterdam. IMAROM means Interaction between Migration, Land & Water use and Resource Exploitation in the Oases of the Maghreb

I started my fieldwork in June 1999 and completed it in September 1999. During that time I lived in a small village in the lower Todgha, named Taghzoute, with a local family. I conducted interviews with the women in the village and used the participatory observation method by living with that family and participating in their daily activities and social life.

## **1.2 Aim of research**

The purpose of this research is to gather information on the daily lives of Moroccan women, in this case married women in a traditional rural area.

Firstly I want to gain an inside in their daily activities and their own perceptions on their daily activities related to the migration of their husbands. What are their duties during the day and what are the differences between migrant wives and non-migrant wives? Is migration a cause for changes in their daily routine?

Secondly I want to know what the position of the women is in the household decision-making process according to their own perception. Do they decide themselves what their daily activities are and what changes occur in this process after the husband migrates?

By answering these questions I want to verify the claims made in literature that women are being suppressed or do they enjoy more power (overt or covert) than they are accounted for. Furthermore, I want to find out if migration gives women more authority to decide or control their own activities. In short, does migration create independence for these women?

## **1.3 Structure of thesis**

I have started the first chapter by giving an introduction to the research. I will continue in chapter 2 with an elaboration on the theoretical background of this research. The concept of patriarchy and patriarchal households are discussed as well as theories regarding migration effects. Specific information on the households and migration in Morocco and the Todgha Valley leads me to the central question of research.

Chapter 3 describes the methodology used in this research. Information on the project IMAROM can be found as well as the research considerations. I will zoom in on the research questions and methods of research as well as the problems I faced.

In chapter 4 relevant facts and background information on Morocco and the Todgha Valley can be found. Furthermore there is an elaboration on Taghzoute, the village of research concluded with an introduction of the respondents in this research.

Chapter 5 presents the research findings regarding women's daily activities and compares the focus groups of research on that matter. Changes through time and the women's perception concerning their daily activities are discussed as well.

Chapter 6 discusses the research findings on the women regarding decision-making processes. A comparison between the groups of women on this matter is made as well as on the women's perception towards their position in the decision-making process.

Chapter 7 summarises the findings of this research and relates them to the literature. The central question of research will be answered to conclude this research.

After these chapters the bibliography can be found as well as a summary in French and the questionnaire used in this research.

## Chapter 2

# Theoretical Considerations

### 2.1 Introduction

This research will explore the differences between women's position in the decision-making processes concerning the women's daily activities before and after their husband's migration. These women will be compared to non-migrant wives, to find out if the level of autonomy and the tasks performed by women changes due to this event.

Power relations within society and in the household play a significant role in researching decision-making processes. The different roles women and men play in society and at home are strongly connected to their position within the decision-making process. As pointed out, Morocco is a society based on principles, which grants male authority over women: a patriarchal principle. Patriarchy is a concept, which distinctly defines power relations by gender in society. In this chapter, the concept of patriarchy will be discussed first.

Secondly, I'll go into economic and anthropologic theories regarding households and their organisation, focussing on decision-making and gender relations. In my research I analyse on the individual level with women as the unit of analysis. Still, it is important to look at theories on household relations and organisation, since the women in my research take part in intra-household relations and most decisions with regard to the daily activities of women are decisions affecting the household.

As Henriëtte Moore puts it:

*“Households are important in feminist analysis because they organise a large part of women's domestic/reproductive labour. As a result, both the composition and the organisation of households have a direct impact on women's lives, and on their ability to gain access to resources, to labour and to income” (Moore 1988 p.55).*

Subsequently, more detailed information on women's positions in rural Moroccan households and their daily activities reported in literature will be provided. The next part examines the different effects out-migration can have on women left behind in general and in particular on women living in oasis in Morocco. This chapter concludes with the central question of research and an explanation of the used terms.

## 2.2 The concept of patriarchy and household approaches

As this research involves examining decision-making processes, various theories on this subject will be examined.

The concept of patriarchy is used widely in relation to the Muslim countries in North Africa and the Middle East. Patriarchy is often associated with Islamic principles. But it is also separated from Islam and attributed to pre-Islamic traditional values in Muslim societies. This discussion will not be examined, as this is another area of research.<sup>2</sup> The concept of patriarchy will, however, be used in this research because according to feminist literature patriarchal principles are the principles that lead to women's subordination in Morocco.

The second part of this paragraph describes several approaches concerning strategies regarding decision-making within the household. Most approaches are either economic or anthropological. The differences between those approaches are numerous so only a short summary will be given, with critical comments where needed. The last part explains which approach is applicable in this research.

### 2.2.1 Patriarchy

According to Chandler (1991;p45), patriarchy is an essential concept when analysing women in all social relationships. She states that patriarchy is an organising principle in the whole society, embedded in culture and psyche, though originated in the family where women are dominated by men (and younger men by older men). She claims that patriarchy is a power relation, which causes inequality, subordination and dependence between men and women in marriage and beyond. Also Inhorn (1996) speaks of patriarchy as a principle demonstrated in society as well as within the family. She claims that patriarchy manifests itself in different ways and on different social levels. She defines, as she calls, "the Middle Eastern patriarchy" as follows:

*"Patriarchy is characterised by relations of power and authority of males over females which are learned through gender socialisation within the family, where males wield power through the socially defined institution of fatherhood. It is manifested in both inter- and intragender interactions within the family and in other interpersonal milieus and institutionalised on many societal levels"* Inhorn (1996;p5).

Kandiyoti (1991;p31) refers to the form of patriarchy found in North Africa, Muslim Middle East and Southern and Eastern Asia as "classic patriarchy". The occurrence of the (ideal typical) patriarchal extended family, which gives the senior man authority over the other family members, is incorporated and controlled by the state. It entails forms of control and subordination that cut across cultural and religious boundaries. The material bases of classic patriarchy crumble under the impact of new market forces, capital penetration in rural areas, and processes of economic marginalisation.

Morgan states in Chandler (1991;p47) that men in households and in families are both fathers and husbands and their relationship with women and children are interwoven in a web of male authority. In households patriarchy shapes housework, domestic decision-making, sexual regulation, the economic dependence of women and their relationships with children.

Because patriarchy is important in the analysis of gender relations and Morocco is based on patriarchal principles, an exploration will follow on the household decision-making process in those aspects.

### ***2.2.2 Different approaches towards households***

Some approaches towards households seem relevant in relation to this research. These approaches will be discussed in the next two paragraphs. The first paragraph explores two approaches towards households, which in the literature are regarded as being economic approaches. The second paragraph gives an explanation of the anthropological approach towards households.

#### *Two economic approaches towards household decision-making*

Two economic approaches will be highlighted regarding households: the approach which treats households as a unit of altruistic decision-making, and an alternative approach which considers households as a site of bargaining and conflict.

In altruistic models the household is seen as a unit, which aims to maximise the total income and the total welfare of the household. The household head decides rationally which decisions optimise the household's budget and welfare, and the other members agree voluntarily with these decisions. All the household members strive to benefit the household. There is altruism and consensus in the intra-household relations. If there is unequal distribution of resources within the household, it is explained by the same altruism (Agarwal 1997;Evans 1991;Hart 1997;Kabeer 1994). Critics, however, point out that when speaking of unequal distribution of resources, systematically the less powerful members of the household are being subordinated. Often these members are women and children. When the consequences of such decisions become life threatening, the notion of voluntaristic decision-making within the household becomes unrealistic. Another point is that the household should be seen as a group of people with different tastes and preferences who all make certain decisions regarding the household (Evans 1991;Kabeer 1994). Evans (1991) adds to these points that the altruistic model obscures the significance of intra-household dynamics, especially gender relations.

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<sup>2</sup> For more information, read C. Fawzi El-Sohl & J. Mabro 1994 & F. Mernissi 1996

According to Kabeer (1994) and Agarwal (1997) bargaining models are better applicable than altruistic models when studying gender relations. In bargaining approaches, 'households are based on long term, implicit exchange contracts between individuals of different generations related through birth and marriage. These individuals, who have distinct preferences and personal economic constraints, pursue their self-interests through family exchanges in a world of risk and uncertainty' (Todaro & Fapohunda in Kabeer 1994;p108). The bargaining process generates intersecting contractual relationships between the various household members, specifying their rights and obligations to each other, as the basis of household co-operation. Decision-making within the household is therefore the resolution of potentially conflicting preferences resolved through a process of negotiation between members. Inequality between members is reduced to their individual characteristics and endowments and they are able to choose non co-operation as a possible solution should the bargaining process prove to be unsatisfactory. Solving a conflicting situation depends on the relative bargaining power household members possess. The member with the most effective bargaining power will normally get what he or she wants (Agarwal 1997;Kabeer 1994). But as critics point out, the stimulant for members to co-operate is not simply based on individual needs, but also on normative pressures, backed up by the threat of social sanctions. Cultural dimensions are not taken into account as well (Agarwal 1997;Kabeer 1994).

Both economic approaches seem applicable to households in patriarchal societies. But comments are already made. One is, as Evans states:

*"The aim of economists is to develop and apply a model of household decision-making and to do that you have to know how the household functions. Economists have the assumption that the household functions according to generalisable rules of family/domestic organisation which involve household members in corporate activity within clearly defined socio-economic boundaries"* (Evans 1991;p.51).

These approaches do not take regional differences and traditional values into account.

The altruistic approach speaks of possible voluntaristic subordination to maximise total welfare of the household and assumes rational behaviour. Human beings do not behave rational at all times and voluntaristic subordination implies freedom of choice to do so. It leaves out imposed traditional values. The bargaining approach is based on implicit exchange contracts between individuals. Decision-making is a resolution of potentially conflicting preferences between household members through a process of negotiation. Inequality is reduced to individual characteristics and endowments. This implies that there is negotiation in patriarchal households, but that individual characteristics and endowments lead to inequality in patriarchal households. This suggests that in patriarchal societies, all men are more gifted and qualified to have authority than women are. Differences in gender do not have to lead to differences in endowments and individual characteristics.

*Anthropological approach towards households*

The anthropological approach focuses on the cultural and gender dimensions, which are excluded from the economic approaches as literature reports. The household types according to anthropological literature are cross-culturally diverse and are

*”shifting, flexible structures in which boundaries are difficult to discern....a diversity of family and household composition and social relations, mediated through marriage and kinship, creating a variety of conjugal and residential arrangements” (Evans 1991;54).*

Kabeer (1994;p115) states that the economy of the household refers to the rules, relations and practices that govern household production, acquisition and distribution of valued resources essential for meeting the needs of its members. Anthropological research also recognises certain regional uniformity's in the social relations that govern production, distribution and consumption which can lead to certain typologies of ideal-typical household forms, based on patterns of household rules, norms and practices. They point to the different degrees of corporateness in household organisation and the implications for gender relations within the household. These forms focus on the issues of control and autonomy at different stages of household management, which are critical in shaping decision-making processes. These forms have implications for the extent and form of co-operation and conflict (Kabeer 1994).

The differences with economic approaches is that the anthropological approach includes cultural and gender differences in different societies and regions, which leads to different household types and differences in household decision-making. Below forms of households based on patriarchal principles will be discussed.

According to Moore (1988), women in many regions of the world are confined to the domestic/private domain, where their main sphere of activity is limited to intra- and inter-familial relations, whereas men operate in the political and public domain. This is also the case in the corporate household form Caldwell describes in Kabeer (1994;p115). This household form is centred around marriage and characterised by ‘patriarchy-patriliny<sup>3</sup>-patrilocality<sup>4</sup>’. Caldwell sees this household form in a belt stretching from northern Africa to Bangladesh. These households can be seen as male farming systems and they are organised around cultural rules focussing on male responsibility for protection and provisioning of women and children. The practices of female seclusion, patrilineal inheritance and patrilocal residence interlock to produce corporately organised, patriarchal household forms and the social norms of male breadwinner/female dependant are reflected in men's privileged claims to material and labour opportunities. This can be found in the patriarchal households of Inhorn (1996;p3) as well where male patriarchs have considerable control over family decision-making and the lives of both women and junior males in the household.

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<sup>3</sup> patriliny can be described as descending from the line of the father

<sup>4</sup> Patrilocality can be described as living in the village and/or house of the father

According to Kabeer (1994;p129) these more corporate households, where men own most of the household's material assets, control the labour of women and children, and mediate women's relations with the non-familial world, are usually characterised by an absence of overt conflict in household decision-making. Women are socially moulded into a passive and vulnerable role, dependent on male provision and protection for their survival. They suppress their own needs in favour of the needs of the male family members. Women's dependency in these systems forces them to adopt overtly co-operative strategies, in order to maximise their long-term security. There is a hierarchy of decision-making, needs and priorities, related to age, gender and lifecycle, to which both men and women subscribe. Therefore women appear to acquiesce and also actively perpetuate discriminatory practices within the household distribution in order to secure their long-term security. Women are not entirely powerless but their subversion of male decision-making power tends to be covert. Agarwal (1997;p25) points out that the absence of overt conflict doesn't imply unanimity. Women can overtly comply as a survival strategy, because of the constraints on their ability to act overtly, but as Agarwal puts it "compliance need not imply complicity".

Kandiyoti (1991;p10) continues by saying that in order to avoid overt rule breaking while improving their own situations, women enduring classic patriarchy engage in so-called 'patriarchal bargaining' or various strategies to maximise security and optimise life options within a set of concrete constraints. She claims that when women marry into these households she falls under the authority of her husband and her parents-in-law. Because of the division between public and private life of men and women, she has to comply with the strict authority of her mother-in-law. Only by producing sons and becoming a mother-in-law herself, will she herself gain authority and thereby life security. Women therefore often oppose processes of change in this classic patriarchy due to the fact that no alternative or compensation is given for the only security they have in the old system (Kandiyoti 1991).

### ***2.2.3 Considerations***

The patriarchal household, as described above in the anthropological approaches, seems suitable for this research as will become clear in the following paragraph.

Considering the theories on patriarchal households, described in anthropological approaches, the following statement can be made: Patriarchy shapes the conditions in which a household functions and determines the power relation between men and women. If patriarchy shapes power relations within the household and in marriage, it also positions the place of men and women within the decision-making process. In patriarchal households, a strict hierarchy in decision-making can be found related to gender and age. Men make most decisions as they have more power in this process. Older men have more authority than younger men and women gain more power when

they grow older. The power women possess is usually covert and indirect and in public they are expected to agree with the male decision-maker.

If men migrate and leave their wives behind, this research assumes to find a shift in the decision-making process. Because men are absent, the hierarchy in decision-making alters and women can gain authority by taking over men's decisions. Their dependence on their male counterpart probably becomes less because of the increase of their influence in the household.

### **2.3 Women in Moroccan households**

This paragraph elaborates on women in Morocco and on their activities. This will clarify the central question of research, as it defines the framework for this research. Women's position in the household, followed by their daily activities is described as it is recorded in literature.

#### ***2.3.1 Position in the household***

According to literature and as mentioned before, life in Morocco is based on patriarchal principles, which implies male authority over women (Goetz 1995; Hajjarabi 1996). Morocco is a country where religious and cultural beliefs confine women preferably to the home or to 'invisible activities' (Brydon 1989; Rausch 1999).

The difference between the lives of men and women is striking. Men can spend their life outside the house in the public domain while women's life is restricted to the domestic domain (Bartels 1993; Rausch 1999). Recent research suggests a convergence of the domain of men and women in urban areas as many Moroccan women engage in wage labour outside the household. Still, many women consider the public domain to be a male domain and limit the time they spend there to a minimum. In rural areas the differences remain poignant (Rausch 1999).

As in all patriarchal societies the relations between men and women are hierarchic with men having/claiming a stronger position in society and in the household (Bartels 1993). Still, when women grow older they gain more authority and freedom of speech. They get control over all the other women's activities and are sometimes even entitled to economic power over the entire group in case of the death of her husband and the absence of (unmarried) sons (Davis 1983).

Women in Morocco use to move in with their husbands' family after their marriage, especially in rural areas. They live in extended families. This means that the position of the women changes after marriage as her husbands' parents have more authority over her than her own parents (Bartels 1993).

### **2.3.2 Women's work/daily activities**

#### *In general*

Women's activities in households vary from country to country and from culture to culture due to differences in economy, climate, political or religious ideology, and cultural beliefs. But it is assumed that a core of common activities can be distilled that are associated with women. These activities include cooking, housekeeping, care of children and usually fetching water and gathering fuel. In addition, rural women carry the responsibility for a certain portion of the household economic resources such as the production of crops for food, the care of herds and the processing of crops (Brydon 1989).

Women's family and domestic labour are not always valued because the norm for labour is wage labour. In rural societies, women's agricultural work is often counted as part of the domestic or family labour and though they take care of a substantial part of agricultural labour, it is not equally valued as men's work. This "invisibility" of women's work is a feature of sexual division of labour which is common in many societies and which is often reinforced by gender ideologies (Moore 1988).

The sexual division of labour differs greatly from one society to another especially regarding the tasks, which are defined as 'women's work'. For example, in many societies the sexual division of labour in agriculture is a division between tasks, which require the use of technical advanced equipment and tasks, which need no technical equipment. Men work with the technical equipment where women do the traditional not advanced work because technical advancement is associated with male superiority (Whitehead & Bloom 1992).

#### *In rural Morocco*

According to Griffiths (1998) a large part of the women in rural Morocco partake in agriculture. However these women are seen as family workers (*aides familiales*) and are, therefore, not paid for their work and not recognised as workers (Griffiths 1998). Women in rural areas, like in the oases of Morocco, are important agricultural producers. Compared to women in urban areas, women in rural areas have double tasks; housework and agricultural work. They usually work as family workers and hardly perform wage labour (Belarbi 1995).

The oasis women are said (de Haas 1998) to work from dusk till dawn and the whole physical existence and the socio-economic reproduction of the oasis is can be attributed to their labour. There is a rigid division of tasks between men and women. Women in agricultural households are not permitted to perform certain agricultural tasks as ploughing. Livestock breeding, on the other hand, is culturally regarded as being exclusively women's work (De Haas 1998).

## 2.4 Migration

The preceding paragraph described the general household situation of Moroccan women as recorded in literature. Outmigration of men changes the normal/traditional situation for these women. An elaboration on the possible effects of outmigration on women in general and in the Todgha Valley in particular will be given below.

### *2.4.1 Possible migration effects on women left behind*

Migration is a common phenomenon with consequences for both the areas of origin and destination. In general labour migration occurs less among women than among men because the household member who generates income, is usually male and the member who moves (Chant 1992).

Migration theories<sup>5</sup> are numerous and will not be discussed here. However, because in this research the unit of analyses is women left behind due to migration and the possible effects on them, a brief summary of research on this subject will be given below.

According to Chant there are two ways to look at the women who are left behind. On the one hand, the absent husband can still be considered as part of the household because of his contribution to the household. On the other hand, it is also possible that the husband can no longer be considered as part of the household because of his absence. In this case female-headed household can be created (Chant 1992).

Chant (1997) calls women left behind after their husbands' labour migration, but who have ongoing contact with and receive remittances from their husband who can therefore be considered as part of the household, "de facto female heads". These women act as household-heads on a temporary basis. In some cases "de facto household heads" are the richest members in the community because of the remittances send home. In other cases they face greater poverty than other members in the community do. The migrating men often left minimal assets behind and most men are only able to migrate within the same country and find temporary jobs. International migrants often send home more remittances (Chant 1997).

The movement of men away from rural areas may have consequences for the rural economy and the rural social organisation. One aspect can be that women may not be in the position to take over employment or engage in agricultural production because of gender restrictions. Women are often constrained by limited rights to land and/or power to cultivate it. But it is also possible that "de facto headship" leads to greater participation by women in farming or the ability to learn new skills as they take over the agricultural duties of their husbands (Brydon 1989; Chant 1997).

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<sup>5</sup> For gender aware approaches, see Chant 1992

With regard to the decision-making process, a possible effect of migration can be that there is an expansion in women's power in household negotiations and in community affairs (Brydon 1989; Chant 1997). In that case there can be advancements in the autonomy of women due to the temporary or long-term absence of the husbands. Women can gain more power by playing a more significant role in the workforce and sometimes through the formation of female-headed households. They take over the decision-making authority of their husbands and gain more autonomy (Palmer 1985; Rodenburg 1993). But in other cases, men's overall control of household life may remain unchallenged. In some communities where male out-migration is common, there is a transfer of authority to a senior male family member. It is also possible that the migrant still has the authority even if he is not around (Chant 1992).

Outmigration of men does not have to lead to a process of social change whereby women are liberated from the restrictions of their traditionally defined roles. Their more prominent position in society tends only to be a temporary phenomenon with women going back to their traditional roles as soon as the migrants return (Parnwell in Chant 1997;p17).

#### ***2.4.2 Migration and the possible effects in the Todgha***

In the Todgha, migration is common practice. High population pressure and limited means of existence pushes people to migrate to urban areas and Europe. Due to economic (remittances) and social (marriage) ties, many migrants still remain part of the household. It is culturally not accepted that women migrate on their own. Women generally only migrate along with their family or by means of marriage to a migrant, but there are some cases of out-migration of young women to urban areas for study or work (De Haas 1998).

According to El Ghanjou and De Haas (2000), it is impossible to measure the effect of migration, separated from other socio-economic and political developments. However, there are certain impacts, which can possibly be attributed to migration. Almost all households are involved in one form of migration, international, interior or both, and the main source of income seems to be remittances. Remittances are usually invested in housing and this creates many local job opportunities in construction. Agriculture also seems to profit from remittance investments. Irrigation systems and agricultural intensification and extension are often financed by migrant remittances. Currently a shift from living in extended families to living in nuclear families can be detected, which may be related to migration (El ghanjou & de Haas 2000).

Due to migration, the population in the Todgha Valleys exists out of more women than of men. These women perform many tasks in the oasis agriculture and in the domestic domain. The reliance of oasis community on agriculture has decreased and remittances have become more important as a source of income (De haas 1998). As

women might not be allowed to perform their husband's agricultural tasks, there might be a shift from tillage to livestock breeding (De Haas 1998;Steinmann 1993).

## **2.5 Central question of research**

In this chapter the theoretical considerations and literature findings on the subject of this research are presented. In this paragraph my expectations for this research will be given, and this will be concluded with the central question of research.

The Todgha Valley is a traditional rural area. Traditional Moroccan households are based on patriarchal principles. Men dominate the decision-making process and have complete authority in the households. Older men dominate younger men and women gain power only when they get older. In patriarchal households there is an absence of overt conflict and if women have power it tends to be covert and indirect. The traditional household form is the extended family, but the extended family is being replaced by the nuclear family.

There is a strict division of labour between men and women. Women perform household tasks and men perform wage labour. In the Todgha Valley oasis agriculture is important for self-subsistence or for commercial income. Most families exploit fields and have livestock. There is a strict division of labour in agriculture. Women are not allowed to perform male agricultural tasks.

Migration is a common phenomenon in the Todgha Valley. Many men migrate and leave the women behind. If a woman is left behind by her husband and lives in a nuclear household, she possibly takes over household headship, at least during her husband's absence. She will take the decisions in the household and have the authority. This will open the way to more independence, as the women will gain more autonomy. Women in extended families on the other hand, will still fall under the authority of other male household members and fewer changes will be recorded here. In extended families parents-in-law will have most decision-making power. The younger the woman, the less power she has because the mother-in-law rules the household. If the women, in extended and nuclear families, gain autonomy due to their husband's absence, they are not likely to give it up easily.

Maybe an increase in agricultural tasks can be found. The woman will take over the agricultural duties of husband or shift to livestock breeding, which is a feminine task. Both options aggravate their non-household tasks.

This leads to the central question of research:

**What are the effects of outmigration of men on the position of women in the decision-making process in the households with regard to women's daily activities?**

Definitions for the terms used in the problem statement:

The effects of outmigration are the changes caused by the outmigration of men leaving their wives behind. The women in the central question are the wives of the migrants that are left behind. Their position in the decision-making process is determined by the decisions and negotiations in the household women take part in. The household entails all individuals who live in the same house and who share the basic domestic and/or reproductive activities such as cooking and eating and where the economic active individuals contribute to the household economy. Though the men in the problem statement are absent, they are considered part of the household due to marital and economic ties. The women's daily activities are the tasks migrant wives perform and can be divided in household tasks and agricultural tasks.

## Chapter 3

# Methodology

### 3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the basis of this research and the methods used will be clarified.

To collect the data for this research, I spent three months of doing fieldwork in the village of Taghzoute in the Todgha Valley in Morocco. During this time, I conducted 43 semi-structured interviews with married women of the Aït Atta tribe, belonging to different households. Twenty-three women are married to migrants and twenty are married to non-migrants. This research is part of the IMAROM-project and in the first paragraph I will elaborate on this project in the following paragraph. The next paragraph focuses on the research questions. Then I will explain the selection of the research site and the respondents. This chapter concludes with the methods I used and the problems I faced during this fieldwork.

### 3.2 The IMAROM-project

This research is conducted within the framework of the IMAROM-project, Interaction between Migration, Land & Water use and Resource Exploitation in the Oases of the Maghreb, and is situated in four oases in Morocco and Tunisia. This research project studies the relation between migration, land and water use and the exploitation of resources in oases in the Maghreb. It is a joint research project between the University of Amsterdam, l'Université Mohamed V in Rabat (Morocco), l'Université Mohamed I in Ouida (Morocco), l'Institut des Régions Arides in Médenine (Tunisia) and l'Estación Experimental de Zonas Aridas in Almería (Spain).

The IMAROM project encompasses a comparative and interdisciplinary research in four oasis areas in southern Morocco and Tunisia. It studies the differentiated impact of migration and concomitant socio-economic changes on land and water management and resource exploitation in dryland oases and, consequently, its ecological consequences. The project aims to identify enabling conditions for successful promotion of agricultural development of the region as well as for the prevention of land and resource degradation.

Due to outmigration of men, the population exists out of more women than men and women are becoming important agricultural producers. It is therefore important to study the impact of migration on the women left behind.

### 3.3 Research questions and their elaboration

In this paragraph I will expand on the research questions.

My first research question is:

*1. What are the differences in the daily activities between migrant wives and non-migrant wives?*

If the changes for women within decision-making processes concerning women's daily activities are explored, first the activities themselves have to be determined.

The daily activities of the women of Taghzoute can be divided into household tasks and agricultural tasks. The household tasks can be further divided into housekeeping tasks and caring tasks. The burden of these tasks depends on the size of the family and often on the availability of technical equipment, which lightens housekeeping. Agricultural tasks can be divided in tillage and care of livestock. It is also important to know if there are changes through time concerning these activities. The comparison with non-migrant wives can rule out these changes through time. The division of labour due to gender is common in both agricultural and household tasks and will be taken into account.

This is an elaboration of the research question and refers both to migrant and non-migrant wives.

- What is the type of the household? Who is the head of the household?
- What are the sources of income?
- Who generates the income?
- What kind of tasks does the man have?
- What kind of tasks does the woman have?
- What are the tasks of other members of the household?
- How does the woman describe her own contribution to the labour force?
- How does the woman describe her husband's contribution?
- What were her mother's tasks?
- What are her daughter's tasks?

The second research question is:

*2. What are the differences in the position women have in the decision-making process between migrant wives and non-migrant wives?*

To answer the central question of research it is important to elaborate on the question above.

Decisions are taken with regard to all activities within a household. To determine the position of women in this process it is important to know the age of the women because traditionally they can gain power when they grow older. For the position of the women it is also important to know the presence of other adult household

members, such as parents and grown up children. Another important issue is, whether there is negotiation within the household and who are the negotiators.

Following is the elaboration of this research question, applicable to both migrant and non-migrant wives:

- Who takes decisions or which decisions are made by women concerning:
  - Expense of incomes (from agriculture or other sources)
  - Domestic issues (food/cooking, cleaning, health, housing etc)
  - Children (education, clothes etc.)
  - Labour (farmwork and division of work)
- Is there an agreement on the decisions made?
- Are decisions made through negotiating? With whom?
- How does she describe her decision-making position?
- How does she describe her husband's decision-making position?

### **3.4 Selection of research site**

The Todgha Valley was the logical site within the IMAROM project to conduct my research because of the presence there of one of my supervisors. The village of Taghzoute had already been chosen as a potential research site by my supervisor when I arrived in the Todgha Valley. It was not possible to randomly choose a village, because the village had to satisfy certain conditions.

Firstly, it had to qualify my research requirements. I needed a village where the availability of women left behind by their husbands was high enough to conduct a comparative research. Because the Todgha oasis harbours various ethnic groups, the women had to be of the same ethnicity to rule out the effect of cultural differences. The women also had to be of different households to get a random sample.

Secondly, it was necessary that I found a female interpreter in the neighbourhood of my research village. The women in the villages generally only speak Berber, which I did not, so my French had to be translated. The interpreter had to be female because with the kind of questions I wanted to ask the women, the presence of a man would not result in straightforward answers. Finding a woman who would like to help me with my research could have been difficult because she not only had to speak French but she also had to be willing to invest time and most women partake in the households and on the fields. Before I arrived in the Todgha Valley my supervisors managed to locate a woman, who had finished university in 1993 and had not been able to find a job all those years. She lived with her brother and his family in Taghzoute and could be interested in helping me out. Together with my supervisors, I went to see her to ask her if she was willing to help me with my research. She agreed to help and I was even welcome to live with her family during my time of research. Choosing a village was easy then. Taghzoute, the village of my host family, satisfied all the conditions and became my research site.

### 3.5 Respondents

After arriving at my host family, the selection of the migrant-women was an easy task as my host family knew the village well. There were, according to them, around thirty women of the same ethnicity in the village who were married to a migrant. My first intention was to conduct interviews with 20 migrant wives and 20 non-migrant wives. I chose not to include wives of remigrants in my research because of the limited amount of time I had in the field. I thought it would be best to cover the whole migrant population because I found out that approximately half of the migrant wives were married to men who migrated to other areas in Morocco and the other half was married to men who migrated to Europe. The possibility existed that there were differences between these two groups. I decided to conduct fifteen interviews in each group. When I had interviewed 20 migrant wives (from both groups), I was suddenly told that there were only three migrant wives left. So eventually, I ended up with 23 migrant wives of which 10 husbands migrated within Morocco and 13 to Europe.

I decided to enlarge the number of non-migrant wives from 15 to 20. The non-migrants were important to my research because they served as a control group for the migrant wives. The comparison between these two groups gave me the information I needed to determine the changes that occurred due to migration and the changes that occurred in time. The selection of the non-migrant wives was totally dependent on the presence of women when we wanted to conduct an interview. My assistant chose the women on the basis of their availability. We did not interview women of the same household if they lived in extended families to get as much diversity as possible. We tried to cover the entire village by choosing different areas to conduct interviews. None of the women we wanted to interview refused to co-operate.

### 3.6 Methods of research and problems

Open interviews would provide me with all the information I needed. Soon after my arrival I found out, I had more trouble speaking French than I expected. This was mainly in the beginning but because I had only a short amount of time in my research area (three months), I had to change my methods. I started writing down all the questions that I could think of. I made a semi-structured interview with, in general, open questions, which was discussed by my supervisors in Morocco and by test interviews. With this list of questions, I conducted all my interviews. I added questions about the women's lives to the interview. The collection of life histories can be useful to track changes over time and to see through socially desired behaviour (Francis 1992; p92-93) and the questions I added, could provide me the extra information about the women's lives.

It is difficult to determine exactly which position the women take in the decision-making process, because women can practice indirect influence in the household,

which is difficult to research. It is also hard to filter out socially desired behaviour because many women will give socially desired answers instead of their real state of mind. Therefore, I want to point out that I am not pretending I can define the women's position as it really is. I am only describing their own perception on their position as they have told me. I did the best I could to approach the truth as it really was.

To find out more on the oral history of Taghzoute, I conducted an open interview with a man generally regarded as an authority on the history of Taghzoute.

Conducting an interview was not an easy task. It was often a social happening when my assistant and I arrived for an interview and the first 30 minutes after our arrival passed while drinking tea and eating bread with olive oil. After the social talks about families and friends, we could finally start the interview. In the meanwhile, an hour had past. A problem we had to deal with was the presence of adult men. I had decided that men could not be present at the interview (the presence of other women and children could not be avoided) because I believed the women would not give me honest answers with an adult man present. Sometimes we could avoid the men by changing rooms, sometimes men left because they got bored or they had other things to do. Only one time it was not possible to conduct the interview without the adult son of a woman and we had to change some questions because they were too delicate to ask in that situation.

Translating my questions was an easy job for my assistant, too easy sometimes. When we started off, she often felt inclined to answer the questions herself because she already knew the answer the woman would give. I had to make clear she always had to ask the questions to the respondent so they could answer themselves. Another issue I faced was that I never knew if she gave me the whole reply. Women sometimes gave a long response in Berber where my assistant only gave me a two-word translation. After a couple of interviews, we came to an understanding and had agreed on the way we should work. She promised to give me the whole answer, even if she repeated herself or if the woman went on talking about another subject.

It was convenient that my assistant was part of the village society and could ask (or answer) delicate questions and get (or give) me much background information. Most importantly, she also became a very dear friend and made me feel at home.

Another method I used to collect information was through participatory observation. Living in a Moroccan family gave me inside information on women's daily activities and gender relations within the household. I participated in daily activities and I also joined the women of the household in social occasions like family and neighbour visits, a barbecue and a marriage. This gave me a great advantage. Women considered me as being part of my host family, a family that is well respected in the village and I was welcome in every household.

There is another side to it. The possibility exists that it was disadvantageous for the research. It is possible that the household I lived in was regarded with so much respect

that women felt obliged to co-operate. It is also possible that because of the status of the family, women did not give me the right answers but the socially desired answers to live up to the expectations of the host family and my assistant.

## Chapter 4

# General Information

### 4.1 Introduction

In this chapter a short introduction on the general facts of Morocco will be given, to get a more complete picture of this country. This will be followed by an elaboration on the Todgha Valley and on the village of Taghzoute. The chapter concludes with general facts of the respondents interviewed in this research.

**Figure 4.1: Map of Morocco depicting Taghzoute**

### 4.2 Morocco in brief: general facts

#### 4.2.1 Geography

The Kingdom of Morocco is situated in north-west Africa, bordered by Algeria, the Mediterranean Sea, the Atlantic Sea and Mauritania. Morocco can be divided in three climate zones. The north and west of Morocco enjoys a Mediterranean climate with warm wet winters and dry hot summers. This area is very fertile and has the best water resources of the country. The mountain area encompasses the Rif, the Middle Atlas, the High Atlas and the Anti-Atlas and is much cooler in winter. The western part of the mountains has many water resources and is highly fertile. The eastern part is much drier and has a more desert climate. The south-east and southern regions of Morocco a steppe and desert climate prevails (Lentjes 1995).

Seen from an economic point of view, Morocco can be labelled an agricultural country. Agriculture accounts for 15 % of the BNP (in 1995) and 40-50% of the labour force works in agriculture. There are two agricultural forms; traditional and modern agriculture (Lentjes 1995; EPPS 1995). The small traditional farmers mostly concentrate on barley production and livestock farming for subsistence or local markets. The modern farmers have large plots, use irrigation and most often focus on export. They receive a lot of government support (Lentjes 1995).

### 4.2.2 Demography

Morocco has a population of 30,122,350 (The Learning Network 2000) and a GNP per capita of 1,250 dollar in 1998 (Worldbank Genderstats 2000).

**Table 4.1: Percentage of population in age groups in Morocco, 1998**

Age group	Percentage of population
0-14	33.6
15-64	62.3
>64	4.3

Source: Worldbank genderstats 2000.

The ethnic composition is as follows: 60-70 % of the population is Arab, 30-40% is Berber and the remaining percent is Jew or foreign. The main religion in Morocco is Islam accounting for 99.6% of the population (Lentjes 1995).

**Table 4.2: Moroccan illiteracy rate in percentages: estimation for 2000**

Age group	Women	Men
15-24	54.0	28.6
>24	79.7	52.9
Total	63.9	38.1

Source: United Nations Statistics Division 2000

The average age of first marriage for women is 22 years and 27 for men. The total fertility rate<sup>6</sup> is 3.1 births per woman. In 1980 it was 5.4 and in 1990 4.0 births per woman (Worldbank genderstats 2000).

### 4.2.3 Migration

Morocco can be described as a migration country. Emigration from Morocco to Europe and other countries is not a recent phenomenon. Four phases of migration can be distinguished in this century.

The first phase took place during the colonial rule by the French between 1912 and 1956. The north of Morocco was completely occupied by the Spanish in 1926. The French conquered the rest of Morocco between 1912 and 1934, systematically, tribe by tribe (Muus 1995). During World War I, the French encouraged Moroccans to come to France to serve in the army or replace the soldiers. During the Second World War, the Moroccans again replaced the soldiers and seasonal workers in France. This was predominantly migration on a temporary base and 98% of the migrants were male. During this period several parts of Morocco also took part in seasonal migration to Algeria (Muus 1995; Obdeijn et al. 1999). The second phase started after the Moroccan independence in 1956. Workers were recruited to work in Europe, up until the oil crisis in 1973. Most migrants ended up in France, The Netherlands, Belgium

<sup>6</sup> measure of fertility that approximates to the mean number of children each women will have in her life, Dickenson et al, 1996, p59.

and Germany (Müller 1998; Muus 1995; Obdeijn et al. 1999). A minority of the migrants migrated to Spain. The population growth was one of the reasons for this exodus of migrants. The population grew in the period from 1960 to 1970 with a third, resulting in high unemployment, as the labour market could not generate sufficient new jobs. This remains an ongoing problem in Morocco. The third phase started after the oil crisis of 1973, with the closure of the frontiers for new Moroccan emigrants. The emigrants in Europe were forced to choose between repatriation to their country of origin with no possibilities of return or family reunion in the host country. En masse, they opted for the second option because of the unfavourable labour situation in their home country. Family reunion became therefore the third migration wave. In the meantime, at the end of the eighties, the fourth phase commenced. The frontiers in Europe were closed and the only way to migrate legally to most European countries was through marriage with a European Moroccan. Only Spain still offered job possibilities in gardening and agriculture (Muus 1995). But illegal migration via the street of Gibraltar seems to be increasing lately due to the sharpened migration restriction in Europe (King in Müller 1998; Obdeijn et al. 1999).

### **4.3 Todgha Valley**

#### ***4.3.1 Geography***

The Todgha Valley is a river oasis on the southern slope of the High Atlas, which drains rain- and melt water from the mountains. Despite the aridity of the area, the water supply from the High Atlas enabled the existence of an oasis (as in many parts of south-east and southern Morocco). The Todgha Valley starts in the high Atlas with its famous Todgha gorges and ends in the Jebel Saghro Mountain area. The Todgha basin lies in between. The Todgha Valley contains 40 kilometres in length cultivated area (El Ghanjou & de Haas 2000) as can be seen in figure 4.2. This figure marks the location of the *qsar*<sup>7</sup> of Taghzoute.

#### **Figure 4.2: Map of the Todgha Valley**

Source: Hein de Haas

#### ***4.3.2 Demography***

An important demographic phenomenon in the Todgha is the rapid population growth in the twentieth century. According to El Ghanjou and de Haas (2000) the population seems to have increased from around 15,000 in the beginning of the century to around

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<sup>7</sup> Fortified village

70,000 in the year 2000. Especially the last half of the century showed an extremely rapid growth. With Tinghir as its municipality the Todgha Valley population lives in 64 *qsour*, traditional fortified oasis villages and their modern extensions. Almost half of the population lives in the city of Tinghir.

The average household size for the whole Todgha Valley was 7.23 persons per household in 1994. Most people in the Todgha live in nuclear families or would prefer to do so. The mean fertility is 4.6 children per woman. Illiteracy rates in the whole Todgha are 25.8% for men and 67.1% for women. 84.8 percent of all children between 7 and 12 years attend school (El Ghanjou & de Haas 2000).

### **4.3.3 Ethnicity**

The population of the Todgha can be generally classified as being Tamazight Berber, but within this group there is a distinct division. Three ethnic groups inhabit the Todgha Valley: the Ahl Todgha, the Iqabline of El Hart, and the Aït Atta. Each group has their own territory in the Todgha Valley. In the upper and middle part of the Valley live the Ahl Todgha. The identity of the Ahl Todgha is only based on shared geographical space. The internal ethnic stratification of the Ahl Todgha is based on colour, the white Imazirhene and black Iqabline, and also on belief based on descent. Another group of the Iqabline, which could not be considered part of Ahl Todgha, inhabits the centre of the lower part of the Valley. The last settlers of the Valley live in the part most downstream and are the Aït Atta (El Ghanjou & de Haas 2000).

### **4.3.4 Agriculture**

The Todgha is characterised by traditional oasis agriculture with small size agricultural exploitation and a great variation of crops.

Picture 4.1: Toghda Valley

Picture by Aleida van Rooij

Most plots in the Todgha have two layers of vegetation, a combination of date palms or almond trees with alfalfa or cereals. The tree cover is usually not very dense but is located on the side. Two third of the cultivated area of the Todgha is occupied with cereals. Alfalfa is the most important fodder crop in the Todgha. It represents 22.7 percent of the total agricultural surface. Alfalfa can remain on the fields for three to four years and can be combined with a small amount of livestock. Therefore this crop is well adapted to the feminisation of agriculture which is a result of the migration

patterns in this area. Men are not annually needed for tillage of the plot and livestock is the domain of women (El Ghanjou & de Haas 2000).

Livestock always played an important role in oasis agricultural systems. In the Todgha it is made of cows, sheep and goats, sometimes camels. Sheep almost represent two third of the total amount of livestock. 21.2% is cattle and 11.2% is for goats. Camels represent less than one percent (El Ghanjou & de Haas 2000).

#### ***4.3.5 Migration***

The same four phases in Moroccan migration patterns can apply to migration in the Todgha, although slight differences can be found.

According to El Ghanjou and De Haas (2000), the Todgha Valley has been a migration region throughout history. Before the twentieth century, people of the Todgha travelled to other areas of Morocco to work, among other things as traders. From the beginning of the twentieth century until the early 1960's Algeria dominated as the destination for circular migration. The French colonist created large farms, which generated agricultural labour possibilities for the Moroccans. After Algeria's independence in 1962 the migrants returned to Morocco or went to France (El Ghanjou & de Haas 2000).

Although large parts of Morocco were colonised in 1912, the Todgha Valley remained independent until 1933 (some literature claims 1934). During colonial time, interior-migration to regions on the Atlantic coast and seasonal migration to agricultural areas in northern and western Morocco was very common (El Ghanjou & De Haas 2000).

The sixties were characterised by a huge migration wave towards France because of the opportunities the labour market in France provided. This was soon followed by migration to other European countries, especially in the early seventies, when these countries started to recruit men from the Todgha. As in other parts of Morocco, the Oil crisis in 1973 stopped labour migration as Europe went into an economic recession. Also seasonal interior-migration in agriculture decreased. Nevertheless, international migration continued at the same level, especially the possibility of family reunion in Europe pulled many households out of the Valley. Moreover, an increasing part of the population of the Todgha participated in illegal migration (El Ghanjou & De Haas 2000).

Long-term interior-migration continued as well, mostly towards the big Atlantic cities in Morocco and short-term migration to the cities in the Rif (El Ghanjou & De Haas 2000).

## 4.4 Taghzoute

### 4.4.1 Geography

The *qsar* of Taghzoute, located in the lower part of the Todgha Valley (see map 4.2), is part of the Community of Taghzoute, which is made up out of eight villages. It is called after its location in the Todgha Valley, “lowlands/Les Champs-Bas”. Taghzoute is the centre for the small villages that surround it and it provides the villages with the basic stores, a market once a week and a hospital. There is also a high school and lyceum. The nearest city is Tinghir, which is 30 kilometres upstream.

### 4.4.2 Demography

The Community of Taghzoute is growing as well as the *qsar* of Taghzoute, which is shown in the following tables.

**Table 4.3: Population in the community of Taghzoute**

Community of Taghzoute	1974	1982	1994
Total number of inhabitants	4568	6516	11695
Total number of households	744	933	1606
Average household size	6.14	6.98	7.28

Source: El Ghanjou & de Haas 2000

**Table 4.4: Population in the *qsar* of Taghzoute**

Qsar of Taghzoute	1974	1982	1994
Total number of inhabitants	1111	1322	1645
Total number of households	179	206	259
Average household size	6.20	6.42	6.35

Source: El Ghanjou & de Haas 2000

### 4.4.3 Ethnicity

The Aït Atta tribe is a large tribal, semi-nomadic and powerful group scattered throughout the south-east and central of Morocco. They are the last settlers in the Todgha. The origins of the Aït Atta can be traced back to the sixteenth century in the Saghro Mountains from where they migrated to the surrounding plains. The Aït Atta probably settled in the Todgha around 1750-1800 in *qsour* that might have existed before. Protection agreements with the El hart “*qsour*<sup>8</sup>” probably made settlement possible. The Aït Atta promised to defend the El Hart *qsour* in exchange for land (El Ghanjou & De Haas 2000). The Aït Assa, a lineage of the Aït Atta tribe, settled in a

<sup>8</sup> The plural form of *qsar*, meaning fortified village

few villages after leaving the mountain area: Taghzoute and the nearby Aggoudime, Alnif, Melab and Hasiya.

#### Box 4.1

*Oral history does not correspond with the settlement story as told above. According to an informant, who provided the information on Taghzoute, families of the nomadic Aït Assa, lineage of the Aït Atta tribe, settled and build the old qsar of Taghzoute 400 years ago. They came out the Jebel Saghro Mountain region and settled there because there was a constant water supply in the Taghzoute region. With them settled a group of the Iqabline who worked for the Aït Assa on their fields and in their houses. The Aït Assa became agricultural workers and commercialised to survive.*

There is a distinct separation in Taghzoute between the Aït Assa and the Iqabline as the black population is called. They live in different parts of the village. Most Iqabline live at the outer side of Taghzoute. The traditions differ as well, though not much. For example, an Iqabline marriage takes seven days where as the Aït Assa marriage only takes four days. They also dress differently. The Iqabline women wear white scarves when they leave the house. The Aït Assa women wear black. According to an informant, the Iqabline and Aït Assa only meet if they are neighbours. Friendships do occur but are not common between the Aït Assa and the Iqabline.

#### **4.4.4 Agriculture**

Alfalfa is one of the most common crops grown by the villagers and it grows the whole year round except for December and January. With very high and very low temperatures, the alfalfa yield is less than it would have been with normal temperatures. This crop is used as animal fodder.

Wheat is cultivated in October and reaped in June. All field workers of the village are on the fields in June. The women cut the wheat. The men collect the wheat after it has been cut usually with modern machines. The wheat is for own consumption as well as animal fodder. Maize is cut and carried home by women in the months from April to August.

The fruits of the fruit trees, namely olives (December/January), almonds (July), dates (October) and figs are picked by men in different times in the year and collected by the women. The yield of vegetables depends on the rainfall and the temperature.

According to informants, agricultural yields have improved compared to thirty years ago. The yield always depends on the amount of water available. The informants refer to the fact that thirty years ago more water was available from the Khetara's<sup>9</sup> and the

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<sup>9</sup> Underground water canals

river. Nowadays, there is more lack of water but technical means has improved. Lately motor-pumps are used to gain water from the ground.

A lot of women claim that at this time of year and especially this year (summer of 1999) there is almost no water available and that therefore not much can be cultivated. One woman claims, “You came in the wrong year! There is nothing to do on the fields now. This is a very bad year!”

#### ***4.4.5 Migration***

An informant states that in the 1930's when transportation improved, migration became important for the commercialisation of the agriculture in Taghzoute. Mainly traders migrated, first to the nearby Tinghir<sup>10</sup> and after that to Ouarzazate and places further away.

When migration to the Moroccan cities started, it was the men who left and the women who were left behind. The women received remittances. In that time women moved in with their husband's family after marriage and lived in extended families.

Emigration started first towards Algeria. Morocco was colonised by the French in 1912 but Algeria was colonised before Morocco and the French possessed many farms, which required agricultural workers. After independence, many Moroccan migrants left together with the French from Algeria to France. Nevertheless, there are only a few cases of men from Taghzoute leaving for Algeria.

Around 1960-1961 Moroccan men were attracted to France in order to work in the mines. After a couple of years, men could choose to get a contract to work in France via migrants already living in France. Women were left behind and not until the end of the seventies they were able to join their husbands. The last ten years it is much more difficult to get a contract or a visa to work abroad. Around 1965 the Moroccans started to leave France and for other European countries among which the Netherlands.

Of the families that migrated in their totality, twenty-five households live in France, five live in The Netherlands, three live in Spain and one in Italy. The migration of single men is more than this number of migrated families but the exact amount can not be given by the informant.

#### ***4.4.6 Education and settlement***

In 1912 an elementary school was founded in Taghzoute. However, only since the late 1950's, most boys attend school. In 1977 it was the first time that girls went to school.

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<sup>10</sup>According to El Ghanjou & de Haas (2000), migration to Tinghir goes further back.

Gradually more girls went to school and currently most young girls attend elementary school for at least a couple of years.

Around 1965 most people moved out of the old *qsar* and built detached loam houses.

Picture 4.2: The old *qsar* of Taghzoute

Picture by Aleida van Rooij

For twenty years now they use concrete bricks to build the houses. Each year more houses are built and they become more modern each year. For 10 years, the original inhabitants build modern houses. Since 5 years more and more people from outside the village are building houses in Taghzoute.

Picture 4.3: Construction in Taghzoute

Picture by Aleida van Rooij

They are Berber from other parts of Morocco and do not have relatives here. In addition, Arabs live in the village. They are often labour migrants, working at the highschool as teacher or at the hospital. Most inhabitants of Taghzoute eventually want a new, modern brick house and most inhabitants already bought a plot to build it on, according to an informant.

According to many inhabitants of Taghzoute, the village used to be one village including the nearby Aggoudime where still many fields of Taghzoutians are situated and many relatives live. However, according to the informants, in the 1930s, the village fell apart in two villages.

Two Khetara's are located between Taghzoute and Aggoudime but only the smaller one seems to work. The larger one is not in use. The small khetara can not be used properly because upstream it is being used for washing clothes and it is polluted. All fields are therefore irrigated with motorpump water.

#### **4.5 Common facts of the women of Taghzoute**

This research is conducted among three groups of women:

- 20 non-migrant wives: the husbands of these women take no part in migration
- 10 interior-migrant wives: these women are married to a man who is migrated within Morocco.
- 13 emigrant wives: these women are married to a man who migrated to Europe.

In the following tables some general facts on the women can be found.

**Table 4.5: Facts on the age of the respondents**

Household type	Non-migrant	Interior-migrant	Emigrant
Aged between	22-60	26-39	26-50
Average age	38	34	39
Average age at marriage	14.5	14.2	15.3

Source: own calculations

The table shows that the interior-migrant wives are on average younger than the two other groups. None of the interior-migrant wives are above forty years old. The age span of the non-migrant wives varies the most. An explanation for the differences in age between interior-migrant wives and emigrant wives could be that emigration to Europe has become more difficult in recent years. It is therefore likely that emigrants are older as they migrated when Europe still welcomed the migrants. Another explanation for the age difference is the possible occurrence of “stepwise” migration mentioned by Malmberg (1997;p38). In his explanation, the first step towards emigration in developing countries is interior-migration to the cities of these countries, which are intermediate stations. Chapter 5 states that the emigrants have on average migrated longer than interior-migrants. Most emigrants first migrated within Morocco before they took the step to emigrate. This could explain the age differences between the emigrant and interior-migrant wives. The interior-migrants are only in the first phase of migration.

**Table 4.6: Facts on the households of the respondents**

Household type	Non-migrant	Interior-migrant	Emigrant
Average size of household	8.6	7.5	6.7
Percentage living in extended family	30.0	10.0	7.7
Average number of children	5.1	4.4	4.9

Source: own calculations

The migrant is included in this calculation.

This table shows that the average household size of the respondents is higher than the statistics on Taghzoute show. Though the statistics on Taghzoute are from 1994, it does not seem likely that the average sizes of household have grown this much in the last years. An explanation for these differences is difficult to give.

In table 4.6, it can clearly be seen that the non-migrant households are on average the largest. Although the differences are minimal, it could be explained by the higher percentage of extended families in this group. The emigrant wives have the smallest household size. They have more grown up children who are no longer considered part of the household, as can be seen in the average number of children. Research in Morocco on migrant households and on women left behind in Egypt suggest that the differences in the number of extended families between non-migrant households and migrant households can be explained by the conflict the expense of remittances can create. Remittances are send to the household head and women in extended family

probably have less claim on the remittances their husband sends. The remittances can be used on expenses which the migrant himself not agrees to. To avoid supporting the whole family, the migrant wives and children move out the extended family and start living in a nuclear family (Ait Hamza in De Mas 1990; Taylor 1984). This can apply to the Taghzoutian situation as well.

The average number of children is the lowest among interior-migrant wives. However the young age of the women can explain this. The other groups are practically the same. Still, the number of children per woman is much higher than the total fertility rate for Morocco, which is 3.1. A possible explanation is that Taghzoute is a very traditional rural village.

### *Non-migrant wives*

More than half of these women is born in Taghzoute and one-seventh in Aggoudime. The others come from neighbouring villages. The three youngest women, aged 22, 23 and 30, have attended and completed primary school. One of them also went to Coranic School. The two youngest also attended one and four years of college. One of the elder women (age 38) attended only two years of Coranic School and one woman (age 48) attended primary school for one month, but she quit because she did not like it. All the women have between one and nine children. Except for one woman, they all have one to four daughters. Of one-fifth of the women, the daughters do not attend school. Another fifth keep at least one daughter at home, usually the eldest, to help in the household. The women who keep one or all daughters at home are all above forty. The other daughters and the daughters of the rest of the women all attend at least primary school, or will if they have the right age. Around one fourth of the non-migrant wives live in the old *qsar* and the rest in the newer detached loam houses.

One woman married twice. She says that “my first marriage was enforced by my parents and it did not work out. My second marriage was my own choice (at age 29) and it does work out.” Three quarters of the women claim that their marriages were their parents’ decision and they had to obey. “When your parents decide for you, you have to obey”, “I did not even know until a couple of days before”, or, “The girls did not have a choice then, they did not have the right to decide.” Some add that they had to obey but also wanted to marry. The question why is answered with, “I wanted to have children” or is found a banal question, “It is normal here to marry. The Islam obliges you to marry and I wanted to marry!” as one woman states. Some women tell other stories. One woman says, “I was little, eleven years old, and had no breasts and I was very shy. I did not know what marriage was. I had to marry. I got married and suddenly had to live in another house. I luckily knew the family and they were very nice. I had a very nice mother-in-law who treated me right away as her own daughter.” Other women state, “I cried a lot when I got married but that did not work. I was very young (10 years old). My parents decided it. I had to obey. We moved in

with my parents-in-law but because I was so young, I could not do anything and my mother-in-law was not nice to me. We could not stay there and finally we got our own house.” and, “I was afraid to marry because I was just a little girl and had to go living in a very big family. But after all it worked out.” One woman, who was forced to marry says, “I do not love my husband, he is very ugly but luckily he is a very nice man.” One quarter of the women claim they really wanted to marry, and state it was a negotiation with their parents or their own decision. They were relatively the youngest women in the group. Most women had seen their husband only once before the marriage, some others knew him because he was a family member. Some women had not seen him at all.

### *Interior-migrant wives*

Almost half of the women are born in Taghzoute and one-fifth in Aggoudime. The others come from neighbouring villages. The youngest two women, aged 26 and 30, have attended school. The thirty-year-old woman went to primary school for one year. The twenty-six year old women completed primary school as well as college. She is also the only woman among my respondents who speaks French although some questions still had to be translated.

They all have between two and eight children. Except for one woman, they all have one to four daughters. All the daughters attend school if they are not too young or will if they reach the right age. None of the interior-migrant wives live in the old *qsar*. The majority of them live in an old detached house and one third of them are building a modern house where they already live on the ground floor. One woman lives in a finished modern house.

Almost two third of the women state that they wanted to marry and decided when to marry together with their parents. One of these women said, “my father told me that someone came and wanted to marry me. I said yes, so my father accepted. We did not talk about marriage. I was ten and I did not even know what it meant to marry and afterwards it was hard like this. Right now it is different with the girls. They decide themselves and they talk about it a lot. They want to know everything about their husband: if he has a nice job and they want to meet him.” Other women state, “my first marriage was forced by my parents and we divorced after two months because I really did not want it! At sixteen I married for the second time and this time I did want to. It is still very hard, because my husband is not very smart, but I am a very strong woman, so I cope with it” or, “my parents did not ask for my opinion, they just wanted to know if he possessed enough. I was lucky though, I liked him right away although I had never seen him before the marriage.” Most women had not seen, or had only once seen their husband before marriage.

*Emigrant wives*

Almost half of the emigrant wives are born in Taghzoute and one in Aggoudime. The others come from neighbouring villages. None of these women enjoyed any form of education. Except for one woman, who is not able to conceive children, they all have between one to eleven children. Except for almost one-fourth of the women, they all have one to four daughters. Almost a third of these women keep at least one daughter at home to help in the household. The women who keep daughters at home are all above forty. All other girls at least attend primary school, or will if they reach the right age. One of the emigrant wives lives in the old *qsar*. More than half of the women lives in the detached loam houses and a little over one third lives in modern houses.

Among the emigrant wives it was usually the parents who decided on the marriage and the women did want to marry. Some women add that they wanted to marry because "my parents wanted it", or, "I had to so why should I not marry, I had little choice". One woman married twice. The first marriage lasted one month because, "I did not know what marriage was and did not know what to do. The second time I was much better prepared." Two women claim that they were forced to marry. One woman says, "I did not even know what marriage was. I am very lucky he is a very nice guy." Most women had not seen or had only once seen their husband before marriage.

*Comparison*

Almost all women had their parents decide on both the time and the partner for their marriage, whether they wanted it or not. The interior-migrant wives are an exception in this. More than half of this group claims, that they decided themselves on their marriage. This can be explained by their relative younger age. It is becoming more common, according to the women, to decide on your own marriage nowadays. This correlates with non-migrant wives of which the younger women decided for themselves or in negotiation with their parents.

All daughters of interior-migrant wives attend or will attend school. This is in contrast with the emigrant and non-migrant wives, of which respectively one fourth and one-fifth keeps one of their daughters at home to help in the household. Another fifth of the non-migrant wives keep all their daughters at home. This can be related to age. The women who kept daughters at home were all above forty. It is possible that these women cling more to the traditional way of thinking where daughters are kept at home to help in the household and school is not important for girls.

Except for one emigrant wife, none of the migrant wives lives in the *qsar*. They live in the detached loam houses or modern houses. More emigrant wives live in the modern houses. Most modern houses of interior-migrant wives are still under

construction. Almost one third of the non-migrant wives lives in the *qsar* and none of them live in modern houses. This difference can be a possible effect of migration. The remittances the emigrants send home are often used for constructing houses. This is a general development in the Todgha but emigration households seem to build faster and nicer. They also seem to send home more remittances than interior-migrants (El Ghanjou & De Haas 2000). This is also recorded by Chant (1997). Emigrants often send home more remittances than interior-migrants due to better job possibilities and payments in the destination countries. The differences in housing between interior-migrant and emigrant wives can therefore be explained by remittances.

## Chapter 5

### Women's daily activities

#### 5.1 Introduction

The general difference between the lives of men and women in Morocco, as stated in chapter 2, seems to apply to the women of Taghzoute. With Taghzoute being a remote rural village, the traditional differences are more likely to be strictly preserved. Men are more associated with the public domain, while women are associated with the private domain. This difference can also be found in the labour they perform. In Taghzoute, women are responsible for the household, livestock farming and certain agricultural tasks, where men engage in wage labour and the other agricultural tasks. Though men as well as women perform agricultural family labour, there is a strict division in the tasks performed by women and by men.

This chapter explores whether women within migration households have taken over certain tasks, traditionally performed by men. Do these women perform different tasks than before their husband migrated or compared to non-migrant wives? Did their labour input increase or decrease, and in case there are differences, what are these differences? To emphasise the differences between men and women in their daily activities and to find out if women take over some male agricultural tasks after the man's migration, first a description is made of the general activities that women and men perform in the household and in family labour. Following the daily activities are described, as the women perceive it. A distinction is made between non-migrant, interior-migrant and emigrant wives. A description on their husband's labour will be given as well. To rule out changes caused by time, there will be a comparison of the women's daily activities and their mothers' and a comparison of their own lives to that of their daughters. Because the mothers and daughters were not interviewed, it goes without saying that the perception of these women might be not in accordance with reality. The goal however is to acquire an idea on their point of view of the situation. Furthermore the women give a perception of their work and the future they wish for their daughters, as well as their perception on changes in agricultural output and amount of livestock. Finally, the women will give their view on changes in their daily activities as they experienced it and compare the migrant wives with the non-migrant wives concerning their activities.

## 5.2 General activities

### 5.2.1 In the household

The women of Taghzoute perform several household tasks during the day. One of those tasks is cleaning the entire house. Especially in the summer time, when it is very dry and hot, the desert wind covers the entire house with sand. The amount of time consumed by cleaning not only depends on the season but also on the type of the houses. One can find three types of houses in Taghzoute: the *qsar* made of loam, detached loam houses and modern concrete brick houses. The loam of the *qsar* creates dust and the rain washes away the loam, so regular cleaning is needed. The detached houses are also made of loam but often have cement floors and are renovated to keep them in good shape. The most modern houses are made of concrete bricks and are therefore the easiest to clean. They also have more facilities like modern lavatories, kitchens, and bathrooms.

Another important task that women perform is the daily preparation of bread. Bread is consumed during breakfast, lunch and dinner and constitutes an important part in the

Picture 5.1: Preparation of bread

Picture by Aleida van Rooij

Moroccan diet. Preparing bread is a time consuming job. It takes one to two hours to prepare the dough and to let it rise before putting it in the oven. Two kinds of ovens are used. There are gas ovens and ovens that burn wood. The wood ovens, the traditionally used ovens, are time consuming. The bread has to be watched and turned carefully otherwise it will burn. Only three non-migrant wives use wood ovens to bake bread. Therefore is the fetching of wood not done by many families. Most families use gas stoves and have no need for wood. The households which are in need of wood, use the available wood from trees in the

oasis or go up to the mountains, a couple of kilometres away, and carry it home from there. The women who use the gas ovens have an easier task. At breakfast, this home-baked bread is eaten with olive oil. The lunch is usually some kind of Tajine, a traditional Moroccan stew eaten with bread. This takes around two hours to prepare (1,5 hour on the stove, so other things could be done). The dinner is usually couscous or sometimes a lentil-dish. Couscous also has a long preparation time. The couscous has to be sifted where after it has to steam with other ingredients for a couple of hours.

Picture 5.2: Preparation of couscous

Picture by Aleida van Rooij

Washing clothes is usually done by hand. Sometimes it is done in a little irrigation canal in the neighbourhood, but usually the women take water from the well or their own tap and do it at home. Water is not always available at the house. Some households have a private well in the courtyard. Although some households have taps and are linked to the municipal water services, the taps do not always work in the summer because the pressure is too low. Others share a well with their neighbours, which is never more than a couple of hundred metres away. Only women fetch water, which is a heavy job, especially when the well is not in their private courtyard. Getting the water out of the well requires two pairs of hands and strength.

Picture 5.3: Fetching water from the well

Picture by Aleida van Rooij

Carrying the water home is a heavy job as well. Usually around ten buckets are needed in one day. Last but not least the women take care of the children. The very young children are almost always within arms-reach of their mother. They are breastfed until they are a year and a half and after that the older daughters (if any) take care of them. When the children are older, the women prepare them for school. Usually the women get help from their oldest daughter in the household. The daughters are then confined to washing the dishes, laying the table, preparing the tea and serving the male part of the family.

The man's job concerning the household is limited to shopping. He goes to the *souk*<sup>11</sup> once a week, in the centre of Taghzoute on Thursdays, and gets all the shopping done. If during the week something is needed, a son or neighbour child is sent to a shop.

Picture 5.4: The centre of Taghzoute, the location of the weekly *souk*

Picture by Aleida van Rooij

### **5.2.2 Family labour**

Family labour is the unpaid labour the women perform besides their housekeeping tasks and the men perform besides wage labour.

#### *Women*

The agricultural tasks of the women consist of harvesting the crops. With a reaping hook they cut the yield. Gathering the dates, olives, almonds and figs under the trees as well as leaves and twigs from the tree is another task they perform on the fields. All

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<sup>11</sup> Local market

this is put in a grand shawl, which is carried home on their back or in some cases by a donkey. The fruit is spread on the rooftops to dry for later consumption, the other yield is used for consumption or animal fodder.

The animals are milked if possible and fed. The milk of the animal is used in the food. They also make butter from the milk. The milk is put in a kind of barrel and turned around for a long time until it thickens and becomes butter.

### *Men*

The men plough the fields and sow the seeds. They also take care of the irrigation. They make sure the irrigation canals are intact and that the water will reach the fields at the times it is needed. Climbing the trees to shake out all the fruit is also a man's job, although children, male and female, do it as well.

#### Box 5.1 A hot summer day in the life of women

*Women usually start their day extremely early. They get up at sunrise and eat something before they go to the field to fetch animal fodder. Depending on the number of animals and the size of their fields, they go between every day and once every other week. In families with more than one adult woman, there can be an alternation in the tasks that have to be done. After carrying the animal fodder home she feeds and milks the animals. She then starts preparing breakfast for the rest of the family. After breakfast the house has to be cleaned, bread has to be baked and she starts to prepare lunch. After lunch the dishes have to be washed and during the hot summer months usually the whole family rests until three or four o'clock. With more than forty degrees Celsius not much can be done. After resting she might do the laundry by hand in the house if there is water available or at a small irrigation canal. Sometimes when the yield is high, she will go to the fields to fetch some more animal fodder. Other tasks she could be doing are preparing butter from the animal milk. Sometimes she visits neighbours or family or they drop in. Preparing dinner is the next task on the agenda. Dinner starts late, around eight or nine, and after dinner and tea usually the day is ended, and she goes to sleep.*

*This is a day during summer time. There are changes in these daily activities depending on the season. The changes might be recorded in the amount of times the women go to their fields because the crops are not grown all through the year. There can also be changes in duration of resting time and time management with other occupations.*

### 5.3 Daily activities of the respondents

All the women are asked in the interviews about the specific housekeeping and agricultural activities that they perform, in order to make it possible to compare the activities of non-migrant and migrant wives.

Picture 5.5: The fields of Taghzoute

Picture by Aleida van Rooij

#### 5.3.1 Women's and men's tasks

##### *Non-migrant wives*

Only a small minority of this group does not exploit fields. They also have no animals. These women therefore do not perform any agricultural tasks. These women spend their entire days in the household: cooking, cleaning, washing and taking care of their children. One other woman also does not exploit fields of herself but she helps out occasionally on fields of family for which she receives part of the yield. She does have animals.

All other women exploit fields and usually they go there once a day or every couple of days. There is definitely a difference in tasks between women living in an extended family with parents and other family-in-law, women with adolescents or adult children, and women only young children. The difference depends on the position of the woman in the family. Especially older women with grown up sons, daughters and daughters-in-law living in the house, do not perform any household tasks anymore. The younger women perform the household tasks, often in a circulation system. Every two or three day's, they alternate. The woman herself performs agricultural and/or livestock tasks. Women with adolescent girls living in have help in the household. Children do not help out on the fields and with the animals. A minority of the women with only young children or no mothers and sisters-in-law living with them has to perform all the tasks by themselves.

The weekly supply of food and other purchases, that are needed, are bought at the *souk*. Every Thursday there is a big market in the centre of the village where they get their supplies. Sometimes they go to Tinghir, where the *souk* is held on Mondays. The head of the family, the husband in nuclear families or in extended families the father-in-law, always performs this task (if retired, the eldest son in the household). The husband is responsible for the irrigation and the cultivation of the fields. In extended families an available male adult fulfils this job. Only one husband, who works in the high school, hires a wage labourer to perform those tasks on the fields.

*Interior-migrant wives*

Of these women, only one woman does not exploit fields, though she does have animals. She herself takes care of all the household tasks and the livestock. The other women do exploit fields and have livestock. More than half of the women performs all the tasks herself. They go to the fields and take care of the animals and the household. The rest of the women get help from their daughters in the household. Some women go once a day to the fields, the others every couple of days. Only one woman, who lives in an extended family, alternates the tasks with her sister. She is also the only one of these ten women, who is not the household-head during the absence of her husband. Her brother is the household head.

In a majority of the cases, hired male personnel perform the male tasks on the fields. They work on the fields and get their share in return. In the other cases a family member takes care of it. As for shopping and going to the *souk*, more than half of the women send their son to the *souk*, and one third of the women send another male family member or a neighbour. Only one of the ten women goes to the *souk* herself. She explains that it is not because she wants to, but because "I am afraid to ask someone to go for me".

*Emigrant wives*

The emigrant wives are on average older than the interior-migrant wives and they have more grown up daughters living at home. One of the thirteen women lives in an extended family, and others have grown up daughters who can help out in the household. The women all perform the agricultural and animal tasks themselves, except for the one in the extended family. She gets help from her sister-in-law and her mother-in-law who attends to the animals. Only one woman does not exploit fields.

In more than half of the cases hired personnel perform the male tasks on the fields. In some cases a family member takes care of it and in one of the thirteen cases the woman herself does those jobs because "Even when my husband was around he did not do anything!" As well as all the other women, the women go to the fields once a day or every couple of days. A majority of the women send their son to the *souk*. The rest sends a male relative.

*Comparison*

As explained in chapter four, there is a difference between the groups in the number of women living in extended families. Regarding women's housekeeping and agricultural tasks during the day, women in extended families circulate tasks, which makes their daily activities often easier as compared to the tasks of women in nuclear

families who have to do all the tasks by themselves. Although extended families are usually bigger than nuclear families which creates more tasks (more people, more work), the differences in household size are small. Still, it means that more non-migrant wives have an easier task to do than most migrant wives do.

The emigrant wives receive more help from their adolescent daughters, which eases their tasks, whereas the majority of the interior-migrant wives perform all the tasks completely by themselves. Half of the non-migrant wives get help from a daughter or another female household member. Interior-migrant wives seem to have the most daily activities and therefore the most arduous tasks to perform. The age difference as is stated in chapter four, could well be the cause of this.

Another minor difference is that two non-migrant wives and one of the interior-migrant wives do not exploit fields. All emigrant wives exploit fields. An explanation is difficult to give.

With regard to male agricultural tasks, in non-migrant households this is done by the husband or a male family member, in one case personnel is hired. The majority of the interior-migrant wives and the emigrant wives have hired personnel. Among non-migrant households the head of the household goes to the *souk*, whereas the migrant wives usually send their son or an available family member. It seems plausible that the migrant wives who due to migration are missing a male hand on the field are able to replace that with hired personnel. Remittances can be the factor that makes hiring possible. Non-migrant wives do have male help in house and therefore do not need to hire personnel.

### ***5.3.2 Men's wage labour***

#### *Non-migrants*

The husbands of non-migrant wives perform various jobs. Some of them work in a café. A few others perform agricultural labour. Most of the women added that it is occasional work. Their husbands only work if agricultural labour is required. Most husbands alternate their agricultural work with occasional construction work. Because both forms of labour cannot provide them with a fixed wage, from time to time they are unemployed. As one woman claimed: "My husband has to take care of our five children and me, and he has no job. It is very difficult but it is the will of God."

In some cases, other male family members like fathers-in-law, brothers-in-law and sons of the women provide the family with a fixed or occasional income. Usually this comes from construction work and agricultural work, but in a few cases, the sons work in a pharmacy or a shop.

Most men perform the agricultural tasks on the fields they own if their father or brothers will not do it.

### *Interior-migrants*

More than half of the interior-migrants have migrated to Tangier, where some of them work as guard and the others hop from job to job. One third of the men travel around for jobs and do not live permanently in one city. One out of the ten interior-migrants is a soldier and another man lives in Casablanca where he takes up any available job. Most of the interior-migrants are away for three to four months and return home for one or two weeks. Almost half of the men migrated prior to their marriage. Only one of these women could tell me the labour history of her husband who had been a student. He did not complete his studies and started working.

The men have on average been migrated for 14,3 years. Before migration they performed agriculture and construction labour when available.

### *Emigrants*

The majority of the emigrants live in France, where they work in sanitation or in factories. One works for the French railways and some others work occasionally in construction. The others work in agriculture in Spain. The men usually return home at least during one or two months every couple of years, sometimes each year. This depends on the availability of work in France and Spain.

Emigrant wives often married a man who already had been migrated either within Morocco or to France. This frustrated some questions because the women could not tell what kind of tasks or labour their husbands performed before their migration. They did not know how long he was gone or what he did prior to the marriage.

The men in Spain only have been migrants for one to three years and the men in France have on average been migrated for 23,3 years. Many of the men first migrated within Morocco before they took the step to emigrate. Interior-migration seems the logical step before emigration. Most of the men worked in agriculture and/or construction before they migrated.

None of the migrant wives, interior-migrant or emigrant, could tell much about their husbands jobs. What is told above, seemed all they knew. It is logical to conclude that the migrant wives do not often speak their husbands or are not informed about their husbands' daily lives. The geographical separation seems to create a personal separation as well. Non-migrant wives were able to tell more about their husbands.

## **5.4 Changes over time**

The women compared their lives to that of their mothers and daughters in order to find out which are the changes through time in their tasks.

### ***5.4.1 Their lives compared to their mothers***

All the women, migrant and non-migrant, agree on the fact that their mothers' life was much harder than their own. This can be subscribed for a part to recent technical advancements. Only recently can most households afford gas stoves. In the earlier days everybody used traditional ovens to cook using wood as fuel. According to the women most of the wood used to be fetched in the mountains nearby, and though they were only a couple of kilometres away, the women went there by foot and carried the fuel home on their back. In addition, animal fodder was fetched in the mountain area, because there were more animals than nowadays and probably not enough fodder was grown on the fields. Their mothers worked very hard on the fields that were often much larger in those days. According to the women the fields are now smaller because they have been divided between the sons. Also the animal stock was much bigger in those days. The Aït Atta are originally a semi-nomadic tribe relying partly on livestock farming and this was still a big part of their lives in the days their mothers were young. Now almost all Aït Atta are settled in one place and they have much smaller herds.

A minority of women claims that the household was much more labour intensive than it is right now. One woman attributes this to the traditional old houses, which produced a lot of dust, others blame it on the cooking with wood which was more difficult to collect. But they all agree on the fact that fetching the water from the Khettara's which were not nearby, was a heavy burden on the household. At least one third of the women claim that the household cleaning tasks of their mother were less than their own. Their explanation for this difference is that, their mothers other tasks (agricultural tasks, animal tasks, fetching wood, water, and animal fodder and cooking) were so heavy, that they did not have time to do the entire household task properly. Many women also point at the large extended families their mothers had to take care of, and a few women say that preparing animal skins and clothes took up much of their mother's time. Animal skins were a traditional product of the Aït Atta.

### ***5.4.2 Their lives compared to their daughters***

Most women helped their mother with all her tasks if they were one of the elderly daughters, otherwise they were lucky they had older sisters and only had to look after the smaller children. The women state that their daughters, on the other hand, have a life much easier than they had themselves. Most daughters just help out in the household if they are free from school and when they have reached a certain age.

No difference can be found between migrant and non-migrant wives in their statements about their mothers and daughters. All women agree on the fact that their mothers' lives were much harder than their own. The mothers had to do much more during the day. Their daughters on the other hand have it easier than they themselves had. Education is seen as a huge progress in their daughters' lives, which seems to excuse them from helping out all the time.

### **5.5 Perception on their labour and future wishes**

The women were asked what they thought of the tasks they perform. Do they like the work or do they not? Comparing their answers to the wishes they have for their daughters' future will give a more honest perspective on the perception of their tasks.

#### *Non-migrant wives*

The women perceive their work differently. Less than half of the women claim that they find their tasks easy. "This is our job and it is good for us". They are content with their work. A quarter of the women perceives their jobs to be a very difficult job depending on the season but a pleasant one. One third of the women claim that it is a very difficult job and they are obliged to do everything. "We never stop working, never, never, never. We have to agree with it."

But whether the women like their work or not, none of the women want their daughters to have the same life as they have right now. All women wish their daughters (in one case granddaughter) to have a better live than they themselves have. Some added that they at least should marry a good or a rich husband, preferably living in the big cities or in France. Others just want their daughters to leave town and have a simple life without a lot of work, just the household (no agriculture or animals). A couple of women want their daughters to finish school and find a decent job, suitable for a woman, like teaching.

#### *Interior-migrant wives*

Half of the women claim that their tasks are very arduous, but that they are used to do it. One of them finds the heaviness of the job depend on the season. She prefers the season when there is less to do. The other half of the women claims that their job is an easy job and they are used to it. One even says, she really likes working on the fields, otherwise she would be bored because there is nothing else to do.

They all want their daughters to get married to a nice man and to live in a big city or to finish their studies so they will not be as ignorant as they themselves are and get a nice job. Some women wish for their daughters to be able to have the freedom to

choose for themselves. They all want their daughters to leave the village so they will not have to work on the fields, as they themselves do.

### *Emigrant wives*

Three quarters of the women claim their job is an easy one, they are used to it and have no problem with it. One of them states, “ We have a good health for doing these tasks”. The other women find it a difficult job to perform or do not like it at all, “but” state some of these women, “there is no alternative for us”.

Of all thirteen emigrant wives, only one woman wishes her daughter the same life she herself has, because she has a very good life. All other women want their daughters to have a life better than their own. Most women hope their daughter can exchange Taghzoute for a big city without their daily tasks. Others specifically want their daughter to emigrate. One woman added she wishes a good job for her daughter, which she knows will be difficult to find and one other woman wishes her daughter a lot of money and a car.

### *Comparison*

Some differences can be found between the women with regard to their perception of their work.

**Table 5.1: Perception of tasks**

Perception	Easy job & like it	Hard but okay	Hard
Non-migrant wives n=20	40%	25%	35%
Interior-migrant wives n=10	50%	0%	50%
Emigrant wives n=13	69%	0%	31%

Source: Own calculations

Emigrant wives like their work the most and interior-migrant wives the least. The non-migrant wives match most on the category hard but almost half of them still like their tasks. The interior-migrant wives seem to find their work the most arduous which can easily be explained by the fact that they have the most tasks to perform. On the subject of liking their work has to be done more research. No explanation can be given for the differences between the groups at this time.

With regard to their daughters' future, except for one emigrant wife, all women wish their daughters a better life than they themselves have. They probably consider their own lives not that good but seem to put up with it. And most migrant wives wish for their daughters a life outside Taghzoute, more than the non-migrant wives do. The migrants probably brought the advantages of living in the cities and in Europe more to the attention of their wives, which makes them long for leaving the village themselves.

## **5.6 Changes in agriculture and livestock in their perception**

All the women were asked questions about their thoughts on agricultural changes and changes concerning the amount of livestock. There were questions on which products they grew in the year before this research and the present amount of animals they possessed. Furthermore, the women were asked to compare the present agricultural output and amount of animals to that of five years ago. They were also asked which crops were grown then and now. This was done to get an idea of the changes that might affect the tasks they perform. To get an (more vaguely) idea of changes over time, the women compared the present time with the time they were living in their parents' houses although not all the women are born in Taghzoute. A description will be given of the statements of only the women born in Taghzoute and Aggoudime. The migrant wives were also asked questions about agriculture and livestock in the time before migration.

### **5.6.1 Agriculture**

#### *Non-migrant wives*

On all the fields of these women (one seventh does not exploit fields) alfalfa is the main crop. According to the women it is a crop that can be harvested more than once in a year, which makes it attractive as animal fodder. Two third of the households grow cereals as well, and one fourth of the households also have maize production. Except for one, all women have two or more different types of fruit trees. Most women claim that this year there is little yield due to a lack of water. Although all women grew the same products five years ago, three-quarters of the women state that the yield was much better then, because more water was available. Only a small minority says that they have a better yield this year and one woman thinks it is the same.

More than half of the women is born in Taghzoute and one seventh in Aggoudime. On all the fields of their parents, the same crops, often with vegetables as well, were produced as on their own field nowadays. However almost half of the women claim that the yield was much bigger then. According to the women the fields were a lot bigger and there was definitely more water available because of more rainfall. One woman thinks it was much the same as it is now and three women claim that they have better agricultural output now than their parents did.

*Interior-migrant wives*

One woman does not exploit fields. The others all have alfalfa on their fields. One fifth of the women grow cereals, one with extra maize and one with both cereals and maize. More than half of the women also have two sorts of fruit trees to grow but again, only a couple of trees. A majority of the women claim that five years ago the yield was better with the same crops and one says it was the same as it is now. A minority of the women cannot recall. Only half of the women say what the cultivation could have been before migration. The majority of them thought the yield were even better then. One did not know of any differences.

One third of the women is born in Taghzoute and one fifth in Aggoudime. One woman cannot compare her parents' fields with hers because she does not exploit fields herself. The others are divided. Half of them think their parents' agricultural output was much higher, the others claim they themselves have a higher yield.

*Emigrant wives*

Of the women who exploit fields (all except for one), one does not grow alfalfa. She says that she just has some cereals on the field in case of water availability. The others all have alfalfa on their fields. Three quarters of them also grow some cereals and a small amount has maize as well. All women have one or more sorts of fruit trees, but only a few. The majority of the women claim that the yield was better five years ago, with the same cultures, a minority says it was the same or it was less. The yield before migration is difficult to tell for most women but half of the women think it was more than it is now and the other half thinks it was less. Some women do not know what to answer. Almost half of the women are born in Taghzoute and one in Aggoudime, and except for one woman, who says that the fields of her parents were not that good, the others say that their parents' fields created much more output. Of course the fields were a lot bigger then.

*Comparison*

With regard to the agricultural products, there are many similarities between all the respondents on the products they grow. The most common culture in Taghzoute is alfalfa, which is used as animal fodder. Cereals are often grown as well and sometimes maize. Most families have fruit trees on their fields such as date palms, olive trees, almond trees, and fig trees, but they own only a couple of trees. All respondents state that the yield is for their own consumption. Important to add is that almost all women state that the year of this research was a very bad year for agriculture. They all claim that no water is available and that the yield is small. According to them this is the worst year over a long period. So no differences can be

recorded between the women in agriculture presently, except for the fact that migrant wives have more hired personnel on the fields as recorded in paragraph 5.3.1.

The grown crops were the same five years ago for most women and three quarters of all groups claim the yield was much better then. Most migrant wives can not recall the yield before migration or claim it is the same as five years ago. Most women who can tell about their parents' fields (who were a lot bigger) think it was better then, with some exceptions.

### 5.6.2 Livestock

The livestock in Taghzoute only exists of goats and cows, as can be seen below in tables 5.1 and 5.2. These tables show the number of animals per woman five years ago and in the present time (1999). The number of animals was according to all women definitely higher in their youth than it is now.

Five years ago a little less than one third of the interior-migrant wives did not have animals. The rest all participated in livestock farming. All migrant wives claim, if they could recall, that the livestock before migration was the same as five years ago.

**Table 5.2: Livestock five years ago**

Animals	Non-migrant wives n=20	Interior-migrant wives n=10	Emigrant wives n=13
Cows per woman	0.9	0.6	0.5
Goats per woman	2.4	1.8	3.3
Average number of animals per woman	3.3	2.4	3.9

Source: Own calculations

Table 5.2 clearly shows the differences between the groups five years ago. The emigrant wives have considerably more animals per household than the other two groups. Especially the difference with interior-migrant wives is noteworthy.

One fifth of the non-migrant wives and one emigrant wife do not participate in livestock farming at the present time.

**Table 5.3: Present livestock (1999)**

Animals	Non-migrant wives n=20	Interior-migrant wives n=10	Emigrant wives n=13
Cows per woman	1.0	0.2	1.0
Goats per woman	1.9	4.1	3.0
Average amount of animals per woman	2,9	4,3	4,0

Source: Own calculations

Table 5.3 differs from table 5.2. The figure for emigrant wives has not changed considerably, but the amount of animals for interior-migrant wives has increased and has even become the highest right now. The non-migrant wives on the other hand show a minor decrease in the amount of animals.

This difference in the number of animals of interior-migrant and emigrant wives can be explained by the fact that emigrants on average are migrated for a longer period. The shift to livestock breeding has been made earlier than for interior-migrant wives. The shift in that group is more recent and therefore can be found in the statistics. The decrease of livestock among non-migrant wives can possibly be explained by the bad yield of the last year. Most households use the fields to grow animal fodder and with a bad yield less animals can be fed. The migrant wives can probably compensate this lack of fodder by buying it. The remittances could provide them with more options than just selling or eating the animals.

### **5.7 Perception on the changes in tasks after migration**

In this paragraph the migrant wives give their own idea on what changed due to their husband's migration.

#### *Interior-migrant wives*

When the women were asked what has changed after the migration of their husband, or what the differences are between their tasks and the tasks non-migrant wives perform, they see a particular increase in their responsibility. After the migration of their husband, they are responsible for everything, which they feel as a heavy burden. The agricultural tasks stay much the same, according to the women, though they have to hire a person to do the male agricultural tasks. The household tasks did not seem to increase either, they even seem to have diminished. A couple of women claim that, with their husband away, they can divide their time as they want it and do the tasks when and if they feel like it.

#### *Emigrant wives*

Of these women, a small minority does not feel there is a difference in tasks after migration or compared to non-migrant wives. The other women claim there is a difference. The majority of them say the difference is that they have much more responsibilities. These responsibilities make their lives more difficult and complicated, which they generally do not appreciate. They have to take care of hiring the agricultural personnel. The other women claim it is easier without their husbands because they do not have to perform as many tasks in the household.

*Comparison*

As stated above most migrant wives, interior-migrant and emigrant, agree on the fact that there is definitely an increase in responsibilities, which most women see as a burden. Still many women feel there is a decrease in household tasks. Both the increase and decrease can be explained by the absence of the husband. The women take over their husband's responsibilities, which double in a sense. The absence of their husband eases the household tasks because the women can manage their own time and do not have to follow strict rules. They can choose for themselves if they want to do a certain task or not.

## Chapter 6

# Decision-making

### 6.1 Introduction

The position of the respondents in the decision-making processes within the household is difficult to determine, because of the complex nature of decision-making and the difficulty in defining decision-making.

Power-relations between different persons play an important role in decision-making processes, in this case specifically between husband and wife. The person enjoying the most power is the one who has more (or all of the) influence in the decision-making process.

First will be described if the women take part in the decision-making process within the household at all and if they do, which decisions are negotiable and how much influence they think they have. Furthermore the women were asked if they do or did agree with certain decisions and in case of disagreement whether their husband is willing to listen to their argument in pleading for a certain outcome.

### 6.2 Decision-making with regard to salaries and agriculture

The women were presented with questions on decision-making regarding who decides what happens with salaries and remittances as well as decisions concerning agriculture and the execution of these decisions.

#### *Non-migrant wives*

In the non-migrant households all the decisions with regard to salaries are taken by the household head, usually the husband, or in case of an extended family possibly the father-in-law, brother-in-law or the woman's oldest married son. Only one woman claims to be the decision-maker, saying her husband is senile and could no longer make decisions. Living in an extended family means sometimes more than one salary per household. In these cases it is still the head of the household who decides what happens with the money, although in one or two cases the person who earns the money can keep part for his own convenience. With regard to decisions towards agriculture, like for example what crops should be grown, the head of the household in most cases makes the final decision. In one tenth of the cases the women decide

what should be grown. With regard to the execution of decisions, the household heads, with no exception, execute all decisions. All the women state that they agree with the decisions made, although some women specify they are obliged to agree, “We have no choice”.

When the women were asked if there is some form of negotiation about what should happen with the salaries or on the fields, there are more differences between the answers. Of the women living in an extended family, half claim that there is a process of negotiation between all the adult family members, including themselves. The others say that there is only negotiation between the male family members and sometimes their mother-in-law. Of the other women, a small minority claims that there is no negotiation between themselves and their husbands. The husbands do what they think is right and the women can only ask them a favour and the men listen occasionally. The rest of the women point out that there is always a process of negotiation. Some stated that while they negotiate, it is usually the husband who makes the final decision. They add, “he makes good decisions, sometimes” or “we negotiate because he is a very gentle man”. Other women, who claim there is negotiation in the household, add that they could ask their husband for a favour and he often fulfils it but if they do not agree with a certain decision he ignores them. Only one of the twenty women says, “sometimes he does not listen to me, but I do not always listen to him either”. In this household they always negotiate about certain decisions and “if we do not negotiate we should get a divorce”.

#### *Interior-migrant wives*

In the case of the interior-migrant wives, they decide for themselves what should happen with the remittances, sent by their husband. Only the woman living in an extended family says her mother-in-law decides on the remittances. This is also the only case that the negotiation about decisions is between the women left behind in the household. The husband is never consulted. Some women say that if their husband is around for a while, the husbands decide what should happen with it. Regarding agricultural decisions, again the women take matters into their own hands. In some cases the women say that in order to get the remittances from the post office, where it is sent, they send a family member to collect it. But usually they collect it themselves.

All women claim that they only negotiate with their husband (by phone or letter) or consult their husband if an important decision have to be made, like a renovation of their house, large purchases such as buying or selling of animals. All women state that in those cases, their husbands make the final decision but one woman claims to decide for herself if he is wrong. She adds that the time when she really wished to buy goats and he disagreed with her, she still persisted in buying the animals. And she is glad she did because “Goats are handy to have”. Smaller decisions, they make themselves.

*Emigrant wives*

Also in the case of the emigrant wives, they themselves take all decisions with regard to remittances, except when their husbands are around. Only the woman in the extended family has no contribution to the decision-making process at all. In this household the parents and brothers-in-law take the decisions. The agricultural expenses are in their hands as well. Half of all women say that they collect the remittances from the post office, the others find someone willing to do that for them.

Half of the women claim they do not often consult their husband, only in case of a large purchase such as animals. Some just do not negotiate at all. They do what they think is right, "he is never here!" Others say, they always consult their husband on expenses.

*Comparison*

Women in migrant households have much more control over the use of salaries than non-migrant wives. Although in many non-migrant households negotiation takes place about salaries, the male family head takes the final decision and executes the decision. Almost all wives of migrants decide what happens with the remittances and only consult their husband on important issues. Most migrant wives add though, that their husband takes over as soon as he returns for a holiday. Women living in an extended family have less say in these decisions. With regard to agriculture, again migrant wives have more control although some non-migrant wives decide on this too. The same applies to the execution of decisions. Migrant wives execute decisions and non-migrant wives do not.

On all these issues there seems to be little difference between interior-migrant wives and emigrant wives. The absence of their husbands gives the migrant wives clearly more decision-making authority. They gain at least temporary authority, which they surrender as soon as their husband is in the household for a short stay. They fall back to the patriarchal state of the household as it was before migration or as it is in non-migrant households. This can be the result of social pressure. Women are not expected to play a significant overt role in decision-making or execution of decisions in traditional Morocco. The women themselves probably are not prepared to play that role because they think it is not the right place for a woman or they are afraid that the community will not accept it. It is also possible that the husband will not allow the woman to play a significant role in this process. Women in patriarchal societies based on patriarchal principles are expected to be passive and dependent, and the role these women temporary play due to their husband's absence will not change the traditional patterns.

### 6.3 Decision-making with regard to daily activities of the women

Decision-making with regard to household and field labour is not present within the household. When the women were asked who decides about the tasks they perform, all women, in migrant and non-migrant households, responded the same. They all find it a stupid question because it is obvious. It has been always like that, as they state and the tradition dictates this division in labour between men and women. "It is women's work", "there is nothing else to do for us", "Society is like that so we are obliged to do it", and "Society wants us to do it".

Some call it "tradition". It is traditionally determined that these tasks are women's tasks. Others just say: "That's just the way it is. It has always been like that. It is the way God wants it." They accept the status quo. Even when questions were asked why boys and men do not help out within the household, answers like, "Boys do not do that. It is women's work!" were common. Men are not capable to do so in their eyes.

### 6.4 Decision-making with regard to children and their education

Decisions concerning the children and the education of children are important within the household. Certainly now that almost all children, boys and girls, attend school for a certain amount of time. These decisions regard subjects like school supplies and registration.

#### *Non-migrant wives*

All the women take care of their own children, especially when the children are young, or if they are working on the fields or busy with other tasks let their eldest daughter take care of them. One woman, living in an extended family, leaves her children in the care of the women who take care of the household (sister-in-law) when she is out working.

Educational arrangements are made by the fathers of the children, except for a woman married to a senile man. She takes care of it herself.

All the women think education is extremely important and regret not having an education themselves. The women as well as the men want their children to attend school, so there is no disagreement about that. Most women say that they do talk about it though, but others say, "he decides it" and "I have no say in it".

The importance of an education, according to the women, is that they feel it is very important to learn, so "the children can understand certain things and will not become like us". One woman says that she could get nowhere because she has not had any education. "I understand nothing". Additionally the women mention is that with a good education it is easier to get a job, especially for boys. The girls should be

educated but not in order to get a job. Some women mention that education is very expensive and that they do not have the money to let the girls continue school. Others say, though education is important for boys and girls, they need a daughter to help in the household. At a certain age they are therefore kept at home.

#### *Interior-migrant wives*

The interior-migrant wives, who are on average younger than the non-migrant wives, all take care of their children themselves without help from their daughters (except for one). More than half of them makes the educational arrangements of which one third only in the absence of their husband. One third of the women says their husbands make the arrangements when they are at home and one of the women says that the children are still too young to attend school. All the women and their husbands believe education to be extremely important. These women also mention that it is very expensive, therefore it is not always possible to let the girls continue their education.

Continuation of the education is seen as important in order to get a job or to understand things. “You walk like a cow, without education” or “I am like a donkey without education”, the women say, meaning that they do not know anything and do not understand anything. One woman claims that she takes care of all the educational arrangements for her children but, because she herself does not have any education, this is very difficult. She can not read the documents and the like, so she always needs help. One woman told me that “other people” think school is “not for girls”, but she adds that she is glad this is changing.

#### *Emigrant wives*

As well as the interior-migrant wives, the emigrant wives all take care of their own children except for the one in the extended family. This woman says that the household or the women in the household take care of them. She also states that the wage earner in the household makes the educational arrangements in the household. The vast majority of the women take care of these arrangements themselves and the rest say that their husband takes care of it. Only one of the thirteen women states that her husband does not find education important. He decides whether their children will get an education or not, and he wants his daughters to quit school even though she does not agree. Only his son attends school.

All other women and men think education is important for girls and boys. Some add that it is more important for boys, in order to get a decent job. Girls should attend school until they get married, in order to understand certain things. Others state that education is important, so their daughters will not become like themselves.

### *Comparison*

With no exception, all women feel education is important for their children. And almost all men agree. For girls it is important to leave ignorance behind, for boys to find a good job. This does not explain why some non-migrant and emigrant wives keep one or all daughters at home. These women are all above forty as stated in chapter four and can well be more old-fashioned than other women. It is possible that these women gave a socially desired answer by emphasising the importance of education for girls but in the meanwhile still feel that education is not important for their daughters. Some of the non-migrant wives state they do not have money to send (all) girls to school which is another explanation.

In non-migrant households the husbands control education arrangements. In migrant households most women take care of it, although almost a third of husbands does it when they are at home. In general, the migrant wives have more influence on educational arrangements.

### **6.5 Decision-making with regard to daily purchases and household tasks**

In this area of Morocco, men traditionally go to the *souk* or to shops to get the daily purchases. That does not mean that they themselves decide what is necessary and what has to be bought. The women were asked who decides about these purchases. They were also asked who decides on the division in household tasks.

#### *Non-migrant wives*

Almost all the non-migrant wives have their shopping done by their husband. Usually the women themselves tell him what to buy. In the extended families, the other women also have a say in it. In some cases it is the men himself who decides what to get, in other cases they negotiate about it. The division in household chores or the decisions regarding when what needs to be done is usually regulated and decided by the women in co-operation with her daughters or other female household members.

#### *Interior-migrant wives*

Most immigrant wives leave the shopping to their sons, or in some cases to another family member. However, she definitely tells him what to buy and she sometimes even lets him make a list to prevent him from forgetting anything. The women also decide on what to cook and on the distribution of the household chores. Most women say there is not much negotiation about that. Usually the tasks have been fixed long before.

*Emigrant wives*

Except for one emigrant wife, who does go to the *souk* herself, all the women have their son or another male family member go to the *souk* and to do the shopping. The women tell them what to buy as well as what should be cooked. Only in the extended family it is the mother-in-law who decides what should be bought at the *souk* and what will be cooked. Most women do not negotiate about the household chores because most of the time these tasks are already fixed.

*Comparison*

Except for one emigrant wife, the husband or a male family member does the shopping in all households. Women do not go to the *souk*. All migrant wives decide what should be bought and cooked. The same applies to the majority of non-migrant wives. Sometimes the women negotiate with a daughter on household chores, but these chores are usually already fixed. Exceptions can be found within the extended families where more people have influence in all these decisions especially when a mother-in-law is present. In nuclear households, non-migrant and migrant, no differences can be recorded.

**6.6 The women's perception on their decision-making position**

All the women were asked if they think they have any influence in the decision-making process and if they make any decisions.

*Non-migrant wives*

A small minority of the non-migrant wives answers that they do not have any influence in the decision-making process. Some others say that they make no decisions as well but at another time in the interview these women state that they are the ones who decide what has to be bought at the *souk* and what should be cooked as well as what happens in the household. Another woman says that she does make decisions with regard to the household. She has no influence on the decisions other than household activities. All other women state that they have some influence in the decision-making process. Usually these decisions concern the household. One woman says, "He listens sometimes to what I have to say, so I have influence sometimes". Another women states, "Yes, I have influence on the decisions that are made, because we always negotiate about it". One woman, who is married to a senile man, takes all the decisions in their household. She acts, so to speak, as head of the household.

All the women claim they are content with their current position in the decision-making process. In addition they say, "we are very content, because we have to be

content! This the way it is, our lives are like this". One woman says, "I have to be satisfied, women are not free here as they are in western countries".

#### *Interior-migrant wives*

These women all state that they have influence and take decisions. When they consult their husband on important issues they have a say in the decisions made. One woman adds, "If I do not want something to happen like that, he does not do it. So I certainly have influence".

Some other women say that they make decisions but it is very difficult, they miss their husband in the process. Only one woman says, "I make the decisions here and I love it like that!"

#### *Emigrant wives*

Except for the woman living in an extended family, all the women claim that they definitely have influence on the decision-making process and make decisions. The woman living in an extended family says that sometimes she has influence and takes decisions sporadically, but she is not always content with her position in this process.

Most other women state they are content or very content with the way it happens. One even says, "I am very happy with this situation, because I can take a lot of decisions!" One woman says she always consults her husband on the decisions that should be made.

#### *Comparison*

Migrant wives feel they have more influence in the decision-making process than non-migrant wives. Most non-migrant wives do take decisions with regard to the household, but migrant wives take much more decisions on for example expenses, although women occasionally consult their husband.

All non-migrant wives state that they are satisfied with their place in the decision-making process. Most migrant wives also agree with the way decisions are taken.

### **6.7 The changes after migration**

The migrant-wives were asked what they thought has changed due to migration in the decision-making process.

*Interior-migrant wives*

Most women state that they take a lot of decisions when their husband is gone although they do negotiate with their husband over the phone, mostly about decisions concerning large purchases. They add that when their husband is around he takes over these decision-making tasks straight away. They still have some say in it but much less. A couple of women say that when their husband is around they still take decisions regarding certain issues but he is the one who executes the decisions.

All the women claim that the differences with non-migrant wives or before migration are that they carry all the weight of the responsibilities. Therefore most women prefer their husbands to be at home so he can take over all the responsibilities. As one woman says, "He takes the decisions when he is here and that is much easier for me!" One woman even says, "I want him here because it is very difficult for me that I have to buy everything and sometimes I am afraid to be alone. Unfortunately he has to go so we can eat". Another woman says that the difference between migrant and non-migrant wives is that "we want our husbands to be at home because we find it difficult without him and they (non-migrant wives) want their husband to migrate because there are always relational problems in marriages and they need the money".

All women agree with the migration of their husband. But some of them claim they have no choice but to agree. Most of them prefer their husbands to be at home, so the men can carry the responsibility. Almost all men want to return after retirement. Most women claim they cannot join him because it is too expensive or he does not reside in one place.

*Emigrant wives*

The only emigrant wife living in an extended family says that it makes no differences for her if her husband is here or not regarding decision-making. She never has had much influence. She does think that the main difference between migrant and non-migrant wives is a matter of money but the tasks remain the same. She adds that she feels that it is more difficult if the woman lives alone in a nuclear family because she will be responsible for everything. Some other women say that there are no differences between migrant and non-migrant wives. The rest of the emigrant wives do experience differences. They feel that they carry double responsibilities when he is gone and add that he takes over when he is at home. Only one woman says that she did take decisions when he was still here and "I will always take decisions, even when he returns, always!"

Most women think it is difficult without their husband and they prefer him to stay at home. As one woman says, "We have better houses and more money than non-migrant wives. It is good for the men themselves to have a job somewhere but it is difficult for us, women, to live without husband. We have all the responsibilities. But,

despite the difficulties, it is certainly better to be a migrant wife because of the money". Another woman claims, "it is better, I think, that the men stay here because of all the responsibilities we get when they are gone".

Some women say that when their husband is around they have to obey to a strict schedule to do their tasks. When he is away they can themselves choose what to do and when to do it. As one woman claims, "It is a lot easier when he is gone because I can do anything I want, even sleep whenever I want".

They all agree on their husband's migration but some claim that they are obliged to agree because they cannot decide on things like that. Some others say they agree but they prefer their husbands' to be at home because of the burden that they carry caused by his absence. A quarter of the women claims they do not want to follow their husbands to Europe. One of them has already been with her husband in France for a year and came back because she did not like it there. Almost half of the women state they might follow their husband. One of them is sure she can go there. The other women know for sure their husband will return after retirement and two of them are not allowed to follow him even if they want to.

### *Comparison*

With a few exceptions, all women state that there are changes caused by migration or differences as compared with non-migrant wives. They take more decisions, with or without consultation of the husband and most women execute the decisions, though this state of affairs changes the moment the husband returns. "Double responsibility", meaning their own responsibilities and the responsibilities they take over from their husband, is stated to be the biggest change and often experienced as a burden. Therefore most women prefer their husband to be at home. This burden seems to create a certain amount of psychological stress on the women. Although some emigrant wives point at the advantages of the absence of their husbands, interior-migrant wives only emphasise the burden of his absence. This can be related to the age of the women. On average the interior-migrant wives are younger and therefore have less grown up or adolescent children to support them in tasks and decisions. The emigrant wives on the other hand have more help in the households and probably more support. They are on average older and possibly more confident, because they had to deal with the situation much longer and are more used to it. That is why it is likely that the interior-migrant wives experience the absence of their husband more severe. The fact that most migrant wives are satisfied with the way decisions are made, as stated in paragraph 6.6, is in contrast with the burden of responsibilities that is felt and therefore more difficult to explain. Still, the questions that were asked regarding their satisfaction only regarded the state of the decision-making process at that particular moment in time. The women were not asked what they would like to change in this process or if there is a difference in satisfaction compared to other

moments. It is plausible to believe that the women acquiesce in the present absence of their husbands but at the same time the women feel the burden of responsibility.

All women approve of their husbands' migration, but there are women that state they have no other choice than to agree. For emigrant wives it seems more likely that they follow their husband although some are not allowed to. The interior-migrant wives do not see joining their husband as a possibility because of lack of money.

## Chapter 7

# Conclusion

### 7.1 Introduction

In this thesis an analysis is made on the effects of migration on women left behind by their husbands. The research for this thesis is conducted in Taghzoute, a small village in the Todgha Valley in southern Morocco, where labour migration, predominantly by men, is a common phenomenon. Women, who are often left behind, experience many changes due to this outmigration. I have specifically researched the changes in daily activities and in their position in the decision-making process in the household because I wanted to find out whether the women gained authority due to outmigration of their husbands. Because Moroccan households often are based on patriarchal principles, it seems likely that the absence of the husband alters these patriarchal principles and allows the women to take over his authority.

My central question of research is:

**What are the effects of outmigration of men on the position of women in the decision-making process in the households with regard to women's daily activities?**

In the preceding chapters the research findings have been explored and a comparison has been made between groups of non-migrant and migrant wives. The migrant wives were divided in a group of interior-migrant and emigrant wives, because differentiation between those groups might occur.

In this concluding chapter I will first go into my findings followed by an answer to the central question of research. Finally I will give recommendations for further research on this subject.

### 7.2 Differences in daily activities

With regard to women's daily activities, I expected to find that the tasks of migrant wives would aggravate due to their husband's absence. They would either take over his agricultural tasks or a shift to livestock farming took place because of the strict division of labour.

In Taghzoute, women perform tasks regarding the household, agricultural and livestock on a daily basis. In the household they engage in housekeeping tasks, care of children and in the preparation of food. On the fields the women perform tasks such as maintaining the crops and cutting the yield to carry it home as animal fodder. With livestock women perform tasks such as feeding and milking. First I will summarise the differences I found between the three groups of women concerning these tasks, followed by an explanation for the differences related to migration. I will conclude with the perception of the women on the changes in tasks due to migration.

### *Household tasks*

The interior-migrant wives have a more arduous task to perform than the others do. They perform all the tasks in the household by themselves. The emigrant wives get a lot of help from their daughters, as do the non-migrant wives. The household size of emigrant wives is also smaller compared to the other groups, which eases their household tasks. Although the non-migrant wives live on average in the largest households, due to the existence of extended families in this group, this can ease the tasks by circulating tasks between women. Practically all migrant wives live in nuclear households. Another difference can be recorded in the habitation of the women. More emigrant wives live in modern concrete brick houses with modern facilities which eases tasks and although a part of the interior-migrant households are building such a modern house, the interior-migrant wives live in non-completed houses which is less comfortable and are more labour intensive with regard to cleaning. A part of the non-migrant wives still lives in the old *qsar*, which also creates more dust and therefore more work.

### *Agricultural tasks*

With regard to agricultural tasks the same statement can be made that interior-migrant wives face the most arduous tasks, because they have to perform all the tasks by themselves in contrast with the emigrant and non-migrant wives who get help from daughters or other family members. No differences in agricultural output are recorded between the groups. There is a difference however in the person who performs male agricultural tasks. The majority of migrant wives arrange hired personnel to do the work. The non-migrant wives rely on their husbands or male family members.

### *Livestock tasks*

There are differences in livestock breeding. Among non-migrant wives livestock breeding has decreased during the last five years, where an increase can be recorded among interior-migrant wives. The amount of livestock among emigrant wives

remained on the same level, which is certainly higher than that of non-migrants. The migrant wives therefore perform more livestock tasks than non-migrant wives do.

We can conclude that the tasks of interior-migrant wives are the most arduous compared to the other groups and that the tasks of emigrant wives and non-migrant wives are practically the same.

### *Migration effects or not?*

These differences in tasks can be partly related to migration. As stated in chapter four, it is possible that the fact that relatively more migrant wives live in nuclear households is an effect of migration. The same can be said for differences in habitation. Remittances can urge migrant wives to move out of extended families because of disagreement on the spending of the remittances. These remittances also give them more possibilities to build a new house. Another effect of migration is the difference in the amount of livestock. It is possible that migration caused an increase in the livestock of interior-migrant wives. The same relatively high amount of livestock in the last five years among emigrant wives can possibly be explained by the fact that they had an increase in livestock earlier because their husbands have migrated longer ago. This is backed by the fact that the amount of livestock of non-migrant wives compared to that of emigrant wives is not only less at the present time, but was also less five years ago. But there does not seem to be a shift towards livestock breeding at the cost of agricultural activities on the fields, as was expected.

The other differences in tasks are probably related to age. Interior-migrant wives perform all their tasks, household, agricultural and livestock, without much help from adolescent or grown up daughters. Interior-migrant wives are on average younger than the other women are and therefore have younger children. These women have no adolescent or grown up daughter who can assist them with their tasks. This age difference can possibly be related to migration in two ways. Firstly, there is step-wise migration, where interior-migration is the first step towards emigration. This implies that the interior-migrants are younger than emigrants are. Secondly, due to the fact that in the last decade it has become more difficult to emigrate towards Europe because less visa are provided, interior-migration has become the most important (legal) form of migration in the last decade. In this case we have to assume that the goal of every migrant is to be finally emigrated. Either way, the age differences between the groups of migrant wives are certainly not an effect of migration. Therefore it can only be said that migration possibly increased tasks in livestock breeding (not at the cost of other agricultural activities) and, concerning interior-migrant wives, increased the cleaning tasks due to the non-completed habitation. For emigrant wives migration even seemed to have eased the tasks because of the

possibility it created to live in the modern concrete buildings with more modern facilities.

### *Perception on tasks and the burden of responsibility*

These findings can explain why half of the group of interior-migrant wives perceives their tasks as being difficult and are not satisfied with it. It also explains why emigrant wives are more satisfied with their tasks than interior-migrant wives. It is remarkable that most migrant wives, interior-migrant and emigrant, state that their household tasks decreased due to their husband's absence. This perception can be expected of the emigrant wives who, as explained before, have fewer tasks to perform partly due to migration but not of the interior-migrant wives. They have more tasks to perform partly due to migration, and partly due to their age. In either way it is to be expected that the interior-migrant wives feel that their tasks increased. This can possibly be explained by the fact that the women have more control over the household management and their time management. They also have one person less to take care of.

The interior-migrant wives and emigrant wives feel an increase in responsibilities by taking over their husband's responsibilities, which is felt as a burden. This increase of responsibilities is not regarded as part of their daily activities as stated above, which explains the differences in perception of the women. Although the migrant wives feel a decrease in household tasks, there is an increase in responsibilities. The migrant wives feel that they carry the responsibility of two persons, that of their husbands and their own. Responsibility comes with new tasks such as taking care of hiring personnel and finding people that go to the *souk*. This is definitely an effect of migration. But it does not make their daily activities more severe as these decisions do not have to be made on a daily basis. As in most separations, mental stress is the result of this burden of responsibility. Their younger age and the fact that they have only small children in the household could explain the burden, which is especially felt by the interior-migrant wives. They get no help what so ever.

This leads me to differences in the decision-making process.

### **7.3 Differences in decision-making**

With regard to the decision-making process, I expected to find that the migrant wives gain authority within this process by partly taking over their husband's decision-making power. The patriarch in nuclear families will be absent and therefore the woman will partly take over his role. I expect to find that the women enjoy their new gained authority and will therefore be reluctant to surrender it, when their husband returns.

My findings were that migrant wives indeed have more control. They have more control over their husband's salaries (remittances), and although women in extended families have less decision-making power, only two migrant wives live in an extended family. In agriculture the same change can be recorded, as the migrant wives make the decisions where non-migrant wives have much less authority.

With regard to education, migrant wives again have more influence. Two third of them have to arrange and decide more on their children's education and that gives them more power. Migrant wives have more daughters that attend primary school. Only three emigrant wives keep one daughter at home to help out, where non-migrant wives keep more daughters at home to help out and some even let none of their daughters attend school.

All migrant wives decide for themselves what should be bought and cooked.

The migrant wives justly feel they have more influence in the decision-making process. And although non-migrant wives do take decisions concerning the household, migrant wives have gained authority on other issues in the household such as agriculture, remittances, education and time management in the household. They do consult their husbands on important issues such as large purchases like animals. The majority of the migrant wives claim to be content with the way decisions are taken.

I found it remarkable to discover that the moment the husband is back in the household, he takes over the authority gained by the women during his absence. He takes over responsibility and resumes his formal role as head of the household and places the household under a strict regime. Women seem to comply. They do not seem to like their "double responsibility", although some emigrant wives acknowledge the advantages of the absence of their husband. The differences in perception between interior-migrant wives and emigrant wives can be the result of the age of the women, as stated before. The younger interior-migrant wives have less grown up or adolescent children to support them in tasks and decision-making. The emigrant wives on the other hand have more help in the households and probably more support from their adolescent or grown up children. They also had to deal with the situation much longer and have more experience. That is why it is likely that the interior-migrant wives experience the absence of their husband more severe. Emigrant wives have more income and they can afford more which can ease the burden. Their husbands stay away longer and have been overseas for more time. Interior-migrant wives often have younger children, their husband does not bring in much money and he comes and goes as he wishes. That most migrant wives state to be satisfied with the way decisions are taken could be explained by the fact that the women acquiesce in the present absence of their husbands.

The absence of their husbands gives the migrant wives clearly more decision-making authority but only on a temporary base. They return to the patriarchal state of the

household as it was before migration or as it is in non-migrant households as soon as the husband is back for a holiday. This can partly be the result of social pressure. Women are not expected to play a significant overt role in decision-making or execution of decisions in traditional rural Morocco. The women themselves probably are not prepared to play that role because they think it is not the right place for a woman or they are afraid that the community will not accept it. It is also possible that the husband will not allow the woman to play a significant role in this process. Women in patriarchal societies are expected to be passive and dependent. The amount of time these women play another role due to their husband's absence is not sufficient to change society as a whole.

#### **7.4 Final conclusion**

Giving an answer on the central question of research is not easy. Migration effects are hard to measure because recorded changes can well be caused by other factors than migration. Still, there are certain effects of migration on the decision-making process, as the women perceive it.

The households in Taghzoute are based on patriarchal principles and women's position is in the home, on the background, where they openly have to agree and have no other way than disagree covertly. They have some influence but little power to take action. They gain authority when they grow older but never have the final say in decisions. They have no execution power, but do carry responsibility for the household and little children.

The absence of the husband due to migration removes them from the background and grants them more decision-making power. The women have to take over a substantial part of their husband's execution power and gain authority. This can be made more specific by linking the decision-making process to the daily activities as is done in the central question. The women gain authority by taking all or most of the decisions concerning salaries, agriculture, education and daily purchases. This is in contrast with non-migrant wives. The position of the migrant wives certainly has changed in a more authoritative direction. Changes in daily activities due to migration can only be recorded in an increase in livestock breeding and differences in habitation and household form, which can cause a slight difference in tasks. And though a slight increase in livestock occurs, this is not at the cost of other agricultural activities because no differences in output are recorded between the groups. Women do not take over male agricultural tasks but the majority hires personnel to perform the tasks. The expectation that migration would cause an increase in agricultural tasks because women take over male agricultural tasks or a shift from other agricultural activities to livestock breeding occurs because of the strict labour division therefore is not plausible.

Although the women gained authority due to migration, they seem to give it up as soon as their husband returns. They seem to come to terms with the situation of being left behind, but most migrant wives prefer their husband to come home and take over the responsibility. This is in correspondence with Chant, who stated that outmigration of men does not have to lead to a process of social change whereby women leave their traditional position behind. Their more prominent position in society and in the household is possibly a temporary phenomenon with women going back to their traditional roles as soon as the migrants return. And it also backs the statement of Kandyoti on the “patriarchal bargain” where women themselves cling on the most to patriarchal principles because they have no alternatives in a patriarchal society to secure their situation. It seems that women maintain their own subordination. The women prefer to be dependent on their husband. They do not like the responsibility they carry due to their husband’s absence, probably because in this area of Morocco traditional values concerning women’s ideal position in society, which is the domestic domain, are still very strong. They hold on to the situation in order to survive in a community based on patriarchal principles. So although migration temporarily forces patriarchal principles aside, the effects of migration on the women left behind are not big enough to alter the traditional values regarding gender relations.

### **7.5 Recommendations for further research**

Migration effects are often researched but the effects on women left behind may be more emphasised. Especially the burden of double responsibility these women carry is underexposed. The psychological condition of the women should be underlined. In most research the emphasis is on the effects on women’s labour, which might aggravate. According to my findings that might not be the case. Even a possibility exists that the labour of women decreases. This is certainly a subject for further research. It is also important that with regard to this subject the male point of view is recorded. Migration effects on gender relations taking both the migrant and the woman left behind into account could give a better view on the effects.

This research is conducted in the Todgha Valley in Morocco but these findings could not be applied to other parts of Morocco, where other effects could be recorded. To get a more relevant research, this research should be conducted in other parts of Morocco as well.

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## Synthèse des études

### *Situation de recherche*

Ce projet de recherche a été conduit à Taghzoute, un petit village dans la Vallée de Todgha au sud du pays du Maroc. L'étude a été réalisée entièrement dans le cadre du projet de recherche IMAROM. Ce projet étudie les rapports entre la migration et l'environnement dans les oasis de cette région du Maroc y inclus la gestion de l'eau et du sol.

La vallée de Togdha est une région d'oasis. Les oasis contiennent des écosystèmes particuliers et sensibles, qui permettent de pratiquer l'agriculture dans un climat sec. C'est à cause des changements récents dans le système socio-économique que l'agriculture des oasis est menacée. La chute du commerce caravanier, le déclin du nomadisme et l'intégration dans l'économie nationale et internationale, autrement dit la mondialisation, ont eu comme résultat la diminution de l'importance économique de l'agriculture de l'oasis. En même temps, l'agrandissement de la mobilité permet aux gens de voyager aux autres régions ou même d'émigrer vers l'étranger (surtout l'Europe). On part souvent pour des raisons financières afin de gagner de l'argent d'ailleurs, parce que il n'y a pas assez de travail dans la région.

### *Les suppositions*

Aujourd'hui, les remises financières envoyé par les migrants sont les ressources les plus importantes de la population des oasis. Il s'ensuit que les relations à l'intérieur de l'oasis ont changé considérablement. Jadis, l'agriculture était la plus importante source de revenus permettant des investissements modestes, mais maintenant tout a changé. Cette étude-ci examine les rôles sociaux culturels des femmes, habitantes des oasis. Les rôles des femmes sont très importants dans l'oasis, particulièrement à ce moment-ci parce que beaucoup d'hommes ont migré. Les femmes par conséquent s'occupent de la plupart des tâches agricoles et domestiques.

La question se pose comment et à quel point le rôle des femmes abandonnées a changé à cause de cette migration. Cette étude examine les effets de migration à la position des femmes dans le processus décisoire du ménage, c'est à dire au sujet des tâches quotidiennes. Par rapport aux taches quotidiennes, mes suppositions sont que les femmes des migrants doivent exécuter des tâches plus lourdes par suit d'absence de leur époux. Les femmes prennent les tâches agricoles au lieu de leur époux. Autrement dit, une transition se déroule quant à l'agriculture. La division stricte de travail entre les femmes et les hommes a changé considérablement dans cette région. Par rapport à la position des femmes des migrants dans le processus des décisions, ma supposition était que les femmes obtiendront plus d'autorité parce qu'elles empruntent les pouvoirs de faire des décisions. Le concept du patriarcat est diminué, quoique,

traditionnellement, les femmes ne possèdent que des pouvoirs associés avec le domaine domestique. Les hommes sont associés avec le domaine public. Le patriarcat de la famille est absent après la migration. C'est pour cela que les femmes obtiennent partiellement la position des hommes. Ces femmes-ci n'abandonneront probablement pas cette position des pouvoirs qu'elles ont obtenus après le retour de leur époux. Pendant ma recherche j'ai questionné 43 femmes à Taghzoute. Pour mesurer les effets de migration, j'ai comparé les femmes qui sont mariées avec un non-migrant, avec les femmes qui sont mariées avec un migrant intérieur et avec les femmes qui sont mariées avec un émigrant.

### *Les résultats de ma recherche*

Il 'était assez difficile de répondre à la question de recherche. Les effets de migration sont confus à cause de la possibilité que les changements enregistrés peuvent être causés par des autres facteurs que la migration. Quand même, il y a des effets de migration aux prises des décisions et aux tâches des femmes, comme les femmes les aperçoivent.

L'absence d'époux par suite de migration donne les femmes plus de pouvoir décisionnaire. Les femmes doivent prendre une partie essentielle de pouvoir exécutif et les femmes acquièrent de l'autorité. Quand le processus décisionnaire est associé avec les tâches quotidiennes des femmes, cela s'accroît. Les femmes acquièrent de l'autorité parce qu'elles prennent toutes ou la plupart des décisions au sujet du salaire, de l'agriculture, de l'éducation et des achats quotidiens au contraire des femmes des non-migrants. La position des femmes des migrants a changé en direction plus autoritaire. Dans les tâches quotidiennes, il y a des changements. Migration a produit une augmentation d'élevage, et aussi les changements par suite de migration dans la habitation et la configuration de ménage peuvent produire des différences dans les tâches. Quoiqu'il y a une augmentation dans l'élevage des animaux, ce n'est pas aux dépens de l'agriculture parce que il n'y a pas des différences dans la récolte entre les groupes des femmes. Les femmes ne prennent pas elles-mêmes les tâches agricoles des hommes, mais la majorité engage du personnel pour exécuter ces tâches-ci.

Quoique les femmes prennent de l'autorité par suite de migration, aussitôt que les époux reviennent, elles l'abandonnent. Elles paraissent se reposer dans la situation d'être abandonnées mais la plupart des femmes des migrants préfèrent leurs époux à la maison et qu'il prend la responsabilité. Il s'avère que la migration ne mène pas à un processus de changement social si intense que les femmes abandonnent leur position traditionnelle. Leur position plus saillante dans la société et le ménage à cause de la migration, n'est qu'un phénomène temporaire. Les femmes retournent à leur position traditionnelle aussitôt que les migrants reviennent. Il a l'air que les femmes préfèrent d'être dépendantes. Elles n'aiment pas la responsabilité que elles obtiennent, quand l'époux est absent. Probablement c'est comme ça, parce que dans cette région du

Maroc les valeurs traditionnelles au sujet de la position idéale des femmes dans la société sont encore très importantes. Les femmes retournent dans la situation ancienne et maintiennent la position traditionnelle parce que elle doivent survivre dans une communauté fondée au principes patriarcales. Ainsi, à cause de la migration on percevait un changement temporaire dans les principes patriarcales, mais pour des changements structurelles au sujet de gender-égalité il est encore trop tôt.

## Appendix: Questionnaire

### QUESTIONNAIRE FEMMES ET LA PRISE DE DECISIONS PAR RAPPORT AUX MOYENS D'EXISTENCE

1. Prénom:

Age:

Lieu de naissance:

Marié depuis quand :

Femme d'un migrant :

- Non

- Oui, pays ou ville de migration :

Chef de ménage :

Qui possède la maison :

2. Membres du ménage présents et absents :

No	Nom	Relation avec femme	sexe	Activité principale
1			F/M	
2			F/M	
3			F/M	
4			F/M	
5			F/M	
6			F/M	
7			F/M	
8			F/M	
9			F/M	
10			F/M	
11			F/M	
12			F/M	
13			F/M	
14			F/M	

3. Sources de revenus :

Qui gagne l'argent :

4. Est-ce que vous possédez une motopompe agricole ?

- Non

- Oui, depuis quand :

## 5. Est-ce que vous exploitez des champs ?

- Non
- Oui, table 5.1

Table 5.1 : Les cultures cultivées

Cultures	Cultivée année dernière	Il y a 5 ans	Avant migration
Luzerne			
Blé tendre			
Blé dure			
Orge			
Maïs			
Fèves			
P.pois			
Tomate			
Pomme de terre			
Oignon			
Navet			
Carotte			
Chou			
Menthe			
Autre...			
Dattiers			
Olives			
Amandes			
Grenadier			
Figues			
Pommes			
Raisins			

## 6. Est-ce que vous possédez des animaux ?

- Non
- Oui, table 6.1

Table 6.1 : Les animaux

Animal	Nombre actuel	Il y a 5 ans	Avant migration
Chèvres			
Moutons			
Vaches			
Anes			
Mulets			

## 7. a. Qu'est-ce que vous faites/votre époux fait ou a fait avant migration :

- Dans le ménage
- Dans les champs
- Autres tâches...

b. Une description d'un jour :

8. a. Est-ce qu'il y a des tâches qui sont interdites à faire pour toi ? O/N  
Quelles ?  
Pourquoi ?  
Qui fait ces tâches ?
- b. En cas de migration de l'époux : Est-ce qu'il y a une différence entre vos tâches avant la migration et après la migration de votre époux ?  
Quelle ?  
Qui fait les tâches de votre époux maintenant ?
9. a. Qu'est-ce que vous pensez de votre contribution aux tâches ?
- b. Qu'est-ce que vous voulez que votre filles vont faire quand elles seront adultes ?
10. a. Qui décide qu'est-ce que se passe avec :  
- Remise/salaire de l'homme  
- Salaire des autres membres de ménage  
- Agriculture  
Qui exécute cela ?
- b. Est-ce que vous étiez d'accord avec cela ?  
Est-ce que votre mari était d'accord avec cela ?  
Est-ce qu'il y a une négociation ? O/N  
Entre qui ?
11. a. Qui prend soin des enfants ?  
Qui prend soin de leur éducation ?  
Qui décide que vos enfants doivent aller à l'école ?
- b. Est-ce que vous voulez que vos enfants vont à l'école ?  
Est-ce que votre mari veut que vos enfants vont à l'école ?  
Est-ce qu'il y a une négociation ? O/N  
Entre qui ?
12. a. Qui a décidé que vous devez faire :  
- Travail au ménage  
- Travail au champ  
- Travail avec des animaux  
- Autre....
- b. Est-ce que vous êtes d'accord avec cela ?  
Est-ce que votre mari est d'accord avec cela ?  
Est-ce qu'il y a une négociation ? O/N  
Entre qui ?
13. a. Qui achète les aliments ?  
Qui dit qu'est-ce que personne dois acheter ?  
Qui dit qu'est-ce qu'on va cuire ?
- b. Qui décide ce que se passe avec les tâches dans le ménage, comme cuir et nettoyer ?  
Est-ce qu'il y a une négociation ? O/N  
Entre qui ?

14. a. Est-ce que vous avez l'influence sur les décisions qui sont prises (en général) ?  
 Est-ce que vous prenez des décisions ?  
 Est-ce que vous êtes contente comme ça ?
- b. Est-ce qu'il y a une différence entre décider avant migration et après la migration ? O/N  
 Quelle ?
15. a. Combien des sœurs et des frères vous avez ? Plus âgé/ plus jeune ?  
 Qu'est-ce c'est/était l'occupation de votre père ?
- b. Est-ce que vous alliez à l'école ?
- Non, pourquoi pas ?
  - Oui, table 15.1

Table 15.1 : Education

Ecole	Combien de temps
Coranique	
Primaire	
Collège	
Lycée	
Supérieur	

- c. A quelle âge vous avez quitté l'école ? Pourquoi ?  
 Est-ce que vous étiez d'accord de quitter l'école ?  
 Est-ce que vous trouviez l'école amusant ?  
 Est-ce que vous pouvez lire et écrire ?
16. a. Est-ce que vos parents exploitaient des champs quand vous étiez un enfant ?  
 Est-ce que vous savez encore qu'est-ce que vos parents cultivaient à leurs champs ?  
 Est-ce que c'étaient autre cultures que vous cultivez maintenant ? O/N  
 Lesquelles
- b. Est-ce que vos parents avaient des animaux quand vous étiez enfant ?  
 Lesquelles et combien ?
17. a. Est-ce que votre mère avait les mêmes tâches comme vous maintenant ?  
 Est-ce que ses tâches étaient plus ou moins lourds dans :
- Ménage
  - Agriculture
  - Animaux
  - Autres...
- b. Est-ce vos filles font les mêmes tâches comme vous quand vous étiez enfant ?  
 Est-ce que sont leur tâches plus ou moins lourd dans :
- Ménage
  - Agriculture
  - Animaux
  - Autres...

18. Depuis quand vous vous êtes marié ?  
Est-ce que vous vouliez se marier volontiers ? O/N  
Pourquoi (pas) ?  
Est-ce que vous connaissiez votre marie avant la mariage ?
19. Qu'est-ce que votre mari faisait avant sa migration (travail) ?  
Depuis quand il a migré ?  
Combien de temps vous restez seul sans mari ?  
Moins :    Ans :  
Pourquoi a-t-il migré ?  
Est-ce que vous étiez d'accord avec lui sur sa migration ?  
Est-ce que vous voulez l'accompagner ou il veut revenir ?