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Gender and the Decision of Migration: between Restrictions and Motivations (The Case of Sub-Saharan Migrants in Morocco)

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Abstract

The decision of migration is instigated by countless motivations and restricted by multiple obstacles. Accordingly, this paper aims at examining the gendered migratory motivations and restrictions of sub-Saharan migrants in Morocco. Several studies on sub-Saharan migration in Morocco show that male migrants outnumber palpably female migrants. However, despite the noticeable increasing of female sub-Saharans' migration, the gendered decision of migration and the gendered migratory motivations and restrictions are not adequately discussed in these studies because of the belief that both sub-Saharan women and men migrants share similar migratory experiences. Therefore, using Lee's (1996) push and pull theory, the article's primary objective is to contribute to migration literature by examining the impact of gender on identifying the migratory motivations and restrictions of sub-Saharan migrants in Morocco. The study was conducted in 2019/2018 and adopted a sequential explanatory mixed-methods approach. Data collection was initiated in 2018 with the quantitative method and it comprised 112 questionnaires that were collected in Tangier and Fez. The interviews, on the other hand, were carried out in 2019 with eight sub-Saharan migrants (four women and four men), and took place in Fez. The findings of this study show that sub-Saharan men and women migrants experience common factors, but gender plays a pivotal role in determining several others. The paper also concludes that some gendered factors have an ambivalent impact on the migratory restrictions and motivations. This paper seeks to lay the ground for other researchers on migration issues and to induce them to address sub-Saharan migration from a gender perspective for a better understanding of its patterns.

Keywords: Gender, migration, push-pull factors, motivations, restrictions.



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Introduction

The decision of migration is made for countless interconnected reasons. According to Lee's (1966) revision of Ravenstein's "*the laws of migration*", migration decisions are determined fundamentally by what he calls 'plus' and 'minus' factors in areas of origin and destination. He summarized the intervening factors in migratory decision in four main determiners: (1) factors associated with the area of origin, (2) factors associated with the area of destination, (3) intervening obstacles, and (4) personal factors (p.50). Passaris (1989) refers to Lee's analytical framework as the 'push-pull' model (p. 527) and it usually identifies various economic, environmental, and demographic factors that push migrants out of places of origin and lure them into destination places (De Hass, 2010, p. 4). Although push-pull models have helped in understanding some migratory patterns, researchers in migration studies argue that they failed to highlight the significance of diversity and other social constructs, such as gender, in the migratory process. Therefore, in a bid to fill in this gap, this paper, using a gender approach, seeks to contribute to migration studies by examining the factors that intervene to determine the motivations and restrictions encountered by sub-Saharan migrants in Morocco.

To this effect, this paper is divided into four sections: literature review, methodology, results, and discussion. After introducing the topic and the study's objective, the literature review seeks to highlight the significance of addressing migration-related issues from a gender perspective by discussing some of the gaps that gender-blind studies created in migration literature. The article then is going to mention some examples of the studies that tackled irregular sub-Saharan migration in Morocco without paying attention to gender differences. Subsequently, the paper is going to introduce the used research methods and their relevance to this topic, considering that irregular migration is among the most sensitive issues. After that, the paper is going to demonstrate the study's findings, starting with the decision to migrate and the common restrictions that impact individuals' migratory decisions in their home countries and then moving to their own motivations. Then, the following section is going to elicit the findings' implication, focusing on highlighting the importance of incorporating gender into migration studies. Eventually, the paper will end up with a conclusion



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Literature Review

Early migration studies, including Lee's push-pull theory, have been strongly criticized for their gender insensitiveness. Schrover and Moloney (2013), for example, emphasize that the focus of early examination on migration was either exclusively on men migrants or addressed migrants in '*genderless*' terms. Consequently, migration decisions and experiences of both men and women, based on the one and only (heterosexual) male experience, were presumed to be affected by similar motives and circumstances (p.12). As a result, these studies produced a number of homogenous and gender-insensitive theories. Grieco and Boyd (1998) also argue that the absence of gender-sensitive theories resulted in a plain failure to explain better gender differences in migration. They robustly criticized prior migration research for not only disregarding and stereotyping migrant women but also for the predominant use of gender-blind conceptual models that clearly fail to explicate comprehensively the reciprocal influence between gender and migration (p.2). Oishi (2000) similarly highlights the fact that the majority of studies conducted in the past two decades on female migration in developing countries viewed the latter as the aftermath of poverty, ignoring the fact that many low-income women in some poor countries do not emigrate abroad. Thus, for her, the profound investigation into the causal mechanism of female migration necessitates looking beyond economic factors, especially poverty-related explanations (p.4).

In the same respect, Grieco and Boyd (1998) emphasize that gender, be it a social construction, is deeply embedded in other processes that seem gender-neutral. That is why they call for a profound examination of the way gender is implicated in the seemingly gender-neutral migratory process by using a gender-sensitive approach (p.2-3). As an attempt to tackle international migration in Europe from a gender perspective, Kofman et al. (2000), for example, highlights that during the period from 60s to 70s women migrants were predominantly assumed to be followers of their previously migrated husbands. Recently, more significant trends exist in female migration motives. In the sense that women tend to migrate more and more independently as labor migrants, students or refugees (p.4). Oishi and Lim (1996) also explains that the liberal ideologies in Southeast Asian countries like Sri Lanka contribute greatly in encouraging women's migration. Women, even young and unmarried have more freedom to



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travel overseas and to seek job opportunities when they live in countries characterized by liberal socio-cultural beliefs and relatively high levels of education in comparison to other countries where the status and mobility of women is highly controlled by religious beliefs and practices (p.3).

In the case of sub-Saharan migration, several studies show that male migrants outnumber palpably female migrants regardless of the intended destination or the purpose. For example, The Moroccan Association of Studies and Research on Migrations' (AMERM) 2008 study shows that men migrants predominate overwhelmingly—women migrants constitute (20.3%) compared to (79.7 %) of men migrants (p.21). Another informative and more recent study is conducted by Mourji et al. (2016) in Autumn 2015 and the beginning of the Winter of 2016. According to the study's findings, men migrants represent almost three quarters of the whole respondents; they represent (74.31%) compared to (25.69%) of women migrants (p.16). Drawing on the results of these studies, one can recognize that women sub-Saharans' active participation in migration is noticeably increasing regardless of the fact that they are still lagging behind their men counterparts. However, despite this increase, the decision of migration from a gender perspective in addition to the gendered migratory motivations and restrictions are not adequately discussed in both studies (See also Cherti & Grant, 2013). It can be deduced then that this gender-blind analysis of migration is incited by the hypothesis that both sub-Saharan women and men migrants share a similar migratory experience.

The article's primary aim is to address this hypothesis by examining the impact of gender on shaping sub-Saharan migrants' decision of migration but specifically on identifying the migratory motivations and restrictions. In other words, in a bid to identify and understand some gender differences and inequalities in the initial stage of migration, this paper seeks to deploy the gender approach as an analytical tool while examining the push-pull factors that induced and the obstacles that restricted sub-Saharans to make the migratory decision. The second aim of this paper is to demonstrate the importance of using gender approach in migration studies and to induce other researchers to address sub-Saharan migration related issues from a gender perspective for a better understanding of its patterns. Having evoked some researchers' critique of the gender- insensitivity of the previous migration studies and some examples of



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these studies, the following section is going to discuss the research methodology and its relevance to the topic.

Methodology

This study uses a sequential explanatory design. The purpose behind using this design lies in the usefulness of qualitative results to assist in explaining and interpreting the findings of a quantitative study (Creswell, 2003, p. 215). Researchers in migration studies often put much emphasis on qualitative data and so do some feminist researchers who consider the quantitative method “*predominately sexist or nonsexist*” (Reinharz, 1992, p. 18). Consequently, this study seeks to rely on the quantitative method to provide some numerical data and the qualitative method to assist in explaining the numerical data since the overall purpose of this paper is to examine gender differences and highlight women’s version of the migratory experience. Besides, this paper, adopting a quantitative method, attempts to suggest the added-value of numerical data in migration studies on the migratory restrictions and motivations because the majority of the latter rely mainly on the qualitative method. Considering the purpose of this paper, the mixing of research methods occurs sequentially during data collection and data analysis. Starting with the quantitative method has paved the way towards delineating more pertinent questions for the interviews. Eventually, the findings of the interviews are employed to clarify and highlight more personal stories that the numerical data cannot provide. That is why the results section is divided into two sections and each one follows the sequence of displaying the quantitative data and then followed by the qualitative data to emphasize or refute the numerical data.

The quantitative method consisted of questionnaires that were distributed in Tangier and Fez. Seventy-four questionnaires were collected in Tangier between May and June in 2018 and thirty-eight questionnaires were gathered in Fez in 2019. The questionnaire is self-designed and it consists of a three-stage analytical framework. It is divided into three sections and each section represents a migratory stage: the preliminary stage, the route or the journey, and the “transit” stage. The questionnaire is composed of structured questions (multiple choice and binary yes / no questions). Taking into consideration the fact that some sub-Saharan countries



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are Francophone while others are Anglophone, the questionnaires are designed in two languages French and English.

The participants were selected employing snowball and random techniques of data-gathering as they are considered the most appropriate to approach the respondents in both methods of data collection. Irregular transit migration is a highly sensitive issue indeed, as it entails personal information about a life-changing experience as well as political dimensions. Thus, irregular transit migrants can be included within what Faugier and Sargeant (1997) call “*hard-to-reach or hidden populations*” in sampling process (p.790). Therefore, employing a snowball sampling, the respondents were approached in neighborhoods where they commonly live or are gathered. In Tangier, the first few respondents were approached randomly in Boukhalef¹ where they live. After establishing a certain level of trust, these respondents have become mediators to reach respondents. Some of them accompanied me to a cyber-club where migrants gather and contact their families. Other migrants were approached in traffic lights where they practice mendicity. The respondents in Fez were approached likewise in the streets, where they have small businesses, in traffic lights, and in a small call center owned by a sub-Saharan migrant, who helps irregular sub-Saharan migrants to regularize their legal status within the country. However, it is worth mentioning that not all migrants I contacted accepted to take part in this investigation, especially women migrants who were more cautious about sharing their experiences. Therefore, abiding by research ethics, I respected their privacy and decisions, and I made other attempts with other respondents.

The interviews, on the other hand, are formed into semi-structured questions to provide migrants the adequate space that allow them to talk about their migratory experience. Reinharz (1992), discussing how feminist methods in social research are distinct from other methods, views semi-structured and unstructured interviewing as a qualitative data-gathering technique

¹ Based on my own observations, Boukhalef is a huge district where a great number of sub-Saharan migrants live or are gathered to feel some kind of sense of belonging and to exchange information. Some migrants have established small businesses, such as cyber club and a hairdresser.



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that promotes free interaction between the researcher and the interviewee (p.18). However, life stories are not only limited to examine the life experience of migrants, but they are also a research mechanism that highlights the interviewee's subjective perspective of social life. Adopting open-ended interviews as a research method allows an explorative study of people's views of reality and enables the researcher to generate theory (Reinharz, 1992, p. 18). The interviews were carried out individually with only eight migrants in 2019 due to the sensitivity of the topic; each interview took between 20 to 30 minutes. Irregular migration is considered among the highly sensitive topics, consequently and for purposes of confidentiality and research ethics, the migrants' names remain unrevealed according to their demands. The paper is going to adopt some fake names to maintain the interviewees' humanity, noting that these names do not imply any significance.

It is worth emphasizing the uniqueness of each migrant's migratory experience despite the commonalities. Therefore, the sample of the target population in this research does not claim to be representative of the entire sub-Saharan community living in Morocco or all irregular sub-Saharan migrants. Its purpose instead is to provide some gendered insights on the lived experiences of these migrants, which would help to identify the main challenges and the gender discrepancies faced by this group and to demonstrate how to address them better using a gender approach. After addressing the research methods used in this study, the following section is going to display its findings, starting with the decision of migration and the migratory restrictions because the related questions to this matter are not personal and do not concern the participants' migratory experiences. They are rather expressing their point of view on the prevalent beliefs in their home countries and cultures.

Results

Before unveiling the results related to the migratory restrictions and motivations, it is worth mentioning that having a sample of population that encompasses equal representation of both men and women migrants was far from being attainable. In this study, women migrants represent (23, 2%) compared to (76,8%) of men migrants, respectively. The latter also reflects the unequal participation of women and men in migration.

Gendered Migratory Restrictions

The strong causal relationship between the individuals' cultural and economic background and the decision of migration is widely acknowledged in several studies (Winchie & Carment, 1989; Jolly & Reeves, 2005; Bloch, Sigona & Zetter, 2009; Fischer-Souan, 2019). This section seeks to examine the gendered restrictions and push-pull factors that sub-Saharan migrants in Morocco encountered in the initial stage of their migratory experience. It is very necessary to shed light at the beginning on the respondents' perception of gender, autonomy, and migration propensity. The question was about women and making the decision to migrate in their own countries and to what extent they are as autonomous as their male counterparts are. The following table reveals that men sub-Saharan migrants agree and disagree with the idea that women and men have a similar level of autonomy to migrate.

Table 1

Women's Autonomy to Migrate from a Gender Perspective

		Gender		Total
		Men	Women	
Women's autonomy to migrate	Yes	43,0 %	34,6%	41,1%
	No	43,0 %	61,5%	47,3%
	Maybe	14,0 %	3,8%	11,6%
Total		100,0 %	100,0%	100,0 %

On the contrary to male migrants, the results show that the majority of female sub-Saharan migrants refute the assumption of being as autonomous as men in their societies when

it comes to the decision to migrate. The following table presents the migrants' perspective on the restrictions that restrain women's tendency to migrate. First, it is important to indicate that (29,5%) of this study's respondents did not reply to this question compared to (70,5%). The missing responses are due to several of them believing that women exercise the same autonomy as men when deciding to migrate. Therefore, they do not believe in the existence of any gender-specific restrictions that determine women's migration decision-making. Furthermore, we should take into consideration that respondents had the possibility of choosing more than one response since the existence of multiple factors is likely. The preliminary data demonstrates that financial resources are believed to be the major factor that restricts women's decision to migrate, constituting (22,7%). Then, followed by family constraints with (21,6%) of responses. Irregular migration's risks are found to be the third factor among the list of these restrictions representing (17,5%); then, followed by the fact that women are less independent compared to men in the sub-Saharan region with (16,5%). Cultural norms and religious beliefs, as a factor that influences women's migration, are the least represented (11,3% and 10,3%). However, analyzing these results from a gender lens leads to a different interpretation of these restrictions.

Table 2

Women's Restrictions to Migrate from a Gender Perspective

					Total
			Men	Women	
Migration's restrictions	Family constraints	Count	15	6	21
		% within Gender	24,6%	33,3%	
	Cultural norms	Count	7	4	11
		% within Gender	11,5%	22,2%	
	Financial restrictions	Count	19	3	22
		% within Gender	31,1%	16,7%	
	Religious constraints	Count	7	3	10

	% within Gender	11,5%	16,7%	
Women are less independent	Count	11	5	16
	% within Gender	18,0%	27,8%	
Migration risks	Count	15	2	17
	% within Gender	24,6%	11,1%	
Total	Count	61	18	79

Women respondents, on the contrary to men, believe that women's propensity to migrate is restricted first and foremost by family constraints instead of financial restrictions. Female and male interviewees from Senegal and Mali emphasized the survey's findings. For them, women are not permitted to travel independently or without their families' permission, which they are rarely granted. For example, Omar pointed out that women in Senegal are definitely not as autonomous as their men counterparts, saying that "*there are traditions and there is religion. For example, in Senegal, the woman should be submissive to her husband. If he tells not to go anywhere, she should not go. If he tells her to stop talking, she should stop talking*". Therefore, one can deduce that family constraints are firmly interconnected to cultural norms, which are often drawn on religious beliefs and interpretations. However, in the case of single women, the interviewee expressed that "*things are changing now and some people are leaving the traditions because some girls do travel abroad to study, to work and to help their families*" (Omar from Senegal, 42 years old, April 21, 2019, a personal interview). In this respect, the experience of Sara is a good example of the changing mindsets in Senegal, even if she is married. She joined her sister in Morocco to work and help her small family, leaving her husband and children back in Senegal, and who are supposed to join her when the circumstances become favorable (Sara from Senegal, 26 years old, April 21, 2019, a personal interview).

Another aspect that should be highlighted, is the fact that seventy-nine participants in the survey (women and men) provided an answer for restrictions, while only sixty-six respondents answered the question related to women's autonomy to migrate by 'yes' and 'maybe'. In other words, even though several respondents think that women are on par with men in their countries to decide to migrate, they still expressed that women are likely to face

restrictions. Therefore, although thirteen respondents view women as equally free as men to make an independent decision to migrate, they still believe that they confront more challenges at the early stage of the migratory process. After uncovering the findings related to the impact of gender on the decision to migrate and the prevalent migratory restrictions in the migrants' home countries, the following section is going to present the migrants' subjective migratory motivations.

Gendered Migratory Motivations

Having displayed the findings related to gender and migratory restrictions, the factors that motivate individuals to migrate are also highly controversial and have been overtly generalized. Irregular sub-Saharan migration is very often assumed to be the consequence of economic aspirations (De Hass, 2008, p. 3). However, migration in several cases is induced by multiple overlapped reasons. That is why respondents in this study have been permitted to select multiple responses. The general data reveals that to have a better life is the primary objective that prompted this study's respondents to migrate (42%). Then, followed by to escape wars and ethnic conflicts and to improve economic living conditions, which are presented at the same level (32,1%). Family problems and family expectations are also a noticeable incentive that drives people towards migration (11,6% and 10,6%). The following table accentuates the way migrants' motivations are gendered for a better understanding of gender differences.

Table 3

Migrants' Motivations from a Gender Perspective

			Gender		Total
			Men	Women	
Migrants' motivations	To escape war or ethnic conflicts	Count	31	5	36
		% within Gender	36,0%	19,2%	
	Cultural restrictions	Count	2	1	3

	% within Gender	2,3%	3,8%	
To improve economic living conditions	Count	28	8	36
	% within Gender	32,6%	30,8%	
Family pressure and expectations	Count	10	2	12
	% within Gender	11,6%	7,7%	
sexual orientation and fear of persecution	Count	1	0	1
	% within Gender	1,2%	0,0%	
Follow family member or friends	Count	2	4	6
	% within Gender	2,3%	15,4%	
Family problems	Count	7	6	13
	% within Gender	8,1%	23,1%	
Sexism or violence based on your sex	Count	0	1	1
	% within Gender	0,0%	3,8%	
To have a better future	Count	40	7	47
	% within Gender	46,5%	26,9%	
Total	Count	86	26	112

For male migrants, to have a better future is the main objective of their migration. However, to have a better future is open to different interpretations. The meaning of ‘to have a better future’ is too broad and can have economic, social, educational and cultural dimensions.²The objective of having a better future also implies a subjective dissatisfaction with the existing living conditions in the country of origin. Conversely, the majority of women respondents predetermined their objective in bettering their economic living conditions, and then it is followed by having a better future. Bearing in mind their educational level and their prior working status in home countries, are aware that having a better life is based primarily on

² My own interpretation.



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improving their financial conditions. In this respect, respondent 8 recounted how she made the decision to migrate and for what purpose, she said:

When we (she and her husband) got divorced, I stayed in Gambia, I used to go to Senegal because Senegal and Gambia are very close. I used to go to Senegal because I have family in Dakar. I used to work there in the port in fish domain. But when I was in Senegal, I honestly did not think of coming here or going out of Senegal. When my ex-husband died, they gave me my children. My father died, my mother died, no one was there to help me. I left my children with my aunt and I started thinking about doing something to help my children because I have a very weak level of education. I wanted my children to study better than me. I enrolled them in a private school and it is me who pays the school. It's me who does everything for my children. That is what has motivated me. I needed another way to make more money. I used to earn money over there, but it wasn't sufficient, because I have many personal problems because of that (an interview with a migrant woman from Gambia, 36 years old, 05/05/2019).

Besides, the results showed that more women migrate for family reunification than their male counterparts do. The qualitative findings similarly show that the majority of interviews migrate for improving their and their families' living conditions. To sum up, examining push-pull factors and obstacles that impact sub-Saharan's decision to migrate from a gender perspective has unveiled embedded gender inequalities and differences in the early stage of migration. More elaboration of these inequalities is going to take place in the following section.

Discussion

The previously discussed results demonstrate fundamentally two dimensions of the significance of gender-sensitive analysis. First, unlike the previously mentioned gender-blind studies on migration, which very often disregard the ways gender issues are differently understood by women and men, this paper proves that gender-sensitive empirical studies expose the ways gender is manifested within a particular society and within the agents' mindsets, who are responsible for transmitting and entrenching traditional gender expectations. In other words, the findings showed the different ways that women and men construct their perception of gender-related topics within their home countries. As a result, from a male migrants'



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perspective, the financial factor is much more significant than any other constraint. This actually could be construed as a projection of ‘the self’ on ‘the other’ — assuming that female migrants undergo the same challenges as those of male migrants without taking into account cultural peculiarities. Female migrants, on the contrary, view that their decision to migrate is hindered predominantly by their family members and then by their dependence, which can be linked to financial resources. Second, at a larger level, the findings may also reflect the cultural diversity in the sub-Saharan African region, which consequently refute the prevailing assumption that sub-Saharans are a homogeneous community that shares similar social and cultural values.

The second dimension that the data highlighted is the impact of the predominant cultural gender-related beliefs and practices on migration decision. Family plays a vital role in restraining women’s propensity to migrate independently. However, it represents merely but significantly a smaller institution that functions as agents that comply with and even protect the cultural norms. Thus, family, as a pivotal representative of the prevalent cultural beliefs about gender roles, limit women’s access to empowering resources that enable them to take autonomous decisions. Boyd (2006) in this respect emphasizes the fact that “*a male dominated migration pattern also is enhanced when strong gender scripts exist that deny women agency and autonomy in decision making and in actions*” (p.3). De Jong (2000), in his empirical study where he examines the distinct determinants of migration decision-making for men and women during temporary and more permanent migration in rural Thailand, concludes that being entitled the role of looking after dependent family members, such as children and elders, discourages women’s propensity to migrate. He emphasizes the paramount role that intentions, expectations, norms, and gender roles play inside the ‘black box’ of migration decision-making (p.318). Nevertheless, Masanja (2012) argues that traditional gender roles within the African family are being challenged by the emergence of female migrants as breadwinners (p.83). The eight respondents’ narrative in the results section shows that women, who assume the financial responsibility of their children and family member, have more tendency to migrate for the sake of ensuring better economic living conditions for the dependents. Therefore, migration is also a powerful mechanism that can reshape traditional gender roles.



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Similarly, to the migratory restrictions, push-pull factors are also influenced by the predominant gender roles and beliefs in migrants' countries of origin. The findings showed that besides improving the economic conditions, family problems are also a strong pushing factor to migrate. In this case, migration represents a survival strategy in a bid to escape from family problems that may encompass several forms of gender-specific family-related issues. Forced marriages, domestic violence, or genital mutilations are usually a key driver for women to venture out of their home countries and undertake the risks of migration. Therefore, the family can be an impediment as well as a pushing. In other words, under the pressure of family restrictions and social norms, women may feel the urge to escape these impediments to improve their living conditions. In this respect, Boyd (2006) underscores the fact that gender discrepancies, besides social relations between individuals, are also entrenched in other societal institutions including family, education, the economy, law, and politics, which leads inevitably to gender inequalities in the context of access to resources, social and economic status, and more vulnerabilities as well as less life-changing and empowering opportunities. These gender asymmetries impel women to migrate seeking better living conditions in destination countries (p.3). Thus, gender inequalities in the sending country can function dichotomously, but migration represents a salvation from the prevailing gender inequalities in home countries, hoping to find gender parity in the receiving countries. To conclude, the numerical findings of this study echo the impact of gender inequalities on individuals' decision to migrate, including restrictions and motivations. The qualitative findings, besides that, reveal the changing gender beliefs and roles in some sub-Saharan countries where women are no longer perceived as dependents who migrate mainly for family reunification; they are becoming active agents of change.

Conclusion

This paper revolved around the examination of the migratory factors that induce and restrict sub-Saharans from a gender perspective. The aim was to highlight the significance of employing gender approach to explore the impact of culturally-defined gender values and practices on sub-Saharan individuals' decision of migration.



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To sum up, the findings demonstrate that the prevailing socio-cultural ideologies have a determinant impact on women's international mobility. The fact that men migrants comparatively outnumber women migrants is a reflection of men's control over decision-making and their greater access to information and resources. The ability to make an independent decision to migrate is strongly influenced by the common patriarchal social constraints at different levels. On the other hand, unlike the predominant assumption that some studies on migration produced, men and women migrants migrate for similar and different motivations. These motivations, however, are also influenced by the prescribed gender roles and values in their home countries. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that the increasing number of women migrating from sub-Saharan countries indicate the changing socio-cultural patterns in the sub-Saharan region.

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