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International emigration and labour market outcomes of women staying behind: the case of Morocco

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International emigration and the labour market outcomes of women staying behind: the case of Morocco

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Summary

We tackle the issue of women's activity rates in Morocco by adopting a mixed method approach. Using the 2007 household survey, we find that having a migrant in the household increases women's labour participation, while receiving remittances decreases it. While migration increases women's probability of being an unpaid family worker, it has no impact on their probability of having income-generating activities. The qualitative fieldwork indicates that while traditional attitudes are an important factor in women's low levels of engagement in paid activities, the most compelling reason behind this situation lies in the lack of good job opportunities for women.

Keywords: International migration, remittances, female labour force participation, Morocco.

JEL Classification: F22, J16, J22, O15, O53.

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1 Introduction

While international migration and remittances have been the subject of an ever-growing literature over the past decades, it is only fairly recently that academic debates have focused on the effects of these flows on wider societal change at origin, especially in relation to women's status. Among the different determinants of this status, paid employment is generally considered as essential to achieve economic independency, and as a pathway to changes in women's lives that go beyond the economic domain (Kabeer, 2012). More generally, the positive development implications entailed by the reduction in the gender gap are now acknowledged and increasing female labour market participation has become an objective in most developing countries. This objective is of particular relevance to MENA countries where women enter the labour market at half the average global rate (World Bank, 2013). Yet, there is a dearth of research on this topic in the region as studies have remained limited to countries where data is available (mainly Egypt and Jordan). This paper examines the link between female labour market participation and household migration status in Morocco, an issue that has - to our knowledge - never been addressed before using nationally representative data. This study therefore brings a valuable contribution to the current academic and policy debates concerned with the migration-development nexus and the advancement of gender equality in origin countries.

It is also of particular relevance to the Moroccan society and wider policy debates. With a diaspora estimated at around 4 million, representing over 10% of its total population (34 million), and as the third largest remittance recipient in the MENA region (after Lebanon and Egypt) (Sirkeci et al., 2012), Morocco's economy and society are deeply affected by international migration. Whilst increasingly feminised, historical flows of predominantly male emigration towards Western European countries initiated during colonial times and intensified after the country's independence in 1956, have had profound impacts on the origin families and communities (Berriane et al., 2015), especially the important population of wives, mothers, daughters and sisters being left behind who often rely on migrants' remittances for a living. At the same time, Morocco remains characterised by low rates of female economic activity despite the important investments in human capital and improved legislation that should have facilitated women's entry into the labour market. This is visible in the country's low score in the Gender Gap Index, Morocco ranking 139th out of 145 countries in 2015 (and 140th for the 'economic participation and opportunity' dimension) (WEF, 2015).

Against this backdrop, the research objective of this paper is two-fold. First, it aims to address the gap identified above by using data from the 2006/7 Morocco Living Standards Measurement Survey (LSMS), which is a nationally representative dataset. In this aim, we test the national validity of some hypotheses developed in previous case studies by (Steinmann, 1993) and (De Haas and Van Rooij, 2010) on the link between migration and the work of migrants' wives in Morocco, and we expand and test whether the empirical findings from the economic literature are applicable to women in general, in the Moroccan context. A second objective is to draw the implications of our findings for women's status in Morocco, by focusing on two labour activities - waged work and unpaid family work - which considerably differ in terms of their potential positive outcomes on women's capacity for strategic choice and agency in the economy and the domestic sphere (Kabeer, 2012). However, since the survey data provides only limited insight into the mechanisms underlying women's decision to join the labour market and specific types of activities, we complement our analysis with data from qualitative interviews conducted in 2012 with women left behind living in a rural town of the Souss-Massa Drâa region in Southern Morocco (Lenoël, 2014). Hence, our analysis contributes to the debates on women left behind by providing nationally representative results for Morocco and using qualitative data in order to

increase the scope of these quantitative results.

We find that migration impacts women's labour market participation through the labour supply compensation and through remittances. However, this effect is driven by unpaid family work, a status not associated with economic empowerment (Belarbi, 2013). The unpaid family workers represent the most important category within female labour categories, and the effect disappears if we restrict the labour market participation definition to wage work. The results suggest that the poor working conditions and low wages for Moroccan women in formal employment are dissuasive from joining the labour market, a finding consistent with the women's testimonies collected on the field. In line with the literature, we therefore argue that, whilst paid work remains an important route to women's autonomy, international migration is unlikely to play a positive role in supporting their access to cash-earning opportunities in the absence of more favourable labour market conditions at origin, and remittances may rather be used to withdraw from it. In a context of poor employment opportunities and persistent cultural norms discouraging women's economic participation, international migration appears as an unlikely factor of change for the patriarchal order at origin.

The paper is organised as follows: Section 2 presents the theoretical framework for the empirical part by briefly reviewing the literature on the impact of international migration and remittances on female employment in the countries of origin, with a special focus on the MENA region. Section 3 provides the context concerning Moroccan migration and women's situation in the labour market. Section 4 presents the dataset used, as well as some descriptive statistics and the empirical strategy. Section 5 presents the quantitative and qualitative results and discusses how they relate to each other and their relevance to theories of women's economic emancipation. Concluding remarks are given in Section 6.

2 Literature review

The link between international emigration and the employment patterns of women in origin households has attracted increased academic attention in recent years. This issue was primarily addressed in qualitative case studies conducted from anthropological, sociological and geographical perspectives (for example Abadan-Unat (1977); Steinmann (1993)), and has more recently been dealt with in the economic literature. We will retrace what we believe to be the most relevant insights to our analysis from those different disciplines.

It is generally accepted that international migration can influence the labour market participation of household members left behind through two main channels, i.e. the migration-induced labour reallocation and migrant remittances. These factors can have direct consequences on the household, as well as indirect effects mediated through other dimensions such as rural-urban mobility and productive investments.

The first direct consequence of the migration of a household member is the need to reallocate labour within the household in order to replace the migrants' labour and/or income. This need is however likely to be felt differently in urban and rural areas. In rural areas – in agricultural settings especially - it is generally assumed that the left-behind members of a migrant household have to compensate for the absent member's labour supply (Taylor et al., 1984). In the case of male-dominated migration, left-behind members are often female, implying necessary transfers of tasks previously regarded as male to female members. In rural Morocco, Sorensen (2004) argues that harvesting – a typically male task in the 1950s – has progressively been feminized

following male emigration and became regarded as women's work, shunned by many young men. In rural areas, the need to replace migrants' work may therefore result in an increase in women unpaid family work, as they might have to compensate for the lost labour while continuing to assume their domestic role. As international migration has been linked to increased levels of land and livestock ownership in Morocco (Steinmann, 1993; Chigueur, 2007), women's agricultural workloads may have increased as a result.

This effect is however likely to be found only where men play an important part in agriculture. Interview data collected by De Haas and Van Rooij (2010) in the Todgha valley in Morocco did not indicate significant increases in the household workload of women living in nuclear households as they were already responsible for many agricultural tasks before the migration and could resort to asking other men or hiring labourers to do the tasks generally attributed to men. Furthermore, agricultural investments can reflect a strategy aimed at reducing the need for male labour supply (Bencherifa, 1997). Steinmann (1993) noted that the emphasis on livestock production in migrant families could partly be explained by the fact that animal husbandry is a traditionally female task and its production can therefore increase without additional male labour input.

This suggests that migration-induced substitution effect is likely limited in societies characterised by strict gender roles. In this respect, the labour market response to migration in Morocco may be rather similar to the Egyptian case described by Binzel and Assaad (2011). In Egypt, female labour supply is relatively inelastic to changes in the labour supply of male household members. They argue that if changes occur, they are most likely to affect unpaid family and subsistence work, as they are less subject to restrictive social norms and are easier to combine with domestic work and childcare duties. These types of employment being more common in rural areas, women's labour supply response to male migration is likely to be stronger there. Similarly, it is likely that male migration brings about only limited changes in the gendered division of labour on the formal labour market, while it may translate into an increase in subsistence and unpaid family work, especially in rural areas.

The lost labour effect may however be partially or completely offset by the remittance flows that can ensue from the migration of household members. Remittances may decrease women's labour market participation through hiring workers to compensate for the lost labour, and through increasing the reservation wage. They may also have an indirect positive effect on this participation if invested in a family business or towards developing girls' education.

First, remittances can offset the labour reallocation effects by allowing women to hire workers, hence buying time away from the unpaid and subsistence work. In the Todgha valley, De Haas and Van Rooij (2010) have observed an important workload decrease for women in international migrant households, as they could hire labourers for agricultural work. This labour demand was fulfilled by wives of non-migrants and of internal migrants, the latter having the heaviest workload due to the combination of the man's absence and lower levels of remittances (see also Steinmann (1993)).

The main effect of remittances highlighted in the economic literature is however to increase the reservation wage in the left-behind household, hence leading to a decline in labour supply. Migrant remittances are generally regarded as a source of non-labour income for recipient households[1]. Therefore, by lifting budget constraints and increasing the reservation wage, remittances would decrease the employment likelihood in waged work in the formal economy and the hours

[1] Although the reservation wage hypothesis has been criticized for considering remittances as non-labour income rather than a replacement for the income the migrant would have contributed to the household had he stayed (Cox-Edwards and Rodríguez-Oreggia, 2009), the much higher levels of earnings of international migrants supports this hypothesis.

worked in the remittance-recipient households (Amuedo-Dorantes and Pozo, 2006; Binzel and Assaad, 2011; Cox-Edwards and Rodríguez-Oreggia, 2009). Arguably, the effect would be even stronger for women in environments that tend to discourage female waged work, as in Morocco. This common assumption of labour migration economics has received confirmation in empirical research analysing data from various countries. Different studies have found a negative relationship between remittances and adult female participation in the external labour market: Funkhouser (1992) in Nicaragua, Acosta (2006); Hanson (2007) and Amuedo-Dorantes and Pozo (2006) in Mexico (especially in rural areas), Binzel and Assaad (2011) in Egypt (especially for waged work in urban areas), Mendola and Carletto (2012) in Albania, Lokshin and Glinskaya (2009) in Nepal. An important caveat to this model is that it only applies to waged work and the paid work decrease assumption does not necessarily apply to self-employment and unpaid work. Regarding the latter, Mu and van de Walle (2011) find that women left behind in rural China were doing more farm work and Mendola and Carletto (2012) similarly observed an increase in unpaid work.

Finally, while the reservation wage theory suggests a decrease in female labour supply as a result of remittance receipt, this source of extra-income may have an opposite effect if it is invested in a family business. Indeed, households may use remittances to invest in an existing household business or to start a new one (Binzel and Assaad, 2011).

This brief review of the literature therefore suggests that the impact of migration and remittances on the female labour market participation can be very heterogeneous. If a decrease in female formal labour supply may be directly attributed to the reservation wage hypothesis, an increase in unpaid family work and self-employment may result either from the need to replace the migrant's labour and/or from investing remittances in the household enterprise. Moreover, these mechanisms do not operate in a socio-cultural vacuum and these effects need to be interpreted in light of the context specificities, including the gendered division of labour, the social norms regarding women's employment and the availability of skilled and unskilled jobs to women.

3 Context

3.1 Moroccan international migration

Morocco has become one of the world's leading emigration countries and international migratory movements have long been a salient phenomenon for Morocco's economy and society. Male emigration to Western European countries - France in particular - started during colonial times and intensified after the country's independence in 1956, built up by the recruitment of low-skilled workers to compensate postwar labour shortage. The mid-70s oil crises put a halt to this economic migration of mostly rural and unskilled men, originating from Berber territories of Northern (Rif, Oriental) and Southern Morocco (Souss) (Berriane and Aberghal, 2009). From the 1980s, international emigration from Morocco continued and feminized through family reunification programmes. It also saw a diversification of destinations (including to Spain and Italy) and of regions of origin, as well as the development of both skilled and illegal migrations. The global Moroccan diaspora is now estimated at around 3.3 million, with the vast majority of its members residing in Western and Southern Europe (De Haas, 2014).

As a result, international migration is a pervasive phenomenon in many Moroccan regions. In the three main historic regions of international emigration – the Rif Mountains, the Souss and southern oases – it has been shown that between one fifth to over a half of all households have at

least one member who has migrated abroad (De Haas, 2006). Remittances are a vital lifeline to many of those households and have been shown to have a positive effect on the level, depth, and severity of poverty in Morocco (Adams and Page, 2003; Soudi and Teto, 2003). Using data from the 1998/9 LSMS, Soudi and Teto (2003) projected that without international remittances 1.2 million out of 30 million of Moroccans would fall back to absolute poverty and that the proportion of the population living below the poverty line would increase from 19 to 23.2%. Remittances are however often pointed out as contributing to a 'migration culture' encouraging dependency and passivity among the recipients (Fadloullah et al., 2000). As Moroccan emigration remains male-dominated despite the feminization of flows from the 1980s, migrants often leave important population of wives as well as mothers, daughters, sisters behind, who are often relying on the migrants' remittances for a living.

3.2 Women in the Moroccan labour market

The Moroccan labour market has undergone major structural changes driven by economic development and liberalisation over the past forty years. One of those changes concerns the increasing number of women entering the workforce. The rate of female economic activity has more than doubled between 1971 and 2007, from 12.6% to 27.1%. Investments in human capital, increased levels of female educational attainment and delayed age of first marriage have contributed in making women more employable, especially in urban areas. Many legal barriers have also been lifted to facilitate women's participation in the labour market, gender equality being now enshrined in the labour law and the 2011 Constitution (Alami Mchichi, 2014).

Despite such progress, rates of female economic activity remain low in Morocco. This situation is often referred to as the 'MENA paradox' (World Bank, 2013) because it is common to most countries in the region. women's difficult access to the waged labour market, their less favourable job conditions and lower salaries, as well as the poor implementation of the labour legislation protecting their rights and the strength of cultural ideals constitute important disincentives to greater participation.

Salaried work in the formal sector is often regarded as the main route to economic empowerment. However, difficult insertion on the labour market, gender discrimination and poor working conditions often mean that job opportunities are scarce or unattractive. Although women with a higher education degree participate slightly more to the labour market (34% of them in 2012), they also face much higher unemployment rates than their male counterparts (33% against 12% for men in 2012). The feminisation of the labour market in Morocco has indeed been driven by the development of exporting manufacturing industries such as the textile and food industries offering mostly poorly-paid and unskilled jobs (Belghazi and Baden, 2002). Most sectors are furthermore characterised by a persistent wage discrimination favouring men (Belghazi and Baden, 2002; Douidich, 2011) and by a 'glass ceiling' preventing female upward professional mobility (Bessis, 2006; Bourqia, 2002). In this context, women often take on salaried work more out of necessity than choice and the feminisation of the workforce cannot readily be interpreted as progress towards enhanced economic empowerment for women.

These difficulties in the formal employment sector often leave women with little alternative than investing the informal labour market. Morocco is characterised by a high level of informality (Douidich, 1998), which particularly affects women (Mejjati Alami, 2004). This is visible in the importance of unpaid family work and, to a lesser extent, self-employment. Unpaid family work is the employment category where women are most represented in Morocco. In 2009, this type of work concerned about three quarters (75.6%) of the female active employed population aged

15 and over in rural areas, most of them working in the agricultural sector. In rural areas, women indeed play an important part in planting, harvesting and transforming the crops as well as in raising livestock (CERED, 1998), tasks which are either performed all year round or only seasonally. Whilst often essential to the family economy, such activities are not remunerated and are not covered by labour legislation nor systems of social protection (Alami Mchichi, 2014). This type of activity, generally performed by mainly illiterate women who started working at a very young age, is therefore very unlikely to lead to any form of economic autonomy. Rather, it may have the opposite effect of maintaining them in a situation of vulnerability and dependence vis-à-vis their parents and spouse (Belarbi, 2013).

Hence, although it is a necessary livelihood strategy for many families, female employment can be discouraged by the numerous obstacles women face when pursuing work. Despite the importance of the on-going change regarding gender norms, socio-cultural factors are important in explaining the low levels of female employment (Belarbi, 2013). Traditionalist views of women's place and role are still potent in the way society regards women working for a wage and outside of their homes, especially in rural areas. Their work and contribution to the household budget are often belittled in the social discourse, opening the way to wage discrimination and other gender-based inequalities (Bourqia, 2002). Cultural norms may also play a role in limiting their mobility and preventing them from investing activity sectors that are not deemed appropriate to them. Finally these norms explain that women's work outside the domestic sphere is often construed as a sign of poverty. Like in other contexts (Louhichi, 1997; Menjívar and Agadjanian, 2007), a migrant's success abroad is often judged by whether his wife works outside her home or is looking for work.

Set in this particular context, our study of the female labour market impact of international migration therefore focuses on waged work and unpaid family work and discusses the implications of those different types of activities for women's autonomy.

4 Empirical approach

4.1 Data and descriptive statistics

We use the 2006-2007 Morocco Living Standard Measurement Survey - LSMS (Enquête Nationale sur les Revenus et les Niveaux de Vie des Ménages) conducted by the Haut-Commissariat au Plan (HCP). The initial sample is nationally representative and consists of 7062 households. It includes modules on socio-demographic characteristics of the households' members, their labour status, expenditures and income sources. Unfortunately, the labour market related questions are limited to the status and type of labour and wages and do not allow us to include issues such as the number of hours worked or informality in our analysis. The survey also includes modules on migration and transfers, both past and present, on which we will focus our analysis. Since we are interested in the impact of having a migrant in the household and receiving remittances, we build our variable of interest at the household level. We define a household migration status according to whether at least one of its members is currently living abroad and to whether it has received transfers from abroad in the past twelve months. Given that migration and remittances might have different impacts on the labour market participation, we will try to disentangle the effects by distinguishing among the different types of households. We will thus consider three categories of households: (i) those that have neither international migrants nor receive transfers (86.3%) – Type 1, (ii) households that have international migrants but do not receive transfers (2.5%) – Type 2 and (iii) households that have both international migrants and transfers (11.2%)

– Type 3.

Table 1 shows that households with migrants and remittances (type 3) are much more likely to have a female household head (32.3%) than households having migrants but no remittances (type 2) (17.1%). The latter are more often in urban areas and their monthly expenditures, as well as their income[2], are considerably higher than those of the other two categories. Furthermore, we observe that Type 3 households have an average higher monthly expenditure than the Type 1, while having a lower average income. Type 3 households are also those with the lowest number of employed members and of income earners, while having the highest number of unemployed among the family members. Similarly, we see little difference in terms of entrepreneurship, with a slightly lower percentage of Type households have a production unit (19.7%) when compared to the other categories (21% for households without migrants and remittances and 22.6% for households with migrants but no remittances). Hence, Type 3 households appear to be more vulnerable economically and highly dependent on transfers coming from abroad, whereas Type 2 households seem to have higher standards. These might have allowed them to send members abroad in the first place, without the necessity to remit. These better living standards are also reflected in the households' perception of their social status compared to its local social environment, where the statistics show that members of Type 3 households have a more positive view of their status when compared to the households with neither migrants nor remittances (Type 1). Members of Type 2 households have the most positive perception of their social status, with nearly 11% considering themselves as rich. In terms of education, Type 2 households exhibit a higher maximum education level, with almost 20% of households having at least a member that completed tertiary education.

When comparing men and women (Table 2), we observe a statistically significant difference in terms of literacy, with 75% of men being literate and only 45% of women. The difference is even more striking when we compare the levels of labour market participation with 84% of men actively participating in the labour market against a mere 38% for women . Regarding the involvement in waged work (conditioned on participating on the labour market), the difference is smaller (60% for men against 36% for women), but remains statistically significant. Whilst we could have hypothesised that part of the difference could be explained by women's greater engagement in self-employment, Table 2 shows that only 2% of women have a production, against 12% for men. As expected, we find that men have significantly higher wages than women.

We will thus examine the determinants of this low labour participation of women and whether the migratory status of the household they live in has an impact on their labour outcomes. Ideally, we would have liked to study these outcomes for women differentiated by their family link to the migrant (such as wives or daughters) as in De Haas and Van Rooij (2010) or Desai and Banerji (2008), or by whether they are the direct recipients of remittances as in Binzel and Assaad (2011). However, our database does not allow such a fine level of detail and we will therefore restrict our sample to all women aged 15 to 65. Using the same definition of households' migratory status presented above, we first conduct a descriptive analysis. The aim is to understand whether there are differences between the women living in households with or without migrants, receiving remittances or not. Table 3 presents some of the descriptive characteristics for our sample, with the average value of outcomes for the Type 1 households in column 1 and the mean differences for the other two categories with respect to the first one in the following columns.

We observe that women living in Type 2 households are significantly more literate and educated compared to those living in Type 1 households, but there is no such difference for women living

[2]The income variable used has been constructed using the various sources of income in the survey (wages, capital revenue, transfers etc.) since no such aggregated variable was available.

Table 1: Descriptive statistics at the household level

	Type 1 households (No IM-No rem)	**Type 2 households (IM-No rem)**	**Type 3 households (IM-Rem)**	**Total**
Percentage	86.30%	2.50%	11.20%	100.00%
Percentage of female HoH[3]	14.50%	17.10%	32.30%	16.60%
Female HoH	75.50%	2.60%	21.90%	100.00%
Age of HoH	49.2	59.2	56.3	50.2
Percentage of rural households	38.70%	21.80%	33.10%	37.60%
Monthly expenditure (dirham)	54 763.15	107 853.1	71 263.49	57 930
Amount of remittances (dirham)			11782.11	2941.6[4]
Wage income (dirham)	24 172	32 284	17 332	23 606.1
Number of employed	1.9	2	1.4	1.8
Number of unemployed	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.3
Number of income earners	1.4	1.3	1.1	1.3
Percentage of households having a production unit	21.00%	22.60%	19.70%	20.90%
Households' perception of their social status				
Rich and very rich	2.80%	10.90%	5.80%	3.70%
Middle class	51.40%	68.90%	66.20%	53.50%
Poor	31.70%	16.90%	20.60%	30.10%
Very poor	12.80%	2.90%	5.80%	11.70%
Doesn't know	1.40%	0.10%	1.60%	1.40%
Maximum level of education				
Pre-school or no education	11.40%	4.40%	12.90%	11.40%
Primary	52.40%	33.00%	43.20%	50.90%
Secondary 1st cycle	17.10%	23.70%	23.50%	18.00%
Secondary 2nd cycle	10.00%	19.00%	13.10%	10.60%
Higher education	9.10%	19.90%	7.30%	9.20%

Table 2: Mean differences between men and women in terms of education and labour market outcomes, 15-65 years

	Men	**Women**	**Mean diff**
Age	34.4	34.7	-0.27
Literacy	75%	45%	0.29***
Labour market participation	84%	38%	0.46***
Wage work (among active employed)	60%	36%	0.23***
Unpaid family workers	10%	17%	-0.07***
Having a production unit	12%	2%	0.10***
Total wage	24458.27	21004.42	3453.85***

* Significant at the 10-percent level. ** Significant at the 5-percent level. *** Significant at the 1-percent level.

in households with migrants and remittances. Furthermore, women from Type 3 households are significantly older and less likely to live with their mothers-in-law. The differentiated characteristics between women living in migrant households with and without remittances appear even more clearly when we look at the household type in terms of cohabiting generations. Thus, when compared to women in Type 1 households, women in the second type of households appear to be cohabiting less often with two generations and more often with three generations. This is reflected in the household structure, where there is significant positive difference for these women who are more often part of a complex household. Concerning women living in Type 3 households, they are more likely to be living in a one-generation type of household, often alone, or in a single headed nuclear household. This points to a certain degree of independence, whether voluntary or involuntary. Regarding labour market outcomes, these women are also more likely to have a production unit. Importantly, we can see that their rate of labour market participation is significantly lower than that of women living in households with no migrants and no remittances. The same is true to some extent for women in Type 2 households. If we scrutinise their occupational status, more differences appear. Indeed, women in Type 3 households are less likely to have never worked or to be a family worker and more likely to be self-employed or inactive than women in Type 1 households. Regarding women living in Type 2 households, they are on average less involved in wage work and self-employment and more prone to be inactive, again in comparison with women living in households with neither migrants nor remittances.

From this first simple analysis of the sample we can observe significant differences in terms of labour market outcomes between women living in households with or without migrants and with or without remittances. We will thus proceed to determine to what extent the household's migratory status can have an impact on women's labour market outcomes.

4.2 Empirical strategy

Our first approach is to use the labour market participation as dependent variable and estimate the model here below. The labour market participation is a dummy variable, taking the value 1 for those who declared they were having a wage or non-wage activity and those who were unemployed and looking for a job at the time of the survey.

$$LM_i = \alpha_1 + \alpha_2 Migrant_i + \alpha_3 Remittances_i + \alpha_n X_{(i,n)} + \epsilon_i$$

where *Migrant* is a dummy variable indicating whether the household has a international migrant among its members, *Remittances* is the log of the amount of remittances received by the household and X is a set of control variables that includes the age, marital status, having an internal migrant, the number of children, the type and structure of the household and indicators of non-labour income such as owning land and livestock or having a production unit. In order to control for province-specific economic context, we also control for the poverty, vulnerability and unemployment rates at the province level. We add regional dummies in order to control for any indirect effect of migration on any potential to durably change on the economic and labour market environments at origin (Mendola and Carletto, 2012), affecting even those who do not have migrant relatives. In rural Morocco, examples of such effects include land price inflation and a progressive shift in agricultural investment from less to more fertile regions resulting in local job losses, as well as a boom in construction (Steinmann, 1993).

Nevertheless, this concept of labour market participation covers very heterogeneous situations, as highlighted in Section 3.2. For instance, most of the active women declared that they were

Table 3: Mean differences between women living in different types of households according to migratory status

	Type 1 households (No IM-No rem)	**Type 2 households (IM-No rem)**	**Type 3 households (IM-Rem)**
Rural area	0.45	-0.03*	-0.25***
Literacy	0.45	0.09***	-0.05
Age	34.34	1.27**	8.91***
Living with mother in law	0.1	0.06***	-0.07***
Marital status			
Single	0.36	0.10***	-0.27***
Married	0.55	-0.8***	-0.04
Divorced	0.03	0.01*	0.08***
Widow	0.05	-0.03***	0.22***
Household type (generations)			
One generation	0.04	-0.004	0.05***
Two generations	0.77	-0.12***	-0.02
Three generations	0.18	0.13***	-0.03
Household structure			
Living alone	0.006	-0.004***	0.04***
Childless couple	0.02	-0.001	-0.002
Single headed nuclear household	0.08	-0.001	0.25***
Complete nuclear	0.51	-0.17***	-0.11***
Nuclear household with isolated persons	0.013	0.0003	0.003
Complex household	0.36	0.18***	-0.01
Labour market outcomes			
Having a Production unit	0.0147	0.001	0.037**
Labour market participation	0.39	-0.06***	-0.13***
Occupational status			
Unemployed (never worked)	0.04	-0.002	-0.02***
Wage work	0.13	-0.03***	-0.01
Self employed	0.05	-0.02***	0.04*
Family worker	0.17	-0.004	-0.13***
Inactive	0.61	0.06***	0.13***

Note: The mean is reported in column 2 and columns 3 and 4 report the differences in means and their level of significance with respect to the first category (the reported difference is 3-2 and 4-2). * Significant at the 10-percent level. ** Significant at the 5-percent level. *** Significant at the 1-percent level.

unpaid family workers (44.6%) and another 10% are unemployed and had never worked before. It is therefore necessary to differentiate between different categories of labour market participation. Because of the very different implications of these labour statuses for women's level of autonomy, we run separate regressions on the probability of being an unpaid family worker and on the probability of having an income generating activity. Whilst Section 3.2 highlighted how waged and own-account female workers were often at a disadvantage on the labour market, being overrepresented in the low-paid and precarious jobs, income-generating activities remain nevertheless an important route to gain the resources necessary to exert greater agency (defined as the ability to define one's goals and act upon them). On the other hand, unpaid family work (defined in the 2006-7 MLSS as household members who work for the profit of the household itself or one of its members) is often regarded as an extension of women's domestic role, and as such, does not yield positive outcomes on their capacity for strategic choice in their life (Kabeer, 2012). Contrasting these two types of activity can therefore give us an indication of the role international migration plays in the lives of women staying behind, particularly whether it can lead to any changes in the traditional gendered division of labour and increased female autonomy.

4.2.1 Identification strategy

Furthermore, as widely discussed in the literature, migration is an endogenous variable with respect to labour market outcomes. Indeed, when estimating the impact of migration variables on labour market behaviour, one of the sources of endogeneity can be the issue of reverse causality. This means that the migration outcome that we observe can be the result of the decision to participate or not in the labour market. In our case, it means that the women's decision to join the labour market resulted in the migration of one or more family members. Although in practice and in the qualitative interviews this issue was never mentioned, we cannot fully discard the presence of reverse causality. Moreover, the data does not allow us to clearly distinguish the exact timing of the migration decision or the labour market participation. Another source of endogeneity that we need to deal with is the omitted variable. Here, it comes down to supposing that both women's labour market participation and the migration outcomes of the household members are determined by unobservable characteristics that will bias our results. These unobservable characteristics could be, for instance, linked to family dynamics or family culture and could jointly determine the dependent and the independent variables. Here again, we cannot reject the existence of such a bias.

In order to correct any bias that could be due to this endogeneity issue, we will use an instrumental variable approach, as is common in the migration literature. This consists in finding an independent variable which will serve as an instrument for the supposed endogenous variable and which cannot be correlated with the error term of the equation. Since we are interested here in potentially two endogenous variables (having an international migrant and receiving remittances), we need two instruments. The traditional instrument, used by Binzel and Assaad (2011) and Lokshin and Glinskaya (2009), is the share of international migrants in the population for each province that serves as a proxy for migrant networks at the community level, which can further provide information to potential migrants and lower their cost of migration. However, we argue that the migration share at survey time is correlated to labour market conditions. For instance, a high migration rate might be the result of a negative income shock at the province level, which might also act as an incentive for women to join the labour market. Since we do not have a previous survey that we can use in order to construction retrospective migration rates, we rely on data from the AMERM (Association Marocaine d'Etudes et de Recherches sur les Migrations) that classifies provinces according to their emigration rates between 1994 and 2004. We thus construct a variable of "migration intensity" whose values range from 1 for very low intensity (less than 0.08 per thousand) to 4 for high intensity (more than 3.6per thousand). In order to correct for the remittances' endogeneity, we rely on the instrumental approach used by Taylor et al. (2003) who argue that the remittances received by the household are influenced by the village norm. Thus we used the average level of remittances among households in the geographical unit[5], dropping the observed household, as a proxy for the village remitting norm.

[5]Since we do not have variables such as village or geographical coordinates, we constructed a variable, that should proxy the village level, using the sampling details.

5 Results

5.1 Empirical results

Table 4 summarizes the main results for the determinants of labour market participation. The OLS[6] results suggest that the only role played by international migration in the labour market participation is through remittances, which seem to increase the activity rate, contrary to the literature findings. Column 2 presents the results of the instrumented regression, where we try to correct for the endogeneity bias of international migration and remittances, and the results from the first stage can be found in columns 3 and 4. First of all, column 2 shows that migration and remittance coefficients are now statistically significant and have the expected signs according to some of the literature findings. The probability of joining the labour market increases when one of the household members is abroad, indicating a reallocation of labour supply within the household in order to compensate for the lost labour. However, this would suppose a certain degree of substituability between women and men on the labour market, such as is the case for the unpaid family worker status, which involves, most of the time taking care of livestock. Also, we notice that the effect of having an internal migrant disappears, suggesting a correlation between internal and international migration. Indeed, as shown in De Haas (2006), internal migration often facilitates international migration. Since internal migration is not our focus in this article and, since we do not have a reliable instrument for the probability of having an internal migrant, we will not analyse its coefficient, but rather use this variable only to control for any migration pattern of the household that is not captured by the international migration variable. Using the instrumented model, we also find a significant negative effect of remittances on labour market participation, in line with the literature results (Binzel and Assaad, 2011; Acosta, 2006; Amuedo-Dorantes and Pozo, 2006), and our qualitative fieldwork. Indeed, receiving remittances releases the income constraint, allowing women to withdraw from the labour market, where they face poor working conditions and low wages. The first stage regressions show that the historical emigration intensity and the remittance norm at the district level are strong determinants of migration and remittances respectively. We have tested alternative instruments such as the returnees share per province using the 2004 census as well as database on the density of money transfer offices, but none of them prove to be strong enough.

Furthermore, as expected, activity rates increase with age and decrease with its quadratic term. Married women are less likely to join the labour market, as also confirmed by the Graph 1, where the vertical line indicates the average age at the time of marriage. We observe that labour market participation starts to decline after marriage, which is a result also found by Assaad and Krafft (2014) in Egypt. This strong effect of marital status is not surprising in a context where a wife may have to obtain authorization from her husband in order to engage in work outside the house, and may be largely discouraged by the scarce and unfavourable labour opportunities, as well as the fact that employed women continue to take on the bulk of domestic work (El Harras, 2006). As highlighted by Hoodfar (1997) about urban married women in Egypt, not engaging in the labour market can also be a way of ensuring the enforcement of the Islamic obligation of financial support (nafaqah) from their husbands.

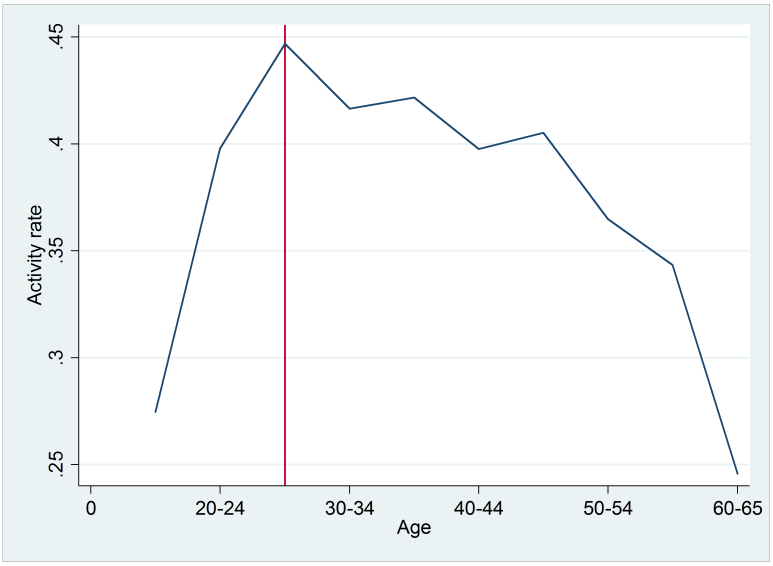
The number of young children in the household also decreases the probability of joining the labour market, indicating a trade-off between care-giving and working outside the home. Similarly,

[6]Despite the fact of outcome being a dummy variable, we chose to run linear regression models since probit models did not converged once we instrumented and took into account the survey design. Due to this choice of specification, we will only interpret the significance and the sign of our coefficients, but not their size.

Table 4: Labour market participation determinants

	OLS	2SLS	First stage	
			Migration	Remittances
	(1)	(2)	(3)	'(4)
HH has an international migrant	0.00	1.21**		
	(0.06)	(0.58)		
Remittances	0.00*	-0.03**		
	(0.00)	(0.02)		
Age	0.15***	0.03***	0.00**	0.03
	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.03)
Age squared	-0.00***	-0.00***	0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Rural	-0.10*	-0.02	0.01	-0.07
	(0.06)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.23)
HH has an internal migrant	0.13***	-0.01	0.02**	-0.61***
	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.15)
Dummy married	-0.98***	-0.21***	-0.04***	-0.56***
	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.15)
Number children under 6 years	-0.09***	-0.02***	0.00	0.04
	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.07)
Education				
Pre-school	-0.43*	0.03	-0.05	1.34
	(0.26)	(0.09)	(0.04)	(0.86)
Primary 1st cycle	0.21***	0.03*	0.01	-0.09
	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.17)
Primary 2nd cycle	0.33***	0.04**	0.03***	0.00
	(0.05)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.20)
Secondary	0.53***	0.12***	0.00	0.00
	(0.06)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.23)
Tertiary	0.99***	0.21***	-0.01	-1.53***
	(0.07)	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.28)
(ref: No education)				
HH has livestock	0.34***	0.08***	0.01	-0.13
	(0.06)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.24)
HH has a production unit	-0.21***	-0.08***	0.01*	-0.29**
	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.14)
Lives with parents in law	-0.06	-0.06*	0.07***	0.99***
	(0.06)	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.21)
Poverty rate (province level)	0.84*	0.66**	-0.47***	-0.84
	(0.43)	(0.26)	(0.08)	(1.83)
Consumption expenditure per person	-0.06***	-0.02***	0.02***	0.57***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.05)
Historical emigration intensity			0.01***	0.01
			(0.00)	(0.10)
Remittance norm			0.00***	0.02***
			(0.00)	(0.00)
Constant	-5.22***	-0.67***	-0.07	-0.59
	(0.44)	(0.08)	(0.05)	(1.07)
Region controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
F-stat			53.20	54.40
Observations	12,251	12,251	12,251	12,251

Figure 1: Probability of participating in the labour market for each age category and average age at the time of marriage



we observe a negative effect of living with the parents in law on the probability of joining the labour market. This result can be indicative of both the higher care-giving needs that working-age women have to satisfy in extended households, as well as the stricter supervision and regulation they are often subjected to when living with in-laws. Whilst no longer the dominant family structure in the Moroccan society, the patriarchal extended household and its traditional distribution of power along gendered and generational lines continues to affect its female members and the extent to which they can engage with the community, especially in rural areas (El Harras, 2006).

As often mentioned in the literature, we find that education increases labour market participation, as well as the probability to be involved in waged work. Our coefficients for the education dummies indicate that the probability to participate in the labour market decreases for lower levels of education compared to higher education. In order to control for the family's income but also for the substitution that might appear between joining the labour market and domestic work outside the house, we added dummies for owning livestock, as well as for having a unit of production. We find that owning livestock increases women's labour market participation, but this effect is likely driven by the unpaid family workers who are very often in charge of the household's livestock. Indeed, animal husbandry is culturally regarded as being women's work in Morocco, and an enduring practice (Nassif, 2008). On the contrary, owning a production unit decreases the probability of joining the labour market, probably through the added income effect generated by the production unit. This suggests that female household members are generally not involved in the running of these units. We also control for the consumption per capita and its negative coefficient also suggests that for richer households, the income constraint is less binding, thus a higher consumption level is negatively correlated with women's labour market participation.

As mentioned above, different labour market categories tend to have very different implications for women's lives and levels of empowerment, and we observed that almost half of the working

women are unpaid family workers, which is a vulnerable status, with little or no gratification and not offering the resources for greater autonomy. We will therefore analyse separately the determinants of the probability of being an unpaid family worker and of the probability of having an income generating activity. The results in Table 5 confirm our intuition that effects observed for the labour market participation are driven by the considerable share of unpaid family workers in the sample. Indeed, the coefficients for migration and remittances remain significant for the unpaid family workers, while they are not significant for the probability of having an income generating activity. Thus, having an international migrant among the former household members increases the workload for the remaining members and women's probability of becoming an unpaid family worker, whereas receiving remittances allows the family to work less, thus decreasing women's participation. Our interpretation of the results is that the probability of being an unemployed family worker is labour supply driven, thus it can be impacted by migration, while the probability of having an income generating activity is labour demand driven and migration channels have no impact.

Table 5: Determinants of specific labour market outcomes

	Unpaid family workers		Income generating activity	
	OLS	2SLS	OLS	2SLS
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
HH has an international migrant	-0.02*	1.83*	-0.05***	0.33
	(0.01)	(1.09)	(0.01)	(0.60)
Remittances	0.00	-0.06**	0.00	-0.02
	(0.00)	(0.03)	(0.00)	(0.02)
Age	0.00**	0.00	0.05***	0.05***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Age squares	-0.00***	-0.00*	-0.00***	-0.00***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Rural	0.08***	0.08***	0.04***	0.04***
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)
HH has an internal migrant	0.03***	-0.04	-0.02*	-0.04
	(0.01)	(0.04)	(0.01)	(0.03)
Dummy married	0.01*	0.07*	-0.22***	-0.21***
	(0.01)	(0.04)	(0.01)	(0.02)
Number children under 6 years	-0.01***	0.00	-0.02***	-0.01**
	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)
Education				
Pre-school	-0.06	0.13	-0.05	-0.01
	(0.04)	(0.14)	(0.05)	(0.08)
Coranic school	0.01	0.03	-0.07	-0.07
	(0.06)	(0.12)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Primary 1st cycle	-0.03***	-0.05**	0.02**	0.02
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)
Primary 2nd cycle	-0.06***	-0.10***	0.06***	0.05**
	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.02)
Secondary	-0.06***	-0.06**	0.10***	0.10***
	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.02)
Tertiary	-0.03**	-0.14**	0.23***	0.21***
	(0.02)	(0.06)	(0.02)	(0.03)
(ref: No education)				
HH owns land	0.13***	0.07	-0.03**	-0.05
	(0.01)	(0.05)	(0.01)	(0.03)
HH has livestock	0.31***	0.28***	0.10***	0.09***
	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Lives with parents in law	-0.06***	-0.13**	-0.04***	-0.05
	(0.01)	(0.06)	(0.01)	(0.03)
Poverty rate (province level)	-0.31***	0.35	-0.04	0.04
	(0.09)	(0.47)	(0.12)	(0.21)
HH has a production unit	-0.01	-0.05*	0.01	0.00
	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Consumption expenditure per person	0.00	-0.01	0.02***	0.02***
	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)
Constant	-0.01	0.07	-0.74***	-0.73***
	(0.05)	(0.12)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Observations	10,036	10,036	9,875	9,875

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p¡0.01, ** p¡0.05, * p¡0.1

5.2 Robustness checks

5.2.1 Endogenous controls

One issue we need to deal with is that our model includes control variables that might be endogenous. The number of children or the expenditure per person might determine the labour market behaviour, but we are faced with a reverse causality bias since these variables might also be the result of choices made regarding the labour market participation. Even though we control for the endogeneity of migration and remittances, given that the controls are used in the estimation of the coefficients of our variables of interest, the endogeneity of controls might lead to biased coefficients, either in an OLS approach or in an instrumental one (Lechner, 2008; Fr?lich, 2008). However, if the variables of interest and the potentially endogenous controls are not correlated, then the bias is negligible. Among our control variables, those which are more likely to be endogenous with respect to labour market outcomes are the following: the *consumption expenditure per person*, the *probability of having an internal migrant*, the *number of young children*, the *probability of owning livestock* and *the probability of owning land*. Table 6 presents the Pearson correlation coefficient and Spearman's ρ for the variables of interest and the potentially endogenous controls. Both measures indicate that there is no or negligible correlation between the variables, thus we argue that the coefficients estimated in Tables 4 and 5 are not biased by the presence of potentially endogenous controls.

Table 6: Correlations between variables of interest and potentially endogenous controls

	International migrant		**Remittances**	
	Pearson coefficient	Spearman rho	Pearson coefficient	Spearman rho
Consumption expenditure per person	0.123	0.174	0.122	0.162
HH has an internal migrant	0.058	0.058	-0.009	-0.018
Number children under 6 years	-0.045	-0.064	-0.025	-0.036
HH has livestock	-0.019	-0.019	-0.040	-0.053
HH has land	0.023	0.023	-0.004	-0.015

In order to assess the robustness of our results even further, we estimate the model without the control variable we suspect to be endogenous. Table 7 presents the coefficients of our variables of interest in the original model (where the potentially endogenous controls are included) and in the model where only exogenous controls are present. We thus notice that the results change very little, with the significance levels remaining the same and the absolute value of coefficients increasing when potentially endogenous controls are removed.

Table 7: Coefficients of variables of interest in the model with and without potentially endogenous control variables

	Labour market participation		Unpaid family worker		Income generating activity	
	All controls	Only exogenous	All controls	Only exogenous	All controls	Only exogenous
HH has an international migrant	1.21**	1.33**	1.83*	2.63**	0.33	0.06
	(0.58)	(0.54)	(1.09)	(1.17)	(0.60)	(0.53)
Remittances	-0.03**	-0.04***	-0.06**	-0.09**	-0.02	-0.01
	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.01)

5.2.2 Household with migrants and without remittances

The descriptive statistics in Tables 1 and 3 indicate a slightly different profile for households of so-called Type 2 (households that have migrants, but do not receive remittances), with significantly higher expenditures levels. One might think that the difference between the Type 2 and Type 3 households might thus be related to the migration reason which could explain the lack of remittances. Particularly, migrants from Type 2 households might be students (emigrating in order to acquire education abroad), while migrants from Type 3 households are economic migrants. Of course, this entails that the migration reason might have a differentiated impact on women's labour market behaviour. We thus estimate the initial model on a sub-sample where we remove the women from households that have declared having migrants that went abroad in order to study.

Table 8: Results for the sub-sample of households without student migrants

	Labour market participation	Unpaid family worker	Income generating activity
HH has an international migrant	1.25**	1.73*	0.29
	(0.59)	(0.98)	(0.60)
Remittances	-0.03**	-0.06**	-0.01
	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.01)
All controls	Yes	Yes	Yes

For the sake of brevity, we only present the coefficients for the variables of interest in Table 8. Again, our coefficients appear robust, with no change in the significance level and limited variation in the absolute value. Thus, even if we exclude households that send migrants abroad but do not receive remittances, we find that having a migrant in the household significantly increase women activity rate, but only because it increases the probability of being an unpaid family worker.

5.3 Case study findings

This interpretation of the quantitative results is supported by the findings from a case study conducted in a rural town of the Anti-Atlas mountains in Southern Morocco, over a four-month period in spring 2012. This study, which included interviews with women living in migrant and non-migrant households, investigated the lives of women staying behind in a Berber region of historic emigration to France. Situated at the interface between the urban and rural worlds in terms of size, services and infrastructures, the town itself offers an interesting case to study the effects of international emigration on women's employment since its labour market exhibits characteristics of both worlds. Also, whilst largely shaped by international migration (visible for instance in the many estate and business investments in its center), less than a fifth of the town's households had a current or a returned international migrant[7], allowing for comparison with women living in other types of households. The in-depth interviews conducted with twelve women living in international migrant households (mainly middle-aged migrants' wives) and information collected locally provided insights into the effects of international migration, remittances and

[7]As part of the case study, an enumeration of the town's households with internal and international migrants was conducted by surveying the local *moqaddems* (lower-ranked officials in charge of individual districts in the town). By collecting information about all the families, it was possible to establish a migration database providing a picture of the phenomenon.

other factors on their activities and livelihood strategies. Data analysis pointed out the saliency of certain household and individual characteristics in determining women's engagement in paid and unpaid activities, and how their effects were conditioned by the particular socio-economic and cultural contexts in which they live.

Income-generating activities. As elsewhere in Morocco, women's labour market participation is low in the town (15% in 2004). Besides the few sought-after jobs in administrations or development associations that are accessible only to the highly-educated, salaried employment opportunities are mostly unattractive, due to their low pay and poor working conditions. In these conditions, employment outcomes were strongly determined by the women's level of education and marital status, an observation consistent with the results in Tables 4 and 5. Despite the important progress in female literacy among the younger generations, the wives of emigrants who had left in the 1960-70s tended to have very low levels of literacy, and therefore very few options on the paid market. This, as well as the lack of paid opportunities in the remote villages where many of them lived before moving to the town, and the negative perception attached to (unskilled) salaried work in traditional mentalities, explained that they did not engage in such activities as remittances relieved the income constraints of their households.

Marital status also appeared as a very strong predictor of labour market participation. Indeed, none of the wives of current or past international migrants had ever worked for a wage, whilst most had been unpaid family workers for most of their lives. Thanks to the remittances, women were spared the necessity to take part in paid activities that are usually done by those with no other options, and hence comply with a more traditional and valued role of housewife looking after her home and assuming the numerous subsistence activities rural women are usually responsible for. However, withdrawal from cash earning activities cannot be solely explained by the higher living standards that remittances can offer to households left behind. Indeed, the interviews suggested that the amounts remitted were not necessarily very high (many women reporting 1,000 Dirham per month), and migrants' wives were not necessarily the direct recipients of these transfers anyway, especially if living with the in-laws. In the latter case, they could have no or very limited access to their husband's transfers. Leila (59), the wife of a migrant who spent two decades living with her brother-in-law and his family recalls *'Every time I asked him [the brother-in-law] for money – if I needed to buy something, like some clothes for example – he would always say no and would reply "Wait for the idiot you married. When he'll come, he'll buy you everything you want!". He received the money from my husband but he would not give me any. Just food, that's it. And not even quality food'.* In these conditions, the benefits that individual women can draw from their husbands' emigration should not be exaggerated, and different considerations need to be taken into account when considering their relative withdrawal from the labour market. In a society where a woman's engagement in paid work is likely to be interpreted as a sign of her husband's inability to provide for his family, wives can also be deterred from looking for work in order to spare their spouse and family criticism and mockery in the community. This can be accompanied with concern and regret over their complete financial dependency and inability of earning their own income. As Rokia (31) explains, *'I would have liked to work because when you earn your own money, you can buy whatever you want, like clothes, clothes for you and for your children. It is not normal to have to ask for money every time you need something, it is not normal to always wait, and not to have even one Dirham on you. But my father and then my husband, they never wanted me to work. You do the housework, and that's it [...] The people from our bled, they are like that. Even if they don't have anything, they are proud, and they prefer their women to stay at home'.* This social pressure to maintain a certain status is particularly strong for international migrant households, whose living standards and activities tend to be scrutinized and largely commented in the communities. As a result,

international migrant wives' generally remained financially dependent on their migrant husband. This represents a situation of heightened vulnerability for them, but also, possibly a necessary condition - not to say a strategy - to strengthen their claim to the migrant's money and ensure the continuation of remittance flows (Hoodfar, 1997). Women's marital status was therefore a strong factor explaining women's labour activities, even within households with international migrants. In contrast to the migrants' spouses, unmarried adult daughters and sisters (especially if single or divorced) were indeed likely to do waged activities, although not necessarily in the least-paid and most strenuous jobs.

Unpaid family work. If international migration, through the remittance flows and the expectations they generate towards families staying behind certainly contribute to a relative disengagement from the paid labour market, women's life stories also revealed their significant involvement in unpaid labour. All migrants' wives had worked as helpers on the family farms or land at some point in their lives, although moving to the town allowed many of them to withdraw from the most strenuous tasks of fetching water and working the fields. As it is largely regarded as an extension of their domestic work, unpaid family work is seen as a normal activity for women and not stigmatized. In rural areas, this unpaid work is usually done in agriculture, working in the fields and taking care of livestock. However, as suggested in the Table 5, land and livestock did not have the same importance to women's workloads and livelihoods.

In Morocco, male emigration of the 1960s and 1970s was often associated with land purchase, agriculture intensification and modernisation, as well as growing livestock production at origin (Steinmann, 1993; Bencherifa, 1997), which is likely to lead to an increase in female agricultural employment. However, both in the quantitative data analysis and in the interviews, the probability of being unpaid family worker did not seem to increase much for families owning land. This weak relation has been previously explained by the fact that the additional workload was taken up by women in non-migrant or internal migrant households, in exchange for cash or in-kind (fodder or milk) payment, as observed by Steinmann (1993) and De Haas and Van Rooij (2010) in the Todgha valley. In the town, international migrants have likewise invested in land and possessed most of the limited total cultivated area. However, these investments were no longer seen as profitable, due to the low outputs (related to difficult topography and climate). As one of the interviewees commented: *'Here, we don't earn anything from cultivating the land, it's just for the fodder. In fact, it's rather the opposite: the land costs us money!'*. Hence, many plots remained uncultivated, and women in international migrant families were not much involved in this type of work, nor did they seem to benefit much from female labour exchange systems.

In contrast to land cultivation, animal husbandry appeared as a more substantial source of income for local women, including in international migrant households. As suggested by the strong correlation between household livestock ownership and female's engagement in unpaid family work in Table 5, women play a critical role in livestock production systems of Morocco's arid and semi-arid regions, working as unpaid labour within small scale farms. Far from receding, this role is reinforced by the effects of climate change and the increased labour requirements of intensive animal husbandry. A traditionally female activity, livestock rearing is considered a form of savings and risk mitigation strategy, as well as a source of cash whenever needed (Nassif, 2008). This can explain the emphasis put on this activity in households affected by a predominantly male emigration (Steinmann, 1993). Interestingly, and although this activity did not appear as a crucial component of the overall household subsistence, animal husbandry appeared as an enduring practice in international migrant households where most of the interviewed women continued taking care of a few animals (usually sheep, chickens and cows). Beyond the mere economic necessity, they seemed particularly attached to an activity which represented a form

of personal safety net and an insurance against the vagaries of life, which they could mobilize at times of crisis. Moreover, this activity seemed to play at another - perhaps more symbolic - level as it gave them a sense of actively contributing to the household livelihood by providing means of subsistence and a bit of cash occasionally, hence relieving the complete dependence on remittances and other cash income which tend to devalue their status.

Overall, and although paid work was seen by many women as an important route to women's economic autonomy, international migration did not play any positive role in supporting their access to cash-earning opportunities. In the absence of more favourable labour market conditions, it seemed more likely to help them withdraw from paid work. In the context of a predominantly male emigration system, itself predicated on a patriarchal gender order, women's access to remittances and claim for support greatly depend on their ability to fulfill their traditional roles. Hence, they may avoid jeopardising their position by departing from this role.

6 Conclusion

Our article enriches the literature on migration and its impact on female labour supply in Morocco, adding a quantitative dimension to it. Once we purge the effects of these channels and we control for endogeneity, we find that having a migrant member in the household increases women's labour participation, while remittances negatively impact women's activity rate. However, we highlight that the labour market participation results are mainly driven by one particular status, which is that of unpaid family workers. We show that migration increases women's probability of being an unpaid family worker, in order to compensate for the decrease in labour supply, but it has no impact on women's probability of having income-generating activities. The latter are mainly determined by the classical factors of education, age and family characteristics, but also by structural factors linked to labour demand. These empirical findings are further supported and illustrated by interview data, collected with women in international migrant households in the Souss-Massa Drâa region in Southern Morocco. These testimonies confirmed the crucial role of education and marital status in determining women's engagement in work. They also highlighted how the mechanisms through which migration impacts on women's employment at origin operate very differently depending on their relation to the migrant, as well as the structure of the household they live in. Most importantly, the qualitative fieldwork indicated that while traditional attitudes are an important factor in women's low levels of engagement in paid activities, the most compelling reason behind this situation probably lies in the lack of good job opportunities for women, especially in rural areas. If remittance income acts as a disincentive to work outside the home, for many women it is mainly a resource which spares them from having to resort to the least attractive and low paid jobs locally available.

In the context of the highly debated question as to whether migration and remittances can bring about long-term development, our findings therefore suggest the importance of the development context at origin. As it is now often argued that development in migrant-sending regions may be a prerequisite for return and investment rather than a consequence of migration (De Haas, 2009), a similar comment applies to the economic participation of women. While paid work remains an important route to women's empowerment, international migration is unlikely to play a positive role in supporting their access to cash-earning opportunities in the absence of more favourable labour market conditions at origin, and may rather be used to withdraw from it. In such a context, international migration and remittances may assist in the reproduction of a traditional patriarchal gender order at origin, including through encouraging women's resort

to the religiously sanctioned economic responsibilities of men towards women.

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International emigration and the labour market outcomes of women staying behind: the case of Morocco

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Summary

We tackle the issue of women's activity rates in Morocco by adopting a mixed method approach. Using the 2007 household survey, we find that having a migrant in the household increases women's labour participation, while receiving remittances decreases it. While migration increases women's probability of being an unpaid family worker, it has no impact on their probability of having income-generating activities. The qualitative fieldwork indicates that while traditional attitudes are an important factor in women's low levels of engagement in paid activities, the most compelling reason behind this situation lies in the lack of good job opportunities for women.

Keywords: International migration, remittances, female labour force participation, Morocco.

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