

Intersections between the Global Economy and Gender Structures in the Workforce in Relocated Industries

Rocío Fajardo Fernández*

Department of Sociology, Social Work and Public Health, University of Huelva, Spain

Rosa M. Soriano-Miras

Department of Sociology, University of Granada, Spain

Antonio Trinidad Requena

Department of Sociology, University of Granada, Spain

* Corresponding author: rocio.fajardo@dstso.uhu.es

Abstract

This study examines the impact of industrial relocation on gender relations in the Tanger-Tetouan-Al Hoceima region of Morocco. Having detected the importance of diversity among workers in relocated industry, our objective is to show how the global process shapes the local. To this end, we carried out 114 biographical interviews with relocated industry workers in the aforementioned region, which we analysed using grounded theory, identifying the ways in which gender relations are interconnected with global dynamics. The key dimensions that emerged in our analysis as interacting with gender were marital status, occupational status, and the status of being an internal migrant to a major industrial city or a native. This intersectional perspective acquires meaning in a theoretical scheme that shows the global-local interconnection and the

importance of social action. We identify two profiles located at opposite poles in terms of privilege and access to resources, as well as a range of cases in between that illustrate the configuration of social and employment realities in the relocated industry: married men with middle to high occupational status and born in Tangier or Tetouan, and single women with low occupational status born in depressed areas of the country.

Keywords: Intersectionality, Morocco, feminism, industrial relocation, globalisation

Introduction

This article contributes to both Gender Studies and Development Studies. The constitution of the labour force is now more heterogeneous than when industrial relocation began in the 1970s (Benería, Berik, and Floro, 2016), requiring studies and frameworks that take these changes into account. The originality of our research lies, on the one hand, in its interpretation of this heterogeneity through the framework of intersectionality, and on the other hand, in including both women and men in the analysis, which has been identified as a gap in the literature (Lekchiri and Eversole, 2021). While most of the available literature focusing on gender and industrial relocation has examined the implications for women and the feminisation of work in relocated industries (Borgeaud-Garciandía and Lautier, 2014; Dutta, 2019), we conceptualise gender as a relational category.

First, we will define ‘industrial relocation’ (hereafter IR). By IR, we mean the total or partial relocation of the production of goods and services by multinational companies to countries with peripheral economies for export abroad. In the case of Morocco, this

process is linked to the country's economic reorientation following the signing of the first structural adjustment plan (SAP) in 1983. This saw a large decline in public-sector employment, weakening the capacity of the Moroccan state to provide jobs and services to its population, particularly the poorest (Clark, 2018).

Morocco's economy is based primarily on exports, private investment, and tourism and characterised by macroeconomic stability and low levels of inflation. While Foreign Direct Investment is declining in the rest of North Africa, it is increasing and becoming more diversified in Moroccoⁱ. All these factors make the country and its labour market dependent on the global economy. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, the entities with which it signed the SAP, have also tried to promote regionalisation processes to decentralise the Moroccan state. However, this process has been carried out in such a way that, rather than decentralising power, it has entailed a reinforcement of the previous authority structures (Vollmann et al., 2022). One of the strategies adopted has been 'international aid (of the French decentralised cooperation) dedicated to decentralisation to strengthen central state services and appointed regional authorities that supervise locally elected governments at the expense of their empowerment, using the rhetoric of the need to modernise the Ministry of Interior' (Harb and Atallah, 2015, 230).

The suitability of Tanger-Tetouan-Al Hoceima as a region for study in this context is exemplified by the Port of Tangier-Med. Since its inauguration (2007), it has seen the highest increase in absolute numbers in the maritime connectivity index in the world (UNCTAD, 2019). The speed at which this port allows the transport of goods multiplies its symbolism as a border with the European Union. The region produces 11% of Morocco's Gross Domestic Product, making it the second-largest contributor.

Companies such as Decathlon, Siemens, and Renault have production facilities there (Regional Centre of Tangier Investment, n.d.). Morocco has also become an important textile hub for European companies, making it one of the three leading African countries in terms of productivity (UNIDO, 2016).

However, to examine this phenomenon from a gender perspective, we ask ourselves the following question: Does female employment created by industrial relocation contribute to the construction of gender equality in the Tanger-Tetouan-Al Hoceima regionⁱⁱ of Morocco? To answer this question, this study is structured as follows: We begin by presenting the literature that answers our question in other contexts and continue with those that do so in Morocco. Then, we focus on describing the intersectionality approach, which allows us to articulate the process. Next, we explain the methodology used to analyse this information. As grounded theory has been used as an analysis methodology, we structure the Findings section on the basis of the identification of three Basic Social Processes. The article ends with the main conclusions.

Industrial Relocation and Gender

Most authors agree that the global labour market has taken advantage of existing gender inequalities in its development (for Mexico and Central America, Wright, 2006; Domínguez et al., 2010; Borgeaud-Garciandía and Lautier 2014; for Southern Asia, Elías, 2009; Mezzadri, 2016; Anwary, 2017). However, relocated industry also employs diversely disadvantaged workers within systems of age, race, and citizenship (Collins and Bilge, 2016). These systems of power intersect to produce social spaces of disadvantage for workers and privilege for managers and owners. This hierarchy is fed

by the symbolic construction of gender, internalised by both men and women. Thus, the ideal of the poor and racialised working woman is configured as disposable (Wright, 2006), and control over their bodies is legitimised (Salzinger, 2003; Matos, 2018). Ultimately, all of these factors contribute to the subordination of women in the global assembly line (Mezzadri, 2016). Nevertheless, we cannot forget that male workers also take part in this global workforce. In the case of the relocated industry in the Tanger-Tetouan-Al Hoceima region, men constitute almost 30% of the workforce (Fajardo, Soriano-Miras, and Trinidad, 2019).

We found some research that, recognising the feedback between patriarchy and the global labour market, has identified the potential for change in gender relations underlying women's employment in IR. Labrecque (2006) raises the possibility that the intersection that occurs in factories between global and local gender regimes may lead to the development of greater awareness of women's economic exploitation among men as they suffer similar exploitation themselves. In certain contexts, it has even been asserted that employment in garment factories has improved women's rights. In the case of Bangladesh, Anwary (2017) concluded that despite the low wages in the sector, employment can provide women with a greater level of relative autonomy: 'The factory work of women increased their decision-making abilities in the home. It critically challenged the hegemonic gender relations in Bangladesh' (1408).

In the case of Morocco, we find different studies that reveal the complexity of the debate, with factors supporting both positions. Nair (2003) asserts that unskilled women essentially have no other employment options but also that even skilled women find themselves with little room for manoeuvre due to family responsibilities or social pressures if they are single. The diversity of the labour force is reinforced by the

existence of jobs with different levels of formality: firms employ regular and irregular workers depending on changes in demand from consumers (Rossi, 2013). These differences also lead to diverse experiences among the workers themselves (Solís, 2010). In certain situations, it has been found that paid employment can mean some autonomy for Moroccan women. At the same time, it has also meant the perpetuation of gender roles through secondary mechanisms, such as the delegation of domestic tasks to the daughters of the women employed (Fuentes, 2019).

Intersectionality as Background

The scientific literature on intersectionality is quite extensive (Phoenix, 2006; Anthias, 2008; Choo and Ferree, 2010; Cho, Crenshaw, and McCall, 2013; Byrne, 2015; Collins and Bilge, 2016; Tariq and Syed, 2018) and its practical usefulness as an analytical tool has been shown, above all, in legal studies (Crenshaw, 1989; Carbado, 2013). The epistemological and methodological challenges it raises continue to be discussed (Christensen and Jensen, 2012; Bastia, 2014; Davis, 2020) but there is still not a sufficient body of empirical, interdisciplinary, and multi-situated research, the locus of this article., intersectionality is an approach that has been echoed by an increasing number of authors in different contexts, since its development in North America (Christensen and Jensen, 2012; Medina, 2014; Tariq and Syed, 2018). However, there are areas where research on intersectionality has been very limited; this is particularly the case in Northern Africa.

The origin of an academic approach to intersectionality lies in the institutionalisation of the realisation by African-American women activists in the 1960s and 70s that they ‘were simultaneously black *and* female *and* workers, [and] single-

focus lenses on social inequality left little space to address the complex social problems that they face' (Collins and Bilge, 2016, 3). Despite this clear origin in the intersection of gender and race, its expansion has led to the view that the 'most relevant intersections for specific groups or individuals at particular times and on particular issues' (Phoenix, 2006, 26) may vary. We understand the various categories of oppression 'as interconnected and interdependent, rather than as separate essentialist categories' (Bastia, 2014, 239).

Different approaches have been identified for conducting intersectional analysis. We follow a combination of two of the three types identified by McCall (2005): intracategorical and intercategorical. The former approach seeks to examine in depth the internal differences within a single category (e.g. the internal diversity of the social group constituted as 'man'). By intercategorical, we understand existing categories as a strategic tool for studying the unequal relationships between socially constituted groups (differences between men and women). We combine these approaches to examine the internal heterogeneity of each category and compare them to better understand how the assertion of one group's rights can be dependent on the rejection of the rights of others (Byrne, 2015).

Consequently, understanding gender as a relational category is crucial to this study. The inclusion of men as a subject of analysis in gender relations is key to problematising power relations and questioning doxic understandings of '*differences between and homogeneity within categories*' (Christensen and Jensen, 2012, 120). With this contribution, we hope to resolve certain problems in classic analyses of gender and to better account for the concept's relational and hierarchical aspects (Matos, 2018). Therefore, we begin with gender and class as categories of analysis that help us interpret

the internal diversity of workplaces and race as a global axis of inequality. In addition, we intend to make other intragroup differences visible, such as educational level, marital status, and place of birth.

Methods

The aim of this study is to analyse whether female employment in the context of industrial relocation in northern Morocco (as a complex system) allows progress in the construction of equality in the region. To this end, grounded theory was used as a methodological strategy for analysis. In its articulation, we find three clear positions: 1) the original position of Glaser and Strauss (1967), who argue that grounded theory is an inductive method of analysis in which the literature review is carried out at the end of the process to generate the emerging theory; 2) the position of Strauss and Corbin (1990) affirming that grounded theory can be used for a better understanding of a phenomenon already studied; and 3) the position of Charmaz and Thornberg (2021), who argue that the review of the theoretical and substantive literature on the research topic should take place before and during the research, but without taking the contents of the literature to be true or final statements.

There continues to be debate regarding when to conduct a literature review. Strauss himself has significantly changed his position on this issue (Weiner, 2007), while Glaser continues to argue that it should be done in the final stages of research. Charmaz (2014, 165) suggests that delaying the literature review can help researchers 'to avoid importing preconceived ideas and imposing them on [their] work'. Delaying the review encourages researchers to articulate their ideas, but also implies that it is naïve to view any researcher as a 'tabula rasa'.

Starting from this premise and taking into account the framework of the research carried outⁱⁱⁱ, we consider that conducting a literature review does not go against the articulation of grounded theory. On the contrary, it permits the development of theoretical sensitivity (McGhee, Marland and Atkinson, 2007) and ensures that the study has not been conducted previously (Chiovitti and Piran, 2003). Therefore, we subscribe to Dunne's (2010, 121) assertion: 'while the concerns articulated by Glaser and Strauss in 1967 continue to be valid, I believe that the call for abstinence from reading in the substantive area prior to data collection is a measure which is not only disproportionate but one which can detract from the overall quality of the research'. In short, our methodological positioning is to add empirical evidence to intersectional studies, given the scarce literature on equality in northern Morocco, linking it to the context of industrial relocation and adopting critical praxis.

To achieve this objective, the biographical interview was used as a data production technique for workers in the industrial sector of the Tanger-Tetouan-Al Hoceima region in the following sectors: automotive and aeronautics, call centres, garments, textiles, and others. Diversification of companies was a key criterion used to obtain a sample of maximum heterogeneity. The most common structure for the companies features a majority of manual workers and a minority (rarely more than ten) of supervisors and clerical workers. The vast majority of businesses have between 400 and 600 employees, although some companies have more than 1,000 employees, particularly in the automotive sector.

The main language of the interviews was *dāriya* (Moroccan Arabic), so the help of language assistants was necessary, which increased the difficulty of already complex fieldwork. Structural sampling and theoretical saturation criteria were used to select

participants, which facilitated the joint development of the data collection and analysis processes. In the first waves of the fieldwork, the sampling was open because we looked for situations that would provide information relevant to our object of study. After the analysis of the first interviews, when the outline of the emerging theory was delimited, the research was oriented towards specific informants who provided a greater variability of categories in the intersectional study: gender, age, level of studies, region of origin, professional category, and industrial sector. When the theoretical saturation of categories, dimensions, and properties was reached, an important indicator of sample diversity, the fieldwork was concluded, comprising 114 interviews with workers in relocated industry, as shown in Table 1.

[Insert Table 1 around here]

Throughout the fieldwork, we conducted an analytical process in three phases (Charmaz, 2014), which allowed us to recognise the structure in the data, as well as the emerging theory, for which the software Atlas.ti 8 was used. In the first phase, we initiated a process of open coding in which, through constant comparison of ‘incidents’^{iv}, we identified regularities and singularities in the workers’ accounts that allowed us to shape the intersectional analysis. In the second phase, we carried out a selective coding process in which the central category, ‘Intersectionality as a complex analytical system of social inequality in industrial relocation contexts’, was identified, after detecting the importance of qualifications, marital status, origin, and social context (see Table 3) in the construction of gender equality. In the third phase, theoretical coding allowed us to introduce concepts of a higher level of abstraction: (1) the model of separate spheres in dispute, (2) family as a structuring axis of everyday life, and (3) gender contradictions as a non-relational analytical category. The first focuses on the

role of gender in the relocated industry, the second refers to the importance of the family in relation to employment, and the third relates to the ways in which the contradictions of gender as a categorical label require the inclusion of other dimensions in the analysis of equality to complete the picture of industrial relocation as a complex system, as a step prior to the articulation of equality policies. The outline of the theory can be seen in Table 2.

[Insert Table 2 around here]

Findings

The Separate Spheres Model in Question

First, we outline the differences in the discourses on the intersection of gender and work. The main categories that shape individuals' discourses are their occupational status and what we have called the dimension of separate spheres^v. In terms of occupational status, there are differences between those with primary education and working in a low-skilled job (mainly in the garment industry) and those with secondary or higher education and working in a more skilled job (e.g. in the automotive industry). The narratives reveal a common idea, which is that work, or at least the type of work in this context, changes concepts about femininity: 'Work requires us to wear trousers and flat shoes, so women lose their femininity' (Safa, 27, university studies, manual worker, single). However, this incursion into masculinity is not always viewed as negative or problematic by women. When occupational status is high, women often see it as an opportunity: 'I liked getting a job that is considered one for men. [...] This job offers me the opportunity to be in contact with a lot of people. I found myself in a job where I could make decisions' (Firdeus, 35, university studies, skilled worker, single). In

higher-status jobs, it is more common to find values associated with ‘business feminism’, promoted by global corporations through training in corporate policy, regarded as *expert knowledge*. This process can shape the ways in which women view gender equality so that they are more in tune with the needs of global capital (Fodor, Glass, and Nagy, 2018). We can see, then, that positions with greater authority and responsibility, with autonomy and a supervisory role, are considered masculine.

The dimension of separate spheres is marked by marital status and experience in the relocated industry. This allows us to identify an important inter-group difference between men and women: the main reason why a woman should leave work is if she gets married. Thus, in the discursive space formed by low occupational status and being married (mainly occupied by men), tradition and social pressure act as the main factors against female work (outside the home): ‘a married woman working in a factory? [...] In the factory, people speak badly. No one in my family lets his wife work, no one, and if I let my wife work ... they will laugh at me’ (Abdelmalek, 28, primary school education, manual worker, engaged to be married). Some authors (Aixelá, 2000; Rosander, 2004; Hellio and Moreno, 2017) consider that the jobs in which many working women are engaged have low social recognition and a bad reputation, which can contribute to the rejection of female employment in some cases. By contrast, single men with high occupational status see the need for two salaries to maintain a household: ‘Currently, conditions do not favour the woman staying at home and not working’ (Aboubakr, 34, university studies, skilled worker, single). This is linked to the expectations created in higher positions closer to those of the global middle class.

For women who accumulate experience in relocated industries, difficult working conditions can be more important than traditional values in their decision to quit a job.

In the textile sector and in low-skilled positions, there is a sense of stagnation: ‘in the textile sector, we are not moving forward. It’s the same every day. In other sectors, they respect your working hours. You get paid more on public holidays. You have holidays. However, in those companies, they expect you to have a certain level of education, a diploma, and I have only studied up to primary school’ (Fatema, 30, primary school education, manual worker, single). These women are motivated to marry by their desire to have a better life. Among the alternatives the context offers, life as a housewife seems preferable to being a worker when the position is a manual one: ‘I don’t want him to help me [at home], I just want him to free me from waking up at 3.30 a.m. in order to go to work. I will wake up at 3.00 a.m. to prepare cakes for him’ (Amina, 37, secondary studies, manual worker, single).

This is connected to the patriarchal education of women, which, being based on the centrality of relationships and connections with other people, shapes their self-conception (Miller, 1986). Bouasria (2013) identified, in the case of Casablanca, that some women workers cling to their roles through their practices (appropriation of the domestic sphere, aspiration to male care, etc.) and seek an alternative way of self-fulfilment given the precarious and unstable nature of their labour. Thus, we should avoid reading this as a lack of agency. Instead, we find a more relevant reading under the prism of agency as ‘a capacity for action that historically specific relations of subordination enable and create’ (Mahmood, 2001, 203). In light of this, it is important to mention that marriage effectively acts as an element of security in Moroccan culture (Aixelá, 2000): ‘There is no girl who does not want to marry. On the contrary, marriage is protection’ (Aixa, 27, primary school education, manual worker, single).

Despite this widespread belief, we find that some women continue to have the desire to work; this is the case for those employed in skilled positions. In addition, not all of them think of marrying: 'I don't think about getting married right now. That is, I need to work and I want to be educated. It will happen later ... and if it does not, well ... (laughter)' (Yasmine, 24, university studies, manual worker, single). This conceptual category code permits us to assert that it is important to consider gender and occupational status simultaneously, since both a better job and having little work experience can lead to the rupturing of the model of separate spheres. Occupational status is clearly related to social class. In this sense, the relocated industry collaborates with the questioning of some roles without this meaning a structural change in the relationship of subordination marked by different intersectional positions.

The progressive normalisation of women's employment outside the home is clear from the fact that very few of the interviewees' mothers worked outside the home. Thus, we can point to a generational change. In response to being asked whether her parents encouraged her to work, one interviewee said 'No, no, they didn't encourage me specifically, because the job is in clothing, and in a factory. It's the first time. I am the first girl in the family to learn to sew and the first to work in a factory' (Mariam, 24, primary school education, manual worker, single). However, although we can speak of a clear trend towards the breakdown of the model of the male breadwinner (Ribas-Mateos, 2016), women's work is still often seen as an addition to men's wages. According to this perspective, women's work is necessary only in some cases, normally until the nuclear family has become stable. This is affected by the fact that the cost of living in the Tangier region has increased considerably. According to the Haut

Commissariat au Plan, the Consumer Price Index for food and clothes in 2017 was 27.4% and 34.8% higher, respectively, than in 2006.

Family as a Structuring Axis of Everyday Life

This process leads us to the second set of codes analysed: *family as a structuring axis of everyday life*. We identified two dimensions that play a role in this category: origin and the family of reference. Origin refers to the divide between ‘the South’ of the country and the Tanger-Tetouan-Al Hoceima region. Our analysis of family allows us to group adult married men living with their nuclear family on one side and young, single women coming from the South and living with relatives, friends, or alone on the other. We obtained valuable information when asking who the beneficiaries of the paid work were, that is, whether the individual was working to support their family of origin or support their family of procreation. Figure 1 provides an illustration of the positioning of the categories.

[Insert Figure 1 here]

In the case of those working to help their parents, the family of origin is generally located in the South, and working in a factory is an act internal migration made as a familial strategy. Here, marital status ranks higher than gender. Our analysis reinforces the position of Rosander (2004) that marital status is, after class, the most important axis of inequality affecting women in Morocco. Both single women and men end their formal educations in order to help their parents maintain the home or decide not to migrate because of the need to provide care. Gender differences start to emerge

through the family of reference; even though only single people refer to sending remittances^{vi}, women do it much more often than men. Along the same lines, we see that difficulties in getting married maintain the centrality of the family of origin: ‘If I had job opportunities in Fez ... I could help my parents more ... In addition, at this age, people think about ensuring their future and having children, and not just in working hard and without a future’ (Salma, 20, secondary studies, manual worker, single).

These difficulties are shared by men and women since men also feel the tension between the instability of jobs and marriage as a pressure: ‘the economic conditions are a bit hard ... I think of first earning enough; then I will see about getting married’ (Aziz, 29, primary school education, manual worker, single). Nevertheless, in our sample, a larger proportion of men were married than women, and an orientation toward economically supporting one’s family of procreation was more commonly found among adult males: ‘When I wake up, I go to work, and I forget about everything. I just focus on work. I think of my children and my home only when the bell rings and I leave work. I arrive home, I pray, I rest for a while, and I go to the gym. I come back home. We have dinner and I play a bit with the children, and then I go to sleep. The next day, more of the same’ (Zakariyae, 38, secondary studies, skilled worker, married). This statement illustrates the complementarity of spheres, as we see that the interviewee does not mention his spouse when describing his day or domestic chores; the children do appear, but the care offered them is ludic. In his own description of his thought processes, we also see that the greater facility men have in focusing on paid work. In the case of women, we found a dual presence^{vii} (Ruíz et al., 2017). Instead of ‘forgetting everything’, women are thinking about the house and the children as well. In other

words, they are often expected to comply with both personal and professional roles, sometimes leading to a work-life imbalance (Lekchiri and Eversole, 2020).

Through the family, we see how gender does not act alone; marital status, origin, and age shape how family is incorporated into the process of production. We see mainly adult men working for their families of procreation and young women working for their families of origin located in depressed areas of the country. Both share the centrality of the family in their motives for working in the relocated industry, but for different types of family and in different locations. In the case of the agri-food sector in another region of northern Morocco (the Rif), this profile of single women working in the relocated industry has also been identified as a transition to married life (Hellio and Moreno, 2017). On the one hand, the relocated industry provides a livelihood for nuclear families with the male breadwinner as the main provider, which does not change gender relations. On the other hand, there has been a change among young, single women, for whom migration to cities provides entry to the public, labour, and residential spheres (Sadiqi and Ennaji, 2006). However, this change does not necessarily imply upward social mobility, insofar as global logics impose themselves on local ones.

The Contradictions of Gender as a Non-relational Analytical Category

Challenging and maintaining existing gender relationships are not necessarily mutually exclusive; rather, gender 'can be done, undone and redone in complex ways with conflicting implications, depending on context' (Pruitt, 2018, 155). In this light, gender can act as both an element of freedom and of coercion in a manner akin to the paradox of subjectivity (Mahmood, 2001), which is the idea that culture shapes subjects in a way that provides them with elements to survive and tools to understand their

context at the same time that it exerts control over them. The way in which the discourses are distributed is largely explained by the variables of occupational status, following differentiation by social class, and whether the subjects are living independently of their parents. This means that we find similar discourses among those with higher education levels and higher job positions and among those with low or primary school education levels and low-skilled or unskilled factory positions. We also found differences between those who still live with their families of origin and those who live in other situations.

Leaving the parental home is associated with a less-gendered division of tasks. When living with relatives or friends, housework is typically more or less equally distributed, and a considerable proportion of married couples regard themselves as a team that shares the housework. One of the profiles that emerged was that of women with a low education level and low occupational status at a mid-way point in the transition toward emancipation from their family of origin. These women described their families as having a gendered division of tasks; decisions were made by the father, and routine household tasks were carried out by the mother. However, in their own homes, the distribution of tasks was less gendered because they lived in same-sex households. This group constitutes an important part of the reserve army. The absence of children makes it easier for them to adapt to the intensive and rotational rhythms of the relocated industry (Hellio and Moreno, 2017). The family of reference is far away and they are single, so the pressure to send remittances is greater (Nair, 2003).

Through this code, we identified another position of great importance: men with university studies living with their parents in urban areas in the Tanger-Tetouan-Al Hoceima region. These men were able to extend their period of education as a result of

living with their parents. None of them worked in the garment industry, and they had a higher occupational status. For example, those working in call centres were required to know the languages of the countries that subcontracted the service (French or Spanish). The structure of families with this profile tends to follow a pattern of mothers doing the cooking and cleaning and fathers making so-called 'important decisions'. However, when the father was absent (deceased or for other reasons), the work tends to be more shared. These young men may start to conceive of themselves as *breadsharers* (Reid, 2018): they are single, but due to the unfavourable conditions of living on only one salary, they envision a more equal distribution of tasks in the future, including childcare. When asked whether he or his wife would raise the children, one respondent said 'Both. Both. Because eh ... the mother gives love, and the father, I don't know, he gives ... he gives something (laughter)' (Anas, 27, university studies, manual worker, single). In this context, the 'two-earner' model^{viii} hybridises with the Islamic tradition, in which the community and family have considerable weight (Mernissi, 2016).

In general, at the same time that women are expected to *help* men by earning income, given the high cost of living in the city, men might be expected to *help* women with the housework. In short, there is a clear predominance of women (wives, mothers, sisters, mothers-in-law, and domestic workers) doing the cleaning and cooking. The influence of globalisation means that *providing* is becoming increasingly mediated by cash derived from participation in the labour force (Bernard, 1981). In this way, men and women experience 'a clash between an essentially tribal superstructure and a production system whose economic logic was alien to the traditional communal mode' (Sadiqi and Ennaji, 2006, 94). We can clearly see how the intersection between gender and class also determines the ease of combining work outside and inside the home, as

also identified by Constantinidis et al. (2019), such as through the hiring of domestic workers.

Men were more involved in decisions related to children and money. While everyday care was the responsibility of women, the responsibility for the education of children was shared. When asked about decisions related to money, there was a division between buying food and larger purchases, such as a car or a house; the latter decisions were made by men: ‘I take charge of the big expenses and my wife of the little’ (Mohamed, 37, secondary studies, skilled worker, married). This part of the analysis is relevant because, in line with Najjar et al. (2019), it highlights the need not only to create jobs but also to pay attention to gender equity in decision making around asset ownership and income. The relocated industry becomes a labour niche that fosters new living situations; it offers a transition period between the family of origin and the family of procreation, taking the different forms we have seen in this section.

[Insert Table 3 around here]

6. Conclusion

Here, we give shape to our central category: ‘intersectionality as a complex analytical system of social inequality in industrial relocation contexts’. An intersectional perspective is shown to be a good framework for shedding light on the global labour market because it permits us to take into account the heterogeneity and complexity of the labour force. The main axes that intersect with gender are occupational status, marital status, and the status of internal migrant or a native to the region. All of these dimensions are defined by social context. Concretely, we are referring to the qualifications necessary to access specific jobs, the link between marital status and

living situation, and inter-regional differences within the country. There are also intra-regional differences that contribute to inequality; in the region analysed, the illiteracy rate in rural areas is twice that of urban areas. Working in the relocated industry, especially for women, is linked to the rising cost of living, which in turn is linked to the country's inclusion in the global economy.

For women, experience in relocated industries can have two different dynamics: On the one hand, there is a push factor, especially when experience is accumulated in unskilled positions, in which the working conditions are precarious. This suggests that women of low occupational status work in the relocated industries because there are not many other options, and marriage is a possible liberation from working in such hard conditions. On the other hand, adopting masculine roles and ascending in the hierarchy is an pull factor that favours continued employment. This is reinforced by occupational status, meaning that women's employment in relocated industries is seen as positive when they have a better job position.

Thus, the inequalities created by industrial relocation generate certain advantageous positions that feed the ideal of feminine emancipation through economic emancipation. In contrast, unskilled positions are mainly held by women who come from the South or rural areas and who are young and single. They often live with relatives or friends, who are also women, and work in factories in the relocated industries. Where the women come from and share their income with are the variables that shape the way in which they experience their employment in the relocated industry. It is also important to highlight the existence of solidarity networks, particularly when living with other women in the same situation.

Summarising the third Basic Social Process identified, we were able to observe the large-scale implementation of the separate spheres model. The narrative that supports this model, that is, that of a single male provider, is related to tradition or harsh conditions, depending on gender and job position. However, we also see how certain changes in material conditions provoke a change at the symbolic level. This change can be seen, above all, among men in Tangier-Tetouan-Al Hoceima with higher-skilled jobs, whose description of the current division in their families reflects a more traditional allocation of roles: women doing the cooking and cleaning and men having greater weight in decision making. Nevertheless, they imagine themselves in the future adopting a different model, and ideals of a less-gendered division of tasks have begun to appear. Industrial relocation and its associated processes help to spread the ‘two breadwinners’ model; consequently we begin to see this as one of the more common forms of family organisation. Therefore, we see from the analysis that, for both men and women, having a better job is a key element in a greater sharing of tasks outside and inside the household. This means that we cannot lose sight of social class when analysing possible changes in gender relations. In this way, we have applied intra- and intercategory analyses focusing on intersectional dynamics that allow us to better understand how power and inequality operate in this context. It is crucial that gender be understood as a relational category, mediated by other identity situations, such as those analysed in the article, an intersectional reading being the ideal one for a complex system.

There is a clear generational change in women’s access to employment, in which industrial relocation plays a role. However, through intersectionality, we can see that this change does not always imply a social upgrading. Exploitation in factories leads to

a change in living conditions that is not an improvement but a structural readjustment, which means that the lower positions are still occupied by less privileged people. This means that the new reorganisation of spaces does not imply more equality. This change has been constructed over traditional identities, leading to diverse individual situations. An intersectional perspective on the factory permits us to identify two profiles located at opposite poles in terms of privilege and access to resources: married men with middle to high occupational status and born in Tanger or Tetouan, and single women with low occupational status born in depressed areas of the country. Thus, occupational status acts as a social class dimension, an axis, along with gender, through which the relocated industries reproduce existing inequalities. The importance of occupational status in all code families allows us to affirm that only when labour rights are respected can we speak of gender equality. However, in the current situation, we can answer our research question by indicating that although industrial relocation has not brought about real equality, it does allow us to explore new realities that contribute to such equality. Intersectionality is a useful framework for complexifying gender relations beyond the binary distinction between male and female. We cannot forget that women in skilled jobs have some advantages over men in more precarious jobs.

In short, in the study of gender relationships in the relocated industries of Morocco, it is crucial to consider the simultaneous interactions between gender, marital status, occupational status, and origin. The way these dimensions intersect helps to create a reserve army that aids in maintaining the patriarchal system, which is functional for the global networks of capitalism. Certain disagreements in the literature could be resolved through the application of an intersectional perspective, given that seeing gender in relation to other axes provides a greater understanding of diverse situations

and possibilities. The level of precariousness is tolerable because we are talking about a country in the Global South. In addition to the aforementioned axes of inequality, this phenomenon is likely to be sustained over time because of the existence of neo-colonial networks that encourage corruption in the Moroccan state. The crossroads at which this state finds itself are not easy to negotiate because it must seek the sympathy of its citizens and that of multinational companies. IR is the result of trying to combine the provision of vital opportunities for the population with the promise of flexible regulation made to the companies. Meanwhile, the state also seeks to maintain its own privileges. This is especially relevant in the North of the country, as it has historically been a more neglected region by the central administration. Gender inequalities in this web of power are far from disappearing.

Funding information

This work was supported by Project P20_00343 financed by the Regional Ministry of University, Research and Innovation of the Junta de Andalucía and by FEDER.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

Notes on contributors

Rocío Fajardo Fernández has held a Ph.D. in the Social Sciences since 2022. Her thesis was titled *The Intersectionality of Relocated Industry in Morocco*. After four years as a pre-doctoral fellow in Granada, she began a tour of Andalusia. She started working at the University of Seville and is now settled at the University of Huelva, where she has had the good fortune to teach on her research interests: gender and migration. Among her most important publications are ‘La construcción mediática de la migración en el Mediterráneo: ¿no-ciudadanía en la prensa española? [Media construction of migration

in the Mediterranean Sea: Non-citizenship in the Spanish press?]' (doi:10.25115/riem.v6i1.419) and the book chapter 'The deindustrialisation of textiles in southern Europe: From the perspective of gender' (doi:10.4337/9781789901436.00019).

Rosa M. Soriano-Miras holds a Ph.D. in Sociology and a degree in Political Science and Sociology from the University of Granada (Spain). She is also a member of the Institute of Migration. Her latest publications include 'Desarrollo industrial, trabajo y migración: el caso del norte de Marruecos [Industrial development, labour and migration: The case of northern Morocco]' ([doi:10.22325/fes/res.2022.89](https://doi.org/10.22325/fes/res.2022.89)) and 'International comparison of the evolution of sociological research topics in two indexed journals (1995–2018)' (doi:10.5477/cis/reis.175.145). Since 1996, she has been Professor in the Faculty of Political Sciences and Sociology at the University of Granada. Her main fields of research are Migration, Gender, and the Sociology of Globalisation. She is also a member of the SEJ 129 Research Group: Social Problems in Andalusia.

Antonio Trinidad Requena holds a Ph.D. in Sociology and a degree in Education from the University of Granada. His most recent publications include 'Border and no-border labour markets in Mexico, 2000–2010' (<https://doi.org/10.21670/ref.1811011>) and 'La capacidad predictiva en el rendimiento escolar del capital económico y cultural de las familias del estudiantado en España y Marruecos [The economic and cultural capitals of families as predictors of student performance in Spain and Morocco]' (doi.org:10.15366/reim2020.29.010). He is Professor in the Department of Sociology at the University of Granada. He has recently been Dean in the Faculty of Political Sciences and Sociology at the same university.

Notes

ⁱ The stock of foreign direct investment went from 8.842 billion dollars in 2000 to 72.94 billion in 2021 (UNCTAD, 2022).

ⁱⁱ Al Hoceima was annexed to the region in 2015. However, it is important to mention that (1) the bulk of our fieldwork was carried out in the period 2011–2014, prior to such incorporation and (2) the province of Al Hoceima has not benefited in the same way from state investment.

ⁱⁱⁱ These interviews are part of the research project ‘Re-constructing the field’: Reconceptualising the relationship between migration and industrial relocation in non-border regions of Morocco and Mexico, funded by the National Research Plan of Spain’s Ministry of Science and Innovation (CSO-2013-40646).

^{iv} Incidents in grounded theory are defined as a part of the content that the researcher isolates and separates because it contains one of the symbols, key words, or themes considered relevant to the data itself (Glaser, 1998).

^v This refers to the model defined by Fraser (2016) consisting of the institutionalisation, mainly during the 19th century, of a gendered division between ‘productive work’ and ‘reproductive work’. The former is the sphere of men and has economic recognition, while the latter is the sphere of women, paid with ‘the coin of “love” and “virtue”’. To be viable, this model requires this gendered division of spaces and that the wage received by the man is sufficient to support the whole family.

^{vi} Although the term ‘remittance’ usually refers to sending money back home in international migration, here we use it to refer to economic collaboration with households in the regions of origin.

^{vii} This concept refers to the fact that ‘during paid work time, the individual must manage his or her domestic responsibilities and, during private time, must organize or otherwise manage his or her professional responsibilities’ (Ruíz et al., 2017, p. 35).

^{viii} This model is related to women’s incorporation into regulated, paid employment, where the two adult members of a household work outside (Fraser, 2016). It also has been referred to as breadsharing (Reid, 2018).

ORCID

Rocío Fajardo Fernández ORCID 0000-0002-8300-2110

Rosa M. Soriano-Miras ORCID 0000-0001-8296-2382

Antonio Trinidad Requena ORCID 0000-0002-3075-0983

Bibliography

Aixelá, Yolanda. 2000. *Mujeres en Marruecos*. Barcelona: Bellaterra

Anthias, Floya. 2008. "Thinking Through the Lens of Translocational Positionality". *Translocations* 4: 5-20.

Anwary, Afroza. 2017. "Globalization, Women Factory Workers of Bangladesh and their Autonomy". *Multidisciplinary Journal of Gender Studies* 6: 1389-1413. doi:[10.17583/generos.2017.2621](https://doi.org/10.17583/generos.2017.2621)

Bastia, Tanja. 2014. "Intersectionality, Migration and Development". *Progress in Development Studies* 14: 237-248. doi:[10.1177/1464993414521330](https://doi.org/10.1177/1464993414521330)

Benería, Lourdes, Günseli Berik, and Maria Floro. 2016. *Gender, Development, and Globalization*. New York: Routledge.

Bernard, Jessie. 1981. "The Good-provider Role." *American Psychologist* 36 (1): 1-12. doi:[10.1037/0003-066x.36.1.1](https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066x.36.1.1)

Bouasria, Leila. 2013. *Les Ouvrières Marocaines en Mouvement*. Paris: L'Harmattan.

Borgeaud-Garciandía, Natacha, and Bruno Lautier. 2014. "La personalización de la relación de dominación laboral." *Revista Mexicana de Sociología* 76 (1): 89-113. doi:[10.22201/iis.01882503p.2014.1](https://doi.org/10.22201/iis.01882503p.2014.1)

Byrne, Bridget. 2015. "Rethinking Intersectionality and Whiteness at the Borders of Citizenship." *Sociological Research Online* 20 (3): 178-189. doi:[10.5153/sro.3790](https://doi.org/10.5153/sro.3790)

Carbado, Devon. 2013. "Colorblind Intersectionality." *Signs* 38 (4): 811-845. doi:10.1086/669666

Charmaz, Kathy. 2014. *Constructing Grounded Theory*. Londres: Sage.

Charmaz, Kathy and Robert Thornberg. 2021. "The pursuit of quality in grounded theory." *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 18 (3): 305-327. doi:[10.1080/14780887.2020.1780357](https://doi.org/10.1080/14780887.2020.1780357)

- Chiovitti, Rosalina, and Niva Piran. 2003. "Rigour and grounded theory research." *Journal of Advanced Nursing* 44 (4): 427–435. [doi:10.1046/j.0309-2402.2003.02822.x](https://doi.org/10.1046/j.0309-2402.2003.02822.x)
- Cho, Sumi, Kimberlé Crenshaw, and Leslie McCall. 2013. "Toward a Field of Intersectionality Studies." *Signs* 38, 785-810: [doi:10.1086/669608](https://doi.org/10.1086/669608)
- Choo, Hae, and Myra Ferree. 2010. "Practicing Intersectionality in Sociological Research." *Sociological Theory* 28 (2): 129–149: [doi:10.1111/j.1467-9558.2010.01370.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9558.2010.01370.x)
- Christensen, Ann-Dorte and Sune Jensen. 2012. "Doing Intersectional Analysis." *NORA* 20 (2): 109-125. [doi:10.1080/08038740.2012.673505](https://doi.org/10.1080/08038740.2012.673505)
- Clark, Janine. 2018. *Local politics in Jordan and Morocco*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Collins, Patricia and Bilge, Silma. 2016. *Intersectionality*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Constantinidis, Christina, Typhaine Lebègue, Manal El Abboubi, and Noura Salman. 2019. "How Families Shape Women's Entrepreneurial Success in Morocco." *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research* 25 (8): 1786-1808. [doi:10.1108/IJEBR-12-2017-0501](https://doi.org/10.1108/IJEBR-12-2017-0501)
- Crenshaw, Kimberlé. 1989. "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex." *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 8: 139-67.
- Davis, Kathy. 2020. "Who Owns Intersectionality?" *European Journal of Women's Studies* 27 (2): 113-127. [doi:10.1177/1350506819892659](https://doi.org/10.1177/1350506819892659)
- Domínguez, Edmé, Rosalba Icaza, Cirila Quintero, Silvia López, and Åsa Stenman. (2010). "Women Workers in the Maquiladoras and the Debate on Global Labor Standards." *Feminist Economics* 16:185-209. [doi:10.1080/13545701.2010.530603](https://doi.org/10.1080/13545701.2010.530603)
- Dunne, Ciarán. 2011. "The place of the literature review in grounded theory research." *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 14 (2): 111-124, [doi:10.1080/13645579.2010.494930](https://doi.org/10.1080/13645579.2010.494930)
- Dutta, Madhumita. 2019. "Becoming Factory Workers." *Gender, Place and Culture* 26 (6): 888-904. [doi:10.1080/0966369X.2018.1552557](https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2018.1552557)
- Elías, Juanita. 2009. Gendering Liberalisation and Labour Reform in Malaysia. *Third World Quarterly* 30 (3): 469-483. [doi:10.1080/01436590902742263](https://doi.org/10.1080/01436590902742263)
- Fajardo, Rocío, Rosa Soriano-Miras, and Antonio Trinidad. 2019. "Intersectionality Applied to the Study of Global Economy." *Third World Thematics* 4 (1): 44-62. [doi:10.1080/23802014.2019.1622441](https://doi.org/10.1080/23802014.2019.1622441)
- Fraser, Nancy. 2016. Contradictions of Capital and Care. *New Left Review* 100: 99–117.

- Fodor, Éva, Christy Glass, and Beáta Nagy. 2018. "Transnational Business Feminism." *Gender, Work and Organization* 26 (8):1-21. [doi:10.1111/gwao.12302](https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12302)
- Fuentes, Cristina. 2019. *La situación de las mujeres porteadoras en la frontera sudeuropea*. Madrid: CIS.
- Glaser, Barney. 1998. *Doing Grounded Theory*. Sociology Press: California.
- Glaser, Barney and Anselm Strauss. 1967. *The discovery of grounded theory*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Harb, Mona, and Sami Atallah. 2015. *Local Governments and Public Good*. Beirut: The Lebanese Center for Policy Studies.
- Hellio, Emmanuelle and Moreno, Juana. 2017. "Contrataciones en origen, deslocalización productiva y feminización del trabajo en la fresicultura del norte de Marruecos y el sur de España." *Revista Navegar* 5 (3): 21-46.
- Labrecque, Marie-France. 2006. "De ama de casa a obrera." *Papeles de Población* 12 (49): 127-152.
- Lekchiri, Siham, and Barbara Eversole. 2021. "Perceived work-life balance." *Human Resource Development Quarterly* 32 (1): 35-53. doi:10.1002/hrdq.21407
- Mahmood, Saba. 2001. "Feminist Theory, Embodiment, and the Docile Agent". *Cultural Anthropology* 16 (2): 202-236.
- Matos, Patrícia. 2018. "Precarity, Gender Capital and Structures of (Dis)Empowerment in the Neoliberal Service Economy." In *Gender, Work and Migration*, edited by Megha Amrith and Nina Sahraoui, 158–173. London: Routledge.
- McCall, Leslie. 2005. "The Complexity of Intersectionality." *Signs* 30 (3): 1771-1800. [doi:10.1086/426800](https://doi.org/10.1086/426800)
- McGhee, Gerry, Glenn Marland, and Jacqueline Atkinson. 2007. "Grounded theory research." *Journal of Advanced Nursing* 60 (3): 334–342. [doi:10.1111/j.1365-2648.2007.04436.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2648.2007.04436.x)
- Medina, Rocío. 2014. "Mujeres Saharauis, Colonialidad del Género y Nacionalismos." *Relaciones Internacionales*, 27, 13-35.
- Mernissi, Fatema. 2016. "El sueño Casablanca." *Andamios*, 13 (30): 261-270.
- Mezzadri, Alessandra. 2016. "Class, Gender and the Sweatshop." *Third World Quarterly*, 37 (10): 1877-1900. [doi:10.1080/01436597.2016.1180239](https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2016.1180239)
- Miller, Jean. 1986. *Toward a new Psychology of Women*. Boston: Beacon Press.

- Moroccan Investment Development Agency. *Why Morocco*. Accessed April 30, 2020. <http://www.invest.gov.ma/?Id=3andlang=en>
- Nair, Nadia. 2003. "Globalisation, délocalisation des entreprises et travail des femmes." *Reflets* 9: 22-52. [doi:10.7202/010861ar](https://doi.org/10.7202/010861ar)
- Najjar, Dina, Boubaker Dhehibi, Bipasha Baruah, Aden Aw-Hassan, and Bentaibi Abderrahim. 2019. *Wage Work, Women and Decision-making Power in Saiss Morocco*. Beirut: ICARDA.
- Pruitt, Allison-Scott. 2018. "Redoing Gender." *Gender, Work and Organization* 25 (2): 144-158. [doi:10.1111/gwao.12203](https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12203)
- Phoenix, Ann. 2006. "Interrogating Intersectionality". *Kvinder, Køn and Forskning* 15 (2-3): 21-30. [doi:10.7146/kkf.v0i2-3.28082](https://doi.org/10.7146/kkf.v0i2-3.28082)
- Regional Centre of Tangier Investment. Accessed September 20, 2022. <https://investangier.com/>
- Reid, Erin. 2018. "Straying from Breadwinning". *Gender, Work and Organization* 25 (6): 718-733. [doi:10.1111/gwao.12265](https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12265)
- Ribas-Mateos, Natalia. 2016. "Global Borders: A Gender Interpretation". In *Gender Transitions Along Borders*, edited by Marlene Solís, 15-30. New York: Routledge.
- Rosander, Eva 2004. *Mujeres en la frontera*. Barcelona: Bellaterra.
- Rossi, Arianna. 2013. "Does Economic Upgrading Lead to Social Upgrading in Global Production Networks?" *World Development* 46: 223-233. [doi:10.1016/j.worlddev.2013.02.002](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2013.02.002)
- Ruíz-López, Paulina, Paúl Pullas-Tapia, Christina Parra-Parra, and Ruth Zamora-Sánchez, 2017. "La doble presencia en las trabajadoras femeninas." *Revista de Comunicación de la SEECI* 44: 33-51. [doi:10.15198/seeci.2017.44.33-51](https://doi.org/10.15198/seeci.2017.44.33-51)
- Sadiqi, Fatema y Moha Ennaji. 2006. "The Feminization of Public Space." *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 2 (2): 86-114. [doi:10.2979/MEW.2006.2.2.86](https://doi.org/10.2979/MEW.2006.2.2.86)
- Salzinger, Leslie. 2003. *Genders in production*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Solís, Marlene. 2010. "La construcción simbólica de un mercado de trabajo feminizado en la ciudad de Tánger." *Frontera Norte* 22 (43): 55-80.
- Strauss, Anselm and Juliet Corbin. 1990. *Basics of qualitative research*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Tariq, Memoona, and Jawad Syed. 2018. "An Intersectional Perspective on Muslim Women's Issues and Experiences in Employment." *Gender, Work and Organization* 25 (5): 495-513. [doi:10.1111/gwao.12256](https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12256)

UNIDO (United Nations Industrial Development Organization) 2016. *Industrialization in Africa and Least Developed Countries*. Accessed April 30, 2020. http://www.unido.org/fileadmin/user_media_upgrade/Worldwide/G20_new_UNIDO_report_industrialization_in_Africa_and_LDCs.pdf

UNCTAD (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development) 2019. *Review of maritime transport 2019*. Accessed April 30, 2020. https://unctad.org/en/PublicationsLibrary/rmt2019_en.pdf

UNCTAD (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development) 2022. *World Investment Report 2022*. Accessed September 14, 2022. https://unctad.org/system/files/official-document/wir2022_en.pdf

Vollmann, Erik, Miriam Bohn, Roland Sturm, and Thomas Demmelhuber. 2022. "Decentralisation as authoritarian upgrading?" *The Journal of North African Studies* 27 (2): 362-393. doi:[10.1080/13629387.2020.1787837](https://doi.org/10.1080/13629387.2020.1787837)

Wiener, Carolyn. 2007. "Making teams work in conducting grounded theory." In *The SAGE handbook of grounded theory*, edited by Antony Bryant and Kathy Charmaz, 293–310. London: Sage.

Wright, Melissa 2006. *Disposable Women and Other Myths of Global Capitalism*. London: Routledge.

Table 1. Sample description

	Automotive		Textile		Others		Total
	♀	♂	♀	♂	♀	♂	
Studies							
Primary or less	4	3	18	15	1	8	49
Secondary	6	2	3	12	5	9	37
University	8	5		6	2	7	28
Total	18	10	21	33	8	24	114
Local	0	6	6	12	2	12	38
Rural areas of the region	2	0	8	8	2	5	25
The South	16	4	7	13	4	7	51
Total	18	10	21	33	8	24	114

Source: By authors.

Table 2. The emergence of the central category

<p>1. The separate spheres model in question</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Factory and household as complementary spaces of gender differences - Occupational status as key to group heterogeneity - Masculine model as pattern to follow in the factory - Textiles identified as a feminised sector - Marriage as an alternative to paid employment - Cracks in the model of separate spheres - Instability of women's employment 	<p>2. Family as a structuring axis of everyday life</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The influence of the family in decision making - The intersections of marital status, origin, and age - Internal migration: the link between family of origin and the factory - Beneficiaries of earnings: family of procreation or family of origin? - Men living in nuclear family and women with relatives or friends - The strong relationship between sending remittances and being single - Family space as an expression of identity 	<p>3. The contradictions of gender as a non-relational analytical category</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Women's wages: complement to the primary breadwinner - Living with parents permitting the educational period to be expanded - Women's paid employment versus unpaid domestic work - Civil state, educational level, and occupational profile: explanatory dimensions in the division of tasks - The model for coexistence in the home shaping the division of labour by gender - Towards a model of two breadwinners
<p>Central category: Intersectionality as a complex analytical system of social inequality in the context of industrial relocation</p>		

Table 3. Gender interacting axes

Age	<p>In women, age has an influence through fatigue after years of work and, in the case of young women, intersects with marital status (single) and origin (depressed areas), creating more exploitable subjects.</p> <p>In men, it represents some generational change, namely, a trend towards the model of breadsharing in young men.</p>
Qualifications	<p>Can help in the construction of equality by offering better conditions when qualifications are higher. On the other hand, they can turn marriage into a liberation from the hostility of the factory. For both genders, more qualifications generally mean more agreement with female employment, either because of the conditions of the job or because of the proximity to middle-class values.</p>
Marital status	<p>As marriage means protection in Morocco, it can be related to privilege. Nevertheless, the combination of the roles of housewife and worker is conflicting. Being single means more economic pressure from the family of origin.</p>
Origin	<p>For both genders, this represents a cost of migration, as this is normally a family project.</p>
Social context	<p>Politics determines the way physical space and geographical space are understood and organised. Analysing the intersecting axes in the configuration of industrial relocation allows us to consider global processes with greater accuracy and thus advance the recognition of equality.</p>

Figure 1: Family as a structuring axis of everyday life

Alt text: Visual representation of the family as the organising axis of everyday life according to different social situations.