

1. Introduction

In this introductory section, an outline will be described on why it is important to acknowledge issues that touch upon illegality, here in the sense of illegal immigrants. This case study is going to present some facts to why people decide to move, from Morocco, and why they tend to leave, for Spain. Our main focus is on the illegal ways that the immigrants use to accomplish their mission to a new life in a new country. We have stapled up our aim, purpose and our hypothesis, where we assume that these illegal Moroccans risk too much to enter Spain, and to find out if it was worth the risk or not and if the expectations of Spain lived up to their pre-thoughts.

For many years now, illegal immigrants have been on the agenda. We look at different documentaries about it, in TV news, newspapers etc. But what we actually see is a guess of the numbers of the illegal immigrants and not the actual amount. Why that is can depend on many things, such as the lack of knowledge about the ways that the illegal immigrant uses to achieve their goal, in this case, the goal for a better life. One forgets to bring up, how the illegal immigrants risk their lives in order to cross the border and start a new life in a new country. Our aim with this paper is to investigate issues that touch upon illegal immigrants and about how illegal immigrants are treated once they have reached their destination country. The illegal immigrants that we refer to and are focusing on are the ones from the African continent, in this case, Morocco to Spain. One can discuss why Spain is in focus for the Moroccans that want to cross their borders, and why the Moroccans want to leave their home. Most importantly, does the reality live up to the expectations for these Moroccans; is it worth risking one's life for? Initially, what are the factors that push them away from their country and what is pulling them to Spain. Spain is obviously one of the destination countries that many of the African countries are aiming for, and that can depend on the former colonies that Spain had over some of the African countries. Even though Spain was a weak coloniser it still had a huge impact on some of the African countries that were under the rule of Spain, such as Morocco, Guinea¹. Although France colonized the larger part of Morocco, Spain still had influence over some parts. Another reason is that Spain is the actual key to Europe, since geographically speaking Spain is the country, which links the African continent to the European one, *once you have laid your foot inside Spain, you have your foot inside the rest*

¹ Peter J. Schraeder, *African Politics and Society*, 2000:96

*within the European Union*². In other words, Spain is seen as a land of opportunity for the ones who want to improve their living standards. This is why the migration perspective is high up on the agenda within the European Union, since it also affects the rest of the countries in the EU. They are trying to strengthen their co-operation in the fight at keeping *unwanted aliens* out. Not surprisingly then, Spain has a lot of pressure regarding its migration policy due to being the linking country between Africa and Europe. As a form of prevention, there is an electric wall, in Ceuta and Melilla, that guards Spain's borders in Morocco. This has shown its ineffectiveness, and that it costs the EU a lot of capital resources and also the tragedy of people dying trying to swim over the borders.

1.1 Aim, research questions and hypothesis

After this wave of media attention, we were anxious to know more about the situation and of the causes that lies behind this decision to migrate. Our purpose is to investigate the movement of the illegal immigrant from Africa, with focus on the ones who migrate from Morocco to Madrid, Spain. By movement we mean, how the illegal immigrant crosses the borders. In order to come about our work and reach our conclusions, we have formulated the following research questions:

- What are the reasons for leaving and what are the consequences for leaving?
- Why is Spain so attractive for the Moroccans?
- What are the expectations for the one who leaves in hope for a better life?
- Are the expectations fulfilled?
- What rights do the illegal immigrant have once they are inside Spain i.e. supporting organizations?

Once we decided to write about this topic, we assumed that the illegal Moroccans risk too much in order to come to Spain although they are not treated as well as they hoped for. The expectations that they have of Spain are probably much higher than of the real picture. Although Spain might be seen attractive for these Moroccans, risking their lives for an unknown future still does not prerequisite better chances of succeeding there. One knows that

² Respondent number 3

leaving the country of birth is not an easy decision to take, but if there is any chance to improve ones living standards in another country, it might give them a reason to take it.

1.2 Limitations

The issue of migration is something that affects all southern European countries in particular. We chose to limit ourselves to Spain only with focus on Madrid. Moreover, migration occurs from all over Africa to Spain, legal as well as illegal. This essay deals with the illegal aspect that concentrates on Morocco and Spain due to its colonial and geographical ties. We do not neglect the female aspect of migration but since it is rather difficult to reach, we chose to focus on male, which are the more prominent. This is so because Morocco has many working age men that are unemployed and the labour market in Spain seems to give them a broader opportunity to work, which is mainly in the lower sectors of the labour market. Therefore, we have limited ourselves to only men to give us an insight into the illegal sphere of migration. We know that this does not give a general knowledge but rather that some similar patterns can be found in this selected group that highlights how the situation looks like in Madrid through the eyes of the illegal migrant himself.

1.3 Terminology / Definitions / Concepts

Migration

“Migration is defined as a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence, and includes settlers, landed immigrants, temporary workers, guest workers, asylum seekers, students, and undocumented arrivals intending to stay in the short or long term – all involving the crossing of national borders”³

³ International development information centre, <http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/xpress/dex/dex9805.htm>, printed out 28-02-01

Illegal migration

“Illegal immigration: some aliens enter clandestinely without going through required immigration procedures. Others enter legally but violate the terms of their entry, by overstaying their permit or working without permission”⁴

Undocumented migration

“Undocumented irregular migrants are person who do not fulfil their requirements established by the country of destination to enter, stay, or exercise an economic activity [...], the phenomenon is commonly referred to as clandestine, irregular, illegal, and unauthorized migration, interchangeably”⁵

Refugee

“A refugee is defined as a person residing outside his or her country of nationality, who is unable or unwilling to return because of well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion”⁶

Asylum

“ [A]sylum seekers, who arrive by air or other means and ask for asylum once in the country”⁷. The ones that are granted asylum are those who have the refugee status.

Trafficking

“Involves several elements: it requires a trafficker or intermediary (which can range from organized criminal networks to more informal networks of compatriots in the country of destination) that facilitates the migration; it involves payment; the migration itself is illegal and is generally supported by various illegal acts; and the migrant who is party to the transaction is making a voluntary choice”⁸. The trafficked person is usually later exploited at the place of destination.

⁴ Stephen Castles & Mark J Miller, *The Age of Migration*, 1998:96

⁵ UN, *International migration policies*, 1998:207

⁶ Stephen Castles & Mark J Miller, *The Age of Migration*, 1998:87

⁷ Stephen Castles & Mark J Miller, *The Age of Migration*, 1998:88

⁸ Definiton developed by IOM, UN *International Migration Policies*, 1998:219

Human Smuggling

“the intentional procurement for profit for illegal entry of a person into and/or illegal residence in a State of which the person is not a national or a permanent resident, ’ thus including an element of profit in it definition of smuggling”⁹.

⁹ Dilek Cinar, August Gächter, Harald Wauldrauch, *IRREGULAR MIGRATION: DYNAMICS, IMPACT, POLICY OPTIONS*, 2000:196

2. Method

This section brings up the method part, where we give an understanding on the way we are going to proceed to achieve real life stories. Which method is the most appropriate one to use, to achieve a broader understanding to how the situation looks like for Moroccans that have at some point lived illegally in Spain or still are.

2.1 Qualitative or Quantitative method, which one is the most appropriate?

In choosing between the two techniques, qualitative or the quantitative you have to see which is more suitable for the purpose. The choice between the qualitative and the quantitative techniques: questionnaires or observations, interviews or experiment, is always the main discussion when referring to the more appropriate method on how to gather data. It is said that the problem of the study should direct the choice of method¹⁰. That is, the method you choose, is the way you go about to solve the problem in the best way. A qualitative investigation may consist of interviews where you work through and analyse gathered information by trying to understand what the individual involved means and how he or she thinks and feels. In a quantitative investigation you ask a representative group and get a percentage, which can be classified, with the more or less different patterns. So by saying, if you are interested to understand the way an individual reason and reacts then a qualitative study is the more suitable one whereas in a quantitative study you are interested in finding out how many of the specified group thinks in a certain way. The research questions is thus about how often, how many and how usual¹¹.

The purpose of our research is to find out why Spain is so attractive for Moroccans, what they hope to achieve with coming and what rights they have. And by saying so, Trost thinks that a qualitative technique by personal interviews would give a better understanding and to find different patterns about the situation and the experiences¹². And in this case, a quantitative study would give a superficial knowledge about the situation; therefore we chose the qualitative approach. To sum it up, the difference between the two different forms of

¹⁰ Per Dannefjord, *Metod och Problem- en inledning till sociologisk analys*, 1999:5

¹¹ Jan Trost, *Enkätboken*, 2001:20ff

¹² Jan Trost, *Enkätboken*, 2001:22

research lies within which type of reason one gives to ones thesis which gives the better result in obtaining the most credible data¹³.

2.2 Empirical material

The first time we got the idea about writing a paper about illegal immigration was when we studied one semester in Madrid, Spain. We had two classes that gave us the initial idea, one was demography and the other one was introduction to African politics. This presented us the problem that Spain has with illegal immigrants from Africa. Moreover, we had a real-life illegal immigrant in class that talked about his flight to Spain and how he was/is treated by the Spanish authorities. Naturally, in order to gather the most credible information and for the data to be easily accessible, we choose to come back to Spain and do interviews. Finding out the truth about the illegal immigrants' life and the consequences, is therefore best obtained through interviews and observations. In addition, we receive help from the teachers from Saint Louis University in Spain to be guided in the right direction regarding the interviews. Our plan was to interview five individuals through a qualitative approach that are in their working age and with Moroccan background, which we hope, will give us a broader knowledge about this topic. By this we can compare if the individuals share the same experiences, and what is the different obstacles that made them leave the country of origin and becoming illegal immigrants. Through this we hope to have our groundwork in order to highlight our purpose and the hypothesis that we have laid forward. In our project work we also are going to compare our result with previous made researches and relevant literature, which brings up similar facts about this topic.

Part of our investigation is to find different institutions that deal with illegal Moroccans, which facilitates our research. We have found two institutions that we think complements each other and which will be presented through the different interviews that we plan to carry out. These two are focusing on Moroccans that are currently living in Spain and through them we hope that it will give us a broader understanding to the different rights that Moroccans have in Spain. One of them is given to us by our supervisor and is called ATIME which is short for Asociación de Trabajadores e Inmigrantes Marroquíes en España. This organisation

¹³ Per Dannefjord, *Metod och Problem- en inledning till sociologisk analys*, 1999:7

deals with different aspects of rights that Moroccans can be entitled to have. The other one is given to us by a contact that we have in Spain and is called Centro Sin Fronteras. This centre is not associated with the government and their main task is to help the illegal Moroccans with human resources such as household, food and different activities that help them to adjust easier to Spanish life.

3. Background about Spain

For nearly one hundred years, there was out migration from Spain, first off from the Americas, then to Northern Europe. But little by little, Spain has become a country of immigration. This is a very recent transition which started to take place around the mid 1980's. Surely, there was some inflow of foreigners before that date too although it was not as prominent as the recent wave. In the 1960s and 1970s some Europeans arrived in Spain, most of them of retiring age, who had chosen it as a place to live because of its warm climate, its facilities and the fact that it was cheaper to live there.

3.1 Who comes to Spain and why is Spain attractive?

There were a small number of African workers around this time where the majority of them were from Morocco. Moreover, since the mid-1970s Latin American citizens sought escape from the military dictatorships that reigned over the southern American hemisphere. Despite these facts, Spain was still not seen as a country of immigration until the mid-1980s. One thing was for sure though, out migration flows were decreasing and instead, during the 1970s and 1980s there were returning migrants. So as mentioned, this means that since 1985, the numbers of immigrants have increased noticeably and immigration became an issue for the people in general and an area of public policy¹⁴. There was a rising concern about controlling the informal employment of immigrants along with getting a better knowledge of the phenomena. In fact, since there was no information or surveys done about the Spaniards' attitudes before 1986-87, it shows how new the concept of immigration was for the country. Also, they were more diverse than ever in origin and they arrived mainly as a result of Spain's expanding economy. Knowing this, it is not surprising that migration policies are constantly changing and developing. Since Spain was now a country of immigration and this was new for them, it meant that policies of immigration with a more coherent and extensive nature were needed¹⁵.

¹⁴ Russell King, Gabriella Lazaridis, Charalambos Tsardanidis, *Eldorado or Fortress? Migration in Southern Europe*, 2000:255

¹⁵ Russell King, Gabriella Lazaridis, Charalambos Tsardanidis, *Eldorado or Fortress? Migration in Southern Europe*, 2000:267

According to the book, *Controlling Immigration, A Global Perspective*, there are two different groups regarding Spanish immigration¹⁶. The first are citizens of other European Union countries and the other are citizens of less developed countries and economies in transition. There is also a portion of illegal migrants, although the number is unknown for the Spanish government and the matter remains a mystery and a constant issue that needs to be solved. In other words, during 1985-86, Spain was experiencing substantial immigration, and can be explained by the economic boom that Spain went through, which mostly had to do with the entry into the European Community (now called the European Union). The immigration not only included the legal, but also illegal. Therefore, immigration altogether was increasing. But all in all Spain was receiving mostly immigrant workers, since the country was in fact developing, economically speaking, and was *pulling* immigrants into the labour market. The North African countries, especially Morocco, were greatly influenced by this mainly because of their underdevelopment and their lack of opportunities. As a result, they were being *pushed* out from their countries and pulled into Spain. But Spain did not only receive the high skilled ones, on the contrary, it received ones that left from the North African countries, Latin America and Asia. These were “many more young people, persons from lower-class backgrounds, and people whose racial, religious, and other cultural attributes clearly differentiate them from the host population”¹⁷. Spain was in fact the destination country for the economical immigrants that came from the third world countries and Eastern Europe. Spain’s agriculture was really expanding in the southern parts of the country, meaning that jobs were needed to be filled. Also, the ones that already had made it into Spain had developed a kinship network, which were attracting even more immigrants to come. All these factors contributed to the numbers of illegals increasing. Forming a stricter immigration policy had to do with a wish to control over the illegal immigration flows, especially the illegals coming from the third world countries. The government wanted to avoid that the number would grow even more, which in turn could lead to xenophobia among the host population due to the fact that “Spaniards [were] afraid of losing their national identity”¹⁸.

¹⁶ Wayne A. Cornelius, Philip L. Martin & James F. Hollifield, *Controlling Immigration, A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE*, 1994:332

¹⁷ Wayne A. Cornelius, Philip L. Martin & James F. Hollifield, *Controlling Immigration, A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE*, 1994:332

¹⁸ Wayne A. Cornelius, Philip L. Martin & James F. Hollifield, *Controlling Immigration, A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE*, 1994:334

Another important point to bring up is the geographical view, which is also an explanation of the high number of immigrants coming from the African continent. As known, Spain is the key border to Europe for the African continent and the Prime Minister at that time (1985), Felipe Gonzáles, wanted to remind the fellow European countries about “how close Morocco is, and that the living standards are four, five, ten times lower on the other side”¹⁹. Nevertheless, Spanish leaders pointed out with pride that they have the most public tolerance concerning immigrants compared to other European countries. There has been a time when Spain has taken an active role in avoiding right-wing extremist parties by having different control measures that have been taken into consideration in reference to south north and east-west migrations. But even though Spain has avoided these measures and acknowledged the importance of migration, it does not mean that violence against immigrants has not appeared. In other words, not all immigrants were treated well neither by the government nor by the Spanish population²⁰. What can be said about the Spanish immigration policy is that it was rather weak, it fell short on a “national immigration policy, as well as the lack of an administrative infrastructure and capacity that would be needed to implement an ‘active’ immigration policy”²¹. This is why many Spaniards have had ambivalent attitudes toward immigration that leads to confusion to which kind of immigration policy was/is more suitable for Spain and its population. But there are some cities where different measures and programs have been focusing on dealing with foreign workers, although challenging. Such a city is the capital, Madrid, which can be self-evident, since the demand for labour has increased.

3.2 Spain’s illegal immigrants

In 1993, the number of illegal immigrants increased, and that can depend on many things as mentioned before. Besides the geographical view, there is an economic growth that Spain experienced during that time, the so-called *economic boom*. Here was a time, where nearly half of the illegal stock from Africa was seen as a big problem, where most of the illegals were from Morocco. The ‘black Africans’ were also trying to come in, but they were not

¹⁹ Wayne A. Cornelius, Philip L. Martin & James F. Hollifield, *Controlling Immigration, A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE*, 1994:334

²⁰ Wayne A. Cornelius, Philip L. Martin & James F. Hollifield, *Controlling Immigration, A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE*, 1994:335

²¹ Wayne A. Cornelius, Philip L. Martin & James F. Hollifield, *Controlling Immigration, A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE*, 1994:335

highly represented like the Moroccans. This usually had to do with the restrictive visa policy that the country of origin had, and also on obtaining necessary documents from their own home country²². Another large represented group of illegal immigrants at the time were the ones from Latin America, which were estimated to be one-third of the illegal number while the rest were mainly from Asia and Eastern Europe. There are notable differences for between these groups, such as social, economic and demographic factors that lead them to come to Spain. Those from North Africa usually accounts for low skilled individuals while others from the eastern side of Europe mainly consists of high skilled professionals who come to Spain only for work opportunities. Another remarkable factor that is noteworthy is the gender aspect with regard to women and immigration. The number of female immigrants is getting more and more prominent. During the 1991 program when the legalisation of the illegal amount of immigrants became an actual action for the Spanish society, it became obvious that the female stock was bigger than the family reunification stock. When talking about the Moroccans the number of female immigrants is rising, and it is usually the single women that come to the bigger cities, where they seek work in domestic service and other parts of the service sector. But still the number of male Moroccan immigrants is dominating over the Moroccan female. In fact, at the end of 1997, Moroccans were the most numerous national group among immigrants with work permits, they estimated over one third of the total number. But the ones without permits were undoubtedly a higher proportion²³.

An official number of illegals that has been suggested, was between 50 000 and 60 000 in 1996. However, this is to be seen more as a guess than an estimate. Of those, between 25 000 and 30 000 might be supervised illegal immigrants, meaning that people who had a legal status at some point in the past and then lost it, possibly due to legal policies. Some of them might have regained legal status as a result of the 1996 regularization process, which was specifically directed at former permit-holders. The rest are either those asylum seekers whose claims were being rejected between 1991 and 1996, or persons who crossed borders illegally. In 2001, 243,600 persons were regularized in Spain²⁴. According to newspaper accounts, in May 2005, nearly 700,000 persons applied for regularization in the Spanish 2005 regularization. The illegal entries are usually a result of people who entered the country on

²² Wayne A. Cornelius, Philip L. Martin & James F. Hollifield, *Controlling Immigration, A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE*, 1994:335

²³ Russell King, Gabriella Lazaridis, Charalambos Tsardanidis, *Eldorado or Fortress? Migration in Southern Europe*, 2000:262

²⁴ OECD 2004:71

tourist/student visas and overstayed, but the size of this group is of course unknown and there are reasons to believe that there are a bigger number of illegal immigrants. The separating factor between legality and illegality is not always an easy one. While there are opportunities provided for illegal migrants to legalize their situation, losing legality once acquired is not difficult, especially after joblessness or the expiry of job permits²⁵.

3.3 How they enter

The way, in which illegals actually enter Spain, varies depending on where you come from. The common way for the Latin Americans is to make it seem like they are just coming to Spain as tourists. Since many from the Latin American nations, historically, were not required entry visas, they instead acted on the tourist part and once they got inside they usually ended up staying. This made it difficult for the Spanish authorities, since there are more than 50 million who claim to be tourists yearly. Another highly used option is to seek political asylum, which presents the second most frequently used mode of entry for those who ultimately become illegal immigrants in Spain²⁶. Naturally, it is easier for Portugal since the land borders are next to each other. The land borders are highly porous, and numerous illegal immigrants enter this way. This is the weak spot for the Spanish government due to lack of control on these areas. Even the border control between Spain and France is weak.

The seaport is another weak point that Spain has to deal with, and this is a quite new phenomenon. The illegals from North Africa usually use this way since they are close to the border and the most common way is by ships. Another mode that they use is small fishing boats in order to cross the Strait of Gibraltar (See the map below). These fishing boats are “often dangerously overloaded and capsize in the rough waters of the Strait, drowning many of the passengers”²⁷. Hardly a day goes by without seeing in the media, immigrants trying to reach the Spanish coastline one way or the other. Furthermore, the smuggling operations and stories that take place is also an important factor to acknowledge. But the most tragic scene of

²⁵ Russell King, Gabriella Lazaridis, Charalambos Tsardanidis, *Eldorado or Fortress? Migration in Southern Europe*, 2000:261

²⁶ Wayne A. Cornelius, Philip L. Martin & James F. Hollifield, *Controlling Immigration, A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE*, 1994:337

²⁷ Wayne A. Cornelius, Philip L. Martin & James F. Hollifield, *Controlling Immigration, A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE*, 1994:337

this migrant traffic and the one that attracts the most attention are the small boats with people that can cause the death of the illegal migrants²⁸.



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To begin with, one must clarify what the definitions are for the concepts trafficking and human smuggling. These two concepts have very much been discussed all over, but especially the West European countries have focused on this discussion and seen this as a battle that is necessary to be ended. When referring to human smuggling it is necessary to know that one fall under the victims to trafficking as well, meaning “the terms human trafficking and migrant smuggling have for many years been used interchangeable”³⁰. For finding solutions to this, one must be clear how the situations of the irregular migration looks like and what is being expected, and therefore a clear distinction between these terms are necessary to bring up. UN has been preparing a new Convention against Transnational Crime where new drafts of protocol will set new and broader knowledge about the definitions for trafficking in persons and migrant smuggling in international law. Human smuggling is defined as “the intentional procurement for profit for illegal entry of a person into and/or illegal residence in a State of which the person is not a national or a permanent resident, thus

²⁸ Russell King, Gabriella Lazaridis, Charalambos Tsardanidis, *Eldorado or Fortress? Migration in Southern Europe*, 2 000:260

²⁹ Map from <http://www.fsmitha.com/h3/map34sg.html> printed out 2005-05-11

³⁰ Dilek Cinar, August Gächter, Harald Wauldrauch, *IRREGULAR MIGRATION: DYNAMICS, IMPACT, POLICY OPTIONS*, 2000:202

including an element of profit in its definition of smuggling”³¹. It is also important to know that helping a friend or a relative to illegally cross a border without a payment is not counted as smuggling nor trafficking, and smuggling is seen as an issue involving international migration since an international crossing is involved, whereas trafficking does not necessarily involve international migration. There are some cases where it is too difficult to make a distinction between these two concepts because when it comes to smuggling it is just as easy to be exploited and violated by the smuggler as for the one that is exploited for trafficking. When immigrants hand over their passports to the smuggler and/or are often in economical debts to the ones that are transporting them illegally to another country would be a clear example that shows how these migrants are exposed to many risks and hardship. There are even some cases where people have become victims of losing their lives when being smuggled, “[i]t is estimated that at least 1,574 migrants have lost their lives in smuggling incidents in Europe since 1993”³². Therefore it is difficult to distinguish human smuggling and trafficking since both of them violates human rights in many cases, but of course there are cases where human smuggling does not abuse human rights, which lead up to the rather confusing understanding of smuggling. Where should one draw up the line where human rights are not being respected? An example in the book, *Irregular Migration: Dynamics, Impact, Policy Options*, is illustrated to make the distinction clearer; to make it to the destination country and been left alone by the transporters, then it is a case of smuggling, but if the transporters informed the migrants “... that the price they had paid was no longer enough, and that they would be forced to work longer hours to repay unexpected debt, the line would have been crossed into trafficking”³³. Looking at this, one can see that there is a need for a clear distinction between the two phenomena, so a better framework can be established.

Human trafficking is surely a concern not only for Spain but also these problems are related to immigration all over Europe. Along with this, “[t]he Spanish Cabinet has approved a tough immigration bill aimed at cracking down on illegal immigrants entering the country”³⁴. Others are believed that they use the way through Andalusia province on their way to obtain

³¹ Dilek Cinar, August Gächter, Harald Wauldrauch, *IRREGULAR MIGRATION: DYNAMICS, IMPACT, POLICY OPTIONS*, 2000:196

³² Dilek Cinar, August Gächter, Harald Wauldrauch, *IRREGULAR MIGRATION: DYNAMICS, IMPACT, POLICY OPTIONS*, 2000:197

³³ Dilek Cinar, August Gächter, Harald Wauldrauch, *IRREGULAR MIGRATION: DYNAMICS, IMPACT, POLICY OPTIONS*, 2000:199

³⁴ <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/866310.stm> from google.com, 23.11.2004

jobs in Barcelona and Madrid. When talking about this kind of entry, with small boats, it became apparent that people working with smuggling are organizing these activities and this usually has its base in Morocco, the country that used and still use this way of entrance. In general the illegal immigrant can be charged from a few hundred dollars to more than 30.000 dollars, which depends on both destination and distance. Moreover, “[i]n addition to the economic migrants who make use of the services of traffickers, non-deserving asylum applicants with very weak or no genuine protection claims frequently make use of such services at some point in their journey”³⁵. After 1993, this kind of illegal flow of illegal immigrants was reduced and that can depend on the crackdown that Morocco experienced. These smuggling activities were being more controlled by the Moroccan authorities, which was under the pressure from the Spanish government. Although it made it more difficult, it did not stop the action. This crackdown was mainly the result of an economical agreement between Morocco and Spain. The Moroccan government promised to cooperate on the crackdown as long as Spain expanded the fishing rights agreement between the two countries involved.

3.4 Trafficking and Human Smuggling; real life stories from BBC news

Some real life examples are put forward from BBC news, showing that many illegal immigrants risk their lives for leaving their country of origin and begin their journey to the new country. These cases are looked from a human rights perspective saying that this should be seen as a smuggling phenomenon,

“The bodies of 13 illegal immigrants have been found on the shoreline near the Spanish City of Tarifa”

“The group- eight from Sub-Saharan Africa and five from north Africa- are believed to have drowned while trying to swim to shore”

Spain is suffering from the illegal immigrants from the African Continent, where there are many cases that shows how these immigrants try several ways to enter Spain. These entries should be more controlled, and be seen as a worldwide problem that ought to be solved,

³⁵ UN, *International Migration Policies*, 1998:219

“A police helicopter on early morning patrol of the narrow strait between Spain and Morocco had previously spotted people in a boat”

“Southern Spain is known as a popular entry point into Europe for thousands of illegal immigrants”

Cases of trafficking are also included in these articles that mention how people are in fact suffering from bad conditions and promised lives that were not as expected,

“ A Spanish guard patrol came upon the bodies early on Thursday morning along a deserted stretch of coast near the town of Barranco Hondo. Two of three of dead were pregnant women, according to the police. Migrants were victims of human trafficking. ‘The people responsible for these deaths are only and exclusively mafia networks that use human lives for their own benefit’ ”³⁶

Human trafficking is an issue that is organized and people use this kind of work to make a living, and one can think that they do not have a clue on what kind of crime that they are committing. These ways that the illegals are entering are very dangerous and therefore Spain is trying to control the borders more toughly, to avoid accidents as such to happen. Spain has also taken some actions against these criminal acts and laid up a framework, where the police have the right to stop suspected illegals. Crimes are being committed and therefore punishments are getting harder “One taxi driver said that if he was caught carrying an illegal immigrant, he would be sent to prison for five years. Of course these actions are not regulated for the Spanish government alone, the Moroccan and Nigerian authorities are also included to stop illegal migration to occur. But this does not mean that human smuggling is decreasing, the smuggling networks remain, just deeper underground,

People smugglers charge 1,000 euros per person for the short sea crossing to Spain in an inflatable raft – but most migrants wait until summer when they chances of survival are better if the boat capsizes”

³⁶ The quotations in this page are found from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/2167191.stm> printed out 2005-03-18

Ceuta is one of Spain's two enclaves on the Moroccan coast where the iron fence is built up "the twin barbed-wire fences, just a few kilometres away that separate Morocco and Ceuta"³⁷. The sad truth is that many persons die in using this enclave to cross the borders, which is seen the last barrier to Europe. An example from a Nigerian man illustrated the feelings and the strategies to enter Spain through the fence, the case is named as "Attacking Europe's border fences"³⁸,

"Seeing Europe for the first time, he stood speechless staring across the Mediterranean Sea for about half an hour.

"They hide in mountain camps near the border, living rough in shelters made from plastic sheeting and branches"

"In Ceuta, I met one man who said he had managed to cross in this way [through the fence]. But most are caught by the Spanish police and chased back, sometimes with a thorough beating or a lungful of teargas, [...], scars on their hands and the rips in their clothes from trying to 'attack' the fence. Four of his friends had drowned trying to swim around the fence to Ceuta. 'Even if you know how to swim, the sea there is very dangerous"

"But for those with money for the Moroccan people smugglers, there is a price list: 800 euros for getting around the border to Ceuta in an inflatable raft, 600 euros for digging a tunnel or 500 euros for cutting a hole in the fences"

Even though you make it to Spain, you still have to be prepared for the expensive charges that the smugglers take to help you cross the borders. "For Europeans, crossing from Morocco to Ceuta means just a five minute walk in the sun..."³⁹. Of course there is some kind of discrimination near the borders and it depends on your colour of your skin if you are let in the country or not. Once the Africans have crossed the borders, 95 per cent claim political asylum otherwise they know that they are sent back home again. There is a man that came and told that he has made it into Spain, but is not allowed to work, and see this as a negative effect for risking his life into Europe and still have not the possibility to work "I am frustrated that I am not allowed to work now that I have finally reached Europe... That is what I have come all

³⁷ The quotations in this page are found from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/3604519.stm> printed out 2005-03-18

³⁸ <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/2604519.stm> printed out 2005-03-18

³⁹ <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/2604519.stm> printed out 2005-03-18

this way to do”⁴⁰. Spain is restrictive when it comes to the asylum procedure, the Spanish authority knows that most of them that come to Spain are more economic migrants rather the ones that are fleeing from persecution or warfare, this gives the strict effect of acceptance of asylum, just 8 per cent are given asylum status the rest are deported back, so “[t] he suffering is not worth the kind of job you will receive at the end. Those of us outside are longing to go back because one’s country remains the only place he/she can have prospects and rest of mind”⁴¹.

3.5 What do they work with?

As stated, the numbers of immigrants are increasing, not only the illegals but the legal immigrants as well. The question remains; how do the illegal immigrants support themselves when they do not have some sort of income? Although they might have managed to cross the borders, they still do not have access to the labour market and naturally they will have to support themselves. In some cases, it turns out that most of the immigrants are self-employed, from street vendors to managers of their own businesses. By this they develop a *colectivo*, meaning that they provide employment opportunities to other members from the same community. Therefore illegal immigrants have a chance at getting jobs quickly, through their own social network that provides them with an opportunity and thus a solution. But what happens to those who do not have an established social network to fall back on? Earning a living in Spain is different and far more difficult compared to other European countries, because of the *ley de extranjería*-the immigration law for foreign workers in Spain. This law states that “each time a foreign worker changes employers he must obtain a new work permit from the government. Even legal immigrants who lose their jobs and are unable to acquire new work permits are required to leave the country”⁴². There was an addition made to the Ley de Extranjería in order to legalize the illegals that were located in the country. But only 44 000 immigrants benefited from it and it was shown to be not a very effective one. In fact, it was speculated that only after two years, the majority of them had fallen into illegality.

⁴⁰ <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/2604519.stm> printed out 2005-03-18

⁴¹ <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/2604519.stm> printed out 2005-03-18

⁴² Wayne A. Cornelius, Philip L. Martin & James F. Hollifield, *Controlling Immigration, A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE*, 1994:339

The ones that decides whether the work permit should be granted or not, are the local branches of the national Ministry of Labour. So, the Spanish immigration law links up work permits with residence permits, which makes it even more difficult for the illegal immigrants to obtain legal work contracts and enter the labour market. However, that does not mean that they are excluded from the labour market but that they are limited for options to the underground economy or to the formal-sector firms that employ them *off the books*. This means that they cannot enjoy labour market benefits, such as payment for social securities or other employment benefits. Even though foreign workers are working in the same business as the natives they still experience wage discrimination, meaning that they are paid less than the native workers for performing the same jobs. Wage discrimination usually appears in small subcontractors where the employment practices are rarely supervised by the government⁴³.

3.6 Spain's need for foreign labour

In Spain, the labour market is quite segmented, meaning that there are highly strong reservations in taking some jobs in some sectors and this gives a shortage of labour. There are some jobs that native-born workers, simply do not want to work with, the menial jobs. In Spain, these shortages occur within the agriculture and the domestic services. In the agricultural sector, one receive low wages and are usually under uncomfortable working conditions, "...immigrants take jobs disregarded by the native work force, jobs that tend to be less stable, less skilled, less protected, and less paid, in a secondary, less regulated labour market"⁴⁴. This means then that the immigrants that come to Spain are not directly a competition for the natives but they are rather seen as a substitute for the unwanted jobs. As seems to be the case in other countries as well, the immigrants tend to have a limited and disadvantaged presence in the labour market.

This labour demand combined with the economic boom that appeared in the late 70's and early 80's, this is when Spain started to focus on the investment in the greenhouses that led to more manual labour. Meanwhile, the native-born farm workers decided to not work within

⁴³ Wayne A. Cornelius, Philip L. Martin & James F. Hollifield, *Controlling Immigration, A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE*, 1994:339

⁴⁴ Russell King, Gabriella Lazaridis, Charalambos Tsardanidis, *Eldorado or Fortress? Migration in Southern Europe*, 2000:262

this sector. This contributed to the rising need of workers and this is where the foreign worker came into the picture. Moreover, when Spanish emigrants started returning, they would not take jobs in the agricultural sector, since “those who had held better jobs abroad were even less likely to take the bad jobs held by immigrants today”⁴⁵. So, even though the former Spanish emigrants were returning there was still a demand for low skilled foreign workers, the agricultural sector as well as in low status service work. Below there are two tables that show how Spain handled the situation of the foreigners, regarding the legal residence permits and the number of work permits given to foreigners:

This table shows the numbers of immigrants that are located in Spain during the period 1955 and 1990, with a steady increase of legal residence permits given. Even though this number can be seen high, Spain still has difficulties in meeting its labour requirements without substantial foreign immigration.

⁴⁵ Wayne A. Cornelius, Philip L. Martin & James F. Hollifield, *Controlling Immigration, A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE*, 1994:342

This other table shows that the work permits that are given to foreigners are rather limited, especially in comparison to how many foreigners that were actually given legal residence permits. Meaning that future trends are likely to lead to a gap in the labour market if not supply meets up this demand⁴⁶.

Moreover, Spain has tried to lay down a framework for the legal conditions for foreigners and to provide instruments to enforce that framework. In other words, to secure the control of entry so that it would not be a problem in the eyes of Europe. It was not meant for this law to control immigration, nor was it to provide a framework for the integration of migrants into society. Yet, as far as the development of immigration is concerned, the law put limitation for immigrants once they are in the labour market. Since the preference is to favour the natives in filling vacancies, this makes the immigrants fall into tougher competition. So one can say that it was meant for the law to protect the domestic labour market against the increasing foreign job seekers, given Spain's high unemployment rate. In practical terms, although, a Spaniard could not fill a vacancy and the difficulty for the immigrant to obtain a work permit has led to

⁴⁶ Both tables found from Wayne A. Cornelius, Philip L. Martin & James F. Hollifield, *Controlling Immigration, A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE*, 1994:340ff

the illegal hiring of immigrants. To sum it up, the law did not make a permanent insertion of immigrants in society⁴⁷.

3.7 The ageing problem

Spain, as many other European countries is suffering from the ageing problem. This means that the population is getting older and need to be supported once they have reached their pension age. The welfare system is built as such that a country needs workers to pay taxes in order for the system to go around. In order to understand how this takes place, one must look at the past. By definition, elderly people tend to live longer today due to technological advancement, that is, the life expectancy is higher. To take one example, the marriage patterns looks different from then to now meaning that it is not as common to give birth and have many children nowadays than before and this contributes to the aging problem that Spain suffers from. In other words, ageing is a combination of at least two things; there is a great amount of old people who tend live long, which leads to low mortality, and at the same time, not enough births are taking place, which is low fertility. Having low fertility is “the most important determinant age structure of the population and it has been repeatedly demonstrated that primary population aging is the result of sustained downward trends in fertility rates”⁴⁸. At present, Spain’s demographic profile is continuing to change to the worse, which means that it would eventually lead to even more labour shortage and would be “difficult to avert without substantial immigration”⁴⁹. The profile brings up the country’s total fertility rate, where the rates are really low and it is among the three lowest in the world (diagram presented above shows this). This has its roots with the ending of the Franco regime, where it is known that he ruled Spain with an iron hand, for instance women’s rights were limited. This is relevant because after his regime, gradually more rights were given to women, which eventually led to a low fertility rate. Another factor that happened in the past was the economic crises that Spain suffered from in 1975-1976, which led to the pour benefits for having a baby, and this in turn became an issue. Finally, even the influential Catholic Church became less prioritised. For instance, the Church was for against abortion

⁴⁷ Russell King, Gabriella Lazaridis, Charalambos Tsardanidis, *Eldorado or Fortress? Migration in Southern Europe*, 2000:266

⁴⁸ A.J Coale, S. Cotts Watkins, *The Decline of Fertility in Europe*, 1986:273

⁴⁹ Wayne A. Cornelius, Philip L. Martin & James F. Hollifield, *Controlling Immigration, A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE*, 1994:344

and contraceptives, which is now seen as a softer issue. As a result, all these incidents increased the ageing problem that Spain is suffering. A high proportion of elderly residents and the life expectancy being long for the Spaniards give a bad combination for the country's well being in the future and therefore workers are needed⁵⁰.

3.8 Spain's immigration law

The history of immigration policies in Spain is very short, 15 years and can be divided into two periods. The first covers the second half of the 1980s, initiated by the adoption of the basic legislation that has constituted the legal framework. This is in which immigration has developed until the present. The second starts in 1991, where this declaration contains a series of measures that gradually give shape to something similar to an immigration policy (will be developed further down). A rather striking part was that immigration legislation almost preceded immigration. In other words, an Asylum and Refugee Law and a Foreigner's Bill (Ley de Extranjería, 1985) were in place before immigration had started to become important and to attract the interest of both public institutions and public opinion⁵¹. This means that the 1985 law was more of a foreigner's bill, rather than a law on immigration. Yet the law has left its mark on the coming development of immigration. The law is a limited one, focusing on administrative issues such as entry, residence and work permits, repatriation, and disregarding other issues such as integration, political participation, nationality, family reunion and social rights⁵². In the 1984 Asylum and Refugee law, there were internal reasons at play, which explains why it fell short. At the time of its adoption, the increase in asylum requests that took place throughout Western Europe in the second half of the 1980s had not started, and liberal legislation on asylum was still the rule in most countries. The immigration law became stricter after entering into the European Community, January the first 1986. Spain was put under pressure to fit in to the EC legalization, where restricting immigration from the non-EC countries where one of the priorities. The main factor that was taken strongly in consideration was dealing with the *aliens* that already were

⁵⁰ Wayne A. Cornelius, Philip L. Martin & James F. Hollifield, *Controlling Immigration, A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE*, 1994:344

⁵¹ Russell King, Gabriella Lazaridis, Charalambos Tsardanidis, *Eldorado or Fortress? Migration in Southern Europe*, 2000:264

⁵² Russell King, Gabriella Lazaridis, Charalambos Tsardanidis, *Eldorado or Fortress? Migration in Southern Europe*, 2000: 264

present in the country instead of just focusing on the border controls. One can say that the European neighbours of Spain had a say in the matter regarding immigration control. Having external pressure, Spain's immigration policy became stricter and this meant that foreigners, who were located in Spain would be deported if these factors were being violated:

- If engaged in illegal activities
- If residing in Spain without a proper residence permit or legal temporary visas
- If implicated in activities that would cause chaos to the public order
- If earning a living without legal means⁵³

Even though this became an important internal issue, it still was hard controlling the entire population movements, meaning that the illegal immigrants that had managed to enter Spain could move freely within the country. By the 1990's the immigration law expanded by introducing the *ley corcuera*, that meant that "selectively by police to stop suspected illegals on the street and demand documents"⁵⁴. Consequently it became more difficult for the illegal immigrants to move as they wanted, especially the Moroccans and the black Africans since they often were the victims and were more likely to be questioned. Another important immigration legalization that was expanded was the visa policy for the non-members within the European Community. This became more difficult to come into Spain with legal visas, especially the ones from the Maghreb countries; Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria. The visa policy was later extended to some Latin American countries as well. This was seen as *hitting on sensitive feet*, since they were in the beginning not seen as foreigners by the Spaniards because of their shared cultural and language. But in fact, this was actually one of the biggest things that helped reducing the illegal immigration flow from those countries. From 1995 on, border controls were reinforced to implement the provisions contained in the Schengen Agreement. The number of deportations and entry refusals has tended to increase through the 1990s. The Schengen Agreement meant working against integration with a "plan to create a single market within which people, services, goods and capitals would be able to move freely"⁵⁵. Additionally, in 1994, measures were taken to deal with the repatriation of rejected

⁵³ Wayne A. Cornelius, Philip L. Martin & James F. Hollifield, *Controlling Immigration, A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE*, 1994:345

⁵⁴ Wayne A. Cornelius, Philip L. Martin & James F. Hollifield, *Controlling Immigration, A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE*, 1994:345

⁵⁵ Andrew Geddes, *Immigration and the European integration- Towards fortress Europe*, 2000:68

asylum seekers⁵⁶. Making these restrictions also had its economic disadvantage, meaning that Spain is in fact one of those countries that relies on the income from the tourists. The country does indeed attract many tourists and having these tough visa policies show negative effects that it has on the country's economic income⁵⁷.

3.9 The 1991 Declaration of Spain

The first sign of a new official stand towards immigration was the Parliamentary Declaration of March 1991, which was called 'Foreigners in Spain: Policy Guidelines'. This set up a starting point for the development of a comprehensive immigration policy and thus paved the way for the following immigration developments. It also stated that "migrant workers could be admitted to the extent that the labour market demands and society can integrate", which was a proposition that implied a different set of thinking from that before⁵⁸. As a result, the programme was concerned with a better control of immigration, which was something that was reinforced later by Spain's ratification of the Schengen agreement in 1993. It included extending visa requirement to nationals of more countries, strengthening border controls, expediting expulsions-but only as an unavoidable last resort, and measures to fight illegal employment, such as employers' sanctions and increased surveillance by labour inspectors. This initial policy phase was completed in 1994, when the rather liberal Ley de Asilo y Refugio was amended to bring it in line with the treaties of Schengen and Dublin, and to handle the rapidly increasing trend in asylum requests registered since 1988. As a result, a more restrictive concept of asylum was adopted much as other European countries were doing at the time⁵⁹.

A second policy was adopted in an attempt to regularize the mass of irregular workers who had accumulated during the preceding years. So in 1991, the second regularization process in the history of Spanish immigration was launched. But this time it was only meant for

⁵⁶ Russell King, Gabriella Lazaridis, Charalambos Tsardanidis, *Eldorado or Fortress? Migration in Southern Europe*, 2 000:259

⁵⁷ Wayne A. Cornelius, Philip L. Martin & James F. Hollifield, *Controlling Immigration, A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE*, 1994:350f

⁵⁸ Russell King, Gabriella Lazaridis, Charalambos Tsardanidis, *Eldorado or Fortress? Migration in Southern Europe*, 2 000:268

⁵⁹ Russell King, Gabriella Lazaridis, Charalambos Tsardanidis, *Eldorado or Fortress? Migration in Southern Europe*, 2 000:268

workers. The difference from the previous one was that the 1991 call was well announced and even attracted new candidates from abroad especially from Morocco. Seen from the point of view from the government, it would make a fresh start, making the number of illegals zero. By implementing new mechanisms of immigration control, including an effort to improve administrative efficiency, it was hoped to hinder illegal stays in the future. Still, all this was not enough cause soon it was understood that the control was not sufficient. The labour market demands foreign workers, and this is not only to fill vacancies or on a temporary basis. Something else had to be put in place if the recruitment through irregular channels of the migrant workers that the economy requires was to be prevented. In order to do this, the government would establish every year a labour entry quota, *el contingente*, according supposedly to the unsatisfied demand observed in different sectors of the economy⁶⁰. As a supplement to the 1991 Declaration, namely the integration of immigrants in the host society, a 'Plan for the Social Integration of Immigrants' was adopted at the end of 1994. The main aim was to fight irregularity and controlling flows. However, it was more of a plan based on principles and intentions, rather than an effective outset of practical measures. The goals were "preventing discrimination, promoting harmonious co-existence based on democratic values and tolerance, promoting the legal status and social stability of migrants, suppressing barriers that stand in the path of integration, combating the exploitation of foreign workers, and mobilizing society against racism and xenophobia"⁶¹. It also includes migrants' rights participation in social and political life.

3.10 The refugee policy

Another change that Spain did for the sake of the European Community was to modify the refugee policy. One outcome was that the ones who during the 80's had applied for asylum and was denied now got another chance of staying in the country without being deported. This 1985 law prescribed that the ones that became denied to a refugee status had a three month period, to find and apply for work and residence permits, of course, through the normal procedure (as described above). By this they changed their status to economic

⁶⁰ Russell King, Gabriella Lazaridis, Charalambos Tsardanidis, *Eldorado or Fortress? Migration in Southern Europe*, 2 000:269

⁶¹ Russell King, Gabriella Lazaridis, Charalambos Tsardanidis, *Eldorado or Fortress? Migration in Southern Europe*, 2 000:270

migrants instead of a refugee status and did not have a risk for deportation. This meant that the numbers of asylum applicants increased, since they now had a chance of staying if they found a job. But this became much more stricter once Spain changed this law, with the entering of the European Community. By doing so, the denial rate became higher, and during 1993 the denial rate was at 96 percent.

Another reason to the numbers being high was because of the claims made by the refugee advocates. However, the credibility was questionable since there were some that applied for refugee status just to have the opportunity of becoming an economic migrant. Being an asylum seeker often meant that it was easier to stay and find a job than trying the alternatives. Once the government became aware about these things happening, there were immediate restrictions made and therefore increased refusal rates. As a result, many refugees that really was in need also got sacrificed.

A further restriction that the Spanish government did was to limit the economic assistance that was provided by the government through the Red Cross and the Non Governmental Organizations. The restriction was to shorten the time where these organizations gave aid to the refugee applicants to six months. Later on “[t]he aid [was] also being dispensed more selectively, with asylum applicants from certain African, Latin American, and East European countries receiving nothing”⁶². All these restrictions that the Spanish government did, was initially hoped to discourage illegal entry. Mostly, the ones that are denied and later have tried the second step, applying for work and residence and been rejected, have usually disappeared into the so-called *underground economy*. By doing so, the risk of being found is minimum, because like other industrialized countries, Spain is not capable of tracking up every rejected refugee applicants or others that are not supposed to be in the country. This program has its advantages and disadvantages, the disadvantage being that even though the ones that were denied both refugee status and economic migrant status were more likely to stay in the country afterwards, and the ones that were accepted, usually brought their family members as well⁶³.

⁶² Wayne A. Cornelius, Philip L. Martin & James F. Hollifield, *Controlling Immigration, A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE*, 1994:352

⁶³ Wayne A. Cornelius, Philip L. Martin & James F. Hollifield, *Controlling Immigration, A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE*, 1994:355

3.11 The “lack of rights” for the illegal immigrants

The rights for illegal immigrants were not many, as understandable and being illegal meant that you were excluded from many of the basic needs. For instance, some of them included these points:

- One cannot take advantage of the unemployment benefits, and that is an obvious thing since they do not have the legal permits when referring to the work and the residence.
- The second generation has it even tougher and it is much more problematic. Meaning that they do not have the rights of access for the basic human services. They can only go until elementary school,
- They are not granted scholarships,
- After finishing elementary school, they do not get diplomas,
- Not granted work permits when they enter the labour force market. In other words, the Spanish born child to the illegal immigrant has no possibility of entering the labour force market and is given almost no rights. This means that mostly second generations are forced into the underground market, to earn a living. So in Spain, naturalization of children is determined by where his/ her parents are from, regardless where they are born, in other words *Jus sanguinis* is in use in Spain when referring to naturalization⁶⁴.

3.12 Further developments

In February 1996, another step in improving migrants’ legal status and social stability was taken. The rules regarding work permits were modified to extend their duration and to ease access to indefinite permits, which should result in better labour market insertion and improved chances for social integration. So the positive actions taken in favour of the migrants were intensifying all through 1990s.

⁶⁴ Wayne A. Cornelius, Philip L. Martin & James F. Hollifield, *Controlling Immigration, A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE*, 1994:356f

Moreover, the Spanish Parliament was taking a leading role in the promotion of immigrants' integration. In 1996 and in 1997 there were two motions approved which urges the government to assign more resources to the agencies responsible for integration, to 'promote a comprehensive immigration policy based upon the will to integrate these new citizens and to put forth policies based upon social integration, solidarity, harmonious living together and equality'⁶⁵. In addition, the Parliament has introduced proposals to modify the 1985 Ley de Extranjería. As a result, by the end of 1998, the Parliament was discussing a substantial reform of the 1985 law⁶⁶.

In July 1998, the Parliament granted a wish for a committee, which was first proposed in 1996 to study the situation of immigrants and refugees in Spain. The proposals put forward by the committee include 'the drafting of a national bill on integration, the appointment of a Junior Minister to co-ordinate official responsibilities on immigration and to oversee the development of policy, the legalization of irregular migrants, improving the efficiency of the labour quota, harsh measures to fight the trafficking of migrants, and measures to increase the protection granted to refugees and to correct restrictive biases in the evaluation of asylum demands'. The committee's report is one of the most comprehensive and favourable to migrants ever put forth in Spain⁶⁷.

In November 2000, the Spanish Parliament adopted a new immigration act, which was a complementary to the one in January 2000 and further restricted one. The latter one meant "immediate expulsion of foreigners resident in Spain illegally, while the previous legalisation had simply introduced a system of fines"⁶⁸. In addition, one can only obtain residence permit after five years living and working in Spain, instead of two under the previous legislation, which also have led to new entry possibilities. These would include: "the possession of valid identity papers, proof of sufficient means of support for the duration of the stay and proof of the purpose and conditions of stay"⁶⁹. Except for in special circumstances, the government does not even have to justify their reasons for denying an entry visa, which makes it even harder for the ones trying to enter Spain. In the January 2000 Act, there were new laws given

⁶⁵ Russell King, Gabriella Lazaridis, Charalambos Tsardanidis, *Eldorado or Fortress? Migration in Southern Europe*, 2 000:271

⁶⁶ Russell King, Gabriella Lazaridis, Charalambos Tsardanidis, *Eldorado or Fortress? Migration in Southern Europe*, 2 000:271

⁶⁷ Russell King, Gabriella Lazaridis, Charalambos Tsardanidis, *Eldorado or Fortress? Migration in Southern Europe*, 2 000:271

⁶⁸ SOPEMI, *Trends in international migration-annual report*, OECD 2001:76

⁶⁹ SOPEMI, *Trends in international migration-annual report*, OECD 2001:76

to the foreigners that are located in the country, such as the right to strike and join unions, the right to work, and the right to demonstrate. But this changed with the new November Act and instead these rights only included the legal residents. Finally, foreigners have the right to vote only if the Spaniard has the same right in the foreigner's country as well.

When José Maria Aznar was elected, he decided to tighten up immigration law due to the problem of illegal immigrants residing in Spain. This new immigration law led to the expulsion of thousands of people who had entered illegally. Further restrictions were the immigrant workers' rights to association, protest and strike. This meant that the ones that tried to apply for residency and work permits and were denied faced immediate deportation, Aznar stated that "[i]t is one thing to have to solve the problem of illegal immigration... but to give the same rights to both legal and illegal immigrants, that is something unthinkable"⁷⁰.

In 2004, José Maria Aznar was not re-elected and the new politician José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero came into force. Zapatero has a more liberal and optimistic view regarding the illegal immigrants existing in the country. In fact, he promises to eventually start a regularization programme and give amnesty as a solution to the problem of illegal immigration. This meant that it could lead up to about 800.000 undocumented migrant workers being regularized, in other words "the intent of the law is to regulate the flow of immigrants who have made this country one of the new meccas for undocumented workers coming from the Third World"⁷¹. It is too soon to make a statement whether the programme would be a success or not, but there are some cases that have shown that it is leaning towards a failure.

At the time of this writing, about 7.000 Moroccans required official documents from the Moroccan Consulate claiming that they do not have any criminal record and would give them a greater opportunity to be granted legal status. For now, "[o]ver 313.501 immigrants, of which 38.968 are Moroccans, have already applied for residence cards in the framework of the biggest regularization operation ever launched in Spain"⁷². The reason for fearing it as a policy failure is that the regularization process started for about two months ago, but only 300.000 illegals have applied, which is not even half of the 800.000 expected. As a result,

⁷⁰ <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/1132211.stm> printed out 2005-04-11

⁷¹ <http://www.mexidata.info/id355.html> printed out from www.google.com, 2005-04-11

⁷² <http://www.moroccotimes.com/paper/article.asp?idr=11&id=5453> printed out 2005-04-11

there are many that choose to protest against this programme, saying that it leads to limitations preventing many from proving that they correspond to the government requirements, which is why the number is lower than expected. In fact, “[a] total of 100.000 Moroccans were supposed to benefit from the operation, but associations consider that, instead, Moroccans will represent about one fourth of those who will be left out”⁷³. This is due to the reason that they request housing documents along with the applications, which is difficult mainly because of the majority of illegals live in places that are not recognized from the authorities. Moreover, there are several official documents which are not accepted as well and the most sensational scene of it all is that some of the applicants complained to Human Rights associations about cases where employers demand between 2.000 and 5.000 euro in order to grant them the work contracts needed to apply for residence permits. Even though the initial intention of the programme was seen as a positive step, the outcome seems as a difficult task to be accomplished. As a matter of fact, the regularization programme does not seem to discourage illegal entrance and people trying to reach the Spanish shore is still a path chosen by many Moroccans “bringing to nearly 200 the number of people arrested while trying to cross the Gibraltar Straits in a single week”⁷⁴.

⁷³ <http://www.moroccotimes.com/paper/article.asp?idr=11&id=5395> printed out 2005-04-11

⁷⁴ <http://www.moroccotimes.com/paper/article.asp?idr=11&id=5395> printed out 2005-04-11

4. Background of Morocco

This section is about Morocco, its history and some figures that will help in explaining the situation in Morocco. There are some points that can be seen as push factors and contributes to some of the pull factors that have been explained about Spain.

For many years, Morocco was colonized by first from the Portuguese, then the Spanish and eventually the French in 1912⁷⁵. They got their independence and sovereignty from France and Spain in 1956. Sultan Sidi Muhammad at the time formed a constitutional government, and in 1961 Moulay Hassan took over after his father as Hassan the 2nd. In the 1990's, King Hassan made 'Hassanian democracy' official, which meant some political freedom while at the same time keeping the ultimate power for the monarch⁷⁶. What this meant in practise was that the king had power to both decide over the majority and even having a claim over the populations' property. Morocco experienced emigration during this time, those who opposed the King's law. Morocco still today applies a constitutional monarchy where King Muhammad the 6th has been ruling since 1999.



⁷⁵ <http://www.worldinfozone.com/country.php?country=Morocco> printed out 2005-05-06

⁷⁶ http://www.africast.com/country_history.php?strCountry=Morocco printed out 2005-05-06

⁷⁷ Map found from <http://www.infoplease.com/atlas/country/morocco.html> printed out 2005-05-18

4.1 Current facts and figures

In comparison size wise, it is only a bit bigger than California and its bordering countries are Algeria, Western Sahara, and Spain. Spain has two enclaves, Ceuta and Melilla that is located on Moroccan territory and is therefore strictly controlled by the Spanish military. Morocco has a population, which is estimated to almost 33 million⁷⁸ and the capital city is Rabat. Casablanca is another big city, which lies on the Atlantic coast and is the country's chief port.⁷⁹ The city is a more metropolitan city and controversial where class differences can be seen as more distinctive. Moreover, Morocco is a Muslim country with approximately 99 per cent of its population being Muslims and the small remaining numbers are either Christians or Jews.

Over half the population in Morocco is under 20 years old and approximately 70 per cent of the total population is under the age of 30⁸⁰. This shows that the age structure in Morocco is uneven, where the population is relatively young. The age structure also shows how there are many births, as 32 per cent is between 0-14 years, which means the rate of fertility is high. At the same time their mortality rate is also high as there are 4.9 per cent between 65 years and over. In other words, there is not a high amount of elderly people and at the same time the younger are increasing which leads to the population structure being unequal. The high amount of young people in Morocco contributes to the unemployment rate being 12.1 per cent⁸¹, which is seen as a problem by the government. The fact that there is much poverty and high unemployment leads to the high amount of young Moroccans wanting to leave Morocco.

4.2 Future prospects for the Moroccan economy

Morocco is still today mainly an agrarian-based society but its emerging markets are attracting foreign investors more and more everyday. At the same time, the government is trying to decrease the economy's reliance on agriculture and mining by efforts to encourage

⁷⁸ <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/mo.html> printed out 2005-05-05, updated in 2005-04-21

⁷⁹ <http://www.worldinfozone.com/country.php?country=Morocco> printed out 2005-05-06

⁸⁰ <http://www.worldinfozone.com/country.php?country=Morocco> printed out 2005-05-06

⁸¹ <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/mo.html> printed out 2005-05-05, updated in 2005-04-21

other industries such as tourism. In 1983, economic reforms were introduced such as foreign currency regulations being lifted and the stock market being developed. Furthermore, in 1993, a privatisation programme was started in order to improve the economy by increasing the competition and encouraging greater foreign investment⁸². Morocco have also signed a trade association and fishing agreement with the European Union, which also means that the EU is giving aid to Morocco. The thought is to establish a free trade zone between the two by 2010.⁸³

This means that Morocco faces problems typical for developing countries, “restraining government spending, reducing constraints on private activity and foreign trade, and achieving sustainable growth”⁸⁴. It has structural adjustment programs supported by the International Monetary Fond (IMF), the World Bank, and the Paris Club so the currency can be stabilized. There are long-term challenges, which includes to prepare the economy for a more open trade with the US and European Union. The wish is to improve education and job prospects for Morocco's youth but also for raising living standards.

⁸² <http://www.worldinfozone.com/country.php?country=Morocco> printed out 2005-05-06

⁸³ <http://www.worldinfozone.com/country.php?country=Morocco> printed out 2005-05-06

⁸⁴ <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/mo.html> printed out 2005-05-05, updated in 2005-04-21

5. Theory

Migration is an important phenomenon that affects all countries in one-way or another and is therefore constantly debated and new theories emerge in an effort to account for it. In *Theories of migration*, Robin Cohen states that migration is selective, meaning that every person responds differently to the sets of plus and minus factors at origin and at destination, and thus has different abilities to overcome the intervening sets of obstacles. The selective perspective can both have negative and positive sides, depending on how you look at it. The positive streams mean that the migrant responds to high quality selections, whereas the negative streams mean that the migrant responds to the opposite. “Migrants responding primary to plus factors at destination tend to be positive selected [...] [m]igrants responding primarily to minus factors at origin tend to be negatively selected [...]”⁸⁵.

Here we are going to discuss two different theories that will explain the underlying causes of migration; Push and Pull theory and the Migrations Systems approach- that includes the geographical view and the colonial ties that are linked to international migration. These theories try do give a broader understanding to why people want to leave their country of origin and to move to another.

5.1 Push and Pull- theory

International migration and settlement is a long-drawn-out process, which will be played out for the rest of the migrant’s life, and affect subsequent generations too. The theory suggests that migration is an individual action, and occurs due to social changes in one country and thus affects both the destination country and the country of origin. Actually, it was not the aim of the governments’ formats an ethnically diverse society but still, labour recruitment policies often do lead to creations of ethnic minorities. This in turn has far-reaching consequences for social relations, public policies, national identity as well as international relations⁸⁶.

⁸⁵ Robin Cohen, *Theories of migration*, 1996:23

⁸⁶ Stephen Castles & Mark J Miller, *The Age of Migration*, 1998:19

One theory of migration is the neo-classical economic equilibrium perspective and although it was only general statements not connected to any actual migration movement, it still is one theory used by many demographers, geographers and economists. The basic assumption of this theory shows tendencies of people to move from “densely to sparsely populated areas, or from low to high income areas, or link migrations to fluctuations in the business cycle”. This theory is called the ‘push-pull’ theory due to the cause of migration being that one is pushed out of the sending country for different reasons and at the same time, there are reasons pulling them into receiving countries. Push factors can be anything from demographic growth, low living standards, and lack of economic opportunities to political repression, whereas pull factors can be need of labour, availability of land, good economic opportunities and political freedoms. In other words, it highlights the individual decision to migrate, which is based on a comparison of the relative costs and benefits of remaining in the area of origin or moving to various alternative destinations⁸⁷. This theory is individualistic and is rooted in the individual rational choice to decide to migrate or not. The individual looks at different factors and compares the situation he/she is living in to the one in the potential host country. Therefore the Neo-classical theory looks at the “individuals ‘search for the country of residence that maximizes their well-being [...] The search is constrained by the individual’s financial resources, by the immigration regulations imposed by competing host countries and by the emigration regulations of the source country”⁸⁸.

There are some critics to this theory because it would presume that immigrants would search for the most desirable country. As a result then, one would expect the most disadvantaged people to move from poor countries to richer areas. Here the theory lacks real explanation of actual movements or predicting future ones, since “[e]mpirical study shows that it is rarely the poorest people from the least developed countries who move to the richest countries; more frequently the migrants are people of intermediate social status from areas which are undergoing economic and social change”⁸⁹. Another critique would be that people that live in thickly populated areas do *not* migrate to the countries that have lightly population, like the push and pull theory includes, instead they to migrate to other areas. This means that the theory fails in explaining why a certain group of migrants goes to one country rather than another.

⁸⁷ Stephen Castles & Mark J Miller, *The Age of Migration*, 1998:20

⁸⁸ Stephen Castles & Mark J Miller, *The Age of Migration*, 1998:21

⁸⁹ Stephen Castles & Mark J Miller, *The Age of Migration*, 1998:21

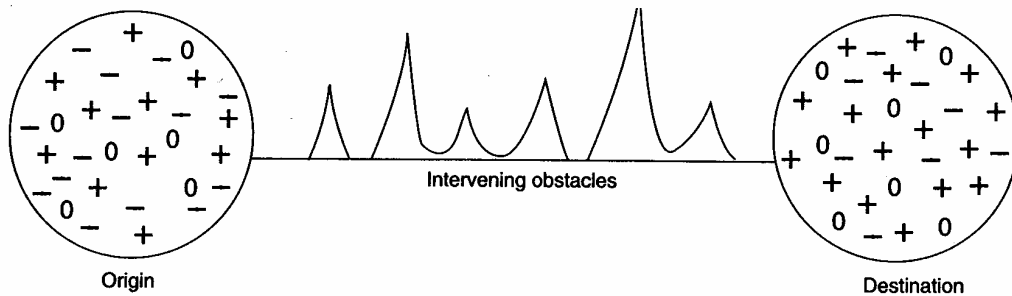


Figure 3.3 Behavioural models of the migration process. d. Lee's (1966: 48) 'intervening obstacles' model.

Box 3.4 Push and pull factors influencing migration

So-called 'push' and 'pull' factors have a long pedigree within migration research. The original formulation envisaged a combination of push factors from the origin and pull factors from the destination bringing about any one migration. These factors were summarised by Bogue as follows:

Push factors

- Decline in a national resource or the prices it commands; decreased demand for a particular product or service; exhaustion of mines, timber or agricultural resources.
- Loss of employment due to incompetence, changing employers' needs, or automation or mechanisation.
- Discriminatory treatment on the grounds of politics, religion or ethnicity.
- Cultural alienation from a community.
- Poor marriage or employment opportunities.
- Retreat due to natural or humanly created catastrophe.

Pull factors

- Improved employment opportunities.
- Superior income-earning opportunities.
- Opportunities for specialised training or education.

- Preferable environment or general living conditions.
- Movement as a result of dependency on someone else who has moved, such as a spouse.
- Novel, rich or varied cultural, intellectual or recreational environment (especially the city for rural populations).

From the perspective of the 1990s or from within specific societal contexts we may, of course, wish to modify these factors quite considerably. Indeed, any citing of just push and pull factors is now generally considered as being far too simplistic to explain observed migrations. We can recognise the presence of both push and pull factors in both origin and destination. In addition, attention must also be paid in particular to 'intervening obstacles' that can impede particular migrations, such as family obligations at the origin, the costs of moving, legal constraints and personal anxiety about migration. Understanding these obstacles suggests a need to adopt more humanist and structuralist perspectives when investigating the migration decision-making process.

Source: Bogue 1969; Lewis 1982.

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Above is an outline of the push and pull theory that captures the main causes for being pushed out from one place and pulled into another.

⁹⁰ Paul Boyle, Keith Halfacree, Vaughan Robinson, *Exploring Contemporary Migration*, 1998:67

5.2 Migrations Systems approach

Kritz and Zlotnik bring up this Migrations Systems approach as a framework for understanding international migration in order to capture the changing trends and patterns of contemporary international migration. One base of this approach is that the concept of a migration system is constituted by a group of countries that exchanges large amount of migrants with one another. At the lowest this system includes at least two countries and further more it indicates that both migration and other flows link countries together into a system. This means that “[s]uch flows occur within national contexts whose policy, economic, technological, and social dimensions are constantly changing, partly in response to the feedbacks and adjustments that stem from the migration flow itself”⁹¹, in other words people can move in both directions and it is possible to move in multiple stages. (look at model below).

Migration system theory further suggests “migratory movements generally arise from the existence of prior links between sending and receiving countries based on colonisation, political influence, trade, investment or cultural ties”⁹². Countries are either usually characterized by higher wages and better welfare conditions, which makes them receivers or characterized by lower wages and poorer welfare conditions, which makes them senders. It also states that within the system it is not surprising that tourist and student flows use the same patterns as the migration flows before in using personal contacts and the exchange of information. Economic and political factors are involving and changing throughout time and consequently affect the supply of and demand for migrants. There are situations where mainly unskilled labour is needed due to demographic shortages, while there are other situations where managerial and technical skills are needed. Besides this chain migration is the foremost pattern of long-term movement.

Migrations systems can be defined in various ways, where geographical views are of importance as well as historical and cultural backgrounds. Meaning that there are historical events that still affect contemporary migration, in other words “[w]hile the colonial era has ended, the remnants of the colonial system continue to shape international migration and

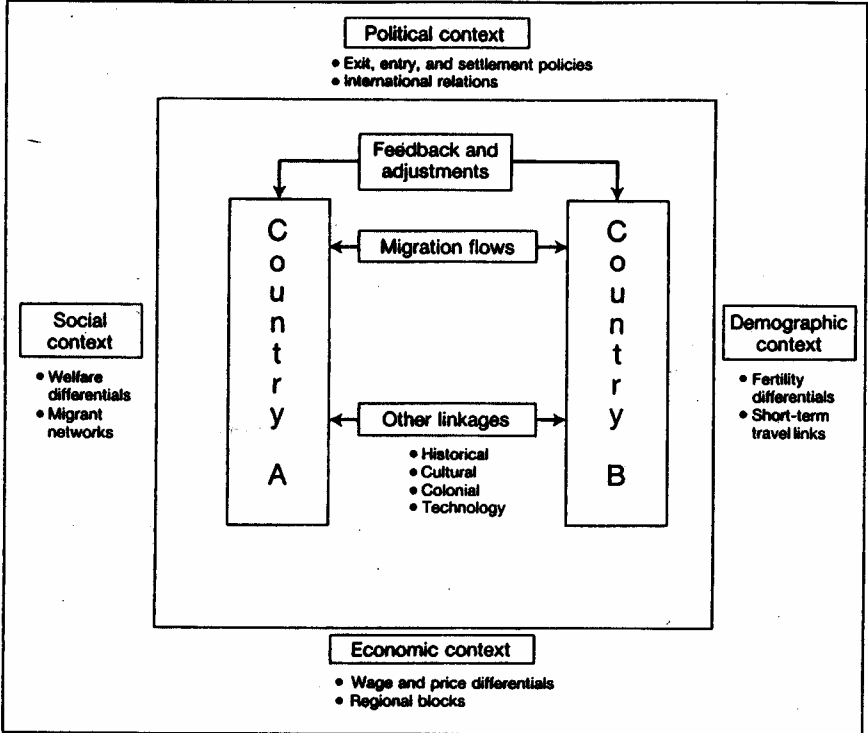
⁹¹ Mary M. Kritz, Lin Leam Lin, Hania Zlotnik, *International Migration Systems- A global approach*, 1992:3

⁹² Stephen Castles & Mark J Miller, *The Age of Migration*, 1998:24

other flows between states”⁹³. To take as an example, France maintains to influence some of its African former colonies, both politically and economically. It has even bilateral and multilateral agreements that contain special provisions for the flow of migrants. Mostly of the African countries migrate to countries where they have been under colonial rulings due perhaps to the language link etc, where they find that they have some sort of connection with, example why many Algerians migrates to France, or many Moroccans choose Spain as their destination country have to do with these connections.

A Migrations Systems Approach

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⁹³ Mary M. Kritz, Lin Leam Lin, Hania Zlotnik, *International Migration Systems- A global approach*, 1992:5
⁹⁴ Mary M. Kritz, Lin Leam Lin, Hania Zlotnik, *International Migration Systems- A global approach*, 1992:3

6. Previous research

One similar research found is *Immigration to the European Union- Contradictory Situation of Spain*, done by Tapio Raunio and Johanna Ollila in 2001. This work presents a more theoretical aspect of how Spain deals with the illegals and what the EU has to say in the matter.

Another similar research found is one by Ivan Briscoe where he outlines the reasons for leaving Morocco and choosing Spain. He does this in a form of an interview with an immigrant where he tells his story but also includes facts and figures that he bases his interview upon.

6.1 Spain as a Southern Gate

The writers, Raunio and Ollila bring up the fact that Spain was experiencing economic growth, which led to, gaps that needed to be filled in the labour market. Due to this and geographical factors, immigration flows increased which led to Spain functioning as a magnet for “unskilled immigrant workers from developing countries who come looking for work and economic opportunities”⁹⁵. Even though mass immigration flows had started to take place, Moroccan immigration especially increased after the 1970’s across the Iberian Peninsula. At this time, immigration increased with 24 per cent and during 1980 to 1990 the number was estimated to 253 per cent. The writers see this as a remarkable finding since it emphasizes on the new immigration change, meaning that there was a shift to the Third World origin of immigrants. This meant that the immigration flows from the European Union and North America started to decrease while the flows from the Third World countries increased. In fact, the numbers represented by the Third World countries were as high as 278 per cent during this 15-year period.

The results of the research also brings up the demographical analysis of immigration in Spain where it shows an obvious division between “the elite immigrants, who usually come from

⁹⁵ Tapio Raunio & Johanna Ollila, *Immigration to the European Union- Contradictory Situation of Spain*, 2001:8, <http://www.mv.helsinki.fi/home/jmollila/Migration%20and%20the%20EU.pdf> printed out from www.scholargoogle.com 2004-12-06

industrialized countries, and immigrant workers, who generally are from the non-industrialized countries and tend to be young, have little education and work in the lowest levels of the labour market”⁹⁶.

6.2 Opinions inside the European Union

Raunio and Ollila include an overview of articles in “Migration News” that treat the issue of immigration in the EU and in Spain. Opinions, acts and facts of different actors will be introduced and compared. There is a similar problem between the members states in the EU concerning the fertility rates that shows that the “[f]ertility is below replacement levels in all EU member nations, so that, without immigration, EU populations and labour forces would shrink”⁹⁷. Unemployment rates are also presented which states that these rates for foreigners from outside the EU are often two to three times higher than for natives and EU nationals. Interestingly, this is not the case for Spain.

Regarding immigration, as stated before, Spain is suffering from the attempts to enter illegally by smuggling and trafficking. Therefore the EU amongst other things is trying to find solutions, such as increasing penalties on traffickers, a minimum jail sentence of six years for the ones trafficking in women and offering temporary residence permits to women, in order for them to testify against traffickers. In May 2001 EU Justice and Home Affairs ministry agreed on a common definition of human trafficking, which meant at least eight years for those convicted of trafficking. Trafficking is defined as “taking migrants over borders in pursuit of financial gain or smuggling migrants for the purpose of sexual exploitation, use of sweatshop labour and abuse of migrant children”⁹⁸.

When it comes to work permits the EU employers have to search for local workers a minimum of thirty days before giving a job to a non-EU foreigner. In the case of Spain, this

⁹⁶ Tapio Raunio & Johanna Ollila, *Immigration to the European Union- Contradictory Situation of Spain*, 2001:9, <http://www.mv.helsinki.fi/home/jmollila/Migration%20and%20the%20EU.pdf> printed out from www.scholargoogle.com 2004-12-06

⁹⁷ Tapio Raunio & Johanna Ollila, *Immigration to the European Union- Contradictory Situation of Spain*, 2001:15, <http://www.mv.helsinki.fi/home/jmollila/Migration%20and%20the%20EU.pdf> printed out from www.scholargoogle.com 2004-12-06

⁹⁸ Tapio Raunio & Johanna Ollila, *Immigration to the European Union- Contradictory Situation of Spain*, 2001:16, <http://www.mv.helsinki.fi/home/jmollila/Migration%20and%20the%20EU.pdf> printed out from www.scholargoogle.com 2004-12-06

has shown to be irrelevant because many immigrants in Spain work below circumstances that no Spaniard would approve.

Moreover, in order to deal with the illegals in Spain, measures taken were legalizing the ones already settled in the country. 244.787 applied for legal status in 2000-2001 and as a result 184.429 were regularized and 53.182 were denied, most of the applicants were from Morocco⁹⁹. Another measurement that Spain is taking, is the effort to cooperate with the countries of origin, for instance with Morocco, to reduce the illegal flows. Since “[w]ithout doubt, the most problematic immigrants’ country of origin for Spain is its Southern neighbour Morocco and the people coming in through that country”¹⁰⁰. As a result, in 2001 an agreement was signed between Spain and Morocco in order to regulate the flow of migrant workers. This agreement meant that workers would be hired through a commission that would lay out an annual quota of guest workers that were between 10.000 to 20.000 workers a year.

6.3 Spain as a southern border of the EU and the African neighbours

Also mentioned in Raunio’s and Ollila’s study is that checking Spain’s borders have not been an easy task to prevent illegal migration, mostly referring to the borders between Morocco and Spain. In fact, the distance is as little as 14 km at the narrowest point. As brought up in the media, many boats sink when trying to cross, which makes the Strait “the largest massgrave in Europe”¹⁰¹. However, the ones that do make it have support groups who provide them with temporary shelter, clothes, bus tickets, and advice on legalization. But it is important to point out that Spain has not been very efficient in controlling the external borders and the agreements, that these countries involved have, are not sufficient.

⁹⁹ Tapio Raunio & Johanna Ollila, *Immigration to the European Union- Contradictory Situation of Spain*, 2001:18, <http://www.mv.helsinki.fi/home/jmollila/Migration%20and%20the%20EU.pdf> printed out from www.scholargoogle.com 2004-12-06

¹⁰⁰ Tapio Raunio & Johanna Ollila, *Immigration to the European Union- Contradictory Situation of Spain*, 2001:18, <http://www.mv.helsinki.fi/home/jmollila/Migration%20and%20the%20EU.pdf> printed out from www.scholargoogle.com 2004-12-06

¹⁰¹ Tapio Raunio & Johanna Ollila, *Immigration to the European Union- Contradictory Situation of Spain*, 2001:21, <http://www.mv.helsinki.fi/home/jmollila/Migration%20and%20the%20EU.pdf> printed out from www.scholargoogle.com 2004-12-06

Government officials within the EU, reported that Morocco needed more than trade agreements if the country was to escape from poverty and become a stable and a secure neighbour. Although the government have signed an agreement in order to create a free trade zone Moroccans nevertheless, said that the EU ignored them and that they either should be given reasons for staying in Spain or greater access to European jobs. Moreover, “[t]he Moroccan government feels that it deserves more cooperative arrangements with the EU because it serves as a buffer between the EU and the rest of Africa and the Islamic world”¹⁰². Even though this agreement is seen as insufficient it is still seen as the best-developed co-development relationship, compared to other countries.

6.4 A research about migration between Morocco and Spain

Another similar study found is one by Ivan Briscoe where he brings up different perspectives to why Moroccans want to leave and why they choose Spain. Ivan Briscoe is editor of the English edition of El País newspaper in Madrid. He recently worked for the Buenos Aires Herald, the UNESCO Courier and in the field of development research. In this article, he explains migration between these two countries in particular and what pushes them out from Morocco and what pulls them into Spain. Briscoe discovers a link between Morocco’s political frustrations and the desire of many of its people for escape.

6.5 A case study done by Ivan Briscoe

Briscoe goes to Tangier where he finds Abubakr Khamlachi who agrees to tell his story. Abubakr was imprisoned for six years in one of Morocco’s most dangerous prisons and was left totally unprepared for the life outside which makes his story a unique one. They agreed to meet in a café in Bir Chifa, which is one of Tangiers’s poorest suburbs. The café is a place where a lot of working age men spends their mornings by drinking tea, smoking water pipes and watching TV. This proves his point about people having nothing to do and falls into this routine behaviour of everyday life. Abubakr highlights his point by saying: “[e]veryone here

¹⁰² Tapio Raunio & Johanna Ollila, *Immigration to the European Union- Contradictory Situation of Spain*, 2001:22, <http://www.mv.helsinki.fi/home/jmollila/Migration%20and%20the%20EU.pdf> printed out from www.scholar.google.com 2004-12-06

wants one thing', [...] '[t]o migrate'"¹⁰³. Having Spain as close as only fourteen kilometres away makes the feelings about migrating stronger. The reasons for people migrating northwards is motivated by an inequality of wealth, meaning that the average income in Spain is almost thirteen times higher than people receive in Morocco. The country's foreign population is about 2.6 million (in a total of 40 million) where Moroccans constitute around 600,000 of them¹⁰⁴. Many of the Moroccans are illegal ones that support themselves through the shadow market economy. Despite this, Abubakr still wants to choose to exit and states "you're considered more illegal in your own country than in any other. You have no work, no health care, and no welfare. At least over there you have some protection- all you have to do is get work and you're saved"¹⁰⁵.

José Maria Aznar who led Spain for eight years, before current government of Zapatero took over, had few doubts over how to best deal with the migratory pressure where he wanted to stop illegal migration. His foreigner's law (ley de extranjería) was renewed three times in order to close most doors that a potential illegal migrant would use to get residence permit. Aznar knew that the illegal flow still would occur and therefore put pressure on the Moroccan government who was reluctant at first but after the death of thirty-seven Moroccans near the Andalusian shore, they decided to co-operate.

Abubakr states that there are a lot of places near the coast of Morocco where smuggling is ongoing. He also says that there are similar circumstances in the other African countries that take risks and leave for a better life, "[o]ur country is not a place to dwell in,' [...]you cannot feed or clothe yourself in Nigeria. We are going to Europe to uplift our families"¹⁰⁶. Abubakr says that they in fact will take any chance and risk their lives in order to get to Spain and improve their living standards. Many of the attempts start out in Missnana, which is a forest close to Ceuta where boats (pateras) take off for Spain. There are a lot of cases in this

¹⁰³ Article written by Ivan Briscoe, editor of EL País newspaper in Madrid in 2004-27-5, <http://opendemocracy.net/themes/article-2-1919.jsp> printed out from <http://opendemocracy.net/home/index.jsp> 2005-05-09

¹⁰⁴ Article written by Ivan Briscoe, editor of EL País newspaper in Madrid in 2004-27-5, <http://opendemocracy.net/themes/article-2-1919.jsp> printed out from <http://opendemocracy.net/home/index.jsp> 2005-05-09

¹⁰⁵ Article written by Ivan Briscoe, editor of EL País newspaper in Madrid in 2004-27-5, <http://opendemocracy.net/themes/article-2-1919.jsp> printed out from <http://opendemocracy.net/home/index.jsp> 2005-05-09

¹⁰⁶ Article written by Ivan Briscoe, editor of EL País newspaper in Madrid in 2004-27-5, <http://opendemocracy.net/themes/article-2-1919.jsp> printed out from <http://opendemocracy.net/home/index.jsp> 2005-05-09

area, where the Moroccan civil society organisations report numbers of people dying annually. When they are at sea, they all face the same dangers of riding storms “for over twelve hours in eight-metre long boats- all to avoid the patrols and radars and other gizmos of migration control”¹⁰⁷.

Briscoe further mentions some factors to why people want to leave Morocco;

- The oligarchic ruling (the King’s holding group now owns an estimated 60 per cent of all shares on the Moroccan stock market)
- High urban unemployment
- Unmet expectations in Morocco
- The regular departure of thousands of young, ambitious citizens diminishes social discontent
- Flee political pressure¹⁰⁸

Above all, Europe and Spain deal with a sensitive type of migration in the sense that Moroccans come from a reality of semi-dictatorship, to one where human rights are more respected, “[w]ithout radical social change, Morocco will continue to export its young people- over a third of whom are under 18, compared with under a fifth of Spain’s –and offer transit to others...”¹⁰⁹. Abubakr thinks that the Moroccan situation can only be solved with a more modest approach, one that is adapted to Morocco’s capacities instead of one that stretches Morocco out. In other words, he thinks that the reason to why the people want to emigrate is because some gets a lot and others get nothing. Briscoe concludes his interview and facts by saying;

“The glitter of Spain will not soon fade. Only when Moroccans have more of a stake in their own society – and a reason to stay and improve their lives there rather than risk all across the Straits – will the relationship between these intimate neighbours be transformed from dilemma into opportunity”¹¹⁰.

¹⁰⁷ <http://opendemocracy.net/themes/article-2-1919.jsp> printed out 2005-05-09

¹⁰⁸ <http://opendemocracy.net/themes/article-2-1919.jsp> printed out 2005-05-09

¹⁰⁹ <http://opendemocracy.net/themes/article-2-1919.jsp> printed out 2005-05-09

¹¹⁰ <http://opendemocracy.net/themes/article-2-1919.jsp> printed out 2005-05-09

7. ATIME: Asociación de Trabajadores e Inmigrantes Marroquíes en España

This following section is an interview with Mohammed Al Bulidi, the coordinator of the organization. This organization is financed by the Spanish Government and helps Moroccans that are situated in Spain with various assignments. These assignments can both be legally and socially oriented, in other words, it helps Moroccans to integrate and make it easier in the Spanish society. It can be anything from paper work to household and translation work. This was hoped to lead to a broader understanding and give a general knowledge in order to facilitate the understanding of the difficult situation of Moroccans.

7.1 A brief history of ATIME

This organization was founded in October 1989 as a help to Moroccan immigrants with different obstacles that are faced with their integration in to the Spanish society. It facilitates to defend their individual rights and help them with their life conditions. Even though this is seen mainly as a help for Moroccans, one should also highlight that this organization helps immigrants from other areas as well. Since its foundation ATIME has defended different causes for illegal immigrants in trying to contribute to their integration into the Spanish society. It offers integration programmes, educational as well as cultural, to complement the constitution and laws of Spain. This organization has shown to be so effective that they are at present located in ten different provinces. They are now up to 10.000 employees that have different tasks to orientate the immigrants social and legal being. The social perspective deals with issues such as housing, job opportunities and the rights of women and children. Whereas the legal perspective deals with different types of paperwork, which can for instance be language barriers or need of lawyers.

7.2 The interview with Mohammed Al Bulidi

Mohammed Al Bulidi started the interview by stating why some Moroccans decided to leave Morocco. By doing so he explained that historically, the tough life in Morocco due to the King that reigned at the time was one reason for leaving. Meaning that freedom was limited and the King had removed basic rights for the population. The population did not own much because the King owned almost everything. Moreover, the King had the right to imprison somebody with little grounds and was seen as somewhat of a tyrant. Together with the difficulty in obtaining a job, it made the incentives to leave even greater. At first, there was more migration from rural to urban areas in order to get a job, which still was not satisfactory since the payment conditions was not good in consideration of their educational level.

In trying to explain why Spain was the destination country Mohammed said that Spain was not the actual country to go to in the first place. People wanted to go to France, the Netherlands and Belgium, and Spain was still considered as a transit country. Due to the fact that Spain also was under the ruling of the dictator Franco and the rights were also limited for the Spaniards at the time. But this all changed with Franco's death where the liberation of Spain started to take place and is still seen as ongoing. This transition started around the 80's where Spain started to become a country of immigration rather than emigration. The reasons for Spain being attractive for the Moroccans were more rights, more job opportunities and the geographical distance, which made it easier to come. Mr. Al Bulidi further stated that since Eastern parts of Morocco were once colonized, the language made it easier to choose Spain as the destination country.

Regarding the treatment of Moroccans in Spain Mr. Al Bulidi brought up the difficulties that the Moroccans are faced with, such as discrimination. Mr. Al Bulidi said that they are encountered with discriminatory behaviour not only in their daily lives but also in the labour market. By this he meant that it was not only the low-skilled ones that came to ATIME for help but also highly educated that still faced difficulties in entering the labour market. Although high skilled labour was needed, the Spanish community still chose natives, which was explained by the fact that Spain had just recently turned into a democracy. Twenty-five years of democracy was not enough time and the natives were thus waiting for the former emigrated Spaniards to return and fill in the positions. Considering this, it was difficult for a

Spaniard to see an immigrant (in this case Moroccans) take their jobs. Mr. Al Bulidi further states:

“the other day a Moroccan with a doctor degree stepped into the office and wanted a lawyer to handle his case. He was disappointed about the fact that he still had to sleep on the streets because he couldn’t get a job as a doctor here [...] The discrimination that he was faced with was beyond his imagination and the tough restrictions that the Spanish community have started to stress him out...He knew that he had to find a job within six months or else the Spanish authorities wouldn’t renew his visa...Why do you think they wouldn’t want to hire a doctor? Has this to do with racism?”

He further went on to say:

“Twenty five years of democracy isn’t that long, the Spaniards are still ‘hungry’[...] And unfortunately, the stereotype of Moroccans is not always a good one where they usually end up taking the role as the scapegoats. Even though immigrants from Latin American countries constitute the biggest minority in Spain, Moroccans nevertheless are the ones that suffer the most. Therefore this organization is trying to ease up for Moroccans by helping them out with paper work and in other areas...But still this organization is open for everyone, not only for the Moroccans”

Mr. Al Bulidi brought up another important point in saying that ATIME has the privilege to ‘keep quiet’ about who is coming there, legal as well as illegal. They are not obligated to report about the existing number of illegals coming to seek help although the government finances the organization itself. Regardless, the organization is still a helping hand in trying to integrate immigrants, in other words, this organization helps the government, along with making it easier to solve some problems that can occur when it comes to immigration matters.

“if the police don’t have a search warrant, we have the right to refuse to let them in. They are not allowed to ask about the illegals.”

To conclude, this organization is not only helping the individual himself but also in the collective perspective, meaning that it plays a big role when it comes to migration matters. Helping immigrants to integrate into the society is not always an easy task, therefore is this organization approved by the community and looked at as useful and a

much-needed straw. It reaches out in many levels and is expanding more every day where it even reaches out through the media. They are now focusing on stopping the deaths of illegal entrances through the shores and their brochures are currently marked with:

“No Más Muertes-La emigración es una apuesta por la vida” [No more deaths-The emigration is a bet of life]¹¹¹

¹¹¹ Translation made by www.dictionary.com 2005-04-15

8. Centro sin Fronteras

This section is about an organization that is called Centro sin Fronteras that works with young Moroccans, both legal and illegal. This is an organization that is located in the centre of Madrid who helps young Moroccans in their everyday lives. The organization is mainly voluntary oriented meaning that external forces support it. It helps these young Moroccans to integrate into the Spanish society and also tries to provide them with security and a sense of belonging. These Moroccans are usually at a very early age in their lives, alone and without their families. Centro sin Fronteras has three employees and we had the opportunity to talk to them about their association and its goals. One of them is a 32-year-old woman with Moroccan background, but has lived all her life in Spain. The other two are Spaniards where one of them is a 28-year-old woman that have studied psychology and the other is a 25-year-old man, which is a part time student with an interest in humaniora. This organization is important to bring up since many illegals choose this resort to turn to and this in turn gives a significant base to this research.

8.1 The foundation of Centro sin Fronteras

Initially, this organization started out in 2000, as a research project with the thought of receiving a broader insight about young immigrants between the ages 16-23 (although this number varies) that are situated in Spain without family. This was/is a social integration program for young people where the project was voluntary and they were provided with project money in order to process their research. However, the founders found it giving in the way that it made progress and it turned out to be considerable help for many of these young Moroccans and consequently it altered into what they today call Centro sin Fronteras.

Furthermore, there are three donors that supported them in the past and still are vital for its survival such as; *Caja Madrid* (which is one of the district banks in Madrid) and *Hijos de calidad* (which is a scholarship association). The third one is a religious association that wants to help adolescents who feel lost and lonely and therefore Centro sin Fronteras was granted funds. With the money they received in the beginning, the founders got an apartment with supplies that help them in their work. The apartment has two bedrooms where there are

two beds in each room, a computer room, kitchen, game room, laundry room and a living room with a TV where these youngsters can interact.

8.2 The interview with the staff

In the beginning they only admitted the ones that were in need of immediate help whereas today they admit the ones who also just want to socialize. In addition, these youngsters could use the available rooms for resting whereas today there are people who also come to spend the night. The workers claimed that they want to keep them out of trouble;

“We started this organization as a help for these kids and we can’t and we don’t want to refuse them when they need us. We want them to trust us and feel safe and secure but also we feel obligated to protect them. This way we can keep them off the dangerous streets. We offer them food, shelter, activities and more and hope that this keeps them away from criminality and the risk of falling into theft”

Moreover, the workers stated that they want to expand the organization even more because the need is a need for it. Today they are open three days a week but feel that they want to have more days open;

“Eventually, we are going to try to work five days a week since they need us and most of us feel so passionate about what we’re doing. Of course we want to expand our facilities and have more workers that are into these matters since this is an important cause”

Furthermore, they stated that usually the ones that seek help from Centro sin Fronteras are illegal that needs all sorts of help within the social sphere. Some just want friends to socialize with while others need someone to talk to who feels that somebody is there and understands their situation. They also said that there are many that come who have been through a lot and therefore needs guidance, which means that the workers also function as counsellors;

“You cannot imagine the ways that these youngsters use to enter Spain. We had this one kid that was hanging under a bus all the way from Ceuta to Algeciras. These are not ‘normal’ circumstances for a kid to have experienced, therefore he came to us and wanted someone he

could talk to. He misses his family a lot but described the flight to Spain as necessary because he wanted to create a good future for himself and saw Spain as his best chance”

As a conclusion, the workers stated that although their main focus is on adolescents, they still help others that also are in need of help;

“We don’t only consider us a legal agency but also one where people can meet, interact and develop in society. We do think that the age group that we focus on is important because this is the time when their personalities shape up. Despite this, we still ‘take care’ of the ones that turn to us for help, whatever it is that we are capable of providing”

9. The empirical study

In this section we will present an introduction to our case study, which will be followed by the interviews and finally by the results found.

9.1 Introduction to our case study

We have done five interviews with Moroccans who have either been illegal at some point or still are illegal. Four of the interviewees were received with the help of our key informant that also helped us with the translations. The interviews were carried out both in Arabic and Spanish and the key informant was necessary because of his knowledge of both Moroccan-Arabic and Spanish. Moreover, the key informant is Moroccan himself, which helped to build up a mutual trust between all the parties involved. We asked the questions and then the key informant helped out with the parts that we did not understand. Due to the lack of time, we could only get one interview from the organisation Centro sin Fronteras. We contacted them several times for more interviews but they did not seem to prioritise us, which explains why there only is one interview from them. In other words, we made these interviews as a sort of fieldwork where we were present with the staff and our 'translator friend'. Below there will be an outline of the questions and replies that we conducted. We start with the interview from Centro sin Fronteras and then continue with the other four that we got from our key informant/translator. Our main questions that we asked are built upon our research questions and our theories, which in turn help us draw conclusions and make a summary of the whole work. The quotations used in this section, are our own translations from Arabic and Spanish to English. On the next page, there is a map of Morocco that shows some of the cities and villages that our respondents come from, and which might give a picture of how the different possible routs are taken.



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9.2 The first interview

The first interviewee is the one we received from Centro sin Fronteras and with their help he has successfully obtained residence permit after his contact with them. Even though he is not longer an illegal immigrant, he helped us to understand how his situation looked like before becoming legal. The respondent is 28 years old and was born in Khenifra¹¹³, which is a small town located in central Morocco and perceived as fairly poor according to him. Although he is married, he initially came by himself to Spain, which was in 1999.

The reason to why he came to Spain was mainly for economical purpose, which meant that he wanted to improve his situation by finding a job. He stated that his occupation in Morocco was construction worker but did not see any future in working with this minimum wage. Therefore he saw Spain as an opportunity to obtain a higher salary where he continued to work within the same field. The thought was also to earn enough money to either to go back to Morocco or to bring his wife to Spain and in his case, it turned out to be the latter option;

¹¹² Map found from <http://encarta.msn.com/> printed out 2005-05-18

¹¹³ <http://www.infoplease.com/atlas/country/morocco.html> printed out 2005-05-04

“even though the thought was that I wanted to go back, things took on its own course and I ended up staying”

On the question to how he entered, he began explaining that he first went to Tangier in order to gather the necessary means to begin his journey to Spain. In Tangier, he got in contact with a man that told him how to get across the borders. For this information he had to pay a certain amount, which was around 2000 euros with the trip included.

“He told me at what time and what day to be at the harbour and that there would be a small boat waiting for me. We were around 6 persons, two were Moroccans and three were from Angola. Even though the conditions were bad and I knew I was taking a risk, I still wasn't afraid to take the leap. We left at dawn and arrived a few hours later to the coast of Tarifa. I was surprised and I guess a bit shocked that it went so easy. The first thing I did was to look for other Moroccans who could help me in any way possible to proceed”

He also stated that this was very common and not unfamiliar at all. People risk their lives everyday with the thought that they will improve their living standards.

“Even I saw Spain as a country with wealth and comfort where I thought everything was served to you and it was easy to make money, to the contrary in Morocco where poverty and bad living standards is everyday food. I left Morocco to live a better life”

Once he was in Spain he said that he had not heard of ATIME but that he had heard of Centro sin Fronteras through a colleague he worked with for a while. He contacted them and he explains them as very helpful where they even offered shelter for him. They knew that he was working which made the residence permit easier accessible. But although he was successful in obtaining the residence permit, he still feels a bit discriminated from time to time.

“I may have the residence permit, but I still feel as if people look at me and wonder if I am illegal. The Spanish authorities treat me badly and I never had a decent discussion without them becoming prejudiced. This is the situation for most Moroccans, at least the ones I talk to, and everyday hassle is an issue”

We also asked if he had ever been stopped by the police, who have the right to question immigrants if they suspect illegality, to show his documentation. He answered that he has

not been subjected to this and he thought that the reason was because he lived in a village and did not go much to the centre of Madrid.

Furthermore, we asked him about the regularization programme that the government is currently offering and if he thought it was a helpful step taken. He was very negative towards this and explained that he knew friends that have not even tried to apply since the programme has certain requirements that are needed to be fulfilled in order to obtain legal status.

“The regularization requires that you can prove that you have worked for at least six months and that is almost impossible to prove if you work illegally, since many that hire undocumented are afraid of getting caught. There are huge fines for the ones that hire illegally and therefore it is understandable that they often do not help with the necessary papers that the illegal needs. I do not understand how they are thinking if the thought is that this programme is suppose to help the most needy. I am one of the lucky ones that fortunately already have obtained legal status but my advice would be rather to contact an organization such as Centro sin Fronteras that look into individual cases and needs than waiting in line and at the end getting an negative answer”

As a conclusion we asked the respondent about his expectations before he came and if he thought that they were fulfilled, was it worth risking one’s life for? He had a mixed answer where he said that when it comes to economy, he knows that he earns more money in Spain but one also has to consider that living is also more expensive in Spain. He expected much more of Spain but reality was somewhat different;

“Like I said, I expected wealth and comfort and since I saw Moroccans that had lived in Spain and came back with money and showed off that it could happen to me as well. I thought it was the opposite. What I didn’t understand was that the ones that lived in Europe saves the whole year in order to come back and have a good vacation. So, no-my expectations were not fulfilled. Even though I have more rights here than in Morocco, it still feels like I have none. In Morocco I would have more dignity and respect for just being me, as opposing to here”

To sum it all up, there are clear signs for us to say that it is not what the respondent expected Spain to be. The respondent was negative to several aspects of coming to Spain. In the beginning he stated that every penny was worth it to cross the borders but that is before he knew the unexpected situation. He is critical of the police although he said that they had never stopped him. He is also critical of the regularization programme and says that it is not

working for most Moroccans. But he is thankful for the help he received from Centro sin Fronteras. Although he may seem like not being happy with his situation, he nevertheless feels that moving back would be too big of an adjustment because he has already settled here and started a life.

9.3 The second interview

To have these following interviews we had to go to a part of town where Moroccans meet and interact. The place was a coffee shop and our key informant knew about this place and some of them that usually go there. Therefore we had the opportunity to come along with him and find respondents for this research. Our key informant was essential for us because it helped the respondents to open up and trust us, which in turn gives this work more credibility.

Our second respondent is 27 years old and was born in Sidi Slimane, Morocco, which is a small village in the northern parts. The respondent said that it was a poor area where the demand on labour was low and this was one of the reasons to want to leave. At the time, the respondent was a student and therefore wanted educational opportunities. He had friends that told him that with his education he could get a better job in Spain. Therefore he decided to come alone to Spain in 1996. If he would succeed, his plans were to bring his family eventually. In other words, coming to Spain was for economical reasons and the notion of life in Spain being better:

"To be honest, I came for the money"

On the question of the journey itself, he said that the first thing he did was to go to the coast city Al Hoceima, which he was told from acquaintances. Once he got there, he got further information about his journey and how to proceed. He claimed to have paid 1000 euros to the person in charge for the arrangements.

"I was surprised to have paid so little compare to what others usually paid. However, when I actually got to the boat that was gonna take me across, I saw how they were trying to fit in more people than it was allowed to. I guess they wanted to make as much profit as possible and we

weren't capable of really complaining. The boat was rather small and it looked old. I still cannot understand how we all fit in or even survived the journey. I guess the distance played a big role as I'm sure it does for most of us. Once we arrived in Tarifa, I was relieved and thanked God for being with me through this. I immediately called family that I had there to tell them that I had arrived"

Regarding his expectations, he said that he saw Spain as his rescue where he could rapidly find a job and start earning money.

"I had so high thoughts of Spain, I saw people coming back to Morocco with nice cars and I guess I wanted what they had. Having a nice car is a sign of well being, and at the age of 18, I can now say that I was pretty naïve. My expectations were not fulfilled but I am still grateful for being here"

Furthermore, he thought that the Spanish authorities were very discriminatory in their approach towards him. He in fact called them all racists and he was subjected to police hassle frequently who asked him for valid documentation.

When we asked him if he had heard of organizations such as ATIME or Centro sin Fronteras he answered no but was surprised that he had not heard of them. He said that he mostly turned to his relatives for help. Even today, he and his relatives together own different stores to support themselves. He still is a bit disappointed that he did not continue with his studies or that he worked within that field but he nevertheless said:

"It's all about surviving, earning money is always the number one priority. There is no easy money here in Spain, you have to work for it if you don't want to sleep on the street"

Regarding the regularization programme, he said that he had heard of it but not applied since he already had his residence permit. In his opinion, the programme sounded a bit complicated because not everyone has the necessary documents to show. But he does also think that it was a positive step taken by the Spanish governments. He gave us an insight on how he received the permit, for instance, it was easier for him due to the fact that he could prove that he had several stores under his name, which gave the Spanish government a reason to grant him. Furthermore, he lived with his relatives, which showed the authorities that he was trustworthy. In other words, he both had papers that backed him up on his work and his living situation.

In the first few years of his life in Spain, he said that he did not know much of his rights. As an illegal, he constantly was afraid of being caught and therefore did not ask much about it. Besides, due to the fact that he had poor knowledge of Spanish made him more reluctant to question this.

As a conclusion about his life in Spain, he said the following:

“Don’t get me wrong, I like Spain, it has more to offer and its liberty is far more different than in Morocco. I chose Madrid because I wanted to have choices and feel the life of a big city since I come from a smaller village. As an 18 year old, Madrid was the most appealing for me. I did expect too much which I think people should know but I am still happy about how things have turned out. The stores are going well, I have made great friends and I have a life here. Who knows, I might be able to buy myself a really nice car soon...”

All in all, the respondent came from a small village where he thought it did not have much to offer. He was a student at the time and young, which pushed him out of Morocco and due to high expectations of Spain, he was eager to go and pursue a better life. He had heard about Spain from others, that it was easier to obtain a job and improve the economy, more rights were given and the fact that it was close were all reasons to leave.

9.4 The third interview

Our third respondent is 39 years old and was born in Casablanca, which lies on the western coast of Morocco. It is the largest city in Morocco and more well known where the class structures are more distinct and noticeable. The respondent said that the class differences in Casablanca were detrimental to one’s well being because of seeing so much wealth but being poor, and this criminalizes people. He is single and went to Spain on his own, which was in 1993. When we asked him if he planned to leave alone or to bring along relatives, he said that there were some persons that he would try to help to come later on. The respondent mentioned two main reasons to why he chose Spain as his destination country, the first being of economical nature and the second being its close border. He mentioned how difficult it was for him to improve his economy although he was director of a textile industry before

leaving. The fact that he lived in a bigger city did thus not matter regarding his chances to improve his economy:

“There might be job opportunities but if you are from a certain area and live a certain way, you are doomed to stay in that position. On the one side of the street you see a Christian Dior store and on the other side you see a guy cutting himself since his mother died of hunger. The structure of Casablanca is so difficult to get away from, meaning that the contrasts between people’s standard of living are huge and inequality is seen everywhere. There are some areas where people constantly feel fear of being evicted with no reason whereas in the richer areas you can escape fines with bribery”

On the question of the journey itself, he stated that he had to go to the border of Morocco in order to cross. He got in contact with a smuggler in Casablanca who asked him if he wanted to go to Spain and that he had the necessary information. He paid around 7000 euros and had to go to Tangier in order to proceed from there:

“When I arrived in Tangier, I wasn’t told much except for when and where to show up the following morning. That night I slept at a shelter along with people who were in the same situation as me and I can still remember the atmosphere. It all seemed so suspicious and many times I wondered if it was worth it. The actual day at early dawn, we all gathered and went to the coast where there was a boat waiting for us. That particular day was very windy and I couldn’t imagine that we would reach the Spanish city of Tarifa in one piece. We were all afraid of the boat capsizing and people were talking about what to do if that would occur. Everyone was just as afraid, and the fact that the boat was overcrowded did not make it any easier.

Once he was inside Spain, he and his compatriots tried to figure out ways to get to Madrid, since they knew that that was where they wanted to go. He had some relatives in Madrid that made his choice easier. The expectations were very high:

“Once you have laid your foot inside Spain, you have your foot inside the rest within the European Union, I thought that this was a land of great opportunities and therefore was eager to earn to money so that maybe later I could go to France. My dream was at the beginning to go to France, but I ended up staying here and I probably will. I can easily say that the expectations were not fulfilled and the life here is more difficult than what I imagined maybe that is why I am currently unemployed, but then again I may not have been so realistic in my mind”

Regarding on how the Spanish authorities are treating him, he had a lot of different stories to tell, where he was once subjected to police violence:

“I was sleeping on a bench when all of a sudden I woke up by a policeman wanting to see my papers. I was startled and when I started to discuss with him he pulled out his gun and threatened me. I made up some story, that made him finally to calm down and leave, I guess the whole thing was about showing his power structure”

As a consequence to this and other events he thought of the police as very discriminative and that he could sense the xenophobia towards Moroccans.

We asked if he knew about any of the organizations that we have brought up, and he said that he have heard of ATIME, but never contacted them. When we asked him why, he said that there was not a meaning of going there since he was told that they only help those with papers and those with jobs. As an illegal the only rights he knew of were the ones involving medical care in an emergency, which he thought was rather unique.

Furthermore, he said that he has heard about the regularization programme and has applied, but due to a minor criminal offence in the past he is faced with difficulties in obtaining amnesty. Therefore, he was very negative about his situation in Spain, since he had expected an easy road to wealth and a better life:

“I thought that I would easily get a job, with my occupational background. They told me that Spain needed labour in this section and that is what attracted me here. Instead I am unemployed”

To sum it all up, coming from a large city was not seen as help for this respondent. In fact, he thought that the huge class differences were an incentive to leave Morocco. Since he had a rather good occupation in Morocco, he thought that it would be easier for him to earn money in Spain in order to eventually move to France. Once inside Spain, he thought of daily life as being hard as an illegal immigrant. Although he has applied for amnesty, it does not seem like he will get it without proper papers. Being here for more than ten years and still not having legal status makes him more negative every day. To sleep on benches or being unemployed were not the expectations that he had of Spain before coming.

9.5 The fourth interview

Our fourth respondent is 28 years old and was born in Casablanca, Morocco. He comes from a big family with five siblings where he is the oldest. From a young age he started to recognize that he wanted to become an athlete, and during his upbringing he competed and took part in as many competitions as he could. But being an athlete in Morocco does not give much to survive on and he had many part time jobs to support himself and his family. He started a small association, where young athletes could gather together such as him and have a chance to develop. During this time he sought to get in contact with bigger associations to have a chance to compete in an international level. He knew that the most effective co-operation would be with a European country, and for starters, Spain due to its nearness. Spain did in fact agree on this since when he applied it did not take much time until he was granted a tourist visa. This occurred in 2003 and he came alone to Spain as a tourist for the first time. Madrid seemed like the best option for him, due to it being the capital and a big city. His plans at first were to succeed as an athlete but much to his dismay once he did not, he ended up overstaying. As the oldest in the family and the responsibility that comes along with it, he was determined not to go back as a failure:

“My first intent was to do well in Spain [...] the competitions did not go as well as expected. I did not want to show my family that I was failing, since they had shown their faith in me. Even when I knew that my tourist visa had expired, I still decided to stay in Spain...”

The respondent has now been in Spain for two years, and when we asked him what the reasons were for choosing this country in particular, he answered that the first thing was actually for economical reasons. Even if he had become successful in Morocco, he would still earn better money as a successful athlete in Spain. The second reason was the distance, he chose Spain since he knew that even if he would live in another country, it would still be close enough to visit his family:

“There are many reasons for why I chose Spain, but the far most important was the fact that it is close to my family. I knew so many Moroccans that have succeeded in Spain, so I wanted to try my luck as well [...] you can say that earning money was and still is the main reason to why I left Morocco. What else should I have done? Sit on street corners and chit chat with the other guys everyday, I want more from life than that”

In other words, his expectations were high of Spain as he was hoping to improve his economy substantially and have greater chances within the field of athletics. He thought that Spain could offer him a great future, where he later could bring his family and save them from poverty. The respondent thinks that Spain did not live up to his expectations but still is optimistic:

“I may not have been here for a long time, but somehow I thought it would have gone faster. I still hope to succeed as soon as possible so I can bring my family. I feel for my family I want what is best for them [...] I mean that they will probably be better off here. For instance I could put the younger ones in better school here. I know that I have expected too much of Spain, but still it is too soon to say anything definite”

Regarding the authority's treatment of him, he stated that they are tough, in the sense that they act upon their power and treat immigrants badly. The respondent also said that he has been stopped several times by the police and had bad perception of them:

“I always feel that they are being suspicious towards me and they probably enjoy acting on it. It is not only on us, you can see the Ecuadorians and the Dominicans getting the same treatments. I think most of the policemen are very cocky and without any manners. The only reason that they let me off the hook is because I show them my association papers, where it states that I am an competing athlete”

Today, the respondent works with construction work as a supplement to his athletic career. Through his work he found out about the organization, ATIME, and said that he has turned to them for help regarding his paper work. He thinks that it is good that the organization exists since they are helpful in a lot of areas:

“One thing that they helped me with was that I didn't know much about my rights here in Spain. They informed me that if I was in need of medical care I could get it. For instance an ambulance is obligated to help me even though I am here illegally. And I have some friends, who received help from ATIME with finding accommodation”

Furthermore, the respondent has heard about the regularization programme and has applied, but due to its restricted nature, he did not get granted. They claim that he did not have the necessary papers from his employer that proved his employment in the construction business.

“This programme is ineffective and it is not offering amnesty to everyone, instead they have high criteria, which make it almost impossible to be granted. I am almost certain that they developed this programme to get a clue on how many illegal immigrants exist in the country, since they deny a lot of people”

As a conclusion, the respondent has for many years been an athlete, and thought of Spain to provide him with better opportunities within this field. He comes from a big family, and as the oldest, he felt a responsibility of doing well. He came to Spain on a tourist visa but ended up overstaying. The visa only lasted for a couple of months and did not give much time to fulfil his plans. Therefore, he supports himself as a construction worker as well. Despite this, he has not given up yet and hopes to bring his family to Spain eventually, with the hope to a greater future for him and his family.

9.6 The fifth interview

Our fifth respondent is 30 years old and comes from a small village close to the town Khenifra, which he thinks is one of the worse areas in Morocco. He thought that there were not enough work opportunities, which is one of the reasons why he left Morocco. He decided to come to Spain because he had heard that there would be more job opportunities for him and this would improve his economy. Khenifra was too small for him and that the fact that it is a poor town did not make it any easier. He did not think he had much of a social life there and at the same time he saw a lot of people going abroad to work. Consequently, he took the decision to go to Spain alone in 2003:

“For a lot of young men in Morocco, there is not much to do. The consequence of not having a job is hanging on street corners with fellow compatriots and having a rather dull existence. In worst case, some choose to do dirty business in order to support themselves”

On the question of the journey itself, he said that there is a huge supply of people in Khenifra ready to get you into Spain illegally. It was not difficult to find the necessary contacts or the information. He went to Ceuta as he was told and found out that he was going to be hidden in a lorry on the way to Spain and the cost for this was 7000 euros. Once he was in Spain, he

was also promised work and help with housing, which explains the high amount. When asked if he thought that it was expensive he said:

“Of course I thought it was a lot of money, this was all the savings I had. But that’s what people pay, isn’t it? At the time, I actually thought it was a bargain because it meant for me that I could go to Spain without making much effort and having a job”

He arrived in Algeciras and met the other contact that took him to Madrid. The thing he was surprised about was that the job promise was just something made up:

“The guy that drove me from Algeciras to Madrid was actually quite nice, we talked the whole way and it all seemed so reliable. But once we arrived in Madrid and I asked the guy, what do I do from here, he played not knowing. I was furious but what could I do? I wanted to tear the man into pieces but understood that this is how they operate. I asked him helplessly if he at least knew where I could spend the night and he then ‘offered’ himself to drive me to an organization called ATIME who he had heard could help out people in my situation with housing”

As seemingly, the respondent expected much more out of Spain. He paid 7000 euros for the journey and for this he was promised both work and accommodation. He wanted a better life for himself, a life he could not get in Morocco. In other words, for 7000 euros he expected the best.

Regarding the treatment from the Spanish authorities, the respondent has not much to say about them, they have treated him neutrally and with kindness. He is very hopeful about staying in Spain and has only positive things to say about it. Even the police has treated him well and told about one time when the police stopped him;

“I was waiting for a friend in Sol [the centrum] in front of the metro, and a police car came next me and asked me if I could show my papers to prove my residence in Spain [...] I showed the papers, which stated that my case is now under consideration, due to the regularization programme. The policemen said thanks and moved on [...] Of course, it can get to you that the police ask specially you for the papers, but I understand their situation, it is their job. I have heard so many stories from other friends on how the police are treating them, but when it comes to mine, I have never been under abuse and they have mostly been normal and showed their understanding”

The respondent further stated that he had heard of ATIME because that is the first place he went to in Madrid. Considering his situation and the fraud he was subjected to, he is grateful for its existence.

“Imagine being in a new country that is totally foreign to you and you don’t know anyone or anything. I thought that I would have to sleep on the street, which would be fine maybe for one night, but then what? What would I do the next day and the day after that? ATIME helped me and found a shelter that I could go to. I could sleep in a warm bed and get a bowl of soup, which was everything at the time”

Although the respondent has already mentioned that he has applied for the residence permit, he clarified himself when the actual question came up. His case is still questioned, but due to some contacts of his own, he has some papers that state his working condition, but the problem lies more towards the housing part. ATIME has helped him with that and his future looks promising for staying in Spain. The respondent gives more personal views on the programme, where he mostly criticise it;

“When Zapatero announced that the doors, for applying residence permits, were open I remember that everyone was happy about it. But when it comes to the actual criteria that go along with it, we started to question the motives of the programme. It is almost impossible to be granted without any external help, there is so many that still have no chance for being legal and that is not what the programme should be about”

All in all, the respondent has somewhat of a unique story because of the high amount he paid for coming to Spain. However, he was totally unprepared for the fraud and dishonesty he was subjected to. He had high thoughts of Spain because paying this amount would mean a rather comfortable start of his life. He was lucky enough to get in touch with ATIME, which showed to be very useful in his case because he was provided with all the basic needs of everyday life. He has applied for regularization, which is still in process, and meanwhile he is working to support himself with factory work. The respondent stated that he misses Morocco and his family and friends but life in Spain for him have not been as bad as for others. The regularization programme was somewhat of an unsure process he thought due to the restrictions that come along with it. He started his journey as an illegal but due the circumstances and his contacts, he has now a chance at becoming legal sometime in the future.

10. Results and analysis

In this section, we are going to lay out the results and make an analysis of the different aspects that we have brought up throughout the study. We are going to link the theories used with our cases, in order to draw conclusions and answer our research questions. This will be followed by a comparison between the sections: previous work done and our work to find out if there are similarities that can be used and discussed to give a broader picture about illegal Moroccans located in Spain. We will end our work with a short conclusion and some final remarks.

10.1 Analysis of the theories used

To tie the ropes together, the push and pull theory first of all explains that migration is usually an individual action, and happens due to social changes in one country and thus affects both the destination country and the country of origin. It is about causes of migration and in the end the result is supposed to be about equilibrium. What this means in practice, is when an immigrant decide to leave his/her country of origin it has both negative and positive affects. A more positive approach would be that there are many that actually come back after earning a certain amount of money, that helps the country of origin. Migration do of course also affect the destination country, meaning that if a country has a need for immigration to fill up certain areas, for example in the labour market, this would help the destination country positively.

This is noticeable in Spain where there is a need in the labour market meaning that there are some jobs that the natives do not want to take, and migration is one solution to this problem. This in turn may also be seen as risky as “labour recruitment policies often do lead to creations of ethnic minorities”¹¹⁴, if you do bring in many immigrants to a country, the immigrants maybe develop different ethnic groups, that can lead to xenophobia from the natives. This can also be proven, since Spain in fact is experiencing ambivalent feelings towards immigration, due to the fact that Spain just recently became an immigration country.

¹¹⁴ Stephen Castles & Mark J Miller, *The Age of Migration*, 1998:19

Twenty-five years is still a very short time when you have been an emigration country for so long.

Overall, the push and pull theory also brings up that migration is mainly an individual action, and that immigrants at first do decide to leave alone and later on if life develops in a positive direction, he/she brings family. As one can see in our cases, everyone did decide to come alone since it would be easier to reach the destination country, and if the action was successful and if the conditions were good enough, the immigrants intended to bring their family and relatives.

Another perspective that the push and pull theory bring up is that it shows tendencies of people to move from “densely to sparsely populated areas, or from low to high income areas, or link migrations to fluctuations in the business cycle”. This perspective gives an underline to the migration between Morocco and Spain, since the ones that leave Morocco are the ones that are searching for a better income, and the less favourable economic conditions in Morocco compared with Spain have contributed to this. Therefore, Spain is seen as the more high-income area that Moroccans choose to go to. As we can see in some of the results in our case studies, it shows that the ones that leave Morocco are the ones that live in small towns or in areas where the income is low. There are also situations where people from large cities leave where the reason was unemployment. In any case, they leave Morocco for Spain, and in our cases, they chose Madrid, with the knowledge that it has more to offer, “I chose Madrid because I wanted to have choices and feel the life of a big city since I come from a smaller village. As an 18 year old, Madrid was the most appealing for me”¹¹⁵. So the push and pull theory gives an adequate picture of the migration that occurs between Morocco and Spain.

The theory is also seen as the most suitable, due to the cause of migration being that one is pushed out of the sending country for different reasons and at the same time, there are reasons pulling them into receiving countries. Applying this to our study, we also see this theory as the most fitting, in the sense that Morocco lacks in many sections where the ones living there are being pushed out for many reasons such as, political pressure, high unemployment rate, the oligarchic ruling that Morocco has etc. All these factors play a big

¹¹⁵ Respondent number 2

role when it comes to why many Moroccans decide to leave, while Spain is offering them more opportunities. Spain is one of the European countries that is suffering from the aging problem, meaning that Spain is in need for workers to fill up different sections in their 'segmented labour market', so the elderly can be supported once they reach their pension age. Along with this, Spain is a democratic country, where human rights are being highly respected. All these factors are pull factors that Moroccans see and hear about and that draws their attention to Spain. Both factors, meaning that Spain pulling them in and there being a push out of Morocco is a strong drive to leave.

In addition, the push and pull theory highlights the individual decision to migrate, "which is based on a comparison of the relative costs and benefits of remaining in the area of origin or moving to various alternative destinations"¹¹⁶. For many immigrants and in this case Moroccans, compare different aspects and see if the actual outcome is worth it or not. Many immigrants have a lot to take in consideration, since the ones that have a decision to make are not always certain if the risks are worth it. Therefore, the migrants have to think both if the actual journey is secure and if the destination country is the best one to achieve the goals in mind. Looking at our cases, most of the Moroccans have laid out a lot of money in order to come to Spain and for them, the benefits are more important for migrating than the costs. One has to ask whether he/she has more opportunities to live a better life in the destination country rather than staying in your country of origin. The individual looks at different factors and compare the situation where they are living in and look deeper in the situation that they are going to reach. Comparing Morocco and Spain you can understand for example, the ones that leave Morocco with the fear of political pressure, decide to choose a country where these feelings can diminish. Once again, the benefits are higher in another country and the costs are worth risking for.

The theory also emphasises on the "individual's financial resources, by the immigration regulations imposed by competing host countries and by the emigration regulations of the source country"¹¹⁷. This means once again that the choice, which the immigrant is forced to take, lies under important policies that the immigrant in question compares to along with economical resources.

¹¹⁶ Stephen Castles & Mark J Miller, *The Age of Migration*, 1998:20

¹¹⁷ Stephen Castles & Mark J Miller, *The Age of Migration*, 1998:21

To sum it all up, the push and pull theory has many perspectives that are valid to our case study, due to the facts that it emphasises on individual actions that affects both the country of origin and the country of destination. It also brings up the fact that the ones that decide to leave his/her country usually choose a destination, which has more to offer for the human capital and the well-being. Another point that the push and pull theory brings up, are the different factors that the immigrant compares to later to make a decision to either to leave or stay. All these perspectives within this theory do fit into the stories told by our respondents. Spain is the destination country that many of the Moroccans chose to leave for and therefore is the push and pull theory seen as a perfect fit, but there are other theories where we can draw parallels to our case study and one of them is the migration system approach. This theory goes hand in hand to the push and pull theory but also highlights other perspectives that the push and pull theory lacks.

According to Kritz and Zlotnik, migration systems approach is a system or framework that captures the essential components of international migration. It works in a way that the migration system is a group of countries that have exchanges of large amounts of migrants with each other. The exchange can be between two countries or between several and migration and other flows link countries together into a system. Policy, economy, technology and social dimensions are constantly changing, which is also an important factor within this system. This means that people can move in both directions and it is possible to move in multiple stages.

Moreover, the theory suggests that migration is an outcome of prior links between sending and receiving countries, which are based on colonisation, political influence, trade, investment or cultural ties. Kritz and Zlotnik portray countries as either being characterized by higher wages and better welfare conditions and these become receivers or are characterized by lower wages and poorer welfare conditions and become senders. The system also gives the possibility of people using tourist visas and student permits in connection to personal contacts and the exchange of information. Economic and political factors are changing throughout time, which affects the supply of, and demand for migrants. For instance, a country can be in need of unskilled labour due to demographic shortages whilst another country can be in need of managerial and technical skills.

The theory can be applied to the case of Morocco and Spain where migration surely is one outcome of colonialism. The fact that Morocco was colonized by Spain until fifty years ago is an important tie that is to be acknowledged because previous colonial bonds continue to have an impact on migration flows long after formal colonisation has ended. However, colonialism did not seem to be an important factor to our respondents when taking the decision to migrate. Moreover, for many Moroccans, Spain is seen a personal investment where they can succeed with their educational and occupational skills. In our interviews it was obvious that most of the respondent came for better work opportunities. The fact that Spain is characterized by higher wages and better welfare conditions is one of the determinant factors for Moroccans who come from a country characterized by lower wages and poorer welfare conditions. The ones that migrate choose to do so in order to improve wages and raising their living standards. There was also a Moroccan who came on a tourist visa and then decided to over stay because he thought that life in Spain was better than life in Morocco. Most of the respondents showed that personal contacts were vital in order to come to Spain, which shows that there was already a considerable amount of Moroccans in Spain. Most of them relied on these contacts or the information exchange they could get from them. In other words, the network of migrants already established was/is crucial in the decision of choosing Spain.

We mentioned in the background of Spain that as the theory suggests, immigration started to take place in larger numbers when Spain was going through economic and political changes. Spain experienced a shift from being an emigration country to an immigration country, which the migration systems theory suggested in stating that migration occurs on different levels, in different directions and on multiple stages.

Besides, the political changes that took place after the Franco regime were affecting the country in many aspects as well. One important factor was that it led to demographic shortages. The prevention of contraceptives being abolished and the emancipation of women emerging was a big step leading to people marrying later and giving birth later and having fewer children. These factors led/leads to low fertility while at the same time, technology improved substantially for example within medicine, which meant that elderly people lived longer which demographically speaking, led/leads to low mortality. As we explained in the aging population section, low fertility and low mortality leads to the population aging in a country, which Spain at the moment is experiencing and therefore has to deal with. In the

labour market this means that it creates vacancies that have to be filled which was/is an opportunity for young Moroccans. In addition, when a country's economy improves as it did in Spain that also contributes to labour shortage. Once the economy improved the natives got better occupations which means that they turned away from the menial jobs. As a consequence this led to the need of unskilled labour and therefore Moroccans could have a chance in the labour market.

Another factor for Moroccans leaving Morocco for Spain was the fact that its population is so young. Morocco does not have the welfare standards and medical technology as Spain and therefore people do not live as long as in Spain. In other words, Morocco is an example of a country having high mortality. At the same time, a lot of babies are born in Morocco, which explains why the population is so young and there are so many in working age. Since there are not enough jobs available Moroccans instead choose to migrate where in this case Spain is the closest and seems to be the better option.

There are many different levels of understanding migration systems because it involves a geographical view, as well as a historical and cultural background. In other words, migration decisions are today still taken based on for instance colonialism. Language is also an important tie where due to colonialism, a number of people already speak Spanish in some parts of Morocco. Furthermore, for Moroccans the geographical distance is of importance because in the past people chose Spain due its closeness and still today choose it because of that. In a political context, international relations therefore become more and more important everyday due to globalisation. One important outcome of globalisation and international relations is the EU. The European countries unify in their co-operation and understand the importance of their relations. Most of these countries are known of having better living standards and conditions and altogether are better places to live in. For a migrant who seeks to maximize his/her well being, this is something that he/she wants to take part in.

The theory further suggests that these countries even can have special agreements between one another. This is also something that can be seen between Morocco and Spain, where one example is the fishing agreement, which we brought up in the background of Morocco section. Morocco even has bilateral and multilateral agreements that contain special provisions for the flow of migrants.

The migration systems theory states several factors for persons both leaving the country of origin and for going to the country of destination. Previous colonial bonds continue to have an impact on migration flows long after formal colonisation has ended which applies to the case of Morocco. Of course, a common language and well-established networks contributed to migration, and still has a strong influence on the continuation of migration flows. Furthermore, the role of changing admission policies and the perception of these policies by potential migrants may strongly influence the distribution patterns of emigration flows. For example, frequent campaigns to regularise undocumented migrants, (as in Spain) could encourage undocumented migration to these countries. Last but not least the geographical situation and distance to Spain is crucial as a relevant factor in choosing a country of destination, whether or not in combination with other factors.

10.2 Analysis of our interviews

In all our interviews, the respondents are male and are in the ages between 27-39. Most of them come from small towns, such as Khenifra and Sidi Slimane, with the exception of two that come from Casablanca. The respondents characterized these villages as poor, with high unemployment and with criminality. Casablanca being a bigger city does not matter since the inequalities are rather large and gives an incentive to leave. It is understandable that people from small towns leave for more metropolitan areas with more to offer and at the same time there are factors that pushes them out. But it is also understandable that the ones coming from a bigger city, such as Casablanca, also want to leave due to the huge differences in both the economical and in the social sphere that the population lives in. As one of the respondents said, “On the one side of the street you see a Christian Dior store and on the other side you see a guy cutting himself since his mother died of hunger”. These contrasts show how some of the people from ‘worse areas’ in Casablanca want to escape these bad conditions. They all decided to immigrate to Spain alone initially but most of them still had the thought of bringing relatives/spouses. Four of the respondents entered Spain illegally and only one had the necessary documents to enter Spain. Although he had a tourist visa he still came with the thought of staying permanently. Since he did not within the time period return to Morocco, he fell into illegal status.

All of the respondents stated that they came to Spain for economical reasons to improve their living standards and have a better life. Since they had high expectations of Spain, it was the better choice. What they saw about Spain from other Moroccans who had been there is what they wanted saying that “I expected wealth and comfort and since I saw Moroccans that had lived in Spain and came back with money and showed off that it could happen to me as well”.

On the question for why Spain is so attractive and what pulls them in, most of the respondents answered unanimously in saying:

- That the living standards are better
- Economical reasons in earning more money and the opportunity of being employed
- The EU, entering Spain meant easier access to the other European countries and its benefits
- The notion of human rights being more respected in these countries
- The geographical distance
- The availability of a well established network already settled in Spain

These are some of the statements made by the respondents in giving reasons for leaving. They all tried to give us a broader picture on how the situation looked like for many Moroccans choosing Spain as their destination country. There are many more reasons for choosing Spain, but these are the ones that are compatible with our cases, and are usually the ones that are shared by many other migrants that wish for a better life. As one of our respondents stated, “[...] I saw Spain as a country with wealth and comfort where I thought everything was served to you and it was easy to make money, to the contrary in Morocco where poverty and bad living standards is everyday food. I left Morocco to live a better life”¹¹⁸.

Leaving Morocco was not easy for most of our respondents, but some of them felt the pressure to do something about their situation and therefore saw migration as a solution, “[F]or a lot of young men in Morocco, there is not much to do. The consequence of not having a job is hanging on street corners with fellow compatriots and having a rather dull

¹¹⁸ Respondent number 1

existence”¹¹⁹. In other words, you are pushed out from your country. To earn money was the first priority as one of our respondents said, “[t]o be honest, I came for the money”¹²⁰. A statement like this is not always easy to admit, but due to the fact that this person was forced to leave to improve his living standards and obtain a job, makes the statement reasonable. As we mentioned, Spain needs workers to fill up some parts in the segmented labour market, and this is known by many immigrants, “I thought that I would easily get a job, with my occupational background. They told me that Spain needed labour in this section [construction] and that is what attracted me here”¹²¹. The economical perspective usually takes over the mind and the desire of having more things in life exceeds further when not acquired, “I had so high thoughts of Spain, I saw people coming back to Morocco with nice cars and I guess I wanted what they had. Having a nice car is a sign of well-being...”¹²².

One perspective of the push and pull theory, explains that the migrant thinks which country is more suitable for him, it emphasises on individual actions and brings up the fact that the ones that decide to leave his/her country usually choose a destination, which has more to offer for the human capital and the well being. Choosing Spain as the destination country is not always the first alternative and for many immigrants, Spain is seen as the transit country that links Africa with the European Continent, “Once you have laid your foot inside Spain, you have your foot inside the rest within the European Union”¹²³. They mean that this could lead to other opportunities where for instance, one of the respondents mentioned that he wanted to go to France eventually, “I thought that this was a land of great opportunities and therefore was eager to earn money so that maybe later I could go to France”¹²⁴. Comparing Morocco with other European countries, one realizes that it differs in many ways, where the industrialized countries not just offer them employment chances but also welfare and security. Spain may not offer them better chances than other European Countries can, but still many end up staying. This can also be linked to the geographical perspective, where many of our respondents mentioned that Spain, due to its close distance, became their destination country. For some, it is not only important to get there easily and rapidly but also to be close to friends and family back in Morocco, “[t]here are many reasons for why I chose Spain, but

¹¹⁹ Respondent number 5

¹²⁰ Respondent number 2

¹²¹ Respondent number 3

¹²² Respondent number 2

¹²³ Respondent number 3

¹²⁴ Respondent number 3

the far most important was the fact that it is close to my family”¹²⁵. Having an established network of friends and family in a country makes the decision easier to take when it comes to choosing which of the countries to leave for, “I knew so many Moroccans that have succeeded in Spain, so I wanted to try my luck as well”¹²⁶. Knowing the high number of existing Moroccans in Spain, one can understand that the networks are rather established. Another respondent claimed that he has family in Spain and said that he relied on them with housing and other necessary means.

Furthermore, we asked the respondents to give us an understanding on how they are treated by the authorities in Spain. The picture looks different regarding their expectations before coming compared to the one when they are living in Spain. We can state that all of our respondents had a somewhat mutual picture of Spain before coming, they saw it as ‘a land of opportunity’ with much to offer. In addition, liberty of life in Spain was also a determining factor since life in Morocco can be seen as more conservative in some parts, “[...] I like Spain, it has more to offer and its liberty is far more different than in Morocco”¹²⁷. They all had high expectations, and thought that they had a better chance in obtaining a job and improve their lives substantially. Neither of their expectations was fulfilled, in saying that their expectations were not satisfactory. Most of them stated that it was the total opposite and were rather negative to their current situation. Living in Spain was not as convenient as expected, and the life in Spain is really difficult, as one of the respondents said, “[i]t’s all about surviving, earning money is always the number one priority. There is no easy money here in Spain, you have to work for it if you don’t want to sleep on the street”¹²⁸. There were also some negative thoughts towards the Spanish authorities where all respondents stated that they have experienced discriminatory behaviour from the police. This is not surprising because as we mentioned in the background section of Spain that the immigration law in the 1990’s expanded by introducing the *ley corcuera*, which meant that “selectively by police to stop suspected illegals on the street and demand documents”¹²⁹. According to our respondents, this behaviour has not only occurred once but several times and they also claimed having friends who experience this. This police act is not uncommon and there are many immigrants complaining towards this hassle where one respondent said, “I always feel

¹²⁵ Respondent number 4

¹²⁶ Respondent number 4

¹²⁷ Respondent number 2

¹²⁸ Respondent number 2

¹²⁹ Wayne A. Cornelius, Philip L. Martin & James F. Hollifield, *Controlling Immigration, A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE*, 1994:345

that they are being suspicious towards me and they probably enjoy acting on it. It is not only on us, you can see the Ecuadorians and the Dominicans getting the same treatments. I think most of the policemen are very cocky and without any manners”¹³⁰. This was common to four out of five of our respondents, which proves that they do their judgements based on looks. Consequently, this behaviour make the Moroccans negative and creates a distance and a mutual dislike of one another, “I may have the residence permit, but I still feel as if people look at me and wonder if I am illegal. The Spanish authorities treat me badly and I never had a decent discussion without them becoming judgemental. This is the situation for most Moroccans, at least the ones I talk to, and everyday hassle is an issue”¹³¹ This approach of the law seems to be restricted to the central parts of the city, because one of our respondents stated that the police never had stopped him and according to him, the reason was that he lives outside Madrid.

All over, illegal immigrants do not receive many rights in most of the European countries, but Spain in 2004 changed its strategy when José Luis Rodrigues Zapatero came into force. The government offered the illegal immigrants situated in Spain a chance to obtain legal status. This was an effort to improve the problem of illegal entrance and to show the European countries that the problem was being dealt with. It was expected to legalize around 800.000 illegal workers and is seen as “[...] the biggest regularization operation ever launched in Spain”¹³². For many illegals this was seen as their saviour, “[w]hen Zapatero announced that the doors, for applying residence permits, were open I remember that everyone was happy about it”¹³³. But with time, most of the illegals found the difficulties that came along with it, and many chose to protest against the programme, saying that it led to limitations preventing many from proving that they can meet the government’s requirements. Most of the respondents said that this in practice was only an action to find out how many illegal immigrants that actually were residing in Spain, as one of our respondents said, “[...] when it comes to the actual criteria that go along with it, we started to question the motives of the programme. It is almost impossible to be granted without any external help, there are so many that still have no chance for being legal and that is not what the programme should be about”¹³⁴. They described the programme as being too restrictive and bureaucratic, in the

¹³⁰ Respondent number 4

¹³¹ Respondent number 1

¹³² <http://www.moroccotimes.com/paper/article.asp?idr=11&id=5453> printed out 2005-04-11

¹³³ Respondent number 5

¹³⁴ Respondent number 5

sense that it was difficult to show necessary documents when you live illegally. For instance, one needs to show proof of employment, which most of the time the employer was not willing to give, because of the fines that exist for hiring illegal workers. Finding housing documents is another criteria where the illegals fall short upon, because as an illegal your housing situation is not always a secure one. Our respondents that had obtained residence, had contacts that helped them with housing, whereas the ones that turned to the organizations that we mentioned could not use any valid base for showing this. Even the ones that obtained residence permit through this programme stated that the programme “[...] is ineffective and it is not offering amnesty to everyone, instead they have high criteria, which make it almost impossible to be granted. I am almost certain that they developed this programme to get a clue on how many illegal immigrants exist in the country, since they deny a lot of people”¹³⁵. In other words, obtaining legal status in Spain is difficult for a part of the irregular migrants, with the regularization programme or without it. As a conclusion, the regularization programme does fall short in many aspects but still it is a pro-humanitarian action along with an effort to try to legalize many illegals situated in Spain, regardless if the thought was with ‘a hidden agenda’ or not. This regularization programme officially ended seventh of May 2005, and the number of applicants were around 690.000, where 20 per cent of these were from Madrid. The actual number of recipients is still to be seen, but the important aspect for our case study is to show how our respondents experienced it and how the Spanish authorities are dealing with the illegal immigrant aspect.

Our respondents show that there are some ongoing patterns that Moroccans still use, in the sense that some migrants choose to enter the country on tourist visas or student visas and later on overstays. Besides this, entering illegally has not seemed to diminish either, on the contrary, the news indicates that it has increased and there is a need for other measures to be taken. There is a pressure on Spain as well as on Morocco and some agreements made between the two is hoped to eventually lead to decreased illegal migration. The general emigration pattern of sending countries, and in this case Morocco, is individual migration primarily involving men looking for a job or education. This is usually followed gradually over time by an intention of family reunification. For our male migrants, economic motives dominate along with educational opportunities. Also, reasons for emigrating are fairly

¹³⁵ Respondent number 4

dependent on what the EU has to offer for its citizens and Spain is the nearest European country to Morocco, which facilitates the decision to migrate.

10.3 A comparison of previous research done and our work

Moreover, when comparing our work with previous research done, we find similarities such as the labour market shortage and the importance of geographical distance that prove Spain function as a magnet for “unskilled immigrant workers from developing countries who come looking for work and economic opportunities”¹³⁶. We can draw parallels to our cases where all of our respondents came for economical reasons as the top priority and most of them had lower educational background. The distance was also an important factor for them, especially with consideration to the smuggling experiences that we took part of. Spain as a neighbouring country to Morocco is one of the main pull factors to these Moroccans. The previous work further showed that the mass immigration from Morocco to Spain started to take place in the 1970’s and 1980’s. During this time, Spain was experiencing an economic boom that was ‘pulling’ migrants in and at the same time, Morocco was ‘pushing’ people out due to their King’s restrictive ruling. Many Moroccans considered the King being unjust meaning that he was ruling the country with ‘an iron hand’.

Another aspect similar to ours that is brought up is the problem of aging and one solution to this problem is that immigrant workers are needed to fill up the void meaning that the “[f]ertility is below replacement levels in all EU member nations, so that, without immigration, EU populations and labour forces would shrink”¹³⁷. Unemployment rates are also presented which states that foreigners from outside the EU are often two to three times higher than for natives and EU nationals. Looking at our respondents’ statements, they all complained about the unemployment situation in Morocco and that they wanted to migrate to a country where they could work and have a higher salary. This is another push and pull factor where a demand for labour is present in Spain while a supply of workers is present in

¹³⁶ Tapio Raunio & Johanna Ollila, *Immigration to the European Union- Contradictory Situation of Spain*, 2001:8, <http://www.mv.helsinki.fi/home/jmollila/Migration%20and%20the%20EU.pdf> printed out from www.scholargoogle.com 2004-12-06

¹³⁷ Tapio Raunio & Johanna Ollila, *Immigration to the European Union- Contradictory Situation of Spain*, 2001:15, <http://www.mv.helsinki.fi/home/jmollila/Migration%20and%20the%20EU.pdf> printed out from www.scholargoogle.com 2004-12-06

Morocco. As we know from our study, Spain introduced the regularization programme, as an effort to make a ‘fresh’ start, although the programme did not seem to discourage illegal entrance and people trying to reach the Spanish shore is still a path chosen by many Moroccans. As mentioned, nearly 200 people are arrested every week while trying to cross the Gibraltar Straits. A further solution to this illegal entry is the agreements made between Morocco and Spain and this means that workers would be hired through a commission that would lay out an annual quota of guest workers (that are between 10.000 to 20.000 workers a year).

The other work that we found parallels from is the study done by Ivan Briscoe where he points out different push and pull factors similar to ours. Briscoe interviews a Moroccan that is planning to chose exit and leave for Spain, even though he knows that he is taking a risk. He mentions push factors motivated by an inequality of wealth and by this he means that the average income in Spain is almost thirteen times higher than the average income in Morocco. Hearing about this number and being unemployed gives an attraction of wanting to leave for Spain. This we can see from our respondents as well, where work and higher salary opportunities are also attracting them, even if the risk is high. Briscoe also brings up the issue of smuggling as we did in our work, where most of our respondents had similar experiences in being smuggled across the borders in boats (pateras), facing the same dangers of riding storms “for over twelve hours in eight-metre long boats- all to avoid the patrols and radars and other gizmos of migration control”¹³⁸. As we can see, both of our previous researches imply similar cases to ours, where the push and pull factors are being outlined and the results given are a complementary framework to our study.

10.4 Conclusion and final remarks

This research has been about trying to get an insight into the complex situation of illegal immigrants, with focus on Moroccans. It has been a foreseeable fact that the stream is from south to north, from Africa to Europe. And no doubt, migration affects the countries involved, one way or the other. Migration has been on the agenda for most European countries for quite some time now and one interesting aspect for us is how some of the

¹³⁸ <http://opendemocracy.net/themes/article-2-1919.jsp> printed out 2005-05-09

countries seem to be in need of foreign labour but nevertheless still chooses to tighten up border controls and putting restrictions on entry. Being a southern member of the European union means that geographically speaking, Spain is in a 'risk' zone and is therefore under a 'microscope' by the other European countries. As some of the other southern European countries, Spain was rather unprepared for the flow of immigrants that started arriving in the 70's and 80's. Consequently, in the first decade and onwards, this led to a failure of national policies and a lack of a comprehensive dominant model for dealing with migration matters. Analysis of the demography of immigration in Spain shows how immigrant workers usually come from non-industrialized countries and tend to be young, have little education and work in the lowest levels of the labour market. Furthermore, we have tried to find out why Moroccans choose to migrate and what the consequences are. We wanted to get an insight into why they choose Spain as their destination country and what their expectations were and if they were fulfilled. Another point we wanted to know about was how they crossed the borders illegally and what rights they have once they are in Spain. Before starting this work, we assumed that the illegal Moroccans risk too much in order to come to Spain since the roads that are in use to cross are dangerous and stated as 'the largest massgrave in Europe'. We knew from before but still got it confirmed that there are many migrants that lose their lives in these crossings, which for us makes this an important issue to highlight and not to neglect. There are some measurements that are taken to reduce these illegal entries but still there should be a bigger framework introduced and an improved European co-operation in this matter. Illegal entry into Spain should not only be seen as a national problem but also as an international one, since it affects the other European countries as well. Other agreements are needed between Spain and Morocco, since the Moroccan government feels that there has to be more cooperative arrangements with the EU because it functions as a buffer between the EU and the rest of Africa and the Islamic world. It is a fact that Morocco is the transit country for immigrants trying to leave from the African continent to Europe. As we know and have brought up, there are cases where many die trying to cross the borders, in search and hoping for a better life in Spain. Therefore, Morocco should have stricter border controls and more agreements should be adopted as an attempt to stop these killings. Another attempt to stop this 'unwanted migration' and the far most important one, is what the interviewee Abubakr¹³⁹ answered that the Moroccan situation can only be solved with a more modest approach, one that is adapted to Morocco's capacities instead of one that stretches Morocco

¹³⁹ Comment made by Abubakr Khamlachi in section 6.5

out. In other words, he thinks that the reason to why the people want to emigrate is because some gets a lot and others get nothing.

This work has not just been done to get an insight on how Moroccans are treated once they are inside the Spanish borders, it is also focused on if the risk of dying when crossing borders is worth it or not. To have real stories telling us how their situation looks like and how the expectations of the country were not what they had in mind before leaving is what intrigued us. Evidently, there are many all over the world that wishes for a better life, this is not excluded to persons only from the 'third world countries'. Migration is an international phenomenon where many search for the better to one self even if the country of origin is not in a bad condition. Within the EU countries, one have the right to move freely and settle down in another European country, which might seem promising for the EU citizens, but what does the European treaty tell the ones that do not belong within the Union, 'that they are not welcome'? To restrict borders to keep away "unwanted aliens" is one of many propagandas that are in use, so that actions can be taken to avoid this problem. But did we sometime think about *why* these 'aliens' still try to enter borders even if there are restrictions or even if they are unwanted? There must be something that is pushing them out from their country of origin or else why would someone risk ones life to leave the country of birth, where at least you got your honour, instead of living illegally in a foreign country? Instead of closing doors upon them one could try to help in another way, and as Ivan Briscoe concluded, the glitter of Spain will not soon fade. Moroccans will only begin to think about staying when they have more of a stake in their own society and a reason to stay and improve their lives rather than risk all across the straits. When this happens, the relationship between these intimate neighbours will start to be transformed from dilemma to opportunity.

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