

SOUTH-NORTH MIGRATION. THE CASE OF SPAIN

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ABSTRACT: International migrations caused by socio-economic and demographic reasons, especially from underdeveloped countries to the rich and prosperous areas of the globe are discussed with the focus on Western Europe and particularly on Maghrebi immigration to Spain. Emigration of the people from a backward region even increases the deterioration of local economy, provoking stagnation and inflation. Therefore emigration only can not be seen as an economic take-off for sustained economic development over the frontier areas between developed and depressed territories. Related social questions as well as economic, religious and political may add factors affecting the structural balance of the societies concerned.

KEY WORDS: International migrations, Spain, Maghreb, cheap labour force, Mediterranean world imbalance, Moroccan community in Spain.

INTRODUCTION: SOUTH-NORTH MIGRATIONS

In today's world, the concept of South-North migrations has a precise meaning: viz., the global migratory flow originating in the less developed countries which end up in the more prosperous areas of the globe. The expression seems quite appropriate when used cautiously, given that it reflects the general direction of migratory flows.

On the other hand, it is quite confusing to combine the terms South-North and East-West, as is done frequently today. Migrations which have occurred since the crumbling of the political regimes of Eastern Europe are not substantially different from those, for example, taking place between North Africa and Western Europe, or between Latin America and the United States. For this reason, the term South-North migrations will be used throughout this paper to refer to any kind of international movement caused by socio-economic and demographic variables.

The order of the words in the expression South-North migrations is

significant. In the inverse order, North-South migrations, the expression can be used to describe the flow of middle-class populations. They move to areas of great climatic comfort but scarce economic viability in a traditionally productive framework: in order to find work or for vacation.

In spite of the obvious macroeconomic advantages of the immigrant-receiving society which, in this way, obtains a more flexible and inexpensive labor force, the native lower-class workers are affected on the microeconomic level, by the direct social and economic competition represented by immigrants.

THE CASE OF WESTERN EUROPE

Within the global panorama of South-North migrations, Western Europe, because of its characteristics, is the most outstanding case. The reason is evident: the contrast between the social and economic development of Western Europe and that of North Africa or Eastern Europe is quite dramatic because of their proximity. The border between Mexico and the United States is one of the few regions — and perhaps the only one — comparable to our area of study.

The classic explanation of migrations as a movement which adjusts social imbalances as well as economic and demographic ones (Table 1) is still valid today. However, this extreme optimism on the part of classical economists is not shared by everyone. Every imbalance produces an opposite effect — but this does not necessarily reestablish the original balance. If the basic economic resource of any area is man himself, then the movement of inhabitants to an area does not resolve the problem of territorial imbalances.

In most cases, once international migrations begin, they exacerbate existing differences between the regions of origin and of destination. In this way, exporting regions lose their most dynamic individuals. Conversely, the money they are paid, once received, tends to be spent on consumer goods, sometimes even on those produced outside the country. In the most serious cases, emigration decapitalizes the country of origin, provoking inflationary processes in the already deteriorating economies. In times of economic expansion, emigrants occupy job positions upon arrival which natives of that country do not wish to fill. However, in times of recession, both groups compete for the same types of job.

It is evident today that the factors causing emigration outweigh those of immigration, especially in the case of the migrations across the Mediterranean (Golini et al. 1991). In other words, what really provokes migratory flows in this area are important demographic, socio-economic and political-religious imbalances within the sending countries, rather than the need for foreign manual labor in the developed countries which in fact continues to exist (Table 1). These imbalances impel great numbers of Southerners to move North, fleeing from misery and determined to take part in the exchange of economic goods in societies of developed countries.

TABLE 1. Economic and demographic imbalances in the Mediterranean world

	RPC \$ 1983	Pop. 1985	Proj. pop. 2000	Proj. pop. 2020
Portugal	2,190	10	11	12
Spain	4,800	38	42	43
France	10,390	55	57	57
Italy	6,350	57	58	55
Greece	3,970	10	11	12
Morocco	750	24	37	59
Algeria	2,400	22	35	53
Tunisia	1,290	7	10	13
Libya	7,500	4	7	11
Egypt	700	48	67	94
Turkey	1,230	52	71	97

It is unfortunate that South-North migrations occur while there is high unemployment in the countries of Western Europe. The explanation must be sought in the nature of the European job market. The unemployment which has characterized the European Community (E.C.) countries since the first oil crisis persists today along with a general lack of highly qualified manual laborers. Most emigrants tend to find employment on the fringes of the job market, or, worse yet, in unregulated parallel job markets which are beyond any support from the collective bargaining system. The relationship between the underground economy and clandestine immigration, which feed each other, should be better analyzed. In many instances, structural necessities of the economies of host countries have not been taken into account. Rather, attempts have been made merely to correct imbalances in the job market at the lowest levels of demand. This, in turn, allows the retention of invalid production and labor relations which are unacceptable for the local worker.

In its most recent publications on the establishment of one social space, the European Community has analyzed the problem of internal migratory movements. The E.C. upholds the principle of absolute freedom of movement and employment for its citizens and considers migration as a way of redistributing manual labor to optimize the marginal productivity of human labor. The analysis is correct, but it is incomplete since it ignores the presence of citizens from other countries. Two conclusions are reached: first, that the era of massive movements of unqualified workers within the E.C. is over; secondly, that the problem is not one of locating enough manual labor, but rather, locating qualified workers. European workers must become professionally qualified, their spatial mobility and the migrations of small groups of qualified personnel must be encouraged, so that they will act as representatives of the single market in Western Europe, of the single European social space.

The 1985 the Schengen agreement between Benelux, France and Germany — to which Italy, Portugal and Spain were later incorporated — constitutes

the codification of the principles mentioned in the previous paragraph. The agreement defines a single border with respect to other countries, abolishes internal borders and establishes the technical means of achieving this, as well as a system of information and of mutual judicial assistance. The implementation of this agreement has provoked a lot of criticism, since in the background there are two serious contradictory fears: on the one hand, that of a "strainer" Europe which opens up itself to all the migratory flows and, on the other hand, that of a "fortress" Europe which erects a wall to the East and another one to the South. All the analysts agree that the problem of South-North migrations has an important political component and that the North will have to institute changes in the power structure or will be forced to accept such changes.

The economy of the South should be restructured. An economic takeoff in the South, or at least in part of the South, will greatly alleviate the current situation. To achieve this, it is necessary to invest in those countries and to find a realistic, yet appropriate solution to the current debt. In the meantime, we have to facilitate the integration of current immigrants, although many may return to their country after a couple of years. To act any other way would be to go back in time several centuries in the history of Western civilization; to act as if the worker was once again nothing more than a slave bought at a ridiculous price would be radically unfair (Power 1979: 157).

THE CASE OF SPAIN

Spain has been traditionally a country of emigrants. Since the 19th century, the migratory movement from Spain to the external world followed a process similar to the one that occurred in other European countries. The demographic growth that followed the industrial revolution produced, in some countries, a greater demographic pressure on the job market. Furthermore, the desire to improve one's economic status as well as, in some cases, political or religious motivations, persuaded almost 50 million European inhabitants to abandon the continent between 1850 and the beginning of the first World War.

Spain was also part of this migratory current. Although large numbers of conquistadores, first, colonizers or settlers later and, as always, some adventurers had left the country since the Discovery of America, and although this has continued since the 16th century, this emigration was limited in number compared to the two great waves which occurred in the 19th and 20th centuries, mainly since 1830 to 1960.

The first massive emigration of Spaniards went to the north of Africa, to the territories under the Protectorate of Spain. This movement stopped in the last decade of the last century, in its last years joining and coinciding with the great migratory wave overseas, primarily to Cuba and Argentina, as well as other countries of the South American continent, and, to a lesser degree, to North America and Australia.

The second massive exodus of Spaniards occurred between the end of the Second World War and the beginning of the 1970s, this time toward the

industrialized countries of Europe: France, Germany, Switzerland, Great Britain, Belgium and Holland. Parallel to this exodus of Spanish workers, there was the rural exodus in Spain which depopulated great areas of the interior and overcrowded the more developed cities.

Spain's political and economic panorama has changed substantially since the 1970s. The social and political opening on the one hand, and the global economic crisis of 1973 on the other, made the country the center of attraction for the international movement of people.

There are many reasons why Spain became a migration receiving country in the 1970s. There are both internal and external reasons but are all intimately related.

Among the internal reasons are the political and economic opening of the country, the end of the rural exodus, which made it possible for employment offers to be made for low qualified jobs in the big cities, and the increase of tourism which helped potential immigrants enter the country.

Among the external causes we should mention the anti-immigration policies of the industrialized countries of Europe, the strikes existing in the countries of origin and the triumph of authoritarian governments in Africa and Latin America, which forced political dissidents to emigrate.

The distribution of resident aliens in Spain according to continent of origin is shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2. Resident aliens in Spain in 1990, by continent of origin

Continents	Absolute No	%
Total	407,647	100
Europe	270,022	66.2
Asia	29,116	7.1
Africa	25,854	6.3
North & Central America	31,087	7.8
South America	48,751	11.9
Oceania	1,103	0.2
Expatriates & w/o nationalities	994	0.2

Source: N.I.S. 1991. Author's elaboration.

As we can see, most of the official immigration in Spain is based on the great numbers of Europeans, with 66.2% represent the most numerous contingent. Of those, 19.1% come from Great Britain, 11.2% from Germany, 8.1% from Portugal, 7.0% from France, followed by smaller percentages of Dutch, Belgian and Swedish immigrants. The four countries have contributed as many as 18,535 immigrants, which represents 68.7% of the European immigration contingent and 45% of the total.

The foreign community in Spain is formed by people from industrialized and economically powerful countries, with the exception of Portugal; logically, because of its geographical situation. The economic conditions of these countries of origin mark the characteristics of their emigrants. These people

seek residence in the Mediterranean where they can spend their retirement; or they establish a small business in the coastal tourist zones where they have guaranteed customers, even some from their own country; or they establish themselves in the most developed areas for professional reasons.

The American continent (North and South) occupies the second place in terms of continent of origin with 14.1% of the total, although not all the countries are equally represented. The United States (16,092), Argentina (17,679), Venezuela (9,320) and Cuba (5,126) contribute the greatest number of American immigrants, in a sense reversing the wave that America received from Spain.

Of the rest of the countries, only the Phillipines (7,416) and China (4,090) have significant figures.

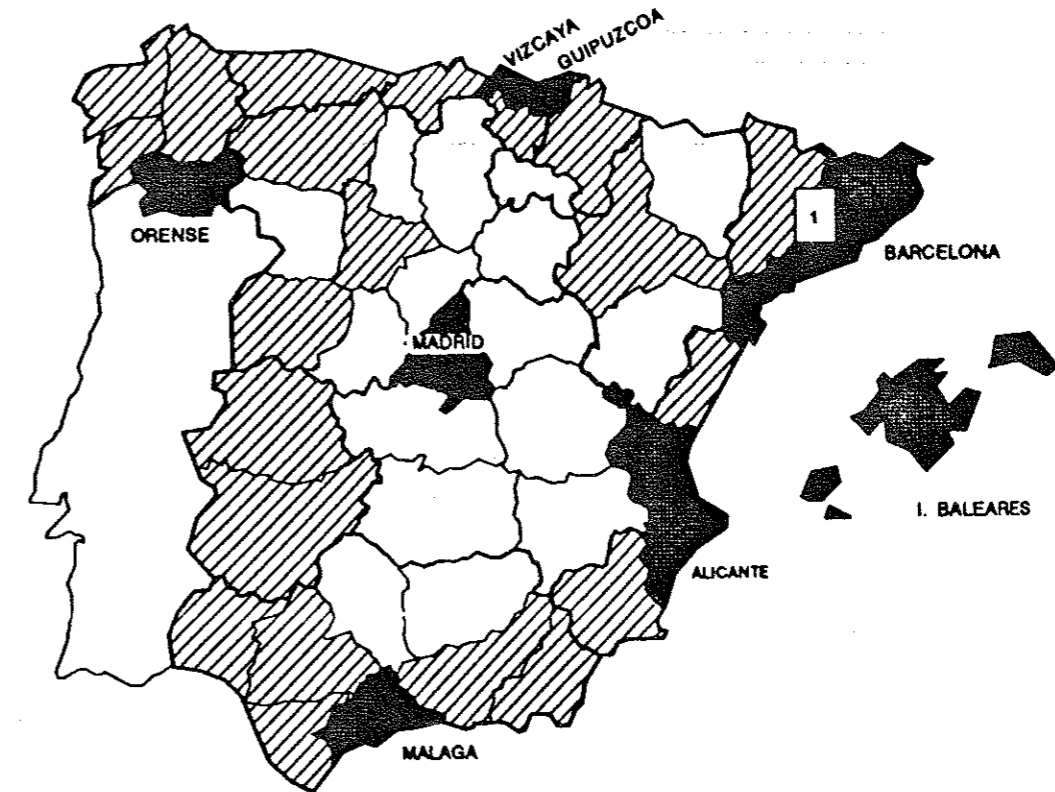
Looking at the location of immigrants within Spain, Table 3 and Map 1 show their numerical distribution by Autonomous Communities and Provinces. Andalusia, Baleares, Canary Islands, Catalonia, Valencia and Madrid are the Communities which receive almost all of the resident aliens: 348,487, representing 85% of the total for Spain.

The spatial concentration is even greater if we consider the provinces. Seven of the provinces forming the previously cited Autonomous Communities have a total number of 294,174 resident aliens, which in relation to the national figures is 72.8% (Malaga 12.1%, Baleares 8.0%, Las Palmas 4.8%, Santa Cruz de Tenerife 7.8%, Barcelona 11.4%, Alicante 12.8% and Madrid 14.9%).

TABLE 3. Resident Aliens in Spain, 1990

Autonomous Communities	Total	%
Total	407,647	100
Andalusia	72,543	17.7
Aragon	3,988	0.9
Asturias (Principality of)	4,198	1.0
Baleares (Islands)	32,646	8.0
Canary Islands	51,955	12.7
Cantabria	1,751	0.4
Castile and Leon	10,047	2.4
Castile-La Mancha	1,992	0.4
Catalonia	65,990	16.1
Valencia	64,451	15.8
Extremadura	2,273	0.5
Galicia	15,062	3.6
Madrid (Community of)	60,902	14.9
Murcia (Region of)	3,422	0.7
Navarre (Foral Community of)	1,920	0.4
Ceuta and Melilla	740	0.1

Source: N.I.S. Author's elaboration.



Source: I.N.E. Authors' design

less than 1000
 from 1001 to 5000
 more than 5000

Map 1. Resident aliens in Spain. 1990. Absolute figures

Up to now, we have been speaking only of the number of "resident aliens" which represent the official figures published by the National Institute of Statistics (N.I.S.).

One should add approximately 25% more to the figures to account for the foreign population living legally in our country but in a different situation from that of a resident. This is the case of minors and the handicapped who are included on their parents' or guardians' documents, those who have resident permits, students and refugees.

Nevertheless, the real character of Spain as a country of immigrants is evident when one considers the number of men and women who live illegally in the country. This number varies according to the source used. Furthermore, many of the organizations and institutions working on the problem of foreign immigration use estimates, in the majority of cases, to obtain approximate figures of the real number.

The General Management of the Spanish Institute of Immigration (1990) offers the figure of 172,682 foreigners in irregular situations in Spain for 1989, following the estimates of the technical group PASS. In contrast, the collective Ioé estimates that the number of illegal aliens for a previous year (1986) was 366,500. Table 4 reflects the continent of origin of this population according to

both estimates. The fact that stands out the most when we combine the geographic frame of reference of both sources, excluding the important difference between the figures, is the role the African continent plays in the illegal immigration to Spain compared to the small number of foreigners coming from the so-called "First World".

TABLE 4. Foreign immigrants in irregular situations in Spain, by country of origin. (Estimates)

	Ioé (1986) Absolute Figures %	PASS (1989) Absolute Figures %
Europe & North America	50,000	
Latin America	102,000	37,959
Asia	82,500	9,227
Africa	132,000	106,823
Oceania	-	18,673
Total	366,500	172,682

Source: Ioé & PASS. Author's elaboration.

If viewed by country, the one with the largest representation according to both sources is Morocco, with 34.0% of the total number of irregular immigrants, according to PASS estimates of 58,775, and 23.7%, according to Ioé estimates.

In the second place, both sources emphasize Portugal (13.8%, according to PASS, and 12.3%, according to Ioé) and the Philippines (10.8%, according to PASS, and 11.7%, according to Ioé).

The destinations of the illegal immigrants follow the pattern of legal immigrants, reinforcing the attraction of the Community of Madrid and of Catalonia (Table 5).

In general terms, the immigrants in Spain can be classified into 3 large groups:

1) Those from developed countries, basically Europe and the United States. These are legal immigrants. If employed, they hold administrative positions and those requiring qualifications, or they own small businesses or restaurants in the mediterranean coastal regions. Among these people, there is a high number of retirees from Northern European countries.

2) Those from Latin America, with an average age lower than the previous group and composed of students, independent professionals and others dedicated to ambulatory vending.

3) African and Asian emigrants. This group has the lowest economic indicators and holds the jobs requiring the lowest qualifications (domestic service, agriculture and construction). The greatest number of illegal aliens of the total number of emigrants belong to this group.

TABLE 5. Foreign immigrants in irregular situations in Spain, by Community of destination. (Estimates)

	Absolute Numbers	%
Andalusia	6,226	3.6
Aragon	539	0.3
Asturias	6,521	3.7
Baleares	3,369	1.9
Canary Islands	82	0.0
Cantabria	378	2.1
Castile-Leon	7,686	4.4
Castile-La Mancha	49	0.0
Catalonia	53,899	31.2
Valencia	10,334	5.9
Extremadura	110	0.0
Galicia	8,659	11.9
Madrid	65,121	37.7
Murcia	1,373	0.7
Navarre	288	0.1
Basque Country	437	0.0
Rioja	86	0.0
Ceuta & Melilla	7,525	4.3
Total	172,682	100.0

Source: General Management of the Spanish Institute of Immigration.

MAGHREBI IMMIGRATION IN SPAIN

Until the popularly called "Foreigner Law" appeared in 1985, there was no single domestic judicial body in Spain to regulate the rights and responsibilities of the foreign population in the country. The need for a law arose from the strong and continuing immigrant pressure within the country. The main objectives of the law were: to systematize the entry and residency procedures of foreigners in Spain; to protect the national job market; to guarantee acceptable working conditions for foreigners and helping them to integrate, avoiding illegality and marginalization; and lastly, to harmonize Spanish legislation with the rest of E. C. member countries, working within the framework of the E.C. unification process.

The law — of which three articles were found unconstitutional in July of 1977 — has been difficult to apply in many cases because of its technical complexity and the deficient infrastructure of a "country unfamiliar with the administrative actions of immigration" (O.C.D.E.).

Most of the protest over the law has been directed at its discriminatory character: Spain prefers European immigration policies which facilitate freedom of movement within Community member countries but restricts the

entry of non-member country populations, especially those of the Third World. The justification of the means for self-sufficient are clearly discriminatory measures taken against economic immigrants, who, to a large degree, involuntarily become illegals.

On the other hand, in the case of the Moroccans, discrimination exists in relation to other ethnic groups, like Ibero-Americans, Portuguese, Phillipines, Andorrans, Ecuadorians, Sephardies and the original inhabitants of the city of Gibraltar. These groups are treated with preference over other foreigners when obtaining or renewing a work permit (art. 18 of the Law) or when working in Spain (art. 23). Nationals of Morocco, Spanish protectorate until 1956, do not benefit from this preferential treatment.

The rest of the Maghreb countries (Algeria, Tunisia, Libya and Mauritania), since they are not historically bound to Spain, do not receive preferential treatment either. However, as it will be pointed out later, the flow of emigrants from these countries to Spain is weak in comparison to the magnitude of the Moroccan movement.

Applying the Law (starting in 1986) has not weakened the Moroccan flow of immigrants into the country. In fact, over the last few years, it has risen and the volume of illegal aliens has increased. Geographic proximity and easy access to Spain as tourists has been the fundamental cause.

The E.C.'s concern over these gaps along its border provoked the introduction of visa requirements for the countries of North Africa; this fundamental measure would help to control the flow of illegal immigrants. The measure went into effect on May 15 of 1991.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE MOVEMENT

The proximity of the African coast to Spain, combined with the ease in communications, has facilitated the access of peoples from the North of the neighboring continent to our country over the last few years. Figures for the movement of foreigners across Spanish border posts as registered by the Police during 1990 are extremely representative (Table 6).

TABLE 6. Movement of Maghrebis during 1990

	Entries	Departures	With Passes
Algeria	183,287	178,886	3,528
Libya	1,719	1,280	96
Morocco	5,466,855	5,422,378	6,854
Mauritania	6,239	5,707	253
Tunisia	14,488	25,665	1,566
Total Maghreb	5,672,588	5,633,916	12,297
Total foreigners	54,640,688	53,610,955	786,786

The Maghrebis stand out with 10.4% of the entries and 10.5% of the total number of foreigners. The easy access to Spain with only a tourist passport

may explain the importance of this movement. Morocco stands out with 96% of the total number of entries and departures across Spain's frontiers.

Using the same police sources, the Maghrebi population stands out significantly with regard to the number of rejections at the border in the same year: 88.3% of the foreigners not admitted; Morocco with 84% of the total (Table 7).

TABLE 7. Foreigners not admitted during 1990, by nationality

Algeria	2,296
Libya	4
Morocco	62,021
Mauritania	21
Tunisia	952
Total Maghreb	65,294 (88.28% of the total)
Total foreigners	73,959

Source: Bureau of Police.

The recently adopted measure of imposing visas on the people coming from Maghreb countries is designed to prevent movements of great magnitude. Beginning May 15 of 1991, the flow of Moroccans crossing the Strait of Gibraltar was cut and the entry of people without the proper documentation was reduced, in most cases, to a small number of youths risking their lives and undertaking an adventure by themselves. Many of them have sold all their belongings in their country and after waiting for a day when the sea is calm, have begun the "great escape". On the other side of the Straights lies Europe and they are determined to reach it, piling themselves up on small fishing boats called "pateras", with motors of only 50 horsepower which do not resist the force of the sea. Because of this, many of these youths will die before getting to Europe (we read about such accidents too frequently in the newspapers).

The police figures on the movement and border rejection of the Maghrebi population and its importance in the group of foreign populations which enter Spain contrast with the small percentage of "official" residents coming from Maghreb countries (Table 8).

TABLE 8. Maghrebi residents in Spain as of December 31, 1991

Algeria	1,069
Libya	262
Morocco	28,186
Mauritania	91
Tunisia	355
Total Maghreb	29,966 (6.20% of the total)
World total	483,907

In 1991, the last date for which we have any figures, only 6.20% of the total number of foreigners with resident permits were Maghrebis, from which a

great majority (94%) came from Morocco. This is because a great number of the resident Maghrebis in Spain are illegal aliens.

The number of undocumented Maghrebis would be greater than the number of legal residents.

The magnitude of the Moroccan flow has helped to estimate the volume of the colony now living illegally in Spain. In 1986, the collective Ioé estimated this at 87,000 people, compared to 11,000 from Algeria-Libya-Tunisia. In this way, a total of 94,553 Moroccans and 11,902 Algerians-Libyans-Tunisians were calculated for the whole of Spain on that date. The estimate included the undocumented population as well as the naturalized population, residents and permanent citizens in a legal situation. Afterward, the technical group PASS (1990) summarized the number of Moroccan immigrants in illegal situations as 58,775 in the whole country.

The estimates as well as the official figures place the Moroccans at the head of the Maghrebi migratory movement toward Spain. The reasons are evident: the proximity, the easy and direct communication, the historical connections and even, in part, the access to Spanish television channels in Moroccan territory, producing familiarization with the Spanish language and customs. These are the reasons for the special attraction of Moroccans to Spain. Nevertheless, noticeable demographic and economic imbalances exist between Spain and Morocco that are fundamental factors behind the Moroccan migrations.

This year's United Nations Report on Human development places Spain in 23rd place with an index of 0.916/1. Morocco, on the other hand, is in 106th place with an index of 0.429/1. The demand for flexible manual labor in Spain, in such sectors as construction, seasonal agriculture or domestic service, is also a factor of primary importance. The absence of regulation until this year has, without any doubt, facilitated the presence of Moroccans in the country (many authors affirm that Spain, a country of emigrants, was caught by surprise by the arrival of foreigners who came to work in "doing whatever").

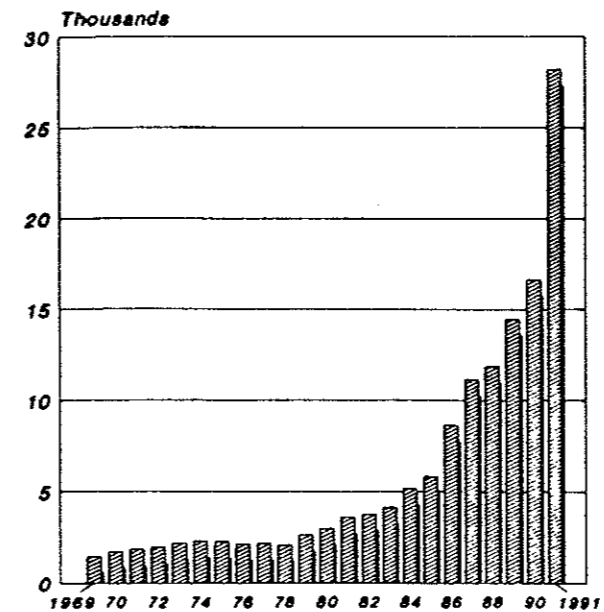
The process of registering the foreign population that took place in 1991 has made clear, once again, the importance of the Moroccan colony in Spain: according to data provided by the Bureau of Migratory Affairs for this project, 44,938 citizens from Morocco have passed from clandestine status to legal status up to now (provisional figures to May 15, 1992). This number includes 43% of the total of registered foreigners. The rest of the Maghrebi population comprise only 3,279 registered people: 2,880 attributed to Algeria, 199 to Tunisia, 188 to Mauritania and 12 to Libya.

According to these figures, Moroccans are in the first position among foreign immigrants by nationality. The introduction of visa requirements for the Moroccan population beginning in May of 1991 ended a certain phase in the immigration of this group to Spain; on that date a new phase of marked restrictive character, following "European" inspiration has began.

RECENT EVOLUTION OF THE MOROCCAN POPULATION IN SPAIN

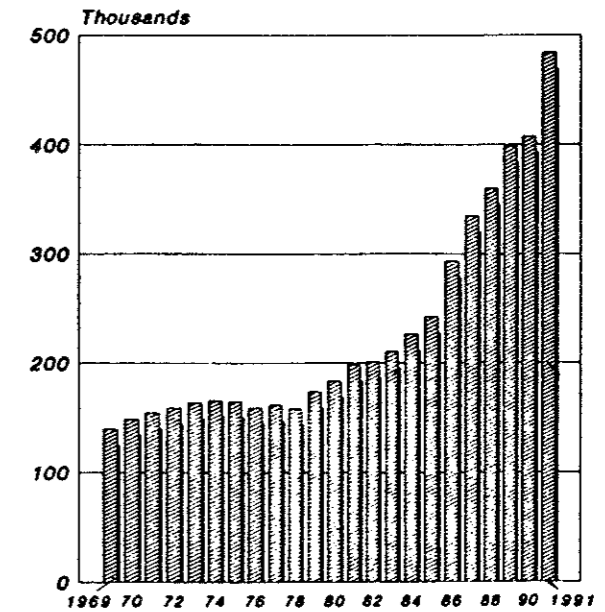
The little significance that the populations from Algeria, Libya, Mauritania and Tunisia have in terms of the share in the total number of the Maghrebi colony in Spain (6%), and the insufficient data produced by this, makes it advisable to analyze only the Moroccan group as representative of the whole category.

Figures 1 & 2 graphically reflect the temporary evolution of the Moroccan and foreign populations in Spain, respectively, which have residency permits.



Source: Bureau of Police

Fig. 1. Moroccan residents in Spain 1969-1991



Source: Bureau of Police

Fig. 2. Alien residents in Spain 1969-1991

The tendency of both groups, even following an ascending line in both cases, is significantly different because of the spectacular increase of the number of Moroccans in the last few years and the much more gentle rise in the group of foreigners.

We can observe two important occurrences concerning the Moroccan colony. The first corresponds to 1986, a date which coincides with the first registration of illegal aliens in Spain, before the Foreigner Law went into effect. In 1991, the second and most numerous registration was brought about, and with it, the number of Moroccan residents skyrockets. However, most of the people that had obtained their residency permits during the last process are not included in the 1991 figures, but rather, in the following year, making the 1992 increase even more noticeable.

One should keep in mind that there is only an information on the resident population. The evolution of the numbers of clandestine Moroccan population is unknown. Nevertheless, the heavy increase of Moroccan immigration is known to be a recent phenomenon.

LOCATION OF THE COLONY: MAIN CENTERS

Map 2 and Table 9 show the location of the Moroccan colony with residency permits by province in Spain, and their numbers by the different Autonomous Communities. The mediterranean coastline and Madrid in the interior of the peninsula are generally the preferred zones for settlement. At the provincial level, Barcelona, Madrid and Malaga have the greatest number of Moroccans, in absolute figures, with 3,181, 3,075 and 2,494 people respectively.

TABLE 9. Resident Moroccans in Spain, 1990

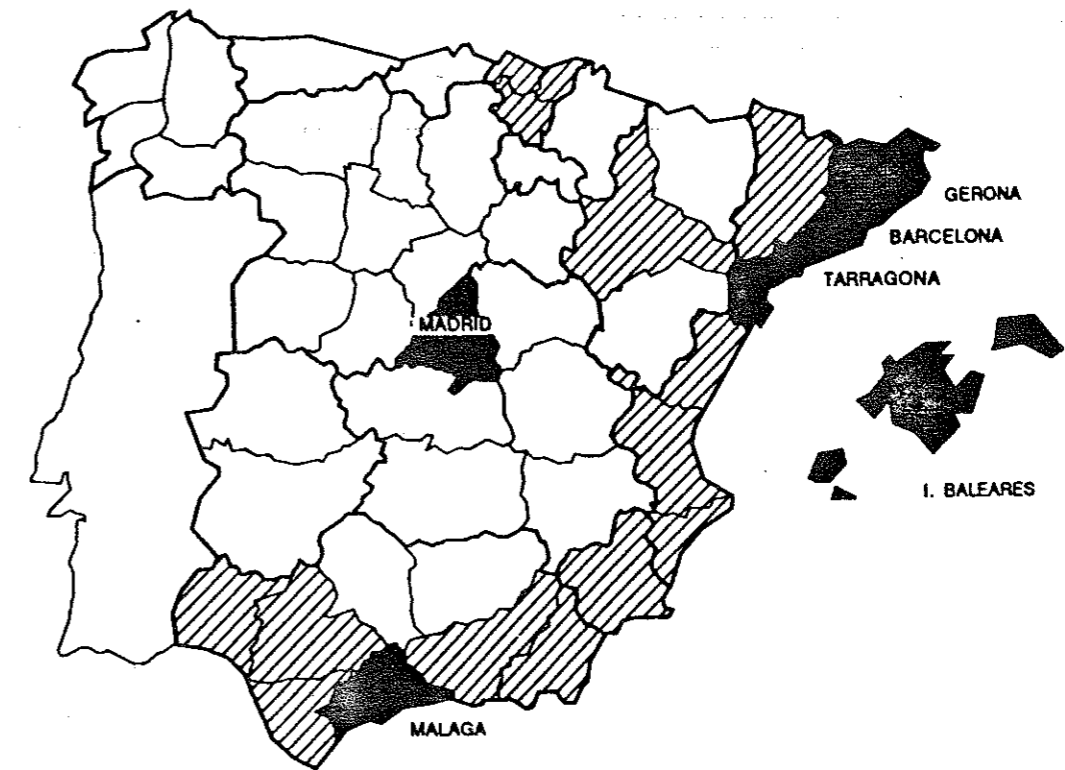
Autonomous Communities	Total	%
Total	16,665	100
Andalusia	3,906	23.4
Aragon	193	1.1
Asturias (Principality of)	40	0.2
Baleares (Islands)	505	3.0
Canary Islands	867	5.2
Cantabria	17	0.1
Castile & Leon	214	1.2
Castile-La Mancha	99	0.5
Catalonia	5,260	31.5
Valencia	840	5.0
Extremadura	203	1.2
Galicia	141	0.8
Madrid (Community of)	3,075	18.4
Murcia (Region of)	310	1.8
Navarre (Foral Community of)	36	0.2
Basque Country	607	3.6
Rioja	57	0.3
Ceuta & Melilla	295	1.7

Source: N.I.S. Authors' design.

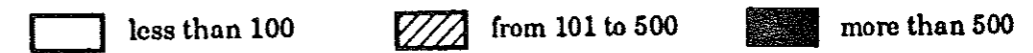
The estimates given by PASS for the group of clandestine Moroccans follow the same pattern, although the figures emphasize Catalonia's role as a receiving region, with 51% of the total.

The estimates given by the Ioé group for the location of the whole Moroccan community in Spain (including those nationalized, those with documented and those without documents) show similar tendencies. The Spanish towns of Ceuta and Melilla in the North of Africa stand out as the main points of concentration of Moroccans, followed at a distance by Catalonia and the Community of Madrid¹.

¹ The relevance of Ceuta and Melilla is clear for the great number of nationalized Moroccans that exist in these areas on the frontier with Morocco. The rest of the sources which we collect do not investigate/study this group.



Source: I.N.E. Authors' design



Map 2. Moroccan residents in Spain. 1990. Absolute figures

TABLE 10. Moroccans in Spain in irregular situations (1989).
(PASS estimates)

Autonomous Communities	Total	%
Total	58,775	100
Andalusia	2,132	3.6
Aragon & Rioja	141	0.2
Catalonia	30,124	51.2
Valencia	6,087	10.4
Extremadura	55	0.1
Madrid	11,075	18.8
Murcia	1,373	2.3
Basque Country	98	0.2
Ceuta & Melilla	7,516	12.8
All others	174	0.3

Source: PASS — N.I.S. Author's design.

The Moroccan community definitely tends to be located in the most important industrialized cities of the country, in agricultural regions and in tourist areas.

Despite the fact that not all the figures on the registration of foreigners completed in 1991 have been statistically analyzed yet, Table 11 shows the volume of Moroccans living in those provinces which have received the greatest numbers of immigrants. It is important to note that this represents clandestine Moroccan migrants, who become legal residents.

TABLE 11. Moroccans registered in 1992. Location by province
(provisional data)

Total	44,938	%
Alicante	752	1.67
Baleares	999	2.22
Gerona	3,045	6.77
Barcelona	10,572	23.52
Madrid	9,912	22.05
Malaga	2,001	4.45
Murcia	4,037	8.98
Palmas (Las)	737	1.64
Tarragona	1,639	3.64
Valencia	856	1.90
Other provinces	10,388	23.11

Source: Bureau of Migratory Affairs. Results of the March 10, 1992 registration.
Author's design.

Of the fifty provinces of Spain, the ten that have been investigated up to now — located mostly on the Mediterranean coast — account for 76.9% of the total number of legalized Moroccans. Barcelona and Madrid, the most important urban areas of the country, stand out as fundamental centers of attraction with almost 50% of the Moroccan colony.

CHARACTERISTICS

The best and most recent source of information on the socio-demographic characteristics of the Moroccan population is the Bureau of Migratory Affairs which provides provisional data (of May of 1992) on the immigrants regularized by December of 1991.

The population is predominantly young (55.5% between 20 and 31 years), single (65.5%) and male (85.3%). We should keep in mind that the source consulted provides data for the population legalized through joint work and residency permits; therefore, it concerns the working population. Nevertheless, the Bureau of Migratory Affairs considers that the opportunities provided by the process enabled many inactive people to join the process. A process for regrouping families, related to the registration process, opened for the dependents of workers already legalized; nevertheless, the number of Moroccans applying for the legalization has been limited: 1,557 for all of Spain. This fact makes one suppose that the majority of registered people do not have

any family dependents. It also tells us of the importance of the group we are studying as representative of the whole Moroccan colony in Spain, although we should be cautious when analyzing the rate of activity for reasons already mentioned.

TABLE 12. Moroccan population regularized in December of 1991, by gender

		%
Men	38,320	85.3
Women	6,618	14.7
Total	44,938	100

Source: Bureau of Migratory Affairs. Author's design.

TABLE 13. Moroccan population regularized in December of 1991, by year of birth

Groups of Ages	Absolute figures	%
From 0 to 11 years	-	-
From 12 to 16 years	116	0.3
From 17 to 21 years	4,225	9.4
From 22 to 26 years	13,200	29.4
From 27 to 31 years	11,743	26.1
From 32 to 36 years	7,350	16.3
From 37 to 41 years	4,289	9.5
From 42 to 51 years	2,958	6.6
From 52 to 61 years	935	2.1
From 62 to 81 years	117	0.3
Unspecified	3	0.1
Total	44,938	100

Source: Bureau of Migratory Affairs, Author's design.

Table 14. Moroccan population regularized in December of 1991, by civil state

	Absolute figures	%
Single	29,416	65.5
Married	14,802	32.9
Divorced	362	0.8
Widowed	261	0.6
Legally separated	97	0.2
Total	44,938	100

Source: Bureau of Migratory Affairs. Author's design.

Tables 12, 13 and 14 reflect the demographic characteristics of this group. As pointed out, the population is, above all, young and male: the majority of

its members are between 17 and 51 years and is highly active. Although most of them are single, a high proportion of them are married (a third of them); they tend not to come with their spouses, but instead, it seems that generally the head of the household "goes first" to look for work and comfortable living conditions, so he can "haul" the rest of the family over later. In the worst of cases, his savings are crucial to support his family and are sent regularly to his country of origin. Finally, there is a great number of women from urban areas among the divorced, whose strategy is similar to that of married men.

Table 15. Moroccan population regularized in December of 1991

	Code and Description	Number	%
1	2	3	4
1	Agricultural production	11,298	26.14
2	Cattle raising	580	
3	Agriculture & cattle services	271	
4	Hunting and animal raising	12	
5	?	145	
6	Fishing	872	
11	Treatment of combustible solids	2	
12	Oil & natural gas extraction	0	
13	Oil refinement	2	
14	Radioactive mineral extraction & processing	0	
15	Energy production & distribution	30	
16	Water obtainment, treatment & distribution	7	
21	Metallic extraction & processing	1	
22	Metal production & transformation	191	
23	Non-metallic mineral extraction	18	
24	Non-metallic mineral production industry	38	
25	Chemical industry	113	
31	Metal products manufacturing	328	
32	Machinery construction	36	
33	Office & computer machinery construction	0	
34	Machinery & electrical material construction	45	
35	Electronic materials manufacturing	9	
36	Automobile & parts manufacturing	25	
37	Nautical manufacturing & repairs	4	
38	Transportation manufacturing (other)	2	
39	Precision instruments manufacturing	1	
41	Food, beverage & tobacco production industry	707	
43	Textile industry	592	
44	Leather industry	115	
45	Clothing & shoe industry	449	
46	Wood, cork & furniture industry	681	
47	Paper & graphic arts industry	78	
48	Rubber products industry	32	
49	Manufacturing industry (other)	90	
50	Construction	11,121	24.74

1	2	3	4
61	Wholesale businesses	191	
62	Product recall	107	
63	Middle businesses	44	
64	Retail businesses	3,254	7.24
65	Restaurants & cafes	72	
66	Lodging industry	3,157	7.02
67	Repairs	321	
71	Railroad transportation	1	
72	Other surface transportation	197	
73	Maritime transport & other -? -	5	
74	Air transportation	1	
75	Transportation related activities	60	
76	Communications	8	
81	Financial institutions	1	
82	Insurance	1	
83	Financial & insurance services	2	
84	Corporate services	1,906	
85	Rental property -?-	5	
86	Real estate rental -?-	8	
91	Public admin., national defense & social, security	2	
92	Sanitation, transportation & public works	97	
93	Education & research	43	
94	Health & veterinary services	36	
95	Social services & -?-	36	
96	Recreational & cultural services	245	
97	Personal services	128	
98	Domestic services	6,882	
99	Diplomatic representation & intern. org.	2	
100	Unclassified activities	231	
999	0	
Total		44,938	

Source: General Management of Immigration.

Table 15 reflects the composition of the colony by area of activity. Moroccan immigrants prefer be active on agricultural production and construction. Secondly, a high number of them hold domestic service occupations. Lastly, other activities chosen by the group are small businesses and hotels. These five areas occupy 80% of the Moroccan population in Spain. The areas require little qualifications and, for this reason, are held in low regard by the native population which has acquired a higher level of education and socio-economic status over the last several years.

The fundamental occupations of the Moroccan population living in urban zones — primarily Madrid and Barcelona — are construction and domestic service. On the other hand, those living in tourist zones are active by working in hotel-keeping and running small businesses, especially ambulatory vending, as well as construction.

A great number of the Moroccan population living in the rural Mediterranean areas, especially Catalonia and Levante, is active in agricultural production.

The data on the characteristics of the Moroccan population are unpublished; they have been furnished by the Bureau of Migratory Affairs for this project. The data are considered representative of the whole Moroccan population in the country. Nevertheless, it would be interesting to complete them with information from the Population Census of 1991, which presumably covered the foreign population residing legally in Spain — illegal residents try not to be registered in any official statistics. However, the census data are not yet available.

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