Migration of Moroccans and Ecuadorians towards Spain: how migration policies shape migratory patterns?

Belén Fernández Suárez
International Migration Sociology Team
(Equipo de Sociología de las Migraciones Internacionales, ESOMI)
University of Coruña

THE CONTEXT FOR IMMIGRATION INTO SPAIN

Spain has had a long history of emigration. At the end of the nineteenth century, Spaniards were migrating in large numbers to Latin America, and by the middle of the twentieth century, Spain saw a significant number of labor migrants leave for other European countries. Then, during the 1970s, emigration stagnated, and at the beginning of the 1980s, the first immigrants from Morocco and Latin America (Cuba, Argentina, Peru, and the Dominican Republic) began flowing into Spain (Izquierdo 1996).

In 1985, Spain passed its first law under democracy aimed at regulating foreigners. Scholars working on this matter have interpreted the law in several ways. Some believe that Spain's desire to join the European Union motivated it (Aja 2006). Another viewpoint considers that it emanated from society's need to regularize migration (Kreienbrink 2008).[1] The explosion in migratory flows at the beginning of the twenty-

[1] Axel Kreienbrink notes that the first parliamentary initiatives in this regard came from the Spanish Communist Party (PCE). In 1980, it presented a non-legislative motion on the basic principles for developing an emigration and immigration law, which was published in the Boletín Oficial de las Cortes Generales (BOCG), I Legislatura, Serie D, no. 343-I, April 17, 1980 (Kreienbrink 2008: 112).

first century, accompanied by the prolonged economic growth that continued into 2007, resulted in Spain's consolidation as an immigrant-receiving country. During this period, the political and social debate over immigration has grown exponentially, just as has immigrants' demographic growth. According to the data from the Municipal Residents Registry dated January 1, 2008, 5,220,557 foreigners live in Spain, or 11 percent of the overall population (46,063,511 people) (INE 2008).

After Romania joined the European Union on January 1, 2007, Moroccans and the Ecuadorians became Spain's two most numerous non-EU foreign populations, with the 640,000 and 420,000 foreign nationals, respectively (INE 2008). These two groups represented 20 percent of Spain's foreign population in 2008 (12 of every 100 foreigners are Moroccan, and 8 of every 100 are Ecuadorian) and 34 percent of all foreign residents from nonmember countries registered in Spain in 2008 (21 percent and 13 percent, respectively, of a total of 3,124,000 foreigners from outside the European Union) (INE 2008).

The importance of these groups is even more apparent if we consider the number of foreigners who have valid residency permits, that is, foreigners legally residing in Spain. At the end of 2007, Moroccans represented 16 percent of all legal immigrants in Spain, and Ecuadorians, 10 percent (combined 26 percent of all legal foreign residents). The importance of these groups is even more apparent if we consider only those foreign residents from non-EU countries: Moroccans account for 27 percent and Ecuadorians, 16 percent (combined 43 percent of the total) (Ministerio de Trabajo e Inmigración 2007)

The researchers at the University of Coruña chose to study these populations not only because of the Moroccans' and the Ecuadorians' demographic weight in Spain. Another major factor was Spain's migratory policies, some inherited from the Franco period. These policies facilitated the arrival of Latin American nationals, in detriment to migrations by Africans, even though over time this partiality has weakened (Kreienbrink 2008). Comparing Ecuadorians and Moroccans also let the researchers form a hypothesis about whether these immigration policies have generally been more favorable for Ecuadorians vis-à-vis Moroccans, and what specific circumstances were of greater benefit to the former group.

Previous research has noted some of the policy instruments that were partial to Latin American immigrants. One is the regularization process for foreigners (Izquierdo, López de Lera, and Martínez, 2003; Pérez Caramés, 2004). Articles 17 through 28 of the Spanish Civil Code, which regulates the process to obtain Spanish nationality, have also played a role (Álvarez Rodríguez and OPI, 2003; Álvarez Rodríguez, 2006). A series of regulations passed during the 1960s under the Franco dictatorship aimed to bring the "mother country" closer to its old colonies, so it also favored Latin Americans. Among these were reciprocal treaties lifting visa requirements for Spain and Ecuador (1963), the Spanish-Ecuadorian agreement for dual citizenship (1964), and the Social Security agreement signed by those two countries (1960 and 1974). These accords made it easier for Ecuadorian nationals to enter Spain (Gómez Ciriano 2007). Because similar treaties were signed with other nations in the region, many Latin American countries also benefitted. However, although the Spanish government signed similar treaties Western

Sahara, once a Spanish colony, which Morocco annexed in the late 1970s. Those treaties were canceled at the beginning of the 1990s, but the agreements with Latin American countries remained in force until major flows began to come from that region at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

Definitively, the contrasting migration policies applied to the Moroccans and Ecuadorians, together with the demographic weight of these flows in the overall, non-EU population in Spain, led us to select them for our study.

MOROCCAN AND ECUADORIAN IMMIGRATION TO SPAIN

During the 1960s, Moroccan immigrants would cross Spain on their way to settle in the European countries with expanding labor markets, such as France, Belgium, Holland, and Great Britain. At that time, Spain's backward economy and its inability to absorb manpower also led to the emigration of thousands of Spaniards to other European countries. This justified the view that Spain was a transit country rather than a place of settlement for most Moroccan immigrants. Then, in the 1970s, certain economic sectors, like agriculture and construction, began to generate jobs, but Spanish nationals refused to take them due to the low pay, negative social perception, and strenuous nature of the work. Consequently, employers turned to foreign labor. From the mid-1970s on, pioneer Moroccan immigrants began settling in Catalonia, particularly in Barcelona.

In the 1980s, Moroccans arrived in increasing numbers, and their settlement pattern widened to include not only Barcelona but also Madrid, Málaga, and Las Palmas (López García 2004a). At the beginning of the 1990s, to be an immigrant in Spain was synonymous with being Moroccan, male, young, and single. Applications filed by this

group during the special regularizations in 1985 and 1991 far surpassed applications filed by other groups (Izquierdo 2004, 1996).

Moroccan immigrants could enter Spain without a visa because the governments of Spain and Western Sahara had signed an agreement in 1964 that lifted visa requirements for citizens of both countries.[2] Spain's entrance into the European Union and its signing of the Treaty of Schengen in 1991, combined with the growing arrival of unauthorized Moroccan immigrants, led to the imposition of a visa requirement for people coming from Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, Mauritania, and Libya (Mandria, Pérez, and López 1996). It went into force on July 15, 1991, which was also when Spain had one of its special regularizations.[3] Nevertheless, the visa requirement did not slow the number of Moroccans entering the country annually. According to the Residential Variation Survey (Encuesta de Variaciones Residenciales, EVR), approximately 3,000 Moroccans arrived in Spain each year between 1993 and 1996, whereas between 1989 and 1991, on average that figure had been below 2,000 annually (INE 2007). There is

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[2] Specifically, the accord called the Canje de notas de 3 de Junio de 1964, constitutivo de acuerdo entre los gobiernos de España y Marruecos (Exchange of letters of June 3, 1964, between the governments of Spain and Morocco) lifted the visa requirement for the citizens of both countries. It went into force on June 3, 1964 (reference 1982/33466).

[3] Called the Canje de notas de 15 de Julio de 1991 constitutivo de acuerdo sobre gratuidad de visados entre España y Marruecos, realizado en Rabat (Exchange of letters of July 15, 1991, constituting an agreement to lift visa requirements between Spain and Morocco, signed in Rabat). It was published in the Official State Bulletin no. 220 on September 13, 1991 (reference 1991/23240). The exchange of letters is "a legal instrument of international public law, through which two states reach an agreement concerning a specific issue. In the particular case of that concerns us, the accord addresses the lifting of the visa requirement for short stays, or those of less than three months in the signatory countries" (Gómez Ciriano, 2005).

also a possibility that the visa requirement actually increased the flow of undocumented Moroccans smuggled in on boats (*pateras*) throughout the 1990s.

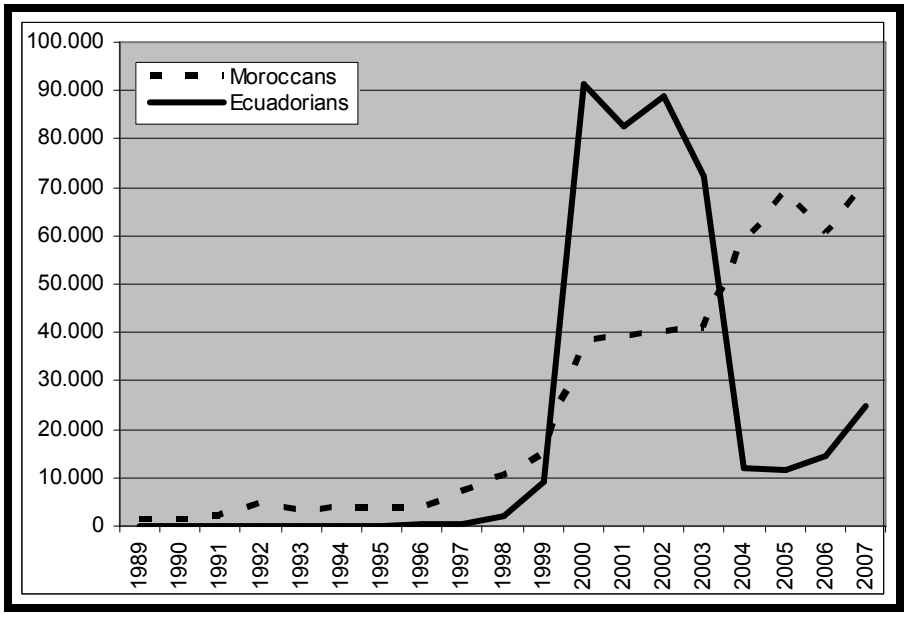

Figure 1. Development of Ecuadorian and Moroccan migratory flows into Spain (1989–2006). Prepared by the author based on the Residential Variation Survey (Encuesta de Variaciones Residenciales, EVR), INE 2007.

From 1989 through 2007, the flows of Moroccan immigrants to Spain have continuously increased (see figure 2.1). Based on EVR data, we can identify three stages. The initial stage (1989 -1998) involved the settlement of the first Moroccan migrants, and a constant but light increase in annual arrivals, rising from 1,000 in 1989 to 10,000 by 1998. The second stage (1999 to 2003) was marked by a constant growth in the flows, and the Moroccan group consolidated its presence in the country. An accelerated growth in the absolute number entering Spain annually marks this stage, rising from 15,000 in 1999 to more than 40,000 by 2003. The final stage (2004-2007) of major growth saw the

numbers rise from 59,000 Moroccans entering annually to somewhere between 60,000 and 70,000 who came to Spain, who began residing either legally or illegally in the country.

Ecuadorian immigrants began arriving much later than the Moroccan immigrants, who had been the pioneers of foreign settlement in Spain. From the 1960s until the mid-1990s, Ecuadorian immigration was directed primarily towards the United States, and it had a definite pattern, involving predominantly men of rural origin who primarily settled in Queens in Metropolitan New York (Grafton 2005, 2007).

As an alternative to the United States, Spain offered several attractive features: it cost less to move there, the U.S. government's was tightening its immigration policies to control flows, and Spain had policies that facilitated Ecuadorian migration. Among those policies were the absence of a visa requirement until August 2003;[4] an agreement for dual nationality;[5] an agreement on Social Security signed by both countries on April 1, 1960; and the ease of obtaining Spanish nationality after only two years of legal residence, as

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[4] The visa requirement for Ecuadorians entering Spain was changed by the Council Regulation 453/2003 of the European Community, March 6, 2003, and it came into force in Spain on August 3, 2003. This normative change called Denuncia del Canje de Notas de 30 de Octubre de 1963 sobre supresión de visados entre España y Ecuador (Termination of Exchange of Letters of October 30, 1963, concerning the lifting of visa requirements for Spain and Ecuador) was published in the Official State Bulletin no. 159 on July 4, 2003.

[5] The Convenio hispano-ecuatoriano de doble nacionalidad (Agreement on Spanish-Ecuadorian Dual Citizenship), signed December 22, 1964, was in force until August 8, 2000. This agreement let Ecuadorians enter the labor market without restrictions: "to exercise trades and professions, and with labor protection and Social Security . . . under all the same conditions as Spanish citizens." However, on August 16, 2000, Spain's official bulletin (BOE) published a modification, specifically to article 8, that implied that the signatory states only made a commitment to provide facilities once an immigrant had obtained the work permit according to the rules government foreigners (Gómez Ciriano, 2007).

established by articles 17 through 28 of the Spanish Civil Code. Two other factors encouraging Ecuadorian migration were that country's worsening economic crisis, which had begun in 1998 and continued into 2004, and the "call effect" of the Spanish labor market, which needed large contingents of foreign workers to feed an economy that hinged on sectors with a strong demand for labor, like agriculture, services, and construction.

As was the case with the Moroccans, we can divide the arrival of Ecuadorian immigrants into three stages, characterized by the intensity of settlement. The first stage (1994-1999) was marked by a consistent slow increase in the flow, rising from 100 arrivals in 1994 to 9,000 in 1999. The second stage (2000-2003) saw massive numbers of people arrive, with flows surpassing an annual average 70,000 (in 2000, more than 91,000 Ecuadorians entered Spain, and 72,000 people arrived in 2003). After the imposition of a visa requirement in 2003, numbers declined in the short term. The final period (2004 to 2007) saw an initial drop—in 2004, fewer than 12,000 new Ecuadorians registered—but 2006 and 2007 saw a return to slow increases.

The description of the evolution of flows based on the EVR data will be compared with the results of our own research survey (see figure 2.2). (For the technical characteristics of survey see the book's introduction.) The data indicate that Ecuadorian flows were concentrated during a four-year span from 2000 through 2003. During that time, 78 percent of the surveyed Ecuadorians arrived, compared to only 16 percent who arrived between 1957 and 1999, and only 6 percent who settled in Spain between 2004

and 2006. Thus, the EVR data and the results of our research project's survey closely coincide.

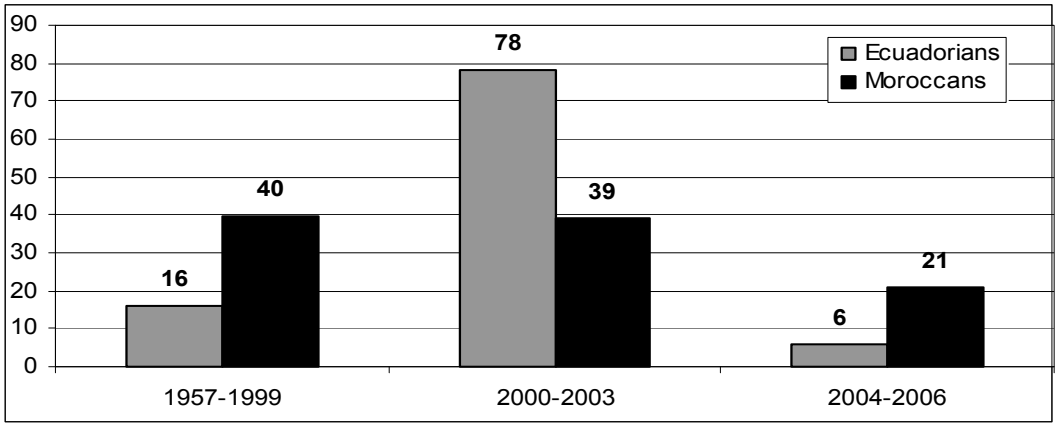

Figure 2.Arrival of Ecuadorian and Moroccan foreigners interviewed in Spain in three time spans, as a percentage of each group's total arrivals. Prepared by the author based on data from a 2006 survey by the University of Coruña research project.

However, regarding the arrival of Moroccan immigrants, the research project's 2006 data show that the flows have been more consistent over time in comparison to the Ecuadorians. Of all the Moroccans surveyed, 40 percent had arrived between 1957 and 1999, and a similar percentage (39 percent) had arrived between 2000 and 2003. Continuity in flows over time is also apparent when compared to Ecuadorian because 21 percent of the surveyed Moroccans arrived between 2004 and 2006. Thus, Moroccan inflows to Spain were quantitatively significant before 2000, and later growth has been very strong. Consequently, some Moroccans have resided in Spain for a long time, but most have settled in the country more recently, and consequently, they are less well established.

The stock of Ecuadorians and Moroccan foreigners living in Spain has increased in a slow but continuous manner. Since 1992, the number of Moroccan immigrants with residency permits has risen from approximately 50,000 (14 percent of all legal, non-EU foreign residents in the country) to almost 650,000 in 2007 (16 percent of all legal, non-EU foreigners).

The Ecuadorian case is the epitome of a migratory "wave," because there were scarcely 30,000 Ecuadorian foreigners in the country legally in 2000, but by 2007, 400,000 Ecuadorians were living in Spain (10 percent of all non-EU foreign citizens with legal residency permits compared to only 3 percent in 2000).

Subtracting the number of residency permits that have been issued and are still in force (which is a proxy for the number of foreigners living legally in the country) from the number of foreigners listed in municipal registries results in a crude illegality figure. We used that figure as an approximate measure for estimating the number of Ecuadorians and Moroccans residing in Spain without proper documents.[6] Currently, the number of registered foreigners and foreigners with residency permits converges in both groups (figure 2.3), indicating that there are an insignificant number (at least, statistically) of Ecuadorians and Moroccans without documents. This trend has also been corroborated for all foreigners who have settled in Spain (Izquierdo and León 2008). The most critical period of undocumented status for Moroccans and Ecuadorians came between 2000 and

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[6] In Spain, foreigners register in their municipalities in order to get access to a set of social rights (education for their children, health services, etc.) and because this is usually a requirement for the regularization (the registration certificate is taken as proof of when they arrived in Spain and their length of residence).

2006. Approvals of applications submitted by these groups in special regularizations in 2000, 2001, and 2005 corroborate that (Izquierdo and Fernández 2007), as does the data from the 2003 survey of Ecuadorian immigrants in Madrid, Valencia, and Murcia, which showed that 40 percent of the surveyed people were in the country illegally (Tornos Cubillo 2007). Many undoubtedly applied for residency in later years, specifically, during the 2005 regularization.

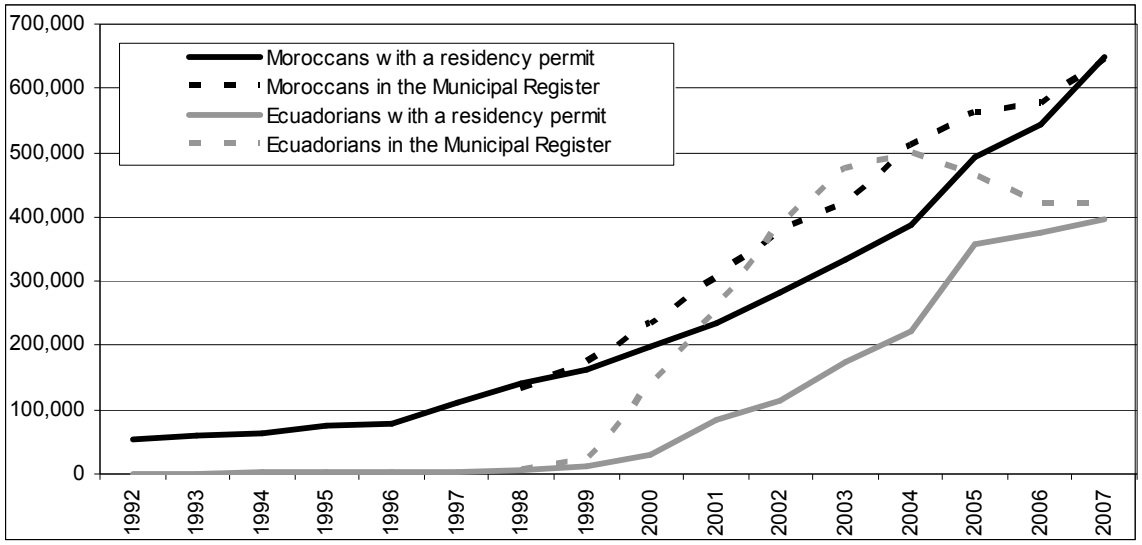

Figure 3. Evolution of the stock of current permits and of Ecuadorians and Moroccans registered in Spain (1996–2007). Prepared by the author based on the Municipal Residents Registry (Padrón Municipal de Habitantes), 1998–2007, National Institute of Statistics (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, www.ine.es) and Annual Statistics on Foreigners (Anuario Estadístico de Extranjería, 1992–2007, Ministry of Labor and Migration (Ministerio de Trabajo e Inmigración (www.mtas.es).

Undocumented status when entering the country—understood as entering Spain with false papers or altogether without papers—is a significant issue only for Moroccan nationals. Our 2006 survey showed that on their last trip to Spain, 20 percent of the Moroccans had entered without valid papers, compared to 99 percent of Ecuadorians arriving legally. Using data from the Center for Comparative Immigration Studies (CCIS)

2007 survey in Yucatán (Mexico), we can make a comparison between the Spanish case and the U.S. one: 70 percent of the surveyed Mexicans had entered the United States on their last trip without papers or with false papers. This suggests that in the U.S. case, more Mexican foreigners are undocumented from the moment that they enter the country. Meanwhile, in Spain, the failure to have valid documents is more closely associated with the phenomenon of "overstaying," that is, of remaining in the country for a period longer than is permitted by law or staying beyond one's visa's end date. Nevertheless, for the two most numerous groups of non-EU foreigners, it is true that Spain's migratory policy has eased the issue of illegality, thanks in large part to the government's special regularizations.

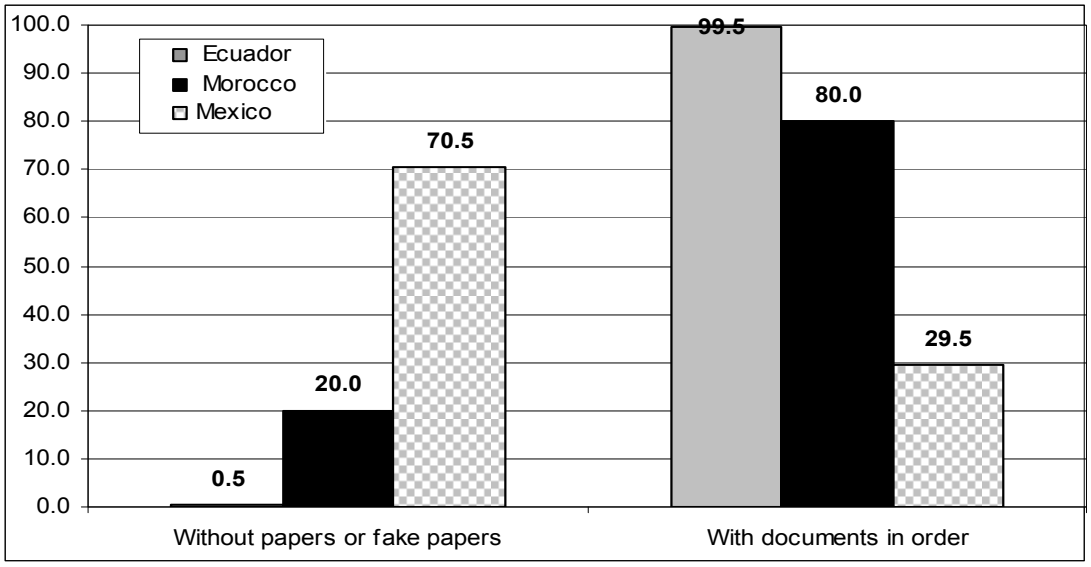

Figure 4. Authorized and unauthorized arrivals on the most recent trip to the destination country by Ecuadorian and Moroccan foreigners surveyed in Spain (2006) and Mexican foreigners surveyed in Yucatán (2007), as a percentage of each group's total arrivals. Prepared by the author based on data from a 2006 survey by the University of Coruña research project and the CCIS 2007 survey taken in Yucatán, Mexico.

Among the principal reasons for emigrating to Spain, 37 percent of the surveyed Ecuadorians and 28 percent of the surveyed Moroccans identified the economic differential between the sending and receiving societies, which gives an immigrant the ability to earn higher salaries in the receiving country compared to the country of origin. With few jobs in their own countries, searching for work had motivated 25 percent of both the Ecuadorians and Moroccans. Finally, the desire to reunite with family in Spain was the reason for the migration for 28 percent of the Moroccans and 18 percent of the Ecuadorians.

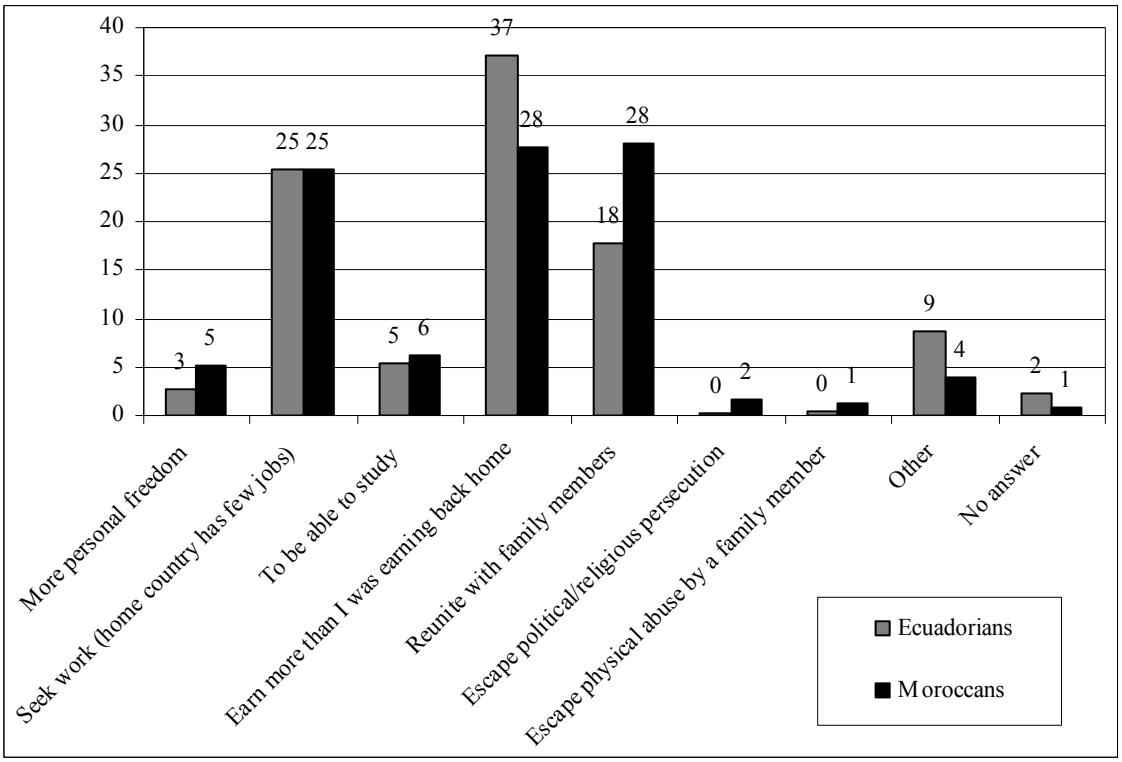

Figure 5. The reason for the migration, as indicated by Ecuadorians and Moroccans surveyed in Spain, as a percentage of each group's total arrivals. Prepared by the author based on data from a 2006 survey by the University of Coruña research project.

The research project's ethnographic fieldwork including asking immigrants to talk about their reasons for emigrating to Spain. The most common responses among Ecuadorian immigrants was their country's economic crisis, which has affected the middle class to a large degree. Ecuadorians tend to blame the various national governments for the crisis that has caused an exodus of the country's population. To a lesser degree, but equally relevant, some people took advantage of this economic downturn and Ecuador's political convulsions in order to change their life and separate from a spouse (especially true in the case of women).

To illustrate these assertions, we cite a series of excerpts from the field interviews:

> In the specific case of Spain, Ecuadorian immigration boomed at the end of the last century as a consequence of the financial crisis, which took Ecuador to the brink of bankruptcy. This led to a diaspora of Ecuadorian citizens. Replacing the sucre with the United States dollar as the national currency overnight evaporated people's savings. The exchange rate, which had stood at 5,000 sucres to the dollar, rose the next day to 25,000 sucres to the dollar. So, it was truly a terrible crisis. . . . This, among other things, motivated an exodus of Ecuadorian citizens. With the crisis, there were no jobs, and . . . at a certain point, the European economies took off, so the need for labor there expanded. The ability to earn an income . . . allowed many citizens who had come to Spain to solve the problem of this great crisis in Ecuador. [These immigrants] could find new perspectives about development and even make a small fortune or have a different type of life, with all the comforts that Spain offers and its economy of well-being.
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> Ecuador has a lot of wealth. It would be possible to live in Ecuador if there were a better government, if the people who are in power were someone else. If they paid attention to governing, and not to robbery. . . . Many Ecuadorians are here [in Spain]. We are here because of the economic problems but those problems were made by the politicians . . . I was one of the people who was harmed. Because I had money that was saved up . . . when this man Abdalá Bucaram was governing.[7] He was the one who froze the bank accounts. He embezzled the money and … then took political asylum in Panama. . . . Then, he left us utterly with our arms crossed. He took everything then, and looting, robberies, such terrible things began, something like what happened in Argentina. Then, we were utterly forced to emigrate, to emigrate. . . . Everything that had been going on ground to a halt. Companies closed, the bank closed, many companies closed. One of them was mine, and everything went in to bankruptcy and . . . here I am!
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> In my country, I had a little bar, a small kiosk near a playing field, and I worked and all that. But my marriage was bad, and more and more and more, I wanted, as they say commonly, to burn bridges. … In my country, passports were given

[7] Abdalá Bucaram Ortiz, an Ecuadorian of Libyan descent, was president of the Republic of Ecuador in 1996 and 1997. He was a founding member of the ideologically conservative Ecuadorian Roldosista party (PRE), which had populist overtones.

> for one thousand years. Well, you know, for a long time. And the first thing I did was to get a passport. Every day, I wanted to come. I thought about it, but then I would say, “Oh, no, I don’t know, my children, and so on and so forth.” ….Then, in my relationship with my husband, it came down his battering me and everything. One day I said, “Well, this isn't going well, and I don't want my children growing up seeing how this is," and so on and so forth. … So, I talked with my father and I told him that I wanted to leave. My father’s exact words were: "Yes, I prefer it to be that way, daughter, that you are far away so that I don’t have to see you in this situation. What do you want me to do?" I told him, "Well, I want you to help me." "But how?" "Mortgage your house." And so that’s how it was, said and done, and in only a few days, I was out the door, since because, as I told you, I already had the passport safely put away for I don't know how many years, and I grabbed it and I came [to Spain]…. [My husband would say:] "I'm going to change, give me another chance, and yada yada yada." But nothing ever changed, so I said, “I'm going to Spain, since everybody's going to Spain, to Spain, I'm telling you!” Without having family or people I knew there or anything, but there’s always someone who will say to you, "Come, the such and such agency will take you, we’ll lend you money, and so forth and so on.” And I did it that way. I came without having anywhere to go, who to stay with. In the airport, there was a lady with a sign that said “Señora Maria.” With €200 in my hands, and well, that's how I got here!

Among their reasons for emigrating, the interviewed Moroccans pointed to their country’s poor economy, the perception that immigration is a solution to their problems, the possibility for upward social mobility in Spain, an idealized image of Western Europe, and the networks of relatives and friends already settled in Spain. These excerpts from the field interviews show the decision-making process and illustrate the weight of these reasons for emigrating.

> Well, the first reason for any emigration is to have a better economy, one’s own well-being, but there also has to be a psychological element. . . . In this world that we now live in, everything is seen through the Internet, through dish antennae, on television screens, and many people get the idea that once they have crossed the border, they're going to find a splendid paradise or they're going to make a fortune. . . . They always have this dream about El Dorado. . . . When people return from the north, the second or third generation, the Moroccans see that they have cars and are well off. . . . [They are] spending, enjoying life, and so people imagine that once they are [in Spain], it is going to

be like that example. But it isn't real. Even many immigrants themselves have told me this, that things are very difficult here, and it is not what we imagine.

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When we came here, the first time that I came, I came with my brother. At the beginning we were studying, and we wanted only to come because they always say that it is good, and why don't we go to Spain, just to see it. We wanted to come only to Málaga. When we got there, I got in, but they turned my brother back. He tried a second time. I was waiting in Algeciras. And again, he couldn't get in because he didn't have a visa. . . . It was an idea that you have there [in Morocco], that you are always looking for a future, and people tell you that there [in Spain], you'll be better off and so forth. And suddenly, … when the vacations came, our minds were already made up.

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The idea of emigrating was more, what can I say, because of coworkers or other people who made comments. [pauses] For example, so-and-so already went and what's his name has returned, and they come back, they come with their clothes, they come with their money, they come with gifts for their friends. And what they tell you, well, they don't tell you anything, they tell you how pretty Europe is. Nobody tells you that they had to go to bed hungry or whatever. They only tell you how marvelous Europe is, and you fall silent, because you believe it. Since you've never gone, you believe it. [And so you think to yourself] "Yes, yes, it is true, what they are telling you is true. Here I am dying, little by little; I have no future here, so I'm going to try it. It's going to turn out well, very well. And if it doesn't work out, well, then, I haven't lost anything."

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Do you know why [I emigrated]? It's that my brothers are there. . . . To live with them, you know?. . . Before coming here, I said "Spain is good, you know? I am going to follow a team there and play in that country [unintelligible]. A friend … told me there are more opportunities for soccer, there's more, you know what I mean? There's more ways to get ahead, there's more of everything. Here there's no way to get ahead … and so I said afterwards: "*Vale.* Okay."

Most of the surveyed Ecuadorians and Moroccans targeted Spain as the country to which they would emigrate (65 percent and 67 percent, respectively); only 34 percent of the Ecuadorians and 28 percent of the Moroccans considered other countries. Of those who looked at options, 54 percent of the Ecuadorians consider going to the United States,

21 percent to Italy, and 8 percent to the United Kingdom. However, among the surveyed Moroccans who considered alternatives to Spain, 46 percent considered the France; 19 percent, Italy; and 9 percent, the Netherlands. In general terms, immigrants tend to go to countries that are already receiving high numbers of their compatriots (as happens in France with Moroccan immigrants or in the United States with Ecuadorian immigrants), or even, countries that have a strong demand for foreign labor so that a job can quickly be found (Italy is a significant case since it was mentioned by both groups).

More so than the Ecuadorians, the interviewed Moroccans immigrants may have migrated at least once prior to their journey to Spain. In general, they had considered traveling to other European countries (France, principally), and there were various reasons for selecting Spain. Primarily, it is easier to find work in Spain's labor market than in other countries (France, Holland, or Belgium). There is also a perception that it is easier to get papers in Spain compared to other European countries. Additionally, many Moroccan migrants have networks of family and friends already established in Spain. In general, the motivation for leaving Morocco is simply to achieve a better life, and Spain is the nearest country and close to longed-for Europe. Additional interview excepts help illustrate why Spain was selected in comparison to other destinations:

> After I graduated from college, there was no work. I could not continue studying or anything, and so I was on my way to France. . . . I had never imagined that when I concluded my studies, there would be nothing to do. Earlier I hadn't even thought about leaving. My brother had studied in France, they offered him a job there, but he said no. . . . The truth is I would've liked to have done that, but it is a matter of money. On my way to France, I arrived here in Murcia. . . . Well, I stayed here, and I said: "I'm going to see if I can make my way in life here."

> We are a different case from emigrants. My brother went to Germany, to France. He left to study aesthetics in France. Then he met his girlfriend in Spain, so he stayed in Málaga with her, you know? A little history as such, my brother was in Germany, he went there to work, he is a fighter, if you know what I mean. He loves to travel. So, he went to France, to Germany, what else? . . . Scandinavian countries. I believe he went that far, and then he settled here in the Canary Islands. He didn't want to stay here, and I remember that just when he got married, well, he started a family, you know, so he had to stay, but now he doesn't want to stay here anymore. I think he's going to go to Granada or someplace.

In the Ecuadorian case, as we noted earlier, the option of going to the United States was considered when making the decision to migrate. In the ethnographic fieldwork, interviewees highlighted a series of factors that were determinant when discarding that option and choosing Spain. First, there is the perception that the United States has a stronger immigration-control policy whereas it is easier to enter Spain. Second, when going to the United States, entrants without documents must cross the border, which is both risky for their well-being and costly; in contrast, going to Spain is relatively easy, safe, and inexpensive. Third, the difficulty in obtaining legal status once a migrant arrives is in the United States made returning to Ecuador to visit the family very difficult. That situation does not occur in the case of Spain because, before the visa requirement was established, migrants could come and go freely. Finally, immigration to the United States is related to transnational ties, which continue producing migration from certain areas of Ecuador, such as the canton of Cañar, that once sent massive numbers to the United States. The following excepts illustrate the reasons the led emigrants to choose Spain over the United States:

> In my neighborhood, the truth is all those who came back [from Spain], came back better off . . . . And its because getting to the United States is super more difficult, and moreover once you've been in the United States, you can't return to

> Ecuador to see your family . . . . We know people who have been years and years without seeing their families. Here you have the ability to return. Moreover, they make it easier to get papers and, at least before the visa requirement, you could come and go. But, for example, there is a city in my country, Cuenca, where the people die trying to come to the United States.
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> [My brother] went to the United States with the help of coyote. It's a terrible crossing, you know? . . . He went from Ecuador to Mexico . . . . Certainly, he had dollars! To use when he was arriving in the United States, so that the coyote would take him to where the other brothers were. So, he had the money to pay him because otherwise there wouldn't have been any deal at all, because if he was left only halfway on the trip, he wasn't going to pay him . . . . We got news, I think it was 25 or 30 days later, that he had arrived and was all right.
>
> ***
>
> Going to the United States continues. Yes, this has been a place where people try to arrive without documents, and this has caused a series of complications, of humanitarian disasters, the loss of many lives. Its a matter of trying to go, crossing the ocean to Central America, Guatemala, Mexico, and after crossing [Mexico] reaching the United States. There is still the hope of being able to arrive and to change one's life situation, and all of this continues because of the demonstration effects when people see how migrants reached the United States and were there without papers and they could still make a fortune or change their living conditions. So we have, for example, the area of Cañar in Ecuador, where many, many buildings have been built with nails sent from the United States sent from the United States but which are always unoccupied.

THE SENDING REGIONS AND SETTLEMENT AREAS FOR ECUADORIAN AND MOROCCAN IMMIGRANTS IN SPAIN

One of the principal questions we asked in our research project concerned the degree to which migration selectivity exists between sending regions and destinations in Spain (Massey 1990). To answer this, we analyzed a survey of six provinces: A Coruña, Navarre, Madrid, Murcia, Almería, and Santa Cruz de Tenerife. One datum particularly struck us: 75 percent of the surveyed Moroccans came from 15 regions and 75 percent of

the surveyed Ecuadorians came from nine. However, we ought to contextualize that by taking into consideration that Ecuador is divided into 20 provinces whereas Morocco has 47 administrative divisions.

In the case of Morocco, according to our 2006 survey, the most important sending regions are Beni Mellal and Casablanca (both with 12 percent of the surveyed people), Tangier-Assilah (8 percent), Nador (6 percent), and Al Hoceima and Rabat (5 percent and 4 percent, respectively). These data match those noted by other researchers (López García, 2004b), which show that the principal Moroccan regions emitting migrants to Spain are the Rif and the Eastern region, Atlantic Morocco, the interior plains, the major cities, and the Tingitana Peninsula. However, Spain does not receive migrant flows from Suss and its surrounding areas, the historic focal point of Moroccan international immigration that emitted migrants principally to France. The rate of direct emigration (that is, the percentage of residents from each province who go directly to Spain without stopping over or settling for a time at some other point in Morocco) is highest in the provinces of Tangier and Beni Mellal (Berriane 2004).

In contrast, the surveyed Ecuadorians are principally from coastal Guayas (16 percent), where Guayaquil is located; Pichincha (15 percent) in the mountains where Quito is located; El Oro, which is in a province on the Pacific coast bordering Peru (9 percent); Loja, which is in a mountainous region next to El Oro along the border with

Peru (9 percent); Tungurahua (8 percent) and Cañar (5 percent), which are both mountainous areas in the center of the country.[8]

Taking into account the technical characteristics of the survey, when we lowered the scale of the sample to the provincial level, logically, fewer people were surveyed. However, we could still study trends in the origin of the analyzed flows. For a more detailed and representative analysis, we would need broader provincial samples. The data we have gave us relevant information on predominant migrant-emitting areas for foreigners in the various Spanish provinces. The general trend is that Ecuadorians and Moroccans go to a plurality of Spanish destinations, which would indicate that these emigrants are coming from an increasing variety of areas, and consequently, that emigration has spread to many regions throughout both Morocco and Ecuador. However, certain places in Spain are still the chief destinations for immigrants coming from specific areas of Ecuador and Morocco (see tables 1 and 2).

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[8] Ecuador's regions can be grouped into three major areas: the coast (with the provinces of Esmeraldas, Manabí, Los Ríos, Guayas, and El Oro), the sierra (with Carchi, Imbabura, Pichincha, Cotopaxi, Tungurahua, Chimborazo, Bolívar, Cañar, Azuay, and Loja), and the Amazon (Sucumbios, Napo, Orellana, Pastaza, Morona Santiago, and Chinchipe). The migrant-emitting regions are predominately the sierra and the coast (Ramírez and Ramírez, 2005).

Table 1 Proportion of Ecuadorian foreigners, by region of origin and destination in Spain (2006)

	Almería	A Coruña	Madrid	Navarra	Santa Cruz de Tenerife	Murcia
Azuay	0%	10%	2%	4%	0%	2%
Chimborazo	2%	4%	1%	4%	8%	12%
Cotopaxi	0%	10%	4%	4%	0%	0%
El Oro	8%	8%	12%	10%	0%	12%
Esmeraldas	20%	4%	3%	10%	4%	0%
Guayas	8%	10%	24%	10%	22%	10%
Imbabura	2%	4%	1%	0%	16%	0%
Loja	2%	10%	12%	13%	2%	10%
Manabí	2%	6%	3%	6%	12%	2%
Pinchincha	14%	20%	19%	21%	16%	0%
Tungurahua	8%	8%	1%	8%	6%	34%
Other provinces	3%	6%	10%	8%	14%	14%
No information	31%	0%	8%	2%	0%	4%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: Prepared by the author.

Table 2 Proportion of Moroccan foreigners, by region of origin and of destination in Spain (2006)

Region of Morocco	Almería	A Coruña	Madrid	Navarre	Santa Cruz de Tenerife	Murcia
Agadir-Ida Ou Tanane	0%	0%	1%	0%	10%	0%
Al Hoceima	8%	2%	9%	4%	0%	0%
Assa-Zag	0%	0%	1%	0%	12%	0%
Beni Mellal	11%	61%	0%	4%	0%	14%
Berkane	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	10%
Casa Blanca	8%	10%	18%	6%	8%	6%
Fez	2%	2%	4%	4%	2%	10%
Khoribga	0%	0%	1%	8%	0%	8%
Laayoune	0%	0%	1%	0%	22%	0%
Larache	0%	0%	8%	0%	0%	0%
Marrakesh	6%	0%	2%	6%	0%	0%
Nador	11%	0%	6%	4%	14%	2%
Oujda-Angad	0%	0%	4%	4%	2%	14%
Rabat	13%	0%	5%	4%	0%	2%
Tangier-Assilah	15%	5%	10%	12%	0%	0%
Taourirt	0%	0%	0%	8%	2%	2%
Taza	4%	0%	1%	8%	0%	2%
Teouan	2%	0%	9%	0%	0%	2%
Other provinces	8%	20%	12%	26%	28%	26%
No information	12%	0%	7%	2%	0%	2%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: Prepared by the author.

The survey revealed that certain areas of Spanish tend to have higher concentrations of Ecuadorians or Moroccans from specific regions in the sending country. However, notably, a trend toward greater diversity in migrants' destinations is apparent. Migration is also expanding to what had been, initially, non-emitting zones.

This indicates that certain sending and receiving regions predominate, but it does not let us verify the existence of selective migration because there is such wide geographic variation.

In relation to the arrival and establishment of these groups, we asked if the time factor has fostered a change in the profile of immigrants arriving in Spain. To analyze this hypothesis, we will focus on changes detected in three classic sociodemographic variables: sex, age, and marital status.

We should be cautious when examining the sex variable for Moroccan immigrants, since in constructing our sample, we chose to interview equal numbers of men and women in both groups, even though women accounted for only 34 percent of all Moroccans living in Spain in 2006 (INE 2007). This decision does not affect the Ecuadorian group since women represent 51 percent of the Ecuadorian population in Spain, and consequently, the sample reflects the equal split in the sexes for Ecuadorian emigrants in Spain (according to data from the Municipal Register). However, this decision has the advantage of providing more information about the Moroccan women residing in Spain, which we were then able to compare with the group of women born in Ecuador. A brief description by sex shows that 64 percent of the Moroccan women are married or living with someone, and 33 percent are single, either widowed or separated from their spouse. Among Ecuadorian women, we found 47 percent had a partner—were married or living with someone—and 48 percent were single, separated, or widowed.

Regarding Moroccan women's educational levels, we found that 19 percent had never attended school; 25 percent, primary school only; 40 percent, middle or secondary

school; and 14 percent, college. In the case of the surveyed Ecuadorian women, we find an even higher percentage of women with no education—23 percent—and with only primary school—37 percent. Fewer women had received a middle-school education—26 percent—or attended college—13 percent.

Finally, it should be pointed out that only 7 percent of the Moroccan women entered Spain without valid papers, compared to 31 percent of the Moroccan men. Of the Ecuadorian women, only an insignificant portion, not even 1 percent, arrived without papers. Moroccan women are definitely characterized by the fact that they live with a partner, most having opted for marriage. Nevertheless, the number of Moroccan women who were not in a relationship based on strong emotional bonds is growing significantly. Most Moroccan women living in Spain have attended secondary school or college (56 percent). Nevertheless, for the group of Moroccan women as a whole, there are problems with understanding written Spanish but fewer problems with comprehension and speaking. Finally, an immense majority arrive in Spain with their papers in order.

Regarding the sex variable for the Ecuadorians, we first want to point out the slight predominance of women in the flows across the two periods encompassing 1957 to 2003. From 2004 through 2006, the number of male Ecuadorians emigrating to Spain grew to 65 percent of all Ecuadorian arrivals. This reveals a change in the gender profile of Ecuadorian migration. Family reunification may have been a factor influencing this change, since that practice is ever more widespread in the country as a whole (Izquierdo and León 2008) (see figure 2.6).

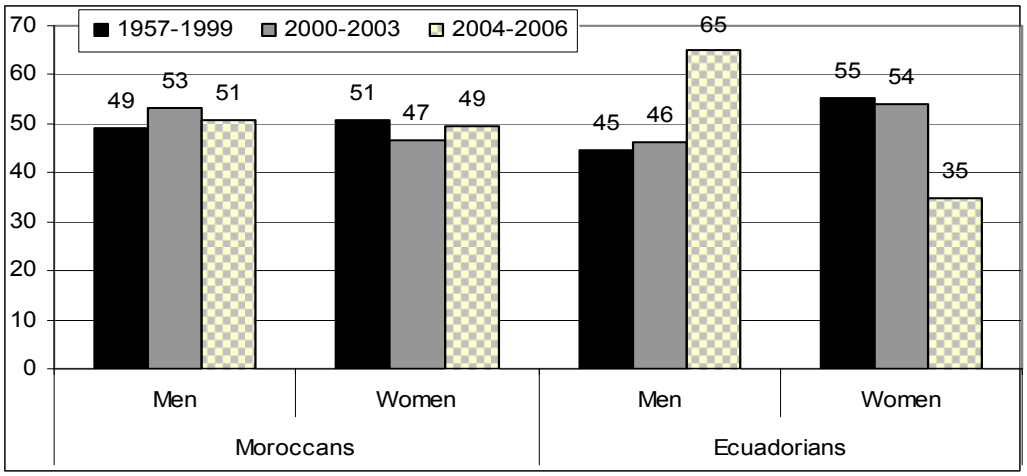

Figure 6. Sex of Ecuadorian and Moroccan foreigners surveyed in Spain across three time spans, as a percentage of each group's total arrivals. Prepared by the author based on data from a 2006 survey by the University of Coruña research project.

The average-age variable, based on the age in the year of arrival in Spain, indicates that the more recent the year of arrival, the lower is the average age of immigrants. This tendency is stronger in the Ecuadorian group, with the average age for migrants entering Spain being 31 years in the 2000-2003 period, with a drop to 27 years in the 2004 to 2006 period. Moroccans arriving between 2000 and 2003 were, on average, 30 years of age, and those who arrived between 2004 and 2006 were 29 years of age. This indicates that we are seeing a predominately young, working-age emigration in both groups (figure 7).

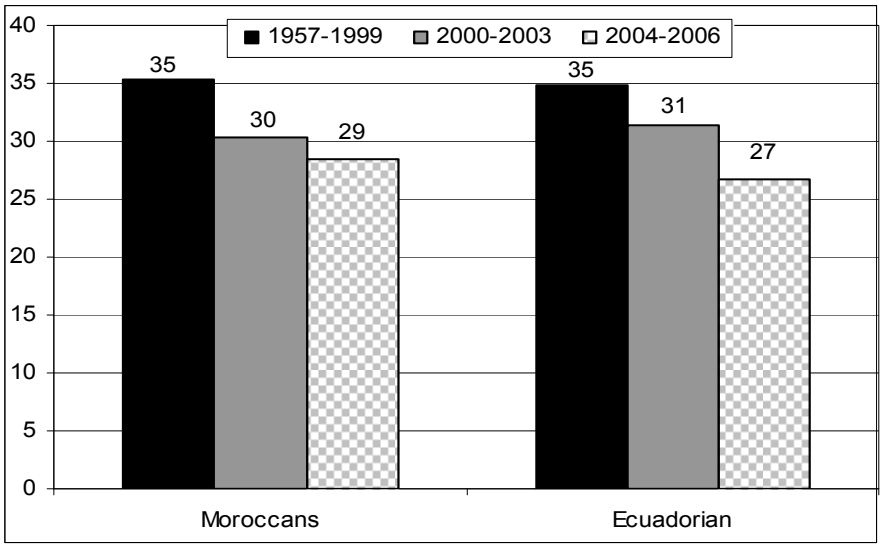

Figure 7. Average age of Ecuadorian and Moroccan foreigners surveyed in Spain across three time spans, as a percentage of each group's total arrivals. Prepared by the author based on data from a 2006 survey by the University of Coruña research project.

The last variable to consider in order to measure the change in profile of Ecuadorian and Moroccan migrations is marital status. The more recent arrivals have a higher proportion of single people when compared to those immigrants who have been residing in Spain for a longer period of time. Of the Moroccan foreigners who entered between 1957 and 1999, 71 percent had a partner (most were married). For those who arrived between 2000 and 2003, the figure is only 49 percent; and for those who arrived between 2004 and 2006, it was 42 percent. Between 2004 and 2006, most Moroccans arriving in Spain were single. The Ecuadorians who arrived in the two periods encompassing 1957 through 2003 shared a characteristic in that almost 50 percent have a partner (they were married or in a de facto union), whereas approximately 46 percent did not have solid emotional bonds (single, widowed, or separated). However, of those who arrived between 2004 and 2006, 78 percent did not have a stable relationship with a

partner. In conclusion, we see that Ecuadorian and Moroccan immigrants without partners are arriving in Spain in ever greater numbers.

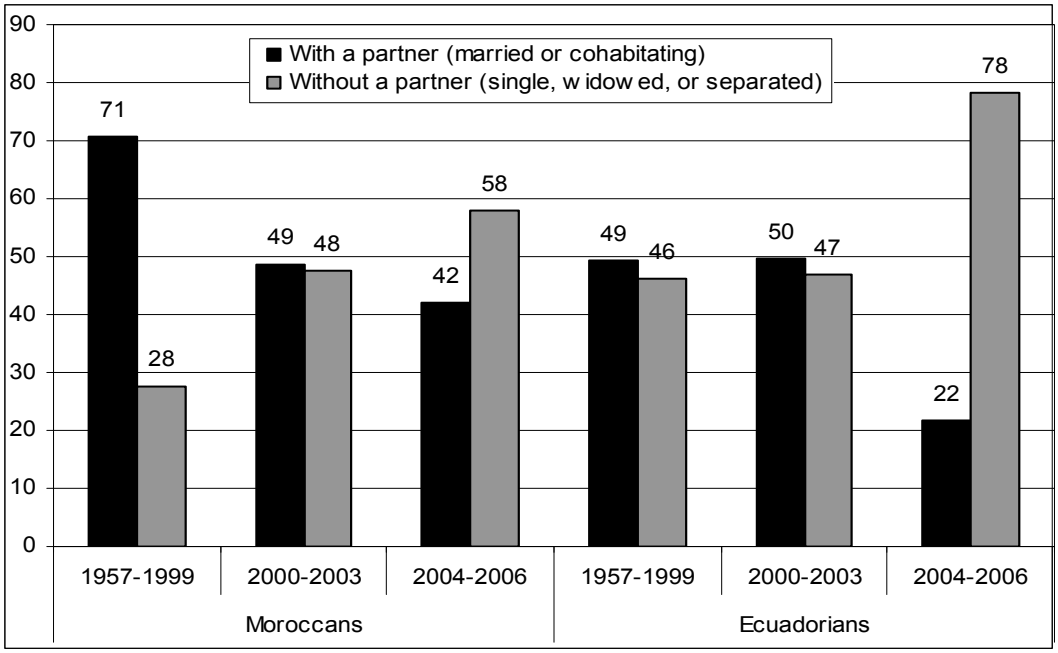

Figure 8. Marital status of Moroccan and Ecuadorian foreigners interviewed in Spain across three time spans, as a percentage of each group's total arrivals. Prepared by the author based on data from a 2006 survey by the University of Coruña research project.

Without doubt, the analysis of the migratory profile lets us identify the changes that have occurred over time: there is a tendency towards greater numbers of men in the Ecuadorian case, a slight decline in the average age at arrival, and finally, a tendency toward more emigrants without a stable relationship with a partner or spouse. These conclusions suggest that the process of family reunification, in a broad but not legal sense, may have been a determining factor for the change in the profile of Moroccan and Ecuadorian migrants to Spain. We are talking of an informal reunification rather than a legal process *in stricto sensu*. In the survey, only 5 percent of the interviewed individuals came to Spain because they had been granted a permit for family reunification (8 percent

of the surveyed Ecuadorians had a reunification permit, compared to 2 percent of the Moroccans). Although legal reunification is an important phenomenon, it is not strong enough to cause a change in the profile of the analyzed migrants. Instead, it is possible that informal family reunification is occurring. However, without more convincing data, we are unable to confirm that hypothesis even though the trend seems to suggest it.

THE SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF ECUADORIAN AND MOROCCAN IMMIGRATION TO SPAIN

Our survey lets us trace a profile of Ecuadorian and Moroccan immigrants residing in Spain. To do that, in addition to analyzing the three classic sociodemographic variables of sex, average age, and marital status, we also examined educational levels, the person's position in the family, prior migrations, and whether or not the migrant was in the country legally. In this section, we will also review all the available sources that can help give us an idea of the profile of Ecuadorian and Moroccan immigrants residing in Spain.

As we noted earlier, we should be cautious when examining the sex variable in the survey because, at the time of selecting our sample, we considered that it was more important to interview the same number of men as women in the two groups we studied. Hence, it is impossible to talk of the representativeness of this variable. However, if we take into account the most recent data from the National Survey of Immigrants, taken in 2007 by the National Institute of Statistics (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, INE),[9] we see that Moroccan men account for 64 percent of that nationality's population, and the

[9] Data available at http://www.ine.es/inebmenu/mnu_migrac.htm (last accessed on May 10, 2009).

Ecuadorian men account for 48 percent. This reveals a masculinization of the Moroccan flows that are settling in Spain, and a slight feminization of Ecuadorian flows.

We had to consider the age variable across time: age at first arrival and age at the time the 2006 survey was taken. The average age for arrival in Spain among Ecuadorian immigrants was 28 years compared to 27 for Moroccans. Nevertheless, the average age at the time of the survey, 32 years, is the same for both groups. No significant differences existed in average ages at the time of administering the questionnaire when we disaggregate the data by sex.

As we saw earlier, the marital state of the two groups of foreigners that we studied is sensitive to the year of arrival for the immigrant. However, in overall terms, we found that a larger percentage of Moroccans have stable emotional bonds (57 percent), that is, they are married or in de facto unions, compared to the Ecuadorian group (48 percent). This indicates that Moroccan migrants are more likely to be married than are Ecuadorian migrants. There are more Moroccan women than Moroccan men who are in a stable relationship with a partner. In the Ecuadorian case, the percentage is similar for men and women.

A similar situation was found in the 2007 National Survey of Immigrants, which showed that 64 percent of the Moroccans are married or in a de facto union compared to 41 percent of the Ecuadorians (INE 2007). In contrast, our survey showed a lower number of Moroccans with strong emotional bonds and a higher percentage of committed Ecuadorians, that is, the gap between the groups is narrower.

The INE survey also discovered that 66 percent of Moroccans are married to someone from their same country of birth. That figure is even higher among the Ecuadorians, 73 percent (INE 2007). Moreover, of the married Moroccans and Ecuadorians whose spouse is from the same country, 16 percent and 17 percent, respectively, do not live with that person. It is also notable that 16 percent of the Moroccans are married to a Spaniard with whom they live, whereas only 8 percent of the Ecuadorians are in that situation. Of married immigrants with a spouse from a different country of birth (different from Spain), Ecuadorians account for only 2 percent and Moroccans for only 1 percent.

Without doubt, marriage continues being a common denominator in terms of marital status for Moroccan and Ecuadorian migrants, but there are ever more people who choose not to enter into a stable, committed relationship. Migrants most commonly marry someone of their own nationality. However if we consider mixed marriages as an indicator of the foreign populations' integration into the destination society (Coleman 1993), we see that the Moroccans, who have a longer history of settlement in Spain, seem to have more propensity for marrying Spanish nationals compared to Ecuadorians. That is a hypothesis that would be interesting to examine in future studies in order to know what elements are the most determinant at the moment of selecting a marriage partner in mixed unions involving immigrants and Spanish nationals.

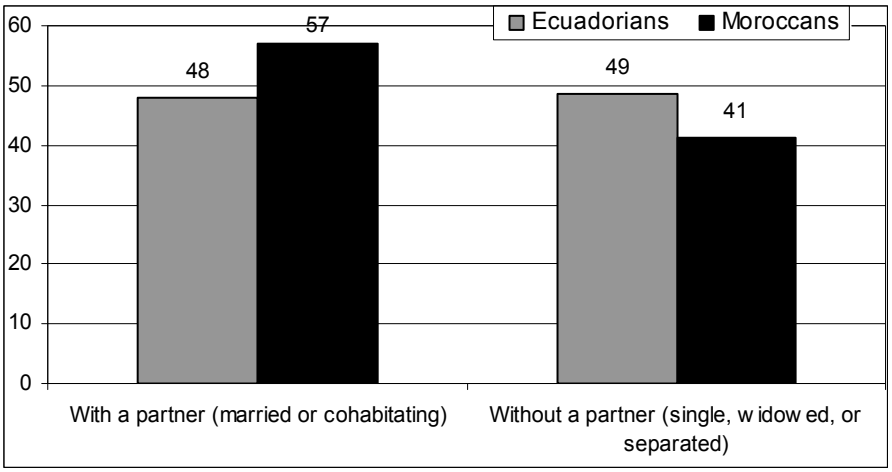

Figure 2.9. Comparison of marital status of Moroccan and Ecuadorian foreigners interviewed in Spain, in percentages. Prepared by the author based on data from a 2006 survey by the University of Coruña research project.

Our 2006 survey analyzed the position in the household. We found that, in most cases, the interviewed migrants were sons or daughters (63 percent of Moroccans and 52 percent of the Ecuadorians), which reinforces the idea of migration as a family strategy. Heads of household represented 35 percent of the Ecuadorians and only 19 percent of the Moroccans. In contrast, only 7 percent of the Moroccans and Ecuadorians identified themselves as the spouse of the head of household, and finally, 11 percent of the Moroccans and 6 percent of the Ecuadorians did not respond to this question. Additionally, the existence of couples separated as a result of the migration (16 percent of the married Moroccans and 17 percent of the married Ecuadorians) reinforces the idea that transnational ties exist with the migrants' country of destination for people in those two groups.

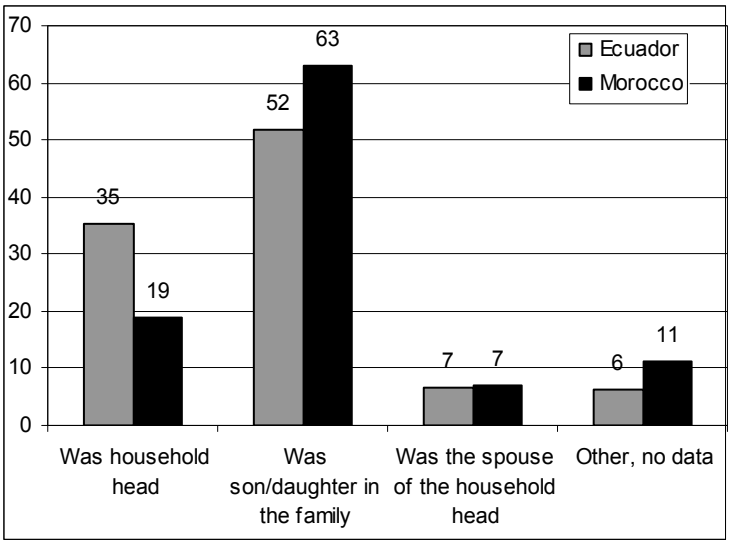

Figure 10. Position in the family prior to migration for Moroccan and Ecuadorian foreigners interviewed in Spain, in percentages. Prepared by the author based on data from a 2006 survey by the University of Coruña research project.

For level of education, the 2006 survey showed that most of the surveyed Ecuadorians and Moroccans had an elementary education (67 percent and 50 percent, respectively), others had completed secondary school (20 percent in the case of the Ecuadorians and 22 percent of Moroccans), and still others had taken at least some university coursework (12 percent of the Ecuadorians and 6 percent of the Moroccans). Nevertheless, only 9 percent of the Moroccans had finished college, compared to a mere 1 percent of the Ecuadorians. Finally, 13 percent of the Moroccans and 1 percent of the Ecuadorians had had no schooling whatsoever. In general, most Ecuadorian immigrants have finished secondary school, but among the Moroccans, the educational profile is more dispersed across the various educational levels.

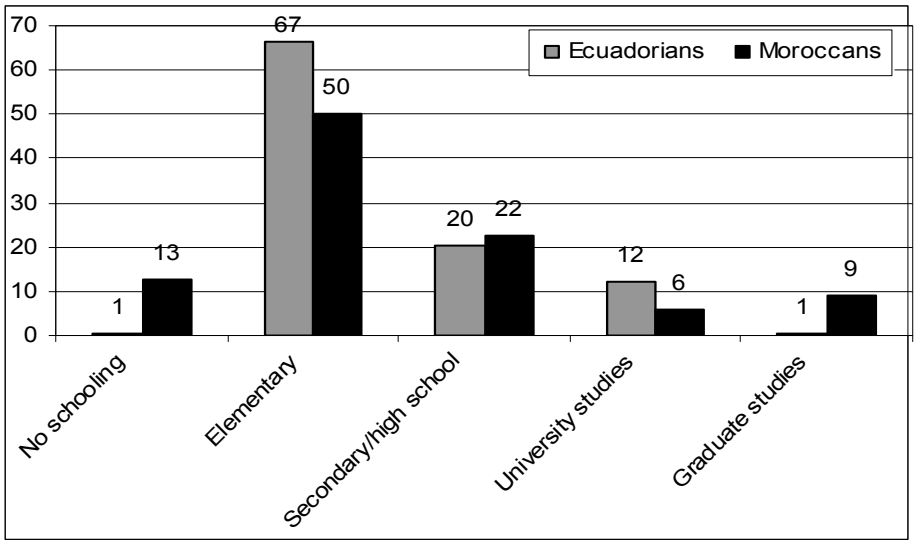

Figure 2.11. Educational levels for Moroccan and Ecuadorian foreigners interviewed in Spain, as a percentage of each group's total arrivals. Prepared by the author based on data from a 2006 survey by the University of Coruña research project.

Prior migration data came from the INE 2007 National Survey of Immigrants: 14 percent of Spain's foreigners had previously resided in a country other than Spain and their own country of birth. However, for Moroccans and Ecuadorians, this figure is lower, only 7 percent and 4 percent, respectively. These data confirm Ecuadorians migrants' preference for Spain, and they support the information from our survey that showed these groups tend to select Spain as the first destination-country choice.

However, our qualitative fieldwork reflected a significant difference between the Moroccans and Ecuadorians: Moroccans are more mobile, both inside Spain and externally, in terms of going to other countries in Europe. This is due to their greater difficulties in finding work, which makes them change their residence as they seek new labor niches. In contrast, the Ecuadorians tend to remain where they settled after arriving in Spain. However, the cases of migrants who have gone elsewhere are few, and in the

vast majority of the life histories, Spain was the first migration destination. Moreover, internal mobility was not common, although it plays a more prominent role in the life histories of the Moroccans. The following quotations provide some examples:

> I came because, first because my sister was here [in Spain], and because they told me that it was easier to get a work permit here. I was in Switzerland . . . for five and a half years. My sister came [to Spain] first. I stayed [in Switzerland] only three years, and later, I said to myself, "Well, I think I may go to Spain." When I came here I didn't like anything. I preferred Switzerland because everything was very organized, everything was clean, the people are very polite…. In other words, it is very different from the way it is here. You can talk in a bar and people are not shouting.
>
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> And since there was little left for me [in Spain], I went to France. I went directly to Avignon. . . . It was pretty. . . . I went to visit, and in the end, I was with people, and I said, "Look, let's go to Italy because they are giving out papers. [pauses] It's better and so forth, and I know someone who lives in Palermo, and I had to go all the way to Palermo . . . . I have good memories of that. People there treated me well. I worked in a supermarket in a commercial neighborhood . . . There was a family and they treated me well and they accepted my situation there, but . . . the [immigration] law there closed when I arrived. . . . And we began to talk among ourselves that things were getting better in Spain . . . and that they were going to open the law there to give out papers. . . . So we came to San Sebastián.
>
> ***
>
> Interviewer: So how was it, the first time you came and you returned?
>
> Interviewee: The first time I came, I was in Marseille for a month. They kicked me out because my parents requested it. When [the authorities] realized that we were minors, they called my parents, and my mother said, "No, no, no, I want him at home." And that's how it went. And the second time, well, I arrived in Cádiz.
>
> Interviewer: Was that the last time that you were there?
>
> Interviewee: No, no, it was the next to last time [laughs].
>
> Interviewer: Oh, so in other words, three times already?
>
> Interviewee: The next to last time I was there for two years and during that time I went to Italy, Germany, and then returned to Córdoba.
>
> Interviewer: Did you have any relatives there? Anybody you knew?

> Interviewee: No, no, it was the first city in Spain where I stayed, and I felt quite comfortable. I had my fellow workers and my friends, and I know where to go, how to get back, or let's say you learn how to avoid beginning at zero again.
>
> Interviewer: Okay. And how did you come to live in A Coruña? From Córdoba?
>
> Interviewee: I arrived in A Coruña because in Córdoba, I had a friend. He met a girl from here who was studying in Córdoba. He met her, they became boyfriend and girlfriend, and he came with her to A Coruña. They got married, and he stayed there. After they threw me out of France, I followed his road. In other words, I returned to Córdoba. . . . And he called, and he says, come on up here, because its better. Don't stay in Córdoba because there it is nothing but problems. And that's how it happened.

As we indicated previously, the difference between foreigners in the Municipal Residents Register and issued residency permits that are still valid tends to be taken as a crude indicator of the number of foreigners who are living illegally in Spain (INE 2007; Anuario Estadístico de Extranjería 2007; Ministerio de Trabajo e Inmigración 2007). At the end of 2006, this figure indicated that 8 percent of the Ecuadorian foreigners are unauthorized compared to only 6 percent of the Moroccans.

A comparison of the data from our survey and the crude indicators of illegality shows that the figures are valid for the Ecuadorian and Moroccan groups, although our 2006 survey found slightly higher figures than the official statistics: 10 percent of the surveyed Moroccans and 8 percent of the Ecuadorians were in the country illegally. If we take into account the sex variable, we find that slightly more Moroccan women (11 percent) are in the country illegally compared to their male co-nationals (10 percent). The inverse occurs with the Ecuadorians, since the men are more likely to be here illegally (10 percent compared to 7 percent for women). We have too few cases of unauthorized immigrants to let us determine the variable that most influences that condition. However,

it is possible to point to the year of arrival in Spain as the reason that more Moroccan women and more Ecuadorian men are living in the country without papers in comparison to their co-nationals of the opposite sex (figure 2.12).

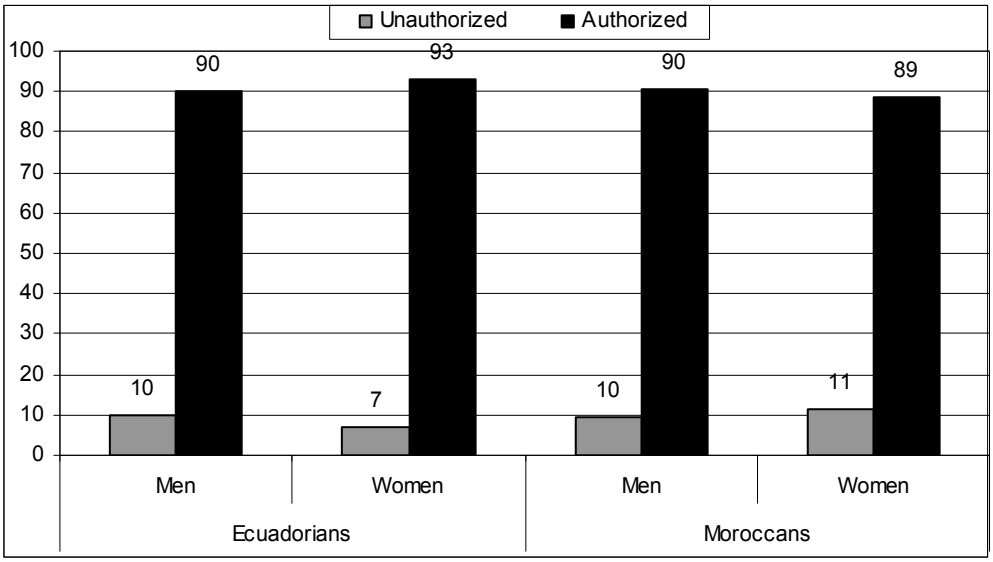

Figure 12. Sex and legal status of Moroccan and Ecuadorian foreigners interviewed in Spain, in percentages. Prepared by the author based on data from a 2006 survey by the University of Coruña research project.

CONCLUSIONS

Our analysis of the two largest non-EU national groups that have migrated to Spain reveals the existence of two distinct "rhythms" for these migratory flows. Moroccan migrants have been settling in Spain for a longer time, and the flows of those people have been more spaced out and slow. In contrast, Ecuadorian immigration to Spain can be characterized as a wave, in which intense migration to "El Dorado" started and then stopped in a space of only about five years.

Independent of rhythms, Ecuadorian and Moroccan migrants tend to be have valid documents. The surveys analyzed (our own and others') found that fewer than 10 percent

were in the country illegally. Official 2008 statistical data essentially show a consolidation of these migrations, fostered by a migratory policy capable of "producing legal migrants," thanks to Spain's machinery for regularizing its foreigners.

Spain's Ecuadorian and Moroccan immigrants come predominantly from certain regions or provinces in those countries of origin. Their settlement tends to follow uneven patterns in the Spanish provinces, even though certain loyalties and transnational connections are apparent. Migrants tend to settle in provinces where their family or friends are already living or where they have heard that it is easier to find work. Ecuadorian and Moroccan migrants also tend to go to provinces that receive more foreigners generally (the islands, the capital, and the Mediterranean coast). Migration selectivity is open to doubt due to the great diversity in points of departure and of arrival. Indeed, attempting to diagram the connections between those points would be so complex that it would be almost impossible to draw.

Migratory profiles change over time. More recent migrations into Spain are characterized by a feminization of the Moroccan flow, and the reverse for the Ecuadorian flow. The average age of migration has declined slightly, and the most recent arrivals have been young people, primarily single, who for the most part are swelling the "singles market" in Spain.

Ecuadorian and Moroccan migrants choose to settle in Spain. Social ties and networks attract them. The difficulties of entering, remaining in, and getting documents for countries like the United States (the preferred destination for Ecuadorians) and France ("the migratory dream" for Moroccans) has led to these groups pouring into Spanish

territory. The context for the arrival, settlement, and establishment of these migrant groups in Spain has several elements. One is the "economics of *alterité*" (difference), that is, the perception that immigrant workers are temporary substitutes during labor shortages in certain of the nation's productive sectors (Calavita 2005: 48, 72–74). Another are migratory policies that use "institutionalized irregularities" as a mechanism to attain flexibility in the immigrant labor force (Calavita 2005: 45–47). A third factor is a sustained sensation of vulnerability not only among the undocumented but also among legal workers (who fear losing their legal status) (Calavita 2005: 45–47). Today, we are dealing with many unknowns, as the European economy slows. Will migratory policies that support a market that creates unemployment continue? Or will arrival, settlement, and establishment become more difficult? And if that does happen, who will pay the price for those new policies? Will we repeat the scenario of closed borders that occurred after the 1973 oil crisis?

Ecuadorian and Moroccan immigrations have reached their maturity and have taken root in Spain. This does not mean the end of a cycle but rather the certainty of their settlement. In advancing the research on these two groups, we must be alert because "the ticking of the clock strengthens networks, fosters calls, and generates settlement" (Izquierdo 2004).

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