

Title: ***FAMILY MIGRATION PATTERNS OF MOROCCANS LIVING IN SPAIN***¹

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Spain and Morocco are two neighboring countries separated by the Straits of Gibraltar. Only 15 kilometers separate the two coasts, however, the economic gap between these two societies is one of the largest in the world. During the past 15 years migration from Morocco to Spain has increased enormously in a general framework of intensified international migration to Spain. In 1996, the foreign population living in Spain was 542,315 according to the municipal register of inhabitants (*Padrón*), 1.4 percent of the total population; and in 2012 the proportion has risen to 12.1% (5,736,358 people).

The relationship between these two countries has a lengthy history and was especially intense during the Spanish Protectorate in the North of Morocco (1912-1956) but up until the end of the Twentieth Century the flow of migrants from Morocco to Spain was of little statistical importance. Prior to the nineteen-nineties, the favored destination countries were mainly France (the other, main-colonizer country), and Belgium, Holland and Germany. Since 1996, Spain has become the principal destination country for Moroccan migrants, together with Italy, and new countries, like the United States, have appeared as destinations outside Africa. In 1996, the population with Moroccan nationality living in Spain, according to the *Padrón*, was 158,334 and by 2012 their number had quadrupled to 651,207 people. It is important to point it out that although the number of Moroccans has risen significantly, their overall weight in the foreign population has declined due to the diversification and internationalization of migration flows, with a special role of the people coming from Latin America and Eastern Europe. In 1996, 29% of the foreigners living in Spain had Moroccan nationality, while in 2012 this was only 11%. They are the second largest group after the Romanians, however, if we consider that within these figures Moroccans with Spanish nationality are not counted, (a much greater number has Spanish nationality than the Romanians), it may be that Moroccans (by nationality, origin or culture) are the largest group of "immigrants" in Spain. Some of these Moroccans are not necessarily "migrants" due to the fact that they were born in Spain.

The aim of this work is to study the family migration patterns of the Moroccan population residing in Spain. We define the "Moroccan population" as the population comprised of persons born in Morocco, who have migrated to Spain and are living in Spain. Moroccan emigrants who have migrated to Spain in the past and have subsequently returned to their country or have gone to live to another country are not included in the study; nor those born in Spain. This last group is included indirectly.

¹ This work is part of the "Moroccan Migration Project" has being developed thanks to the financial assistance of the University Foundation of Navarra.

The available resources for studying migration and migrants in Spain have been few and limited, although they have been improving at the same time that the importance of international migration has been increasing in Spanish society. The present study makes use of three different sources. The first two are coordinated by the National Institute of Statistics (INE) and the third is a product of the research project "Moroccan Migration Project" currently in development:

- 1) The *Padrón Municipal* has been a great source to evaluate on an annual basis the volumes, spatial distribution and main characteristics (age and sex) of the foreigner population of "people born abroad". This continuous population record registers all inhabitants of a particular city council. Being registered means having access to certain rights such as education, social policy and, until recently, free healthcare (Currently only foreigners with residence permits have this right under the Law). One does not need a residence permit to be registered, so this database is a great source for the study of migrants in Spain, a group that has been characterized by high levels of no-documentation.
- 2) In 2007, the INE launched the *National Immigrant Survey (ENI)*, a macro-survey not only by the volume of its sample (15.500 born abroad), but also by the amount of information (demographic and social characteristics of the foreign-born, their migratory routes, employment and residential history, family relations, relations with their country of origin, and with Spanish society). This survey provides a statistically significant sample of the Moroccan population and gives us a general overview of the Spanish situation.
- 3) The *Moroccan Ethnosurvey of Family, Migration and Labour* is a survey whose fieldwork took place in October-November 2013. In 2010, The "Moroccan Migration Project (McMP)" born with the aim of analyzing the phenomenon of Moroccan migration to Spain and the United States using the methodological tool developed in 1982 by Douglas Massey at the Office of Population Research (Princeton University (OPR)) and Jorge Durand at the University of Guadalajara (México) for the study of Mexican migration to the U.S., has been subsequently used to study the migration of many other countries, particularly migration from Latin America countries. This is the first time that the Ethnosurvey has been applied to the study of the Moroccan population. The University of Navarra (Spain), the Office of Population Research, Princeton University (United States) and the International Migration Institute (IMI) at the University of Oxford are developing the McMP. Like the ENI, the Moroccan Ethnosurvey has a great amount of information, but in this case the analysis focuses, at the present time, on a smaller territory in the North of Spain, - the region of Navarra.

Work in this study is divided into three parts. The first one shows the impact of Moroccan migration on the Spanish population (source: *Padrón*) and the general characteristics of this population (source: ENI). The characteristics of the migration process to Spain are quite different than those lived by the Moroccans who emigrate to the North of Europe and are largely marked by the high irregularity of entry and subsequent regularization (1985-1986, 1991, 1996, 2000, 2001, 2005...) and the process of nationalization (A Moroccan living in Spain for a period of 10 years with a residence permit may apply for Spanish citizenship). Not all

Moroccans have a residence permit, but many who entered illegally have been given legal status and the number of Moroccans that are acquiring Spanish citizenship is increasing, not only for those born in Spain, but also for those with lengthy stays in Spain. Some qualities that mark this group are a high rate of masculinity and extreme youthfulness (at arrival time), low levels of education and low socioeconomic status, a high proportion employed in agriculture, with great contrasts between men and women and between people coming from rural and urban areas.

The second part of the study analyzes the migration family patterns of Moroccans living in Spain (source: ENI). Moroccan migration, in contrast to Latin American or Eastern migration, is characterized by a migration of predominately single young males. The proportion of people married prior to migration is small and the migration of married males involve, in many cases, the separation of women and children. Women, when they are married, migrate with the complete family or after the husband in a regrouping process. When a woman travels without following the chain migration of a male in many cases she is divorced or unmarried. These women "pioneers" in migration tend to be more educated than the average. As the number of years of residence Moroccans living in Spain has increased, there has been an increase in the number of people who arrive in Spain with family already living here. Migrants who have family members in Morocco often send remittances, but with the economic crisis, these shipments have declined. The relationships with the country of origin are very close and often, in the case of migrants with residence permits, summer holidays are frequently spent in Morocco. The articulation of a transnational society is very evident in the case of Moroccan migrants living in Spain and the marriage market is a good example: many single men find wives in Morocco and after the wedding they go to live in Spain. Moroccan migrants have one of the lowest marriage rates with Spanish nationals among the immigrant populations and one of the highest rates of marriages between cousins. A reality that needs further study is the situation of children arriving alone from Morocco.

The study's third part focuses attention on migratory "diaspora" that Moroccan families living in Spain have established. The *Moroccan Ethnosurvey of Family, Migration and Labour* collects information about the places of residence not only of the immediate family (spouse, children and siblings) but also that of the extended family, enquiring how many relatives are living abroad and in which countries they live. This information has a very detailed level of disaggregation: uncles & aunts, cousins, nieces & nephews, and in-laws (brothers, sisters, daughters, sons, fathers and mothers). It is also possible to reconstruct the number of family members who have returned to Morocco after living abroad.

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