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KEY FINDINGS

## *Corridor Report on Spain: the case of Ecuadorian and Moroccan immigrants*

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The objective of the present analysis is to understand the role of origin country policies and actions in the integration process of Ecuadorian and Moroccan immigrants in Spain.

### *Ecuadorian and Moroccan immigration in Spain*

Until the 1980s, Spain was considered exclusively a sender of migrants, mainly to other European countries. However, Spain has experienced a progressive but profound change in its migration balance, due to the decrease of emigration and an intense growth of immigration flows. Even though immigration to the country is a relative recent phenomenon, the intensity with which it has developed since the 1990s has made Spain one of the biggest immigration countries in the world<sup>1</sup>. The growth of Spanish economy during this time, and the enlargement of the labour market in some specific sectors, have played a key role in attracting a growing number of immigrants. This all changed with the onset of the economic crisis in 2007-08, when the flow of immigrants into Spain began to decrease

<sup>1</sup> The number of foreign residents increased from 900,000 in 2000 (2.2% of the population) to 4.9 million in 2010 (10.3% of the population). Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE) at [www.ine.es](http://www.ine.es).





and emigration emerged once again as an important feature of this period.

Spain started to become a main destination of Ecuadorian emigration flows beginning in 1995. Prior to this Ecuadorians went primarily to the United States. The annual growth rate of Ecuadorians immigration to Spain peaked in 2000, at 580% over the previous year. The immigration of Ecuadorians to Spain was further facilitated by an exemption from visa requirements until 2003, when the EU Council included Ecuador on the common EU visas list.

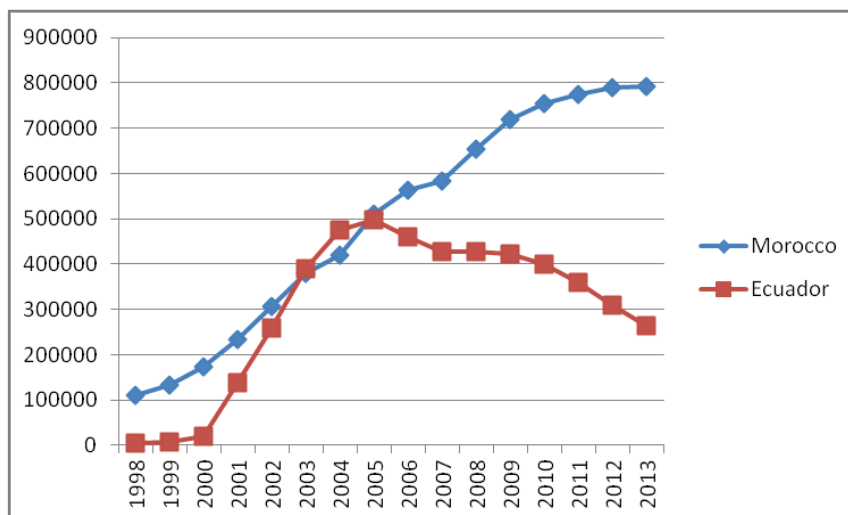
The history of Moroccan immigrants in Spain is different. Beginning of the 1970s, Spain started to become a viable alternative to more traditional destinations in western Europe due to the economic development of the Catalanian region at the time. The country has since become one of the main destinations for Moroccan migrants in recent years. The profile of Moroccan migrants has changed as of late, with recent migrants generally younger and more qualified than in previous times. The share of female migrants is also larger than in the past.

The migration system between Spain and Morocco was disrupted in July 1991 when Spain abrogated the bilateral regulation of 1964 and imposed a visa requirement on Moroccans entering the country. After this change, migration patterns shifted toward

family reunification, overstay, or irregular crossing of maritime and land borders. The phenomenon of *pateras* crossing the Straits of Gibraltar began, and the number of irregular crossings into the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla increased. These began stable features of Moroccan-Spanish migration over the course of the following decades. As a consequence, more and more Moroccans in Spain depend on 'extraordinary', albeit cyclical, regularisation processes to obtain a residence permits in the country. Such regularisation processes occurred in 1985/6, 1991, 1992, 1996, 2000, 2001, and 2005. A change in the stable Moroccan immigration trend appears only after the public disclosure of the economic crisis, however it should be noted that this shift was less intense than in the Ecuadorian case.

The timelines of Ecuadorian and Moroccan migration patterns to Spain are very different (see Figure 1). Moroccan immigration experiences a more progressive but constant growth from the 1990s, while the number of Ecuadorians in the country increases substantially between 2000 and 2005, then stabilises, and finally decreases after 2010. This decline is due to different concurrent factors, including access to naturalisation, the rise of other migration destinations, and also the attractiveness of returning to the home country.

FIGURE 1- Moroccan and Ecuadorian immigrants in Spain, 1998-2013.





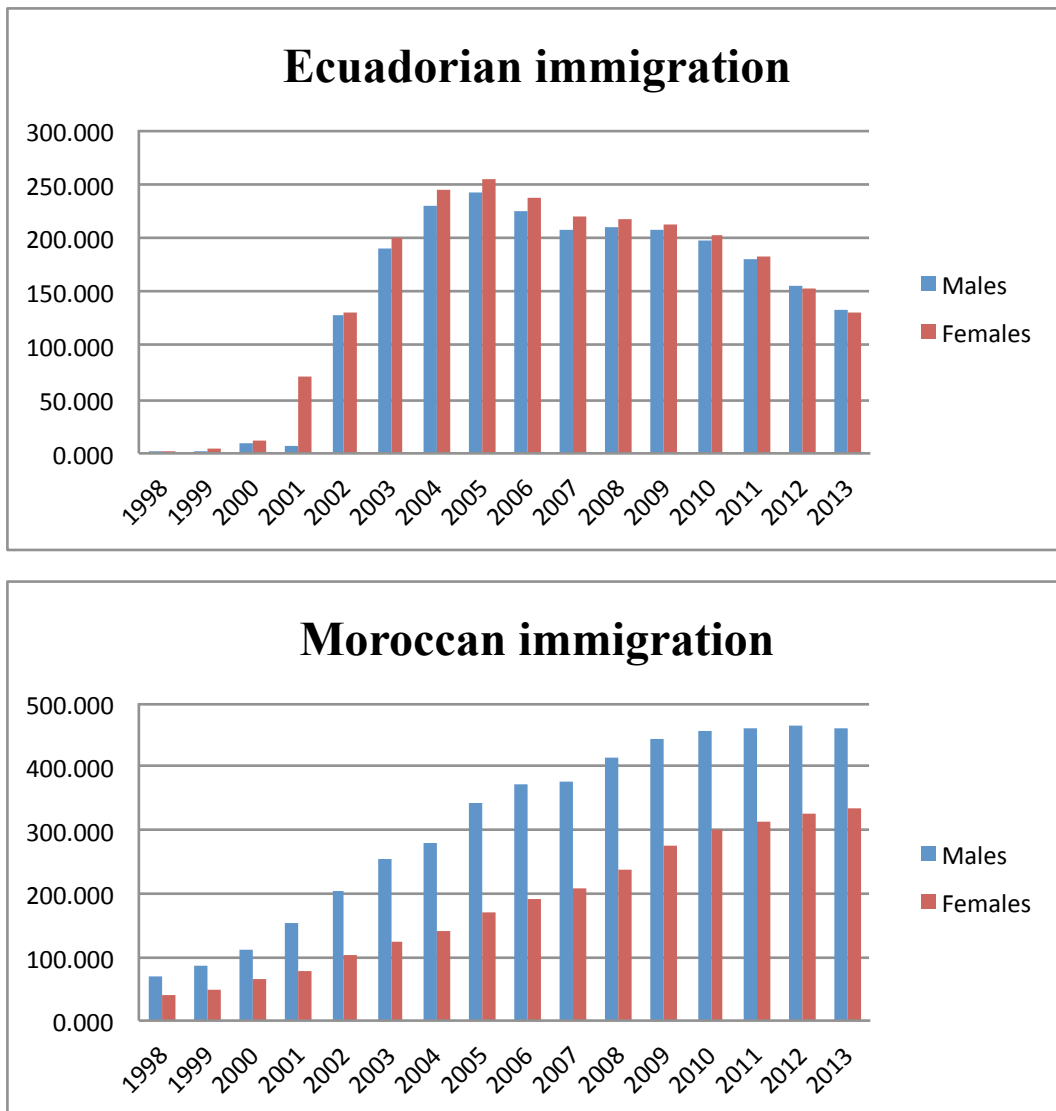
The gender composition is another key element differentiating these two migration flows (Figure 2). Due to specific opportunities for women in the Spanish labour market, Ecuadorian flows are from the beginning more feminine (65% in 1998 and 1999, and 55% in 2000). That said, from 2000 onward the share imbalance has progressively equilibrated (in 2005 there is a new majority of women, 51.2%). On the contrary, men have been always the main component of Moroccan immigration flows to Spain, although over time the share of women has grown.

*Policies*

SPAIN — Integration started to be incorporated into debates and the Spanish political agenda relatively late, prompted largely by the elaboration of the Law on Foreign Nationals (law 4/2000 – Ley Organica de Extranjeria). From then on, immigration, and particularly immigrants’ integration, is increasingly in the limelight of political agenda.

*The Strategic Plan for Citizenship and Integration (PECI)* represents the core tool for integration matters deployed by the Spanish legislature. Two

*FIGURE 2 -Gender composition immigration in Spain, 1998-2013*



Source: INE, Main population series since 1998



plans have so far been issued, one for the period 2007-2010 (PECI I) and another one for the period 2011-2014 (PECI II). This integration model put the main focus on reception, education, and employment. The last of these is allocated the most funds.

The different phases of the integration process are managed according to a framework of multi-level governance, which delegates important roles not only to the national administration but also to regional governments (Comunidades Autonomas), local entities (town and city councils), and civil society (trade unions, employers' organizations, Spanish NGOs and immigrants associations). The cooperation among the different institutional actors involved is underpinned by annual plans at the regional level that define the responsibility of each actor in terms of governance and funding.

Concerning the main tools used in the integration policy, the PECI II sets the basis for the implementation of specific measures in 11 different areas of intervention<sup>2</sup> at the regional and local levels. The Spanish national integration framework does not include specific pre-departure training for migrants.

ECUADOR — Ecuador has developed a proactive migrant engagement policy during the last decade, even in comparison to a country with a much longer tradition of emigration like Morocco. Nevertheless, a discrepancy still exists between the stated objectives, on the one hand, and the development and effective implementation of governmental programmes on the other. In particular, Ecuador has developed a broad array of measures aimed at: maintaining links with Ecuadorians overseas; promoting migrants' role in the development of Ecuador; supporting migrants in specific fields; and facilitating voluntary return. There are also specific measures aimed at facilitating the return of high-qualified Ecuadorians.

The Ecuadorian state institution first began to recognise the importance of emigration to the country in 2000, and after this began to build frameworks and state institutions specifically oriented toward migration. In 2005, Ecuador created the first 'National Plan for Ecuadorian Migrants Abroad', which signifies migration's greater presence in policy discus-

sions even though it was not accorded a budget of its own. Since 2007 migration has been a stronger priority – politically and institutionally – as testified by the different actions undertaken by the Ecuadorian government, including: the creation of a National Secretariat for Migrants (SENAMI), in order to articulate the public policies on migration issues; the approbation of the Human Development Plan for Migration (2007 – 2010); and the Migration Policy of Ecuador.

SENAMI became the Vice Ministry of Human Mobility in June 2013 and was incorporated into the administrative structure of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Human Mobility (former Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Integration). The National Plan for Good Living 2013 – 2017 (PNBV)<sup>3</sup> is currently the document that establishes the national policy guidelines. Among other issues, this plan raises the need to promote: the rights for Ecuadorians abroad; the better delivery of public services; the promotion of associations to develop productive projects and active citizenship; social inclusion and cohesion; the eradication of discrimination, violence and xenophobia; economic inclusion and access to social security.

<sup>2</sup> Areas of action are divided in two groups: i) specific areas (reception, employment and economic development, education, health, social services and inclusion, mobility and development) and cross-cutting areas: (peaceful coexistence, equal treatment and combating discrimination, childhood, youth and families; gender; participation and civic education).

<sup>3</sup> Available at <http://documentos.senplades.gob.ec/Plan%20Nacional%20Buen%20Vivir%202013-2017.pdf>



In the case of Morocco, the first policies linked with emigrants and diaspora were instituted after the country's independence in 1956. The country's emigration and diaspora policies have evolved from their beginnings, but they are following two clear trajectories. On the one hand, the goal is to facilitate the employment of Moroccans abroad through the National Agency for Promotion of Employment and Skills (Agence Nationale de Promotion de l'Emploi et des Compétences – ANAPEC), as well as sustain the relationship of emigrants with their origin country. These are done to maintain the flow of remittances and investments, as well as the participation of Moroccans abroad in development activities. On the other hand, Morocco has searched to control and limit the political opposition of overseas Moroccans. Over the last decade Morocco has shifted from containment to courtship when it comes to migrant

political activities. The Moroccan authorities have also shown an increased interest in the integration of emigrants in their countries of destination, albeit this has so far not translated into a dramatic shift in the instruments employed. Many actors are present in this field, such as different Ministries (e.g. the Ministry in Charge of Moroccans Living Abroad, and the Ministry of Habous and Islamic Affairs) as well as the Hassan II Foundation.

In parallel to unilateral policies addressed to emigrants and diaspora, the role of bilateral agreements between Morocco and the countries of destination seems to be central to facilitating the integration of immigrants in some specific dimensions (Table 1).

*TABLE 1 - Integration policies addressing specifically Ecuadorians and Moroccans through bilateral and multilateral agreement.*

	<i>Multiple Citizenship</i>	<i>Social rights</i>	<i>Vote in local election</i>	<i>Language and Culture</i>
Ecuador	x	x	x	
Morocco		x		x

Source: Pasetti (2014)

### *Interpreting the integration index*

When explaining differences in integration patterns, some important differences between the two immigrant communities have to be taken into account. Firstly, Ecuador is a Spanish speaking country and thus Ecuadorian migrants are able to speak the language of the destination country from the moment they arrive. This is not the case for Moroccans. Secondly, the main religion in the two countries of origins is different. Finally, social perceptions of Moroccans and Latin American migrants in Spanish

society, as well as political and media discourse, tend to identify certain immigrant groups as especially problematic in terms of integration (Zapata-Barrero and Garcés-Mascareñas, 2012).



TABLE 2 - Level of integration of Moroccan and Ecuadorian migrants in Spain

ORIGIN	Labour Market		Education		Access to Citizenship
	Index	Gap index	Index	Gap index	Index
Morocco	0,00	0,37	0,14	0,04	0,05
Ecuador	0,39	0,71	0,27	0,13	0,38

Source: Di Bartolomeo, Kalantaryan and Bonfanti (2015)

**CITIZENSHIP** — Statistics on citizenship and access to nationality show important differences between the two communities. On average, 7,152 Moroccans and 16,557 Ecuadorians acquire citizenship every year. This difference results from the disparate treatment of the two groups in Spanish legislation. Ecuadorians are permitted to ask for citizenship after two years of uninterrupted residence in the country – an artefact of the historical linkages between Spain and the Latin American countries – while Moroccans have to prove an interrupted residence for 10 years.

Approximately 17% of Moroccans and 34% of Ecuadorians furthermore have access to Spanish nationality. This difference can also be linked to the bilateral regulation on dual nationality between Spain and Ecuador that has existed since 1964. In the case of Morocco, the origin country informally tolerates dual nationality and no legal disposition exists in this sense.

**EDUCATION** — It is difficult to link the differences between the two groups in educational enrolment to the policies of the countries of origin. The effect of civil society and migrant organisations can be higher, even if they are more difficult to evaluate in a general framework.

Statistics on the educational enrolment of Moroccans and Ecuadorians between 15 and 25 years old – 28.6% vs. 57.4% respectively – show an important disparity between the two groups. The issue of origin country’s language (Ecuador and Spain share a common language) plays a main role in this case along with other variables that are not analysed here (i.e.: socio-economic and educational level of parents).

For Moroccans, it is interesting to underline the introduction of Arabic and Moroccan culture courses into the Spanish educational system (in extracurricular form as well as in school hours). These are the result of two bilateral agreements, one regarding ‘cultural cooperation’ from 1980 and the other ‘strategic association’ from 2012. At the same time, courses in Islam (in cooperation with the Union of Islamic Communities in Spain) are available in some Spanish schools as an alternative to both civic education and ‘common’ religious courses.

However, the impact of these measures on the educational enrolment of Moroccans is difficult to gauge, in part because very few Moroccans make use of them. Indeed, only 4.55% of Moroccans enrolled in the pre-university Spanish education system participated in the Arab language and Moroccan Culture programme in 2009<sup>4</sup>.

Concerning the recognition of educational qualifications, a legal difference exists between the two origin countries because Ecuador is a signatory of the “Andres Bello” convention whereas Morocco is not. To the Ecuadorians it is applied a special Order of 2001<sup>5</sup> for signature countries of (some Spanish-speaking countries of Latin America), while to Moroccans it is applied a different Order of 1996<sup>6</sup>. That said, the existing tables of equivalence do not substantially differentiate between the qualifications of Ecuadorians and Moroccans. Indeed, the only major difference appears to be that qualifications from Ecuador do not require translation as they are already in Spanish.

**LABOUR MARKET** — Ecuadorians enjoy easy access to Spanish labour market, due to the existence of and agreement on double nationality between



Spain and Ecuador, signed in 1964 and effective between 1965 and 2000.

Two specific elements of this agreement facilitate the entrance of Ecuadorian immigrants in the Spanish labour market. First, the agreement allowed for the acquisition of Spanish nationality – and without losing Ecuadorian citizenship – after two years only of legal residence in Spain. Second, the agreement guarantees the “maximum level of rights” to those immigrants that do not acquire Spanish citizenship. In practice, this means access to all social and economic rights, including the non-application of the “clause of national priority” to Ecuadorians regarding access to the labour market (Gómez Ciriano, 2007: 29-30).

Both countries signed bilateral agreements with Spain on labour migration in 2001. The differences between the two communities emerge in their fields of employment. The share of Ecuadorians workers employed in services (70%) is comparable to that of Spaniards (76%), whereas the portion of Moroccans in the service sector is significantly lower (57%). However, more than a quarter of Moroccans (26%) are employed in agriculture, in comparison to merely 12% of Ecuadorians.

The reason for these differences is not immediately obvious, as the two bilateral agreements are very similar in their content and form. More research on the practical implementation of those agreements, their effective impact, as well as on the functioning of bilateral commissions for recruitment in third countries will add more interpretative elements to this point. That said, different sectorial distribution in the Spanish labour market can be strictly linked to other elements, such the as urban/rural origin of immigrants, previous job experience, as well as ‘ethnic niches’ in the labour market.

Data on duration of job search show differences between the two communities when it comes to long-term unemployment (more than two years). The current long-term unemployment rate for Moroccans is 43%, well above the 34% rate for Spaniards. Ecuadorians have a lower long-term unemployment rate than both these populations, at 21%.

This difference may be explained also by Ecuador’s highly developed political framework for encouraging the return of emigrants in conjunction with the country’s positive economic outlook over the past decade, especially in contrast to the economies of both Spain and Morocco. It is thus possible that returning to the country of origin is more attractive for Ecuadorians facing long-term employment than for Moroccans. Indeed, data of National Statistic Institute (INE) of Spain show that while the number of Ecuadorians in Spain exploded between 1998 and 2005 – from 3,972 to 497,799 – it then gradually decreased to 263,498 in 2013. In contrast, the number of Moroccans in Spain increased constantly over the same time period, from 111,043 in 1998, to 511,294 in 2005, to finally 792,158 in 2013.

**POLITICAL PARTICIPATION** — Unfortunately, data are missing in the field of political participation, where the institutional framework shows important differences between the two cases. Bilateral agreements between Spain and Ecuador, as well as the effective implementation of overseas voting rights, give Ecuadorian migrants many ways to participate in political life in both destination and origin countries. The framework is very different for Moroccans. They can neither vote in Spain, unless they acquire Spanish nationality, nor in Morocco unless they are in the country of origin during elections.

<sup>4</sup> Embassy of the Kingdom of Morocco in Madrid - Education Attaché Office - Moroccan cultural mission in Spain, “Spanish-Moroccan educational programme for Arabic language and Moroccan culture [Programa hispano-marroquí de enseñanza de lengua árabe y cultura marroquí]”, p. 9.

<sup>5</sup> Order of 20 March 2001 laying down the rules of equivalence of primary and secondary education studies completed in the signatory countries of the “Andrés Bello” Convention with the corresponding Spanish compulsory secondary education and bachelor’s degree, set by Organic Law 1/1990 of 3 October. [Orden de 20 de marzo de 2001, por la que se regula el régimen de equivalencias de los estudios básicos y medios cursados en los países signatarios del Convenio “Andrés Bello” con los correspondientes españoles de Educación Secundaria Obligatoria y Bachillerato establecidos por la Ley Orgánica 1/1990, de 3 de octubre, de Ordenación General del Sistema Educativo.]

<sup>6</sup> Order of 30 April 1996, adopting new criteria for the approval and recognition of foreign qualifications and non-university studies, and establishing the equivalence system with the corresponding Spanish qualification and studies, following the new Educational reform. [Orden de 30 de abril de 1996, por la que se adecuan a la nueva ordenación educativa determinados criterios en materia de homologación y convalidación de títulos y estudios extranjeros de niveles no universitarios y se fija el régimen de equivalencias con los correspondientes españoles.]



## INTERACT

*Researching Third Country Nationals' Integration as a Three-way Process - Immigrants, Countries of Emigration and Countries of Immigration as Actors of Integration*

The INTERACT project studies the impact of sending countries on migrant integration. It looks at the ways in which institutions and organisations in origin countries thicken transnational bonds by developing tools to boost financial transfers, maintain cultural heritages, enhance migrant political participation, and protect migrants' rights. It seeks to understand how these efforts impact migrant integration, as well as how origin country policies complement or contradict the integration measures of receiving country governments.

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