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Humanitarianism is not Permissiveness:

Defending the Integrity of the Spanish Border and the Lives of African Immigrants

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1. Abstract

Spain has recently become one of the top destinations for people immigrating to the European Union (EU), with upwards of 1 million African immigrants living in Spain today (“Immigrant and Emigrant Populations” 2018). This heavy flow of immigration into a country whose economy is barely afloat has caused a crisis for not only Spain but also the EU as a whole. Illegal immigration from Africa has proved to be a serious problem in Spain, bringing human rights violations at the border; an increasing unemployment rate; and growing discrimination against black immigrants in the social structure. This paper will analyze how African immigration has affected Spain, shaping the way Spain and the EU handle border control and immigration policy. Ultimately, Spain should focus on short-term goals on the ground to improve border control and reduce illegal immigration, and long-term goals to ultimately improve economic conditions in Africa, discouraging immigration into the future. Spain has the potential to gain control over this immigration crisis in order to ensure the safety of migrants, the protection of Spain’s border, and the economic security of both Spain and Africa.

2. Introduction

2.1 Background: History of Africans in Spain

“Africa begins in the Pyrenees” was an insulting yet common phrase used by Northern Europeans in the mid-20th century, criticizing Spain for welcoming African immigrants (Toasije 2009, 350). Spain has always had a heavy African population, but the attitude of Spaniards toward Africans has changed radically over time. Black figures in Spain were once respected, but this outlook no longer stands. Africans have a long history in Spain: from slavery, to Moroccan conquest, to struggling immigration, the influence of Africans in Spain is unwavering.

North Africa and Southern Spain began interacting in the year 711, when Islamic North Africans won over control of the Iberian Peninsula, maintaining power for over 700 years (Toasije 2009, 348). Over the next millennium, various African populations began integrating with the Spanish population. By the time the Moors were defeated in 1492 by Catholic monarchs Isabella and Ferdinand, the land was home to various non-Christian ethnic groups, including slaves from sub-Saharan West Africa; Moriscos, or Muslims forced into Christianity; and Arab-Berbers from North Africa. Even with this great variety of African peoples in Spain, most black Africans during this time lived as slaves (Casares 2013, 215).

2.1a Slavery in Spain

For the next few centuries into the 19th century, the Catholic Church encouraged slavery. Some Christians believed that by enslaving Africans, they would be swayed into Christianity. Christians would threaten Africans, intimidate them, and persuade them with “the image of the devil” in order to convert them. While these actions contradict the Christian value that God created all humans, racism ran rampant throughout the country at the time.

Both Spanish and Portuguese conquests in the 15th century shackled Africans and shipped them up to Spain. Most were from Guinea, but some came from islands such as Sao Tome and Cabo Verde (Casares 2013, 216). During the times of the Renaissance and early-modern Spain, more African slaves resided in Spain than in any other European country. Historians suggest that “between 1682 and 1729 the slave population of Cádiz was extremely large, making up perhaps as much as 15 percent of the total urban population” (Herzog). African civilizations of this time were comparable to those of Europe; they had similar “cultural, economic, and even political development” (Casares 2013, 216). Casares argues that the influence of Europeans in Africa contributed to the economic and political decline of these colonized areas.

2.1b African Contributions to Spain

Even with a history of racism and slavery in Spain, there have still been many positive moments for black Africans. Prior to the 20th century, there was a “publicly owned African-Spanish identity,” and there was even a sense of harmony between Muslims and Christians during Franco’s regime in the mid-20th century (Toasije 2009, 349). After all, this sense of opposition between the Islamic and Christian worlds is essentially fabricated; both religions were established from Semitic civilization in the Mediterranean. The Spanish authority during Franco’s regime called the Moors “our brothers” (Toasije 2009, 349). Spain was not ashamed of its black identity, and even represented black figures in traditions like Christmas. With such a long record in Spain, black Africans have contributed greatly to the Spanish culture, having influence on flamenco dance, religion, writing, architecture, and art. Still, these past contributions and even those of today are not recognized and appreciated by Spain. Guineans in Spain have contributed greatly to science, politics, and literature, yet Spain conceals these

achievements in an attempt to disregard its history of colonialism and slavery of Africans.

Toasije describes this phenomenon as the “de-Africanization” of Spain (Toasije 2009, 349).

2.1c Migration over the Years

Up until the 21st century, Spain was always considered a source of emigrants, rather than the destination for immigrants. People were leaving Spain throughout the 20th century due to Spain’s failure to industrialize and develop their cities in the same way as other European countries. In the 1940s, after the Spanish Civil War, hundreds of thousands of people fled the country due to a dropping economy and political restraints. Throughout the ‘60s and ‘70s, a “mass emigration” in Europe took place, completely altering the populations of Spain (Delgado Gómez-Flors 2018, 8).

However, at the turn of the 21st century, Spain quickly transformed into a country with one of the highest populations of immigrants in Europe, for many reasons. Spain has seen a recent boost in immigration due to its economic growth of the 21st century. Spain was also one of the only European countries that was not inundated with immigrants already, and did not have firm restrictions on immigration. Additionally, Spain is seen as a “frontier state,” ideal for immigrants who intend on traveling to other European countries. Underdeveloped and overpopulated areas of the world saw Spain as a fresh start, a country without internal borders and without strict regulations on immigration. This new image of Spain brought fear to native Spaniards of “an avalanche of illegal immigration” (Fernandez de Valderrama 1993, 171-172). During the first decade of the 21st century, Spain received nearly half of the immigrants entering the EU (Zinovyeva 2013). Throughout the last three decades of the 20th century, the number of legal immigrants in Spain quadrupled, and the most growth took place in the last five years

before 2000. These legal immigrants are mainly from Europe and Latin America. Africa was not, and still is not, a principal source of legal immigration. The majority of African immigrants enter Spain illegally (Fernandez de Valderrama 1993, 172-173).

2.2 Brief Overview: What Contributes to the Problem?

2.2a Ineffective Border Security

Latinos, Eastern Europeans, and Asians immigrate into Spain illegally, usually through tourist visas or Schengen visas, but they do not experience violence from Spanish authorities upon entering the country. Africans most frequently enter Spain through



Image 1

small boats packed with people, many drowning along the way. Those who are caught by



Image 2

Spanish police are deported back to Morocco (Arango 2005, 266). Spain owns two territories on the African continent – Ceuta and Melilla. These areas are bordered by razor wire fences up to six meters high, but some immigrants storm the fence in thousands in order to surpass the guards (see images 1

and 2). Image 3 gives perspective on the height of these fences. Still, most do not make it and are brutally beaten by guards. In addition to boats and fence-jumping, African immigrants also use cars with fake undercarriages in which they store people during border crossing (Vice News 2015, 3:19). Some people will attempt to jump the border five or six times, getting brutally beaten



Image 3

by Moroccan or Spanish guards every time. While some groups with light skin, such as Syrians, can simply walk up to the border and plead asylum, sub-Saharan Africans will be instantly rejected by using this method; thus, they resort to more dangerous methods (Vox 2017, 8:30). Overall, Spain struggles to find effective border security to manage the masses of people attempting illegal immigration.

2.2b Effect on Spain

Spain began experiencing an unemployment crisis in 2007, at which point Spaniards were struggling to find jobs in Spain. There was already an overwhelming discrimination against black immigrants in Spain, as they looked more foreign than other immigrants from Latin America and Eastern Europe. “As a consequence of the crisis, the opinion of Spanish people on immigration worsened and tolerance decreased” (Éltető 2011, 77). Immigrants were not taking jobs from Spaniards, but instead were going into construction and domestic service, industries in which native Spaniards were not participating. Still, these were the industries hit hardest by the crisis, meaning that immigrants, in particular Moroccans, lost their jobs and were left without any help in Spain (Éltető 2011, 76). By 2010, Spain was left with a huge population of unemployed immigrants, presenting an even larger problem for the country. Since then, immigrants in Spain have struggled to gain the same level of education as native-born students. Today, both native and immigrant unemployment continues to be an issue in Spain.

2.3 Urgency

Illegal immigration from Africa into Spain presents an imminent problem not only for Spain but also for many countries of Africa. Spain has become the most popular entry point into Europe from the Mediterranean, with over 160 arrivals per day in 2018. The International

Organization for Migration (IOM) recorded 769 cases of fatalities or people gone missing in 2018, which was “more than three times the figure for 2017” (Viúdez 2019). African immigration into Spain is increasing every year, not only bringing violence at the border but also bringing social and economic problems for Spain. Immigrants are entering Spain and continuing to struggle to make a living, often being left jobless, facing discrimination, and without means of obtaining an education. Ultimately, changes need to be made in Africa. Poverty is growing in sub-Saharan Africa: in the decade leading up to 2004, sub-Saharan Africa saw an increase in 28 million workers living on under a dollar a day. UN Special Representative for West Africa Ahmedou Ould-Abdallah says, “I dread to think of the scenes we may be contemplating in, say, 20 years if we do not make a massive consolidated effort to create jobs and opportunities in West Africa” (Mutume). If changes are not implemented soon, both Spain and Africa will see devastating economic, political, and social effects in upcoming decades.

2.4 Statement of Purpose

This paper analyzes the current immigration crisis Spain is experiencing, and subsequently proposes policy recommendations aimed at improving quality of life in Africa and developing migrant processing systems. The goals of these policies are to protect Africans’ rights at the border and make the legal migration process more accessible for African immigrants. The EU as a whole is experiencing an immigration crisis from African immigrants entering Europe through Spain, further demonstrating the urgency of the issue. The paper analyzes what is missing in Spain’s current immigration policy and how Spain can make changes for the sake of both its own country and African states.

2.5 Methodology

African immigration into Spain reached its peak in 2010, but Spain has yet to establish an effective groundwork to address the issue. This paper will use a variety of peer-reviewed, scholarly articles published in the last 50 years to show the increase in rate of immigration over time. The paper also sources recent news reports and economic statistics posted online. This is an issue happening today, so it is important to acknowledge recent updates as Spain continues struggling to find an effective solution. The author lived in Seville, Spain for a year, so a local has been interviewed and her statement is included in this paper. The author speaks Spanish fluently, so this paper will reference both English and Spanish sources.

A limitation of this study is the lack of data surrounding population of illegal immigrants in Spain. Legal immigration is not a problem, so this paper focuses on illegal immigration in Spain. Since illegal immigrants slip by border control without being noticed, they are undocumented. It is impossible to know how many illegal immigrants reside in any country at any one time, so this study, like all other studies addressing immigration in Spain, will use estimates from scholarly sources. Furthermore, since numbers of illegal immigrants living in Spain is uncertain, it is also difficult to ascertain how many immigrants attempt to enter Spain illegally but do not make it. Immigrants in Spain and Morocco often refuse to speak to journalists, for fear of punishment for attempting to immigrate illegally. Additionally, this paper focuses on immigration from Africa in general. The paper will address which countries have the heaviest immigration rates to Spain, but generally, the phrase “African immigration” will be used to refer to any citizens of African countries migrating north into Spain. The majority of immigrants travel into Morocco and camp out near the northern border as they attempt to cross into Spain. Therefore, Morocco houses a high number of immigrants, but it is necessary to keep in mind that these people are citizens of other countries, not always Morocco. Finally, the paper

will cover employment of immigrants in Spain. Because illegal immigrants usually take jobs paid under the table in order to avoid getting caught for illegal status, it is difficult to discern exactly how illegal immigrants are affecting the Spanish economy.

2.6 Course of the Paper

The paper will begin by discussing the reasons for Africans fleeing to Spain, as well as their journey into Spain. Immigrants are traveling mainly from sub-Saharan Africa through Morocco into Spain. Some enter Spain only as a port to access the rest of Europe, but others plan on staying in Spain. The paper will address the reasons Africans choose Spain as opposed to any other European country, and the reasons they leave Africa in the first place. This will help stimulate thought on what needs to be done in Africa to decrease immigration to Spain. The next section covers immigrants' effects on Spain, including their effect on the economy, education, employment, and social structure. This section will address the consequences Spain is facing as a result of high rates of African immigration. Spaniards are not the only ones suffering due to this immigration wave; African immigrants are also experiencing brutality at the border and discrimination in the country. It is important to first understand immigration's effects on Spain in order to produce an effective policy. The paper will then transition into a discussion of the immigration policy implemented in Spain today. The legal process to immigrate is long, complex, and often not even an option for Africans. This section will cover Spain's current agreements with Morocco, and the actions Spain has taken to help African countries in an effort to discourage immigration. Additionally, Spain's actions toward immigration always depend on EU policy, as Spain must follow EU regulations. Still, Spain has its own policies and, in the end, Spain will make the final decisions. Finally, after considering the actions Spain has already taken against immigration, the paper will propose policy recommendations. These recommendations

are focused around ways Spain can take immediate and preventative action against immigration. By investing in regional organizations and building migrant processing centers in Africa, Spain will be taking immediate action toward African immigration. By investing in Africa and creating governmental networks, especially in the form of international institutions, the EU will be taking action to stabilize the economies of African countries, discouraging Africans from migrating.

3. Journey to Spain

3.1 Leaving Africa

Beginning around 1985, Spain's immigrant population began to rise noticeably, and from 2000 to 2010, the immigrant population skyrocketed. In the decade leading up to 2010, Spain's immigrant population nearly quadrupled, growing from about 1.6 million in 2000 to 6.2 million in 2010. Image 4 demonstrates the severity of this swell in population. While it is true that other countries are now housing tens of thousands of immigrants, such as the US with over 50 million immigrants, as shown in image 5, it is important to take into consideration the size of Spain. Image 6 shows the severity of Spain's immigration leap. With Spain represented in red and the US in purple, the graph shows migrant share of total population. Spain's total migrant share of population nearly reached that of the US. Meanwhile, the US currently holds the top spot for destination country of migrants worldwide. Therefore, when acknowledging Spain's six million immigrants, it is necessary to also acknowledge its relative size. The immigrant share of total population in Spain is similar to that of the US, a country that is well-known as a country made up of immigrants. In this sense, Spain is becoming a country made up of immigrants, as well. It must also be noted that Spain's immigrant population began to drop after 2010 and has declined since ("International Migrants" 2018).

International Migrant Population by Country of Destination, 1960-2017



Image 4

International Migrant Population by Country of Destination, 1960-2017

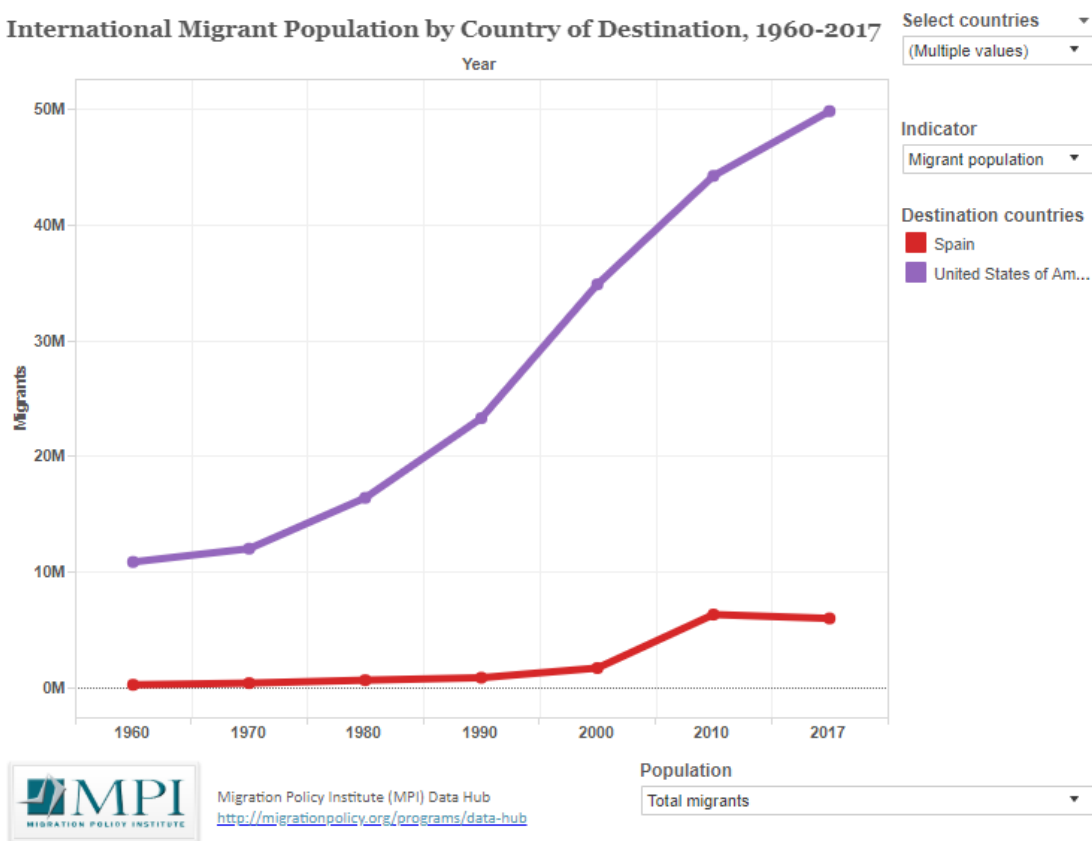


Image 5

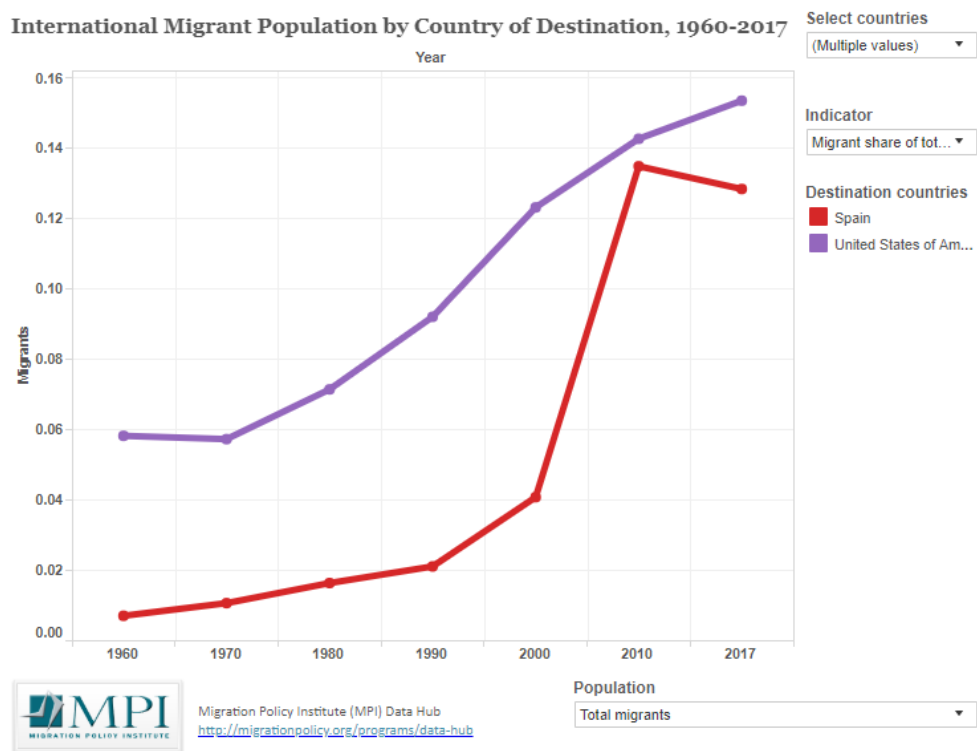
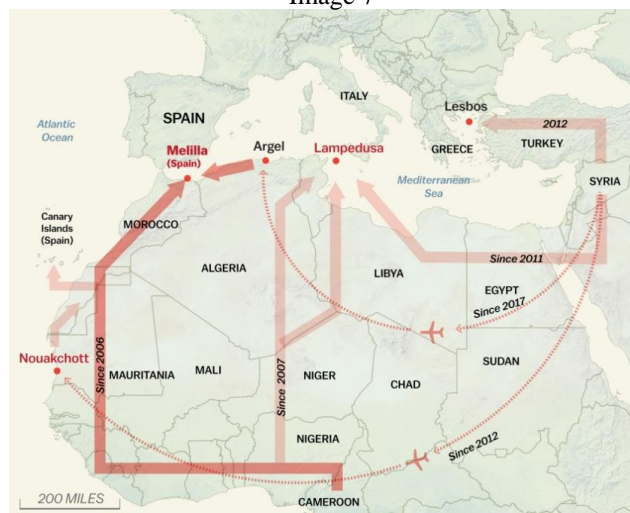


Image 6

3.1a Origin and Destination

Immigrants to Spain come from all over the world. The most immigrants come from Morocco with 707,000 immigrants living in Spain; Romania with 652,000 immigrants in Spain; and Ecuador with 420,000 immigrants in Spain. It is clear that immigration to Spain is not

Image 7



limited to one continent. Still, the most immigrants come from Morocco, a country in Northern Africa. While it is difficult to discern how many people have emigrated from the entire continent of Africa into Spain, Migration Policy Institute (MPI) gives an approximation for each country of Africa. Adding together

each immigrant population from African countries, the approximate total for African immigrants living in Spain comes to 976,000. See image 7 for a visual understanding of where Africans are migrating from and their routes into Europe (“International Migrants” 2018).

While these statistics show Morocco as the top contributor, Morocco is also the jumping-off country where immigrants descend before crossing the border into Spain. Africans come into Morocco and stay for years on end while they attempt to enter Spain. Therefore, it is not clear if the 707,000 immigrants from Morocco were born and lived in Morocco, or if they only temporarily stayed there before entering Spain. In reality, immigrants come from all over Africa, but especially sub-Saharan Africa. According to MPI, the largest African immigrant populations come from Morocco and Algeria, but those are both Northern African countries rather than sub-Saharan. Although this seems contradictory, the truth is that the largest populations migrate from sub-Saharan Africa and camp out in these Northern African countries for years before successfully crossing the border into Spain (“International Migrants” 2018).

3.1b Why Spain?

Some African immigrants choose Spain with the intention of living there permanently, others intend on living there temporarily to save money and subsequently returning to their families in Africa, and others only use it as a port of entrance to the EU. However, mainland Spain is not the only territory of Spain that immigrants are trying to access; Spain owns two territories which are part of the African continent: Ceuta and Melilla. Attempting entrance into mainland Spain or its territories is still less dangerous than entering the EU through other routes. Libya has recently become stricter with border control, making immigration from Libya to Italy very dangerous. Morocco has “become the new jumping-off point from Africa to Europe” (PBS

NewsHour 2018, 0:10). Still, as European countries restrict their migration policies, immigrants are resorting to riskier ways of crossing borders and attempting entrance into different countries, such as Spain. However, if they do successfully make it through, these restrictive policies are causing immigrants to stay permanently in Spain, since they know it will be difficult to return to Europe if they were to leave (Zaptia 2017).

Immigrants also choose Spain due to attractive conditions in the country. The EU is “one of the most developed regions in the world,” and Spain’s economy is steadily growing (Fernandez de Valderrama 1993, 171). Thus, immigrants from over-populated and under-developed countries see Spain as a country with potential for the future. Additionally, immigrants had already traveled in large numbers into other European countries, but around 1986 when Spain joined the EU, it began to be seen as “novel and unexploited” since it did not yet have strict limitations on immigration (Fernandez de Valderrama 1993, 171). People from underdeveloped countries of Eastern Europe migrated mostly to neighboring countries, including Germany, Switzerland, and France, while people from underdeveloped countries such as Turkey, Algeria, and Morocco traveled to Eastern Mediterranean countries like Spain and Italy. While immigrants were being deported from other EU countries, Spain was taking in boatloads of African immigrants off the coast. When they were denied entry into Italy, they were accepted into Spain. Finally, Spain is situated as a “frontier state” of the EU, and citizens of the EU can travel freely between EU countries. Spain was thus seen as a port of entry into the rest of Europe. Fernandez de Valderrama notes, “This situation has given rise to fears of an avalanche of illegal immigration, a phenomenon which has already reached worrying proportions” (Fernandez de Valderrama 1993, 171-172). Fernandez de Valderrama wrote this statement in 1993, but she

accurately predicted the waves of illegal immigration from Africa which Spain is experiencing today.

3.1c Conditions in Africa

Still, it must also be clear that immigrants are initially encouraged to leave Africa because of conditions in Africa, albeit both positive and negative conditions. An African migrant said, “It’s not like Europe is paradise, it’s not. But human rights exist there” (Vice News 2015, 7:43). Many people are leaving Africa for Europe with the intention of escaping poverty, or making money in Europe and then returning to their families. “The World Bank estimates that Africa had at least 50 million more poor people in 2013 compared to 1990, and [...] at least 2.4 million new poor were added in 2017 alone” (Signé 2018). Africa’s population is increasing rapidly and outgrowing its poverty reduction rate. The continent is currently home to around 1.1 billion people, and the UN expects it to more than double in the next 30 years, becoming a third of the world’s population (“Demographic Growth”). Its poverty gap of 16% surpasses that of South Asia by five times, showing the extremity of Africa’s poverty (Signé 2018).

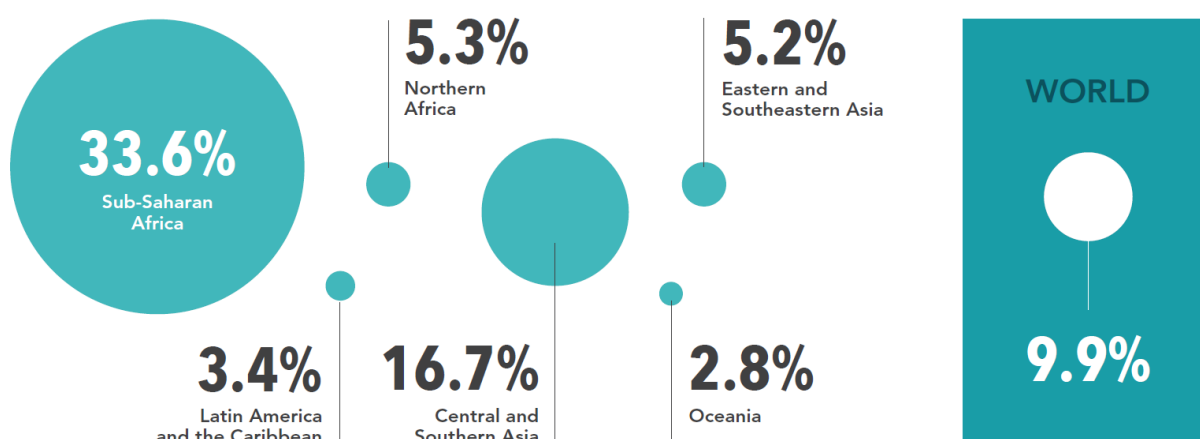
Africa is struggling to decrease poverty levels while still increasing growth because it is not focusing on job creation. Sub-Saharan Africa had the highest rate of people without stable wage-paying jobs in 2013 globally (Signé 2018). Economic growth is occurring without increased employment opportunities, causing the people to continue to struggle economically. Africans are fleeing their countries because of a lack of job availability. In many countries, job opportunities and incomes are declining. “Between 1994 and 2004, the number of workers living on less than a dollar a day increased by 28 million in sub-Saharan Africa” (Mutume). For those

who are unemployed, unemployment benefits are often nonexistent, demonstrating the ineffectiveness of policy and governance in many African countries.

There are two images of modern-day Africa: that of a collapsing continent where its people are desperate to escape, and that of a growing region with technology and economy on the rise. In fact, both sides of this paradox are true. Africa experienced unprecedented economic growth from 2000 to 2015, but the level of poverty has still increased. Most of this growth comes from oil-rich countries, while labor-intensive sub-sectors have not experienced any valuable growth in jobs. The continent is diversifying its economy; however, many countries are still unable to escape poverty and post-conflict disintegration. Image 8 shows that even among the employed in sub-Saharan Africa, 33.6% are still living in poverty. Even as more jobs are created, poverty remains, presenting a serious challenge for the region.

FIGURE 3.3. AFRICAN WORKERS TOO OFTEN FIND THEMSELVES BELOW THE POVERTY LINE

Unemployment in the region is a major challenge for sub-Saharan African policymakers, but creating enough jobs does not mean the elimination of poverty. As seen below, of those Africans employed, over one-third still fall below the poverty line of \$1.90/day—three times the world's proportion.



Note: The size of the bubbles suggests the relative differences in percent of employed workers that still remain under the poverty line.

Source: United Nations Statistics Division. <https://unstats.un.org>.

Image 8

Finally, Africans emigrate from their countries in an attempt to flee conflict. War and violent conflict in Africa has oftentimes been the driving force for immigration into Europe. For

example, the Libyan Civil War began around 2011 and has served as a principal factor behind migration to Italy, its closest EU neighbor. Libyan dictator Muammar Gaddafi further contributed to the high rates of emigration out of Libya, as he held a racist attitude toward his own people. He maintained deals with Italy worth millions of Euros, so he was more focused on making money from Italy rather than helping Libyans. While in Europe, he said, “Tomorrow Europe might no longer be European, and even black, as there are millions who want to come in ... We don't know if Europe will remain an advanced and united continent or if it will be destroyed, as happened with the barbarian invasions” (Mainwaring 444). This quote shows Gaddafi’s ignorance toward the reasons Libyans are fleeing and ultimately encourages racism and xenophobia from Europeans toward immigrants. The Italian government is worrying about increased immigration, and “Gaddafi has done little to quell these fears, threatening to ‘unleash an unprecedented wave of illegal immigration’ into Europe” (Mainwaring 444). Gaddafi attempted to use his power to control both Libya and Italy. Due to persecution and violence during the Libyan Civil War, Libyans fled to other African countries and Europe. As demonstrated by Libya, immigrants often migrate to escape a corrupt ruler and violence in their country.

3.2 Entering Spain

3.2a Methods of Illegal Entry

Immigrants from Africa enter Spain through various methods, but most popularly through fence-jumping and on boats. Spain is the only European country to share land borders with Africa. The two remains of Spain’s colonial empire, Ceuta and Melilla, are located on



Image 9

the African continent but owned by Spain (see image 9). Migrants who make it into Melilla could then be transferred into mainland Spain, showing the motivation behind immigrating into these territories rather than taking a boat across the Strait of Gibraltar into Spain. Groups that travel by boat often drown along the way due to overcrowded boats (Vox 2017, 4:50). The turbulent waters of the Strait of Gibraltar have been known to sink boats, especially since the voyage across the strait is 8.7 miles (Arango 2005, 266). While most attempt to jump the fence, those who can afford a car store people



Image 10

in a fake undercarriage and drive through the border. They will do anything to cross the border, including hiding people in a mattress (see image 10). Still, most choose to jump the fence. They storm the border in groups of hundreds or thousands to overwhelm the guards, and only the strongest and fastest will make it. The others are beaten by border guards until they retreat (Vice News 2015, 5:30). Because of such large groups, a few will manage to make it across the border.

3.2b Spain-Morocco Border Control

The borders of Ceuta and Melilla are not easy to cross. The walls around Melilla are some of the most fortified in the world. The 12.5 kilometer fence (around 7.8 miles) has two layers on the Moroccan side, and four layers on the Spanish side. See image 11 for a digital depiction of the wall. On the Moroccan side, if immigrants get past guards patrolling in cars, they will first encounter a double fence topped with barbed wire, and then a six and a half foot ditch. They'll then encounter more guards patrolling on foot. If they make it past, they'll face a twenty foot metal fence and a second fence with a flexible top, making it harder to climb. Under the second fence, immigrants will have to walk over barbed wire netting lining the ground. Then,

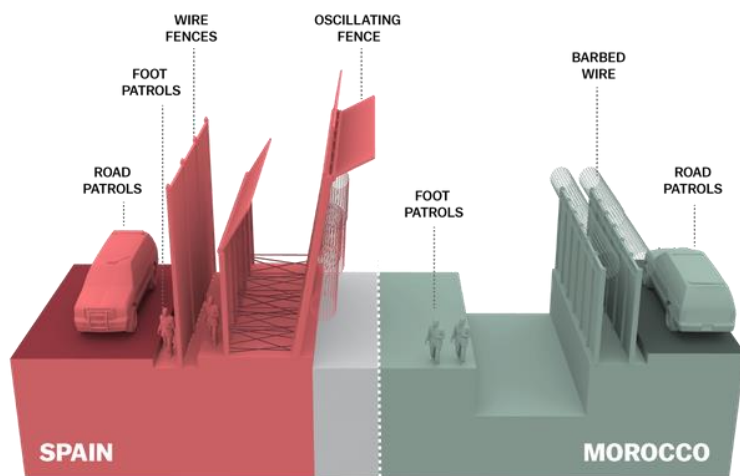


Image 11

there is another oscillating fence with the flexible top section and more barbed wire. Finally, the Spanish “Guardia Civil,” or Spanish border patrol, is monitoring their side by foot and in vehicles. To top it off, every

centimeter of the border is observed through video surveillance (Vox 2017, 2:18). Overall, these fences cost around 33 million Euros to make and reach up to 6 meters tall, or nearly 20 feet (Vice News 2015, 4:50). Despite the intense border security, Spain struggles with a high population of African immigrants. In 2018 alone, almost 4,000 immigrants successfully jumped the fence into Ceuta and Melilla.

3.2c Jumping the Fence

Despite such a strongly fortified border, some immigrants successfully make it through. Nador, Morocco is the town beyond the border in Morocco where groups of Africans camp out among the forests before attempting to jump the fence. By storming the border fence in groups in



Image 12



Image 13

order to overpower the guards, they better their chances of at least one person making it over.

Violence at the border has become a huge issue. Spanish and Moroccan border guards as well as

African immigrants themselves are resorting to violent tactics. Moroccan security actually roams the forests of Nador in an effort to find these groups of people hiding out. The guards will raid the camps by destroying tents, stealing possessions, and violently harassing the women. Images 12 and 13 show the camps in Nador. People live in these camps for months or even years until they either make it into Spain or give up and return home. Flores writes, “[S]in embargo, nadie que ha gastado todos los ahorros de la familia para emprender el viaje quiere volver a casa con una sensación de fracaso” (Flores 2017). In other words, these people spend all their savings in an effort to make it into Spain, so they do not want to return back home feeling like they failed. In September 2018, there was an estimated 50,000 people camping out in Morocco hoping to make it into Europe. On July 26, 2018, about 600 African migrants banded together and tried to cross the border (Cognitive Thought 2:15). Most immigrants who attempt to jump the fence will be beaten violently by Moroccan guards. One man says he almost died after they clubbed him with a wooden stick with a nail attached to it. The nail penetrated his forehead, and he had to get surgery after. Another man was stabbed in the neck with a broken bottle (Vox 2017, 6:09). The immigrants themselves use violence as well, in order to improve their chances of making it through the fences and security. African immigrants attack with homemade flame throwers, quicklime, and graveling hooks. They have been seen throwing acid at police and cutting holes in fencing (Cognitive Thought 2:25).

3.2d Those who Make It

The immigrants who do pass security and make it into Spain are often thrown back immediately by guards, despite EU law which states that when immigrants reach Europe, they are guaranteed the right to legal assistance and an interpreter. This law applies to not only mainland Spain but also the cities of Melilla and Ceuta. Still, in order to avoid deportation, they

have to run 100 meters to an immigration center for protection (Vox 2017, 4:15). Spanish forces are not legally allowed to throw a migrant back into Morocco, but they still do (Vice News 2015, 15:22). The migrants who arrive by boat may have a different experience. If they make it into Spain, they'll likely arrive to the beaches of Cadiz, where they will try to avoid being caught by police. The Salvamento Marítimo, or Spanish maritime rescue service, has been known to pick up boat-loads of migrants from the Mediterranean Sea. On June 16, 2018, the service rescued over 400 people on boats and brought them to Spain (Cognitive Thought 4:11). Migrants travel mostly at night and often spend over 24 hours in the water. They use inflatable boats sometimes with engines but often without ("Spain: Migrants Held in Poor Conditions" 2017).

If a migrant in Melilla or Ceuta successfully reaches the immigration center, they are allowed to transfer into mainland Spain. However, the transit camps are overcrowded with poor living conditions, and migrants have to remain there for a year before moving into mainland Spain (Cognitive Thought 3:28). These facilities are dimly lit with little to no recreational areas or clothing, including underwear, for the migrants. Officers regularly lock people inside their rooms. In these camps, they are held for days in police stations and then usually are transferred to "longer-term immigration detention facilities pending deportation" ("Spain: Migrants Held in Poor Conditions" 2017). The conditions in these detention centers have caught the attention of Spain's human rights organization Defensor del Pueblo. The oversight judge for the Algeciras city in southern Spain Belén Barranco Arévalo has criticized these facilities and attempted to improve them by setting in place new measures to obey international law. "The judge said the two facilities [in Algeciras] are 'more typical of a prison regime,' and called them 'deplorable'" ("Spain: Migrants Held in Poor Conditions" 2017). These conditions are hidden from the public to avoid protestation or controversy. When asked about the African immigration crisis in Spain,

Rocío Oblaré Román, a middle-aged woman from Seville, explains how sad it is that some migrants die during the journey across the border, but she seems grateful for these detention centers. She says, “There are buildings dedicated to [immigrants] with political protection where they stay until they are returned to their country. There, they are fed and offered clothing” [author’s translation]. She seems unaware of the poor conditions of these holding facilities. When Human Rights Watch sent investigators to these areas, they saw children playing in dirty water overflowing from toilets; people kept in underground jails; and women and children separated between cells. For the migrants who make it over the border alive, they continue to face troubling conditions in Spanish detention centers.

4. Problem Description

Illegal immigration into Spain presents a variety of issues, affecting both immigrants and native Spaniards. The immigration process is particularly unethical for immigrants, who face brutality at the border and discrimination. Despite these challenges, the high population of African immigrants living in Spain also presents a problem for Spain. Education and employment in Spain are affected by immigrants, which consequently has an impact on the Spanish economy.

4.1 Ethics

4.1a Brutality at the Border

As already covered in section 3.2, the border is fraught with violence from both the guards and the immigrants. Adults and children alike try to jump the fences into the Spanish cities of Melilla and Ceuta, but they are flogged and beaten by security guards every time. A 16-year-old from Guinea named Yaya tried to cross the border nine times and even stepped foot in

Spanish territory several times. Even though he is a minor and permitted to legal assistance and an interpreter, he was always sent back to Morocco. He was even beaten before the fences several times by Moroccan forces. Sometimes, when the Spanish Guardia Civil catch the migrants before they reach an asylum center, the officers simply hand the migrant back to Moroccan officers to do the dirty work for them (Sunderland 2017).

When Spanish forces bring an immigrant back to Moroccan forces, an issue becomes clear regarding EU cooperation with Morocco. “[R]eliance on Morocco to keep people away gives Spain and the EU an incentive to tolerate Morocco’s abuse of migrants. Spain and Morocco have the right to control their borders, but not with such brutality and disregard for people’s rights” (Sunderland 2017). Spain can make changes to prevent this abuse, and they can make changes to increase accessibility for asylum applications. Morocco is only using these violent tactics in an effort to keep immigrants out of Spain, so Spain has the authority to enforce laws which don’t permit Morocco’s brutal raids on migrant camps and excessive use of force. The solution at hand is not simply letting anyone and everyone cross the border. The issue is Spain’s acquiescence of Morocco’s brutality toward immigrants. Spain still has made no effort to instate more civil practices to control immigration at the border, such as training border guards to securely protect the border without the use of violence. Spanish interior minister Fernando Grande-Marlaska announced, “Humanitarianism is not permissiveness” (Arostegui 2018). He was referring to African migrants, since they often use violence and force in order to jump the fence and make it past security. However, this phrase could be just as easily aimed at Spanish border patrol who brutally beat people jumping the fence, even if those immigrants have exhibited no violence toward police. Organized and secure legal immigration is possible without

violence from anyone along the way. Trained and experienced national security forces at the border especially should not be using violence against migrants in any case.

4.1b Discrimination

After learning about the efforts immigrants exert in order to cross the border, one may wonder why these people do not simply apply for asylum in order to immigrate legally. For sub-Saharan Africans with dark skin, it is nearly impossible to even apply for asylum, not to mention actually gain asylum. In March of 2015, Spain began to see an uptick in applications from Syrian refugees escaping the war in their country. Sub-Saharan Africans watch Syrians walk right up to the border and ask for asylum, but Africans cannot do that, as they'll either be thrown back to Morocco or brutally beaten (Vox 2017, 9:20). They have no choice but to resort to more dangerous methods.

Although violence and persecution in Africa is not to the magnitude of the Syrian War, this should not belittle the fact that there are still legitimate refugees fleeing violence in Africa. In June 2019, hundreds of thousands fled Congo in an attempt to escape clashes between two ethnic groups (Cumming-Bruce 2019); in April 2019, more than 60 people were killed in Burkina Faso, a country which has been in a declared state of emergency since December 2018 (Reuters 2019); 134 people were killed in Mali on March 23, 2019 due to ongoing violence targeted at ethnic minorities (McKenzie 2019); and violence against Muslims has led to hundreds of deaths and burning of mosques in the Central African Republic through 2018 and 2019 ("Violence in the Central African Republic"). These are only a couple examples of the sorts of tragic events that happen every day in African states, forcing people to constantly fear for their

lives. For this reason, many decide to flee the violence and persecution, and they will do anything possible to reach Europe, even if that means embarking on a dangerous voyage.

There are two principle reasons as to why Syrians can so easily seek refuge in Spain: their skin color and the well-publicized Syrian war. Syrians, just like Europeans or Latinos, can easily enter Spain, but black Africans have almost no chance of immigrating legally into Spain. Africans argue this is due to how they look, whereas Syrians have the same skin color as Spaniards. They believe there is significant racial discrimination involved in the Spanish legal immigration process. Additionally, the ongoing live war in Syria has been well-documented by the media, and beginning in 2011, many countries around the world began to take in refugees from Syria. These countries, including Spain, were more sympathetic to Syrian refugees fleeing violence in their country. They of course need protection from the war. However, it is unrealistic and dangerous to presume that countries not experiencing a live war are not in need of international protection. When violence and civil war breaks out in African countries, the media often does not document it. Therefore, there is no widespread acceptance of African refugees, as with those from Syria. Many areas of Africa are experiencing conflict, motivating people to flee the intolerable living conditions, as explained in section 3.1c. Yet, Spain continues to discriminate against these migrants, refusing them entry into Spain (Vox 2017, 9:20). Although it is not Europe's job to take in every African migrant, they must evaluate each migrant on a case-by-case basis, always allowing entry for legitimate refugees fleeing war and persecution.

There is also widespread discrimination against black Africans in Spain. While most Moroccans do not cause any violence in Spain, the ones who have committed crimes are well-documented in the media, making Spaniards think all Moroccans are criminals. In 2000, a Moroccan immigrant killed a native woman in the city of El Ejido, which led to attacks against

the 10,000 Moroccans in the area, destroying infrastructure and threatening families. This population of Moroccans mostly worked on produce farms, so the sudden attacks against them caused many to flee the area. Some Spaniards began to worry about economic collapse if they lost the Moroccan population in El Ejido. Just a year earlier in 1999, a city near Barcelona held a violent anti-immigrant protest. A young Moroccan immigrant was attacked as protesters shouted “Moroccans out” and “No more Moroccans” (Arango 2005, 265). In reality, immigrants rarely commit crimes, but when they do, natives break out with violence against them. If a crime by an immigrant was treated the same as a crime by a native, protests would decline and overall violence would be cut back. Discrimination continues to present a problem in Spain today, bringing violence and unfair treatment toward African migrants.

4.2 Effect on Spain

4.2a Education

With immigration on the rise into Spain, the number of children attending school in Spain is also rising simultaneously. As of 2008, “[i]mmigrant children and adolescents [accounted] for 10% of the students in Spain’s primary and secondary schools” (Carabaña 2008). Many don’t speak Spanish and any previous education is usually much lower than that of their Spanish classmates. Immigrants on average have lower grades than Spaniards, and therefore, they drop out of school at a higher rate than native Spanish students (Carabaña 2008).

The language gap plays a large role in capability to learn in school. The young children who have to learn Spanish usually have no problem since language learning at an early age is easier. Those who learn the language after age ten fall behind in their studies. Most often, those who fall behind come from Africa or Latin America, where the average educational system is

inferior to that of Spain. Carabaña found from his research that immigrant children perform “considerably worse in school than native-born pupils” (Carabaña 2008). He compared numbers of immigrant students in secondary school and then in high school, where that number splits in half. The number shrinks even smaller for vocational training. PISA (Program for International Student Assessment) is a test for students around the world intended to evaluate each country’s education system. Spain’s PISA scores were continually increasing until 2000, when they began decreasing. Until Carabaña’s research concluded in 2008, the scores continued to drop. From 2007 to 2008 the scores declined by two points, which was also a time period when immigration increased significantly. Carabaña argues that the effect of immigrants paired with an already-weak Spanish educational system results in dropping test scores (Carabaña 2008).

Immigrants in Spain have the worst test scores out of all of Europe, whereas native students score similarly to the rest of Europe. Although it is not clear why, there are several reasons suggesting why immigrants may learn less in Spain than in other European countries. Part of the problem could be the country of origin of the immigrant students. Spain’s schools have more African students compared with other European countries, and most African students are coming from weaker educational systems. They struggle adjusting to the new school system with an unfamiliar language (Carabaña 2008). Another contributing factor could be social segregation. Immigrant students often end up in public schools, since most private schools require paid admission. Spanish private schools generate higher test scores, and immigrant students are much less likely to attend private schools, ultimately bringing down their academic performance. Zinovyeva emphasizes that “the lack of native peers from relatively more advantageous families is at least as likely to be an explanation of immigrants’ underachievement as the higher ratio of immigrants among their peers and the lack of other school resources

available to students in private schools” (Zinovyeva 2013). Although there are varying reasons as to why immigrant students learn less than native students, the fact of the matter is that the presence of immigrants is obstructing the development of the Spanish educational system as a whole, in terms of overall scores. Still, the blame cannot be placed entirely on immigrants themselves, as other European countries with high immigrant populations are not having these issues with their educational systems. Immigrants in Spain continue to receive poor PISA test scores in comparison with native students, leaving Spain questioning why immigrants are not advancing in schools to the same extent as native students.

Valverde finds that more immigrants attend higher education in Madrid, located in central Spain, compared to the two regions in southernmost Spain, Andalusia and Extremadura. Generally across Spain, students with native parents enroll in higher education much more frequently than students with parents who immigrated to Spain. This study also concluded that “belonging to the second generation and, especially, being non-native, reduces the chances of entering university” (Valverde 2003, 313). In Madrid, immigrants are skilled and more easily employed than those in southern Spain. The study finds that immigrants are demographically more condensed in these southern regions, with fewer skills and employable in only a couple low-paying fields. Education is seen as more valuable in Madrid (Valverde 2003, 314). These southern regions of Andalusia and Extremadura have the highest concentration of sub-Saharan African immigrants, given their geographical proximity to Africa. This means that there is a high population of uneducated African immigrants in southern Spain vying for jobs in the same fields.

4.2b Employment and Economy

The majority of immigrants (88%) of working age originate from countries outside the EU, meaning they must acquire a work permit. Most groups, including Latin Americans, non-EU Europeans, and Asians have a very high activity rate. However, Africans are struggling the most, with a low activity rate (69.5%) and very high unemployment (16.1%). Many immigrants enter Spain illegally and begin working without residence or work papers, so they are not enrolled in the Social Security System and have fewer labor rights. About half of the African migrants who began working in Spain in 2007 had work permits (Urriza 2008).

Between 2000 and 2009, 5 million immigrants entered Spain, taking half of the available jobs in the country. With the increased weight in employment of immigrants, government tax revenues rose. In 2005 alone, the government gained five billion Euros from taxes, VAT, and social security payments of immigrants. Two years later, two million immigrants were paying social security. During this period of growth, 4.7 million jobs opened up, and immigrants were hired for half of those positions. Toward the end of 2007, Spain encountered its economic crisis, along with much of the rest of the world. Immigrants were affected most beginning in mid-2008 when “mass unemployment” began to be observed. Immigrants continued to enter the country, except now they could not find employment. The unemployment rate of immigrants skyrocketed between 2008 and 2009, from 17 percent to 29 percent.

During times of economic crisis, immigrants are especially at risk. Immigrants without papers have no protection, so Spain risks losing these workers during periods of low economic growth. They have no unemployment protection, so they are extremely vulnerable to economic change. With their families oftentimes back home in their native countries, these workers also cannot rely on their families for financial support. Job growth is stagnant at the lowest levels, bringing wage competition and forcing workers to be more accepting of pay cuts. Immigrants

differ from Spanish workers in that they have no other sources of income to rely on, aside from their salaries. They have scarce savings, as they usually come to Spain with the intention of making savings to bring back home for their families. They have worked in Spain for less time and, therefore, collect less compensation and aid. “The effect of the crisis is shown also by the fact that the remittances of immigrants decreased in 2009 by 9.7% compared to the previous year” (Éltető 76, 2011). Unemployment had the largest affect on Moroccans, with an unemployment rate of 35% in 2008. Even today, African people most frequently work in agriculture, with almost 13% of workers being African, and in construction, with 29% of workers being African. The construction industry was hit hardest during the crisis, and many African workers were left searching for new sources of income (Éltető 76, 2011).

As a result, discrimination against immigrants increased and Spaniards became more intolerant of immigrants, accusing them of leeching off social services paid by tax payers and not contributing to the economy. However, interestingly enough, this perception only applies to black African immigrants. The image of Latin Americans and Eastern Europeans in Spain actually became stronger, and Spaniards did not see these people as “immigrants.” The immigrants who are discriminated against are “those who look foreign,” especially Africans (Éltető 77, 2011). Latin Americans often travel to Spain to give their children a better education, as school systems in many areas of rural Latin American countries are very poor or nonexistent. Therefore, it cannot be generalized that school systems in Latin America would cause immigrants to be any better educated than African immigrants. Both groups of immigrants come from areas with suffering economies and poor education systems. Éltető conducted a study asking Spaniards, among foreigners in Spain, which ethnic group they think of first. The most

common answer was Moroccan and North African, and the second most common was African in general.

While Spaniards see immigrants as taking away from the economy, they have actually positively contributed to it in many ways. They tend to take underpaying jobs which locals refuse to take. Immigrants often take household jobs, allowing Spanish women to find jobs outside the home and be included in the labor market (Éltető 78, 2011). Before the economic crisis, Spain's economy was steadily growing every year for about a decade. The immigrant population in Spain was growing simultaneously with Spain's economy. The country's GDP grew by almost 4% annually, "which meant a drop in the unemployment rate from 20.6% in 1997 to 8.2% in 2007" (Gómez-Flors 8, 2018). Additionally, immigrant diversity in the workplace has introduced different skills and perceptions, improving worker productivity and creativity. Diversity could initiate competition between workers by mixing different perspectives, meaning that people of different backgrounds and from different countries complement each other in the workplace.

Spain has allowed its economy to control rates of immigration, meaning that as the economy decelerates, fewer jobs and opportunities become available, dissuading people from migrating into the country. The unemployed immigrant population living in Spain will also go to other countries to find jobs. However, while Spain wants this to happen, the reality is that it will not happen quickly. It may eventually take place over time, but Spain needs a more reliable policy toward controlling immigration. By not taking action toward decreasing unemployment among immigrants, Spain risks the danger of an informal economy spreading (Urriza 2008).

Even today, as tourists explore the major cities of Spain, it is impossible not to notice the people on the sides of the street with their merchandise neatly organized on sheets in front of them. These people are mostly sub-Saharan African immigrants



Image 14

selling bootleg CDs, counterfeit purses, clothes, and accessories. As shown in image 14, these cloth sheets can easily be folded up into a bag, especially convenient to grab everything and run when police officers approach (Minder 2018). As finding employment becomes more difficult for immigrants, they'll resort to illegally selling products on the street, or other informal occupations such as prostitution. Both immigrants and natives will struggle to find employment as the job market narrows, meaning that Spain realistically has to find a better solution to controlling immigration.

5. Immigration Policy

5.1 Legal Immigration Process

Spain is struggling with illegal immigration due to the inaccessibility and challenges that come with legal immigration. All migrants must gain a visa in order to stay in Spain for any reason. The only people exempt from this rule are immigrants from EU states or countries with which Spain has mutual agreements. Every person must have a purpose for entering which falls within one of these categories: “transit; short-stay; residence; residence and work; seasonal residence and work; and study and research” (Rodriguez-Ferrand 2013). This visa system seeks

to limit illegal immigration while only taking in as many workers as the Spanish labor market needs. Foreigners must enter Spain through an authorized port of entry, bringing with them a passport; evidence of their reason for entering Spain; and proof of financial support during their stay. If the visitor does not have a visa, they may still be allowed to enter the country “on the basis of humanitarian needs, the public interest, or commitments undertaken by Spain”

(Rodriguez-Ferrand 2013). For this reason, refugees are, at times, allowed to enter Spain legally, even though they don't have financial support or a job in Spain. They will be given the relevant documents to submit for legal status in the country. However, as mentioned in section 4.1b, African migrants are rarely considered refugees, even though they are fleeing violence and poverty in their home countries. Therefore, they are not usually allowed entry into Spain based off refugee status.

Any foreigner wishing to work in Spain must first apply for a residence permit before applying for a visa, allowing him to live and work in the country for three months. He can then apply to extend the permit to two years. The foreigner will complete the application in his country of origin before moving to Spain. To be qualified for the permit, the individual cannot have a criminal background; cannot be contracted with any disease that could affect the health of others; and must show an employment contract. By the time the permit is approved, the applicant can then go to the consulate of Spain in his country of origin to apply for a visa. Ultimately, an African migrant with a residence or work permit will be able to apply for citizenship after living in the country for 10 years, or 5 years if they are considered a refugee. Part of being approved for citizenship involves “an acceptable degree of integration into Spanish society” which involves “acceptable knowledge of the Spanish language” (Rodriguez-Ferrand 2013). This is all very

subjective, meaning that a law-abiding immigrant who has struggled to advance their Spanish language skills can be denied citizenship.

Spain has consulates all throughout Africa where people can apply for a visa. There are several consulates in Morocco alone. For those who plan to work, study, or live in a European country, they must obtain a national visa of that country. In the case of many African immigrants, they travel to Spain to find work so they can earn money to make a living. A working visa application includes many required materials. Applicants must fill out an application for a national visa; an official signed letter from the company proving employment for a specific period of time; a color head-shot photo; a passport valid for at least 6 months from the time of application; a copy of all pages of the passport; a copy of the employment contract stamped by the Spanish Immigration Department (Oficina de Extranjería); residence and work authorization from the Provincial Department of the Labor Ministry; a certificate of no criminal conviction from any countries the applicant has resided in within the last 5 years; a medical certificate from your doctor proving that you have no diseases “which need quarantine under the International Health Regulation” (“Visa Spain” 2018); and finally, the fee in cash, which is around €60 (equivalent to about \$67 USD).

It is clear that the visa application process is not simple or quick, and it is very possible for applicants to be rejected at any step of the process. Many Africans hope to gain a better life in Spain and work a job so they can provide for their family. However, many have no accessible way to obtain a job before getting to Spain, so they cannot bring papers proving employment in order to apply for a working visa. Sometimes they cannot even afford the application fee. If an applicant does manage to get hired for a job in Spain, they’ll have to navigate the authorities’ websites, which are written in Spanish. For this stage of the process, the employer will be a huge

help for African citizens, as Spanish is not a national language in any African country. Once the employer submits an application for a work permit, the applicant can apply for a working visa. This whole process can take months, but immigrants often need to escape their homes immediately in search of humanitarian protection in the EU (“Work in Spain” 2017). They cannot afford to wait around for months and even risk being denied the visa and having to restart the whole process. Some Spanish work visas allow applicants to bring their spouse or family members, but this is usually dependent on level of qualification. For example, those holding the Highly Qualified Professional work visa can bring their partner and family. This means that some working immigrants will not be able to legally bring their family with them to Spain. For all these reasons, immigrants ultimately decide to immigrate illegally. Without the resources, language skills, or time to complete a working permit and visa application, African immigrants resort to illegal immigration as the only way to enter Spain and find a better life. By making the legal immigration process more accessible, Spain will not be increasing the flow of immigrants. These people will find a way to enter Spain, whether it’s legal or not. Many people who would be capable of working and contributing to the Spanish economy do not apply for legal immigration because of the lack of resources and time to complete the application. If Spain improved accessibility, it would see greater legal immigration rates and a drop in illegal immigration.

Another option is to apply for asylum in Spain, meaning a refugee or displaced person can apply for international protection in Spain. Asylum applications in Spain have increased significantly in recent years, yet numbers of applications still remain lower than other EU countries. Human Rights Watch explains that the figures from 2016 are only “1.3 percent of the total new applications filed in the 28 EU member states, and just 335 asylum seekers per million

inhabitants. By comparison, Germany received 60 percent of all new applications in 2016, with 8,789 asylum seekers per one million inhabitants” (“Spain: Migrants Held in Poor Conditions” 2017). Given the proximity of Spain to Africa, a continent from which thousands of immigrants are attempting to emigrate every day, it is unusual that more asylum applications are not documented.

Part of the reason why more African immigrants are not requesting asylum may be due to Spanish border policies. Once a migrant has made it into Ceuta or Melilla, it is difficult for them to then move into mainland Spain. “[D]enial of freedom of movement” is a principal issue in Ceuta and Melilla facilities (“Spain: Migrants Held in Poor Conditions” 2017). When asylum seekers are moved to the mainland, the process is slow. Additionally, at these facilities, immigrants gain little information on their right to asylum, and immigrants hardly ever have access to individual interviews with lawyers. Altogether, these aspects of the immigration process dissuade immigrants from applying for asylum.

Spanish authorities actively deter immigrants from applying for asylum, as well. When an irregular migrant arrives by sea, Spanish policy requires him to be sent to a police facility for 72 hours for a “registration period,” including identification and a court hearing (“Spain: Migrants Held in Poor Conditions” 2017). These police stations are dark, unsanitary, and crowded, but authorities keep the facilities in poor condition on purpose. Spanish authorities believe that if migrants know they’ll be led to a shelter immediately where they can seek help, the flow of immigration would increase dramatically. However, a UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) study found no relation between migration flows and the threat of detention. Migrants are usually sent to a detention facility for up to 2 months. They will either be deported or released, but if they are released, they are still considered to be an illegal immigrant, meaning

they “have no legal right to remain and are under obligation to leave the country” (“Spain: Migrants Held in Poor Conditions” 2017). Immigrants often only hear about their rights to asylum from third parties such as the Red Cross or UNHCR. Several African men were interviewed in Motril, Spain, and they all confirmed they only saw a lawyer upon signing the paper commanding their removal from the country. This period of 72 hours in police facilities allows migrants to represent their case in court; however, the majority of migrants who arrive irregularly are denied this opportunity and, instead, are sent to detention centers immediately, pending deportation.

5.2 Spanish Policy with Morocco

Spain has a long history of cooperation with Morocco, its neighbor to the south. Morocco is the main port of entry African immigrants use in order to enter Spain, either by jumping the fences into the Spanish territories Ceuta and Melilla, or by taking a boat off the coast of Morocco into Spain. Spain and Morocco work together to limit the amount of migrants fleeing Africa for Europe. Morocco has enforced control at exit points around its borders. Before visas became mandatory for Moroccans to enter Spain in 1991, Morocco worked to limit the number of passports issued. However, as passports became more difficult to attain, illegal immigration began increasing (Huntoon 430, 1998). This phenomenon proves that by making legal immigration more difficult and inaccessible, Spain will not achieve its goal to limit immigration as a whole, but instead will only limit legal immigration. People who want to migrate into Spain will find a way to do so, whether it is legal or not.

Morocco’s principal trading partners are France and Spain, so Morocco makes sure to maintain a good relationship with these countries. About 13% of Morocco’s exports go to Spain,

and 10% of Morocco's imports are from Spain (Arango 2005, 262). Morocco puts great effort into maintaining strict border control in order to prevent illegal immigration into Spain. They do so because they have "Advanced Status Partnership" with Europe, giving them "economic and political advantages in trade and political affairs" (Vox 2017, 5:40). More than half of Morocco's international trade comes from the EU alone. The EU invests billions of Euros in Morocco's development, further helping them with security. With all this monetary support, Morocco reciprocates by protecting their borders (Vox 2017, 5:51). Spain and Morocco have worked together to form a program called PAIDAR, which seeks to develop industry and tourism in the northern region of Morocco. However, this program was suspended in 1996 (Gillespie 2001, 146). Spain and the EU also work to cultivate development in Morocco through the Barcelona Process of Euro-Mediterranean Partnership. This program aims to improve Moroccan development and cooperation in order to decrease migrant and drug smuggling between Africa and Europe.

5.3 Spanish Policy with EU

Spanish immigration policy must follow EU regulations. However, the EU does not have one unified immigration policy. The EU started allowing entry of many illegal immigrants in 1990, which was around the same time illegal immigration into Spain began to rise. One of the reasons the EU has struggled to reach an inclusive immigration policy is because of the variation in economies, migration flows, and national immigration policies. Huntoon uses Germany and Spain as examples of two countries with different outlooks on immigration. Germany has a much longer history of immigration, so ideally its policies could be used as a model for Spain. However, it is difficult to harmonize a policy between the two countries because they are each experiencing their own economic struggles affecting immigration, and their own national

policies must also be taken into account. “If the different concerns of these two countries can be reconciled adequately, then we may expect progress on European immigration policy” (Huntoon 1998, 424). Each EU country has its own settlement, integration, and naturalization policies. For example, second generation immigrants in Spain and France are granted citizenship, but this policy does not exist in Germany. With differing policies among member states, the EU has struggled to reach an agreement on immigration policy.

Still, the EU has taken several steps toward finding one harmonized immigration policy. In 1988, before the introduction of the EU, the Commission of the European Community planned to abolish international border controls so people could move freely. This was partially executed in 1995. In 1992, the Maastricht Treaty established the EU, granting members European citizenship and allowing citizens to move without restraint between borders. With this treaty, the EU would decide which countries non-EU nationals needed a visa to enter. A few years after the Maastricht Treaty came into effect, the 1996 Turin IGC summit served as a revision of the treaty. Unemployment was primarily discussed, but EU members also recognized a need for more consistent immigration, asylum, and visa policies. Countries like Germany and France experienced “postwar immigration” but countries like Spain and Italy are now seeing a recent surge in immigration. Over time, the EU has realized that harmonizing policy among EU states is becoming more difficult. If differences between states “are too costly to resolve, immigration regulation may be one of the areas of mutual negotiation that can be overlooked in favor of monetary union” (Huntoon 1998, 427). Overall, reaching an agreement on EU immigration policy has proved to be a costly feat that may not see a resolution any time soon.

Additionally, Spain must keep EU needs in mind when creating national immigration policy. Spain cannot cut off immigration into the country, as this would affect employment and

economies throughout the EU. By making Spanish border policy even stricter, both legal and illegal immigration into the EU would be affected. “A tightening of immigration to Spain could decrease the supply of unskilled labor in Spain and put a damper on economic growth if higher wages are needed to move Spaniards into unskilled occupations” (Huntoon 1998, 431). The native population will not move into these unskilled or semi-skilled positions as easily as immigrants will, including domestic service, farm work, and construction. Without immigrants, employers in these fields will have to augment wages to entice natives into work, ultimately decreasing economic growth. Spain must also take into account the fact that it is often merely a port of entrance into the EU, so their policies will influence the immigrant populations in Europe as a whole.

Spain has attempted to form alliances with neighboring countries also struggling with immigration flows. The Quadro Group was formed in 2008, including the EU countries of Spain, Italy, Malta, and Cyprus. The alliance primarily tried to advocate for refugees in their countries to be reallocated throughout the EU. The group also tried to revise the Dublin Regulation, which is an EU law deciding which EU country must review an asylum application presented by a person desiring international protection. The applicant will also be moved to that state. The country most often chosen is the one through which the applicant first entered the EU. The problem is that an abundance of immigrants enter through the Quadro Group countries, even if they do not intend to settle in those countries; therefore, these countries are too often responsible for these asylum seekers. The Quadro Group also seeks to strengthen the European Border and Coast Guard Agency, which helps EU countries manage their borders (Mainwaring 437-438). Finally, they participate in “the continued negotiation of multilateral and bilateral readmission agreements with third countries” (Mainwaring 438). The group wants other European countries

to take partial blame for irregular immigration, since northern European countries are seemingly uninterested in helping out with southern EU borders.

5.4 Spanish Immigration Policy

Spain's immigration policies have varied over the years, generally starting off lenient in 1985 and gradually becoming stricter. In 1985, immigration was still low but starting to rise. Therefore, the law implemented this year was seen as more of a temporary fix, since Spain did not realize immigration would rise so significantly in the country (Éltető 2011, 75). This law, called the Ley de Extranjera, was meant to give the Spanish government more control over non-EU immigration. However, it was difficult to enforce with so many Spaniards and migrants working in the underground economy. Since then, Spain has struggled with the predicament "as to how to allow enough migrants to sustain the sectors of the economy that depend on them while maintaining enough control to prevent a backlash against foreigners and immigration" (Arango 2005, 264). President Aznar, whose term lasted from 1996 to 2004, sought to decrease immigration drastically. He was opposed to an immigration law passed in 2000 which provided migrant children with K-12 education and emergency medical care, and allowed migrants to participate in protests and unions. Aznar was unhappy with this law and amended it to require that immigrants gain a work permit to be considered legal, and regularizations would no longer be allowed.

The 1985 Ley de Extranjería made it difficult for migrants to get a working permit, and as a result, illegal immigration only increased. In 1996 the law was amended to better recognize the rights of immigrants, such as the right to a lawyer or interpreter. Only a few years later in 2000, a new law was enacted with the goal to integrate immigrants politically and socially into

Spain. Finally Spain was beginning to realize immigration is a permanent phenomenon, and immigrants need their own rights. Spain began to sign agreements with the countries from which most immigrants traveled to Spain, including Morocco, Niger, Ecuador, and Romania. These accords were made in an effort to communicate jobs available in Spain and clarify the legal immigration process to people who are considering immigrating. Spain's cooperation with these countries also helped to facilitate the return of those who immigrated temporarily to Spain (Éltető 2011, 75).

Following the law from 2000, Spain then began to take greater steps toward handling mass immigration. The "Programa Global de Regulación y Coordinación de la Extranjería e Inmigración," also known as "Plan Greco," was generated from 2001 to 2004. The plan aimed to manage the immigration issue on a global scale; integrate immigrants and regulate immigration; and accommodate refugees. Spain initiated another program called "Programa de Retorno Voluntario para Inmigrantes en situación de Vulnerabilidad Social" (PREVIE) in 2003, which covered the return costs for those who live in poor social conditions to return to their native countries. Mostly Latin Americans took advantage of this opportunity. After 2004, Spain put forward a greater effort toward helping immigrants. Labor offices released catalogs on job openings for areas that are most in need of workers (Éltető 2011, 75).

The government also began to take initiative in treating illegal immigration in 2004. They allowed illegal immigrants to stay in the country on a "three-month legislation period" where they could then apply for a one-year residence permit (Éltető 2011, 75). Through this amnesty program, hundreds of thousands of immigrants, mainly Ecuadorians, Romanians, and Moroccans, were granted legal status. In 2008, Spain launched another plan for voluntary return, called "Abono Anticipado de Prestación a Extranjeros" (APRE). Spain would pay

unemployment aid to non-EU immigrants who have not tried to become citizens and are unemployed, excluding those immigrants who have tried for years to become Spanish citizens. This program helps these jobless immigrants return back to their home countries by paying 40% of the return aid to immigrants while still in Spain and 60% after their return. They must promise to stay out of Spain for at least three years. Still, the government expected 100,000 applicants but only received 8,724 (Éltető 2011, 78), showing that most immigrants would rather live jobless in Spain than return to their home countries. This program also may have been ineffective if illegal immigrants were afraid to declare themselves out of fear of arrest for illegal status.

By 2010, Spain implemented the “Strategic Plan of Citizenship” (Plan Estratégico de Ciudadanía) which sought to assimilate immigrants. The plan intended to integrate immigrants across many areas, including “receiving immigrants, education, employment, accommodation, social services, health care, childhood, equal chances, gender, etc.” (Éltető 2011, 76). The government invested 500 million Euros per year in this plan, with the majority (42%) of the budget allocated toward education. As the state attempted to improve the quality of life for immigrants in Spain, they also increased border control significantly to limit the number of immigrants entering the country. Still, in 2008, nearly half the native population believed immigration regulations were too lenient, and the percentage of Spaniards with this opinion has only been rising since (Éltető 2011, 76).

High rates of both immigration and unemployment have coexisted in Spain since the 1990s, yet this situation presents a paradox. Why are people choosing to immigrate into Spain if there is such a high rate of unemployment? If immigrants are filling the jobs natives don’t want, why are there still so many jobless people? Unemployment rates in the 1990s were around 23 percent, and unemployment was greatest among young people entering the workforce. The

reason for the high unemployment is because Spanish workers have begun collecting unemployment insurance benefits while working a temporary job for cash. Many Spaniards have become comfortable with working short-term jobs and collecting unemployment insurance when the job ends. They then repeat this cycle for another short-term contract. Meanwhile, immigrants are filling the jobs that natives won't work, especially in agriculture (Arango 2005, 259-260). For this reason, they continue immigrating into Spain. Even if they cannot secure a job before migrating, they will likely be able to find a low-paying labor-intensive job once they arrive in Spain.

Immigrants have to obtain a work permit before arriving in Spain if they plan to work a temporary position lasting under a year. It is difficult for African migrants to find out about these job offerings before arrival, but Spain makes an effort to encourage employers to seek out workers. Spain has a system for employers to arrange generic job listings and submit them to the Instituto Nacional de Empleo (National Employment Institute, also known as INEM). Subsequently, each INEM committee around the country decides how many work permits they recommend accepting. The Ministry of Labor then passes on these recommendations to the Spanish embassies in Morocco, the Dominican Republic, Colombia, Ecuador, Romania, and Poland. These countries have labor agreements with Spain where local governments will recruit workers to be sent to Spain but agree to accept their nationals back after the job is completed (Arango 2005, 267). Still, African workers struggle to be recruited to work in Spain, and they also cannot easily research available positions in Spain. This means that being approved for a work permit is nearly impossible for some people, explaining why they ultimately attempt to immigrate illegally.

The concept of legal status has fluctuated in Spain, as Spain has had several periods of legalizations since the 1980s. Between 1986 and 2002, a total of 600,000 immigrants were granted legal status. This means that many legal immigrants today living in Spain were likely illegal at a previous point. This fluid concept of legality is partly due to Spain's former system of short-term work and residence permits, making migrants legal during one job but illegal as soon as they switched jobs. Under a new employer, a migrant had to apply for a new work permit, requiring a social security card. However, "few Spanish employers enrolled especially illegal workers in social security, so a legal worker could become illegal by changing employers" (Arango 2005, 266). Although this system no longer exists today, it formed an instable foundation for immigrant legalization in Spain.

Spain's ineffective quota programs and large informal economy are contributing factors to the irregular immigration flow into the country, so Spain has had to repeatedly host regularizations granting legal status to immigrants. As of 2012, over a million immigrants were legalized in Spain as a result of regularization. In this case, an immigrant can qualify for legal status based on settlement. This scheme was intended to comprehensively address irregular immigration while avoiding "public domestic attention" and apprehension from the EU (Sabater 2012, 194). In 2006, the new Settlement Program came into effect. This program demonstrates the economic contributions of immigrants and the need for providing systems of social integration for irregular migrants. Through the Settlement Program, immigrants could earn legal status by labor settlement – living in the country for 2 years and working for 1 year – or by social settlement – living in Spain for 3 years and proof of work or plans to work for 1 year (Sabater 2012, 194). Regularizations through the Settlement Program are important because they decentralize government's approach toward immigration, meaning policy is made on a local

level and affects immigrants in that area. The program also offers legal status to those who have lived in the country illegally but have been a dedicated member of the workforce and have contributed positively to the economy. Finally, it offers a long-term channel for regularization. However, since the program favors those who have worked for extended periods of time, the high rates of unemployment and poor economic climate mean that many immigrants have lost their jobs and, therefore, do not qualify for legalization under settlement (Sabater 2012, 216).

Sabater predicts that irregular immigration into Spain will only continue to increase into the future as return migration decreases. Even the Voluntary Return Program has not made much of an impact due to few non-EU participants. Although joblessness is an issue in Spain, Sabater predicts the “so-called 3D job occupations (dirty, dangerous, and demanding)” will continue to be in high demand (Sabater 2012, 215). Immigration policy in Spain seems to support this trend through programs like the Settlement Program, where immigrants can become legalized based on prolonged residence and employment in the country. Immigrants feel encouraged to take any job they can upon arrival in Spain, as they may become legalized eventually (Sabater 2012, 215). As demonstrated through Spain’s history of immigration policy, different regimes tackle immigration in diverse ways. Some policies have used a more exclusive approach intending to prevent further immigration and help immigrants leave the country, while other policies are geared toward integration, designed to accommodate refugees and protect immigrants through legalization.

6. Policy Recommendations

6.1 Policy Recommendations for Spain

Spain has already taken many steps toward gaining control over the immigration flow from Africa, as explained in section five. However, there are many other options they have not tried which could make a lasting difference. While Spain can actively invest in regional organizations throughout Spain and Africa, the EU can also play a role by participating in governmental networks. Furthermore, European corporations can invest in Africa to boost their economies. The legal immigration process can become safer and more accessible for those who are in urgent need of migrating through migrant processing centers in Northern Africa. While none of these changes can be implemented immediately, with gradual implementation they will ultimately make the greatest impact in the shortest period of time, compared to simply giving billions of Euros to African governments and waiting for change.

6.1a Investing in Regional Organizations

The best way to handle the immigration crisis into Spain is through a grassroots, ground-up solution. Giving billions of dollars to help African governments will not make any immediate difference, and it is important to think what would happen when that money is exhausted. Europe is already allocating over €2 billion toward supporting Africa with border control and “addressing the so-called root causes of migration” (“How Europe Can Stop African Migration” 2019). Even with all this money put towards the crisis, Spain continues to struggle to keep illegal immigrants out. These broad efforts must be rethought into a solution which can be realistically achieved in the short term. Huge funding toward African governments is not worth the money.

One step the Spanish government should take is focusing on improving processes at the border, including investing in regional organizations on the ground in both Spain and Africa while also investing in training border police. Regional organizations often make more of a

positive impact than the government ever could, because these groups know the area and understand what needs to be done to help the people. In the southern region of Andalusia, Spain, many migrants attested to receiving basic information about their rights from international organizations like the Red Cross and United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). The police actively deter asylum applications, so migrants rely on these organizations to visit the ports and inform migrants on procedures. Investing in regional organizations will decrease border violence and lead to more orderly processing at the border. Field officers in these organizations will ensure that every migrant has the opportunity to a court hearing. If they are not eligible to remain in Spain, they will be transported back into Africa.

There is no justification for beating migrants who have jumped the border. Spain should put a more serious effort into training border police to protect the border without resorting to violence. Morocco is doing Spain a favor by protecting the border, so Spain has the power to forbid Moroccan border police from using violence. Once having crossed the border, immigrants should be attended to by police or field officers who give them information about their right to asylum and help them organize interviews with lawyers. Many migrants who have crossed the border do not apply for asylum simply because they do not realize it is an option. Therefore, if they are sent back to Africa, they will simply keep attempting the perilous journey over the border. The presence of these international organizations at the border is an important part of keeping border control secure and orderly, along with a well-trained police force.

Furthermore, non-governmental organizations located in Africa can play a larger role in discouraging people from migrating in the first place. They can educate locals on family planning in an effort to control Africa's booming population, and they can financially support infrastructure projects "so as to limit transaction costs, which are currently so high that it

discourages direct investment in large parts of the continent” (“How Europe Can Stop African Migration” 2019). If Europe wants to give money towards decreasing immigration, they should invest in international and regional organizations.

6.1b Governmental Networks

The EU has been trying, in vain, to come up with a transnational European law addressing immigration into the EU. They have not yet agreed on a law or set of policies which could be applied to every country within the EU. Still, a transnational law affecting the entire EU may not actually be the best move. Every country within the EU has different circumstances affecting its rates of immigration, as well as different national laws, which would complicate the matter too much to be able to reach a common law. If Spain had to follow the same policies as Finland, immigration would look very different in both countries, and many unforeseen consequences would arise. These two countries have vastly different rates of immigration; therefore, they must deal with immigration in different ways. It is unrealistic to expect every country to follow the same laws. However, this doesn’t mean that each country cannot learn from each other and from countries outside the union.

An effective way for the EU to communicate within the union and with outside states is through governmental networks. A governmental network involves intercommunication of the officials who are most vital for the growth and cooperation of governments, such as finance ministers, central bankers, judges, and legislators. These networks do not hold a shape, as a government does. They consist of people who have contributed to the success of their state (Slaughter 2015, 285). If these well-educated, experienced officials gathered to exchange ideas on handling immigration worldwide, individual EU states may gain ideas for implementing their

own national policies. Immigration and emigration affect the economy of every country around the globe, so this is a discussion from which any state could benefit. For example, the US and Spain could share methods to border control and policy, since they are both experiencing an influx of immigration from the south. Some governmental networks in the form of international institutions have already been arranged, such as G8, G20, and IOSCO, and have made positive impacts on their participants. By bringing African states into the conversation, they will gain advice and support from outside countries. Many African governments are plagued with corruption due to power hierarchies, deferring any progress. However, a governmental network has no formal governments involved, so no one would hold power over another (Slaughter 2015, 285). Again, it will be most effective if these officials focus on single issues at a time, in order for significant change to take place in the short term. Ultimately, the members of a network will share advice with policymakers, who will be able to implement lasting policy.

6.1c Investments from European Corporations

While European economic support through development aid can be important, private investments from European corporations have the capability to make a huge impact on Africa. If more major European corporations invest in companies and training in Africa, these African countries will see a boost in economic growth and employment. European corporations have immense untapped power when it comes to investment in Africa. The European Investment Bank (EIB) should persuade European corporations into forging the development of job-intensive fields in Africa, such as manufacturing and construction. They can also recruit workers and fund training programs for African workers before they make their way to Europe. This way, they will “integrate quickly and contribute maximally in Europe” (“How Europe Can Stop African Migration” 2019).

Currently, the EIB is allocating billions toward addressing migration. They are providing €6 billion by 2020 to tackle the causes of migration, and this is expected to generate a further investment of around €35 billion. European corporations can work through the private sector to fund projects in Africa, stimulating development in African countries. One example of successful investment from Europe is support from the Dutch development bank FMO. The bank is giving micro-credits to “internally displaced people, returnees and small businesses” in sub-Saharan African countries, aiming to produce hundreds of thousands of jobs (Wesel 2018). Businesses struggle to stay afloat in Africa as entrepreneurs are forced to flee their homes due to poor living conditions. It is difficult to obtain the funds they need to start and maintain a business. If an institution like the FMO offers local financial institutions “portfolio guarantees containing loans to entrepreneurs,” then African businesses will see more stable growth. The more Africa continues to grow economically, the more European corporations will be willing to invest in these countries. The private sector holds the greatest potential for creating jobs and growth, and a lack of jobs is one of the main reasons people migrate to Europe in the first place. Therefore, as European corporations invest in employment in Africa, African workers will find jobs and remain in their home countries (“Strengthening the EU’s Partnership with Africa” 2018). As Shimeles points out, by integrating economies in the EU and Africa, migration will decrease over time and adjust to what is permitted by economic fundamentals (Shimeles 2018).

6.1d Migrant Processing Centers in Africa

As already established, there is no immediate way to prevent Africans from migrating to Spain. It is, therefore, a question of whether they will migrate legally or illegally. Spain should focus on allowing entry to those seeking international protection from persecution or violence, while using the long-term policy options proposed in this paper to build up the economies of

Africa. Therefore, those seeking financial help will not have to migrate in the long-term. To make the legal migration process more accessible for refugees seeking protection, the EU should build migrant processing centers in North Africa. When immigrants don't have a way of obtaining a Spanish work permit in Africa, they often decide to jump the fence or ride a boat across the Mediterranean into Spain. This dangerous journey results in injuries and sometimes even death. Still, if they make it across, they will have to run to a processing center for protection. If these processing centers were moved to Northern Africa, Spain could differentiate economic migrants from those needing asylum, therefore avoiding any reason to make the dangerous journey to Spain. The idea here is not to create these centers so that anyone and everyone can enter Spain easily. The goal of making the application process more accessible and organized is for Spanish authorities to prioritize those seeking protection.

The EU has already proposed this idea, and Italy and France are on board. These centers could collaborate with international organizations, such as the International Organization for Migration, a group working under the UN. The challenge here comes with convincing African countries to house these processing centers. However, African countries will be more inclined to serve as "vassal states" if the EU begins increasing financial support and commerce with Africa. This is already demonstrated through Spain's partnership with Morocco, where Spain contributes economically to Morocco, and Morocco in turn protects the border. If the EU increases investment in Africa and develops job-intensive sectors, Africa will be encouraged to house these processing centers in return (Rankin 2018).

6.2 Implementation

It is clear there is not one easy answer to solve the immigration crisis affecting Spain. The changes previously recommended will take time to implement. As shown by image 2 in section 3.1, immigration rates to Spain have actually been dropping in the past decade. Immigration rates skyrocketed around 1985 when Spain's economy began flourishing upon joining the EU. Although it would seem that no action needs to be taken since immigration is decreasing on its own, Spain's economy has also been suffering in recent years with high unemployment. Therefore, once Spain's economy begins to recover, a resurgence in immigration can be expected. Spain must begin to take action now in order to work to diminish current human rights breaches at the border; to prepare for foreign workers entering Spain searching for work; and to provide an education to immigrants living in Spain so that they ultimately contribute positively to the economy.

The Spanish government must recognize the importance of regional organizations in the legal migration process. They should contribute financially to those which are working at the border and international organizations which work with African immigrants in Spain. Without these groups, Spain would see more unemployment and even more brutality at the border. Additionally, through the implementation of international institutions, countries are helping each other to make decisions which will improve their economy and ultimately improve the government overall. African countries need a platform to participate in discussions with the EU directly. An international institution linking the EU with African states, or even with an existing union in Africa such as the African Union, would serve as a place to discuss issues affecting both regions, such as immigration. European corporations should also invest in businesses and training in Africa, which will subsequently improve the economies of these African countries. The best way to encourage European corporations to invest in jobs in Africa is through Europe's

development finance institutions. An institution such as the European Investment Bank can encourage European firms to invest in Africa, a continent with much potential for the future. Through this investment, African firms will develop and European companies will bring jobs to Africa, ultimately eliminating the motivation to migrate to Europe in search of work. Lastly, migrant processing centers in Northern Africa can be set up by the EU in collaboration with countries in North Africa, especially Morocco. The EU can work with the UN and UN refugee agencies to establish these facilities. Countries like Morocco will be more willing to house these centers if the EU continues contributing to and investing in these African countries.

6.3 Expected Outcome

As economies grow in Africa, more people will actually emigrate from Africa at first. They have more money, so they can afford to embark to Spain. Levels of emigration will fall only when African countries become upper-middle income, at which point people will actually begin to immigrate to Africa. This transition is not foreseen to occur any time soon. In reality, there is no sum of money that could put a stop to migration. As poor countries develop, emigration will increase. Still, it is important for the EU and Africa to take steps toward improving African economies in order to work towards making Africa a continent of immigration rather than emigration. By funding training programs in Africa, workers will become better qualified for jobs in the EU. While there is not a quick and effective way to decrease migration immediately, it would be optimal to best prepare immigrants so they contribute positively to Spain and the EU's economies. Africans will continue to immigrate to Europe, regardless of the size of the wall or the strength of Spain's border control. Michael Clemens, co-director at the Center for Global Development, emphasizes, "If EU aid retains its exclusive focus on stopping migration, it will exacerbate the migration problems of tomorrow"

(“How Europe Can Stop African Migration” 2019). It is not possible to stop migration. If Spain allocates resources toward this impossible feat, they will be wasting time that could be spent implementing policies to gain control over immigration. Spain should improve immigration processing at the border while investing in African states. Building the skill sets of Africans will allow them to integrate into the African economies, and if they choose to migrate, they will contribute to outside economies as well.

7. Conclusion

Africa and Europe have a long history consisting of colonialism, slavery, harmony, and now, immigration. As Spain is located nearest to Africa out of any European country, it has involuntarily become the main port for illegal entry into Europe. Spain never struggled with immigration before the 1980s; in fact, its wavering economy and failure to industrialize meant more people were leaving the country than those coming. From its entry to the EU in 1986 into the turn of the century, Spain’s economy grew at unprecedented rates, and it was now seen as a country unexploited by immigrants. The government had not yet implemented strict immigration laws, as this was never an issue to which they had to pay much attention. Therefore, immigration began increasing dramatically into the 21st century, with Africa serving as a principal source of illegal immigrants.

Immigrants to Spain originate mainly from Morocco, Romania, and Ecuador. Sub-Saharan Africans often travel to Morocco and camp out in the woods before attempting to illegally cross the border. They make this long, perilous journey to Spain sometimes with the intention of living in Spain and saving up money to bring back home, or they use the country as a port of entrance to the rest of Europe. Immigrants also try to access Ceuta and Melilla, the two

Spanish territories on the African continent. This way, they can be transported by Spanish authorities to mainland Spain. Those who intend to stay temporarily and return to Africa with newly-earned money often end up living permanently in Spain in order to avoid the difficult journey a second time.

Africa struggles with joblessness and poverty, which are both driving factors of immigration to Spain. Violent conflict and government corruption throughout Africa also forces people to relocate. Africans most often migrate to other African countries, but they also immigrate into Spain to have a greater opportunity to find work and earn money. When migrating into Europe after fleeing violence in Africa, they often are not eligible to live in Spain under asylum. Europe does not treat violence in Africa the same way as violence in other countries. For example, throughout the Syrian War, Syrians have been able to flee to Spain as refugees. Meanwhile, Africans are denied entry when they are escaping violence in their own countries, as explained in section 4.1b (Vox 2017, 9:20).

Legal immigration into Spain is often not an option for Africans. At times, they need to escape their countries due to violence and cannot afford to apply for legal status, which is a process that can take months or even years if the applicant is not accepted the first time (“Work in Spain” 2017). Others cannot afford the fees required by the applications. To obtain a work permit, the applicant must already have a job prepared in Spain. However, it is very difficult for many migrants to find a job before stepping foot in the country. For all these reasons and more, Africans who want to relocate to Spain often have no choice but to immigrate illegally. They do so through fence-jumping into the cities of Ceuta and Melilla and by riding boats across the Strait of Gibraltar. Both these journeys are extremely dangerous, frequently resulting in injury and death. Even through a multi-layered, 20-foot fence, people still make it over, demonstrating

that a higher fence or greater security is not the solution to the illegal immigration problem. If they make it to Spain, they have to find an immigration center for protection before being caught by police. These facilities have very poor living conditions that resemble prisons. They have the right to trial with a lawyer to decide if they are allowed to stay in the country, but oftentimes police do not tell them this right so they are deported back to Africa immediately (Vice News 2015, 15:20).

The issue of illegal immigration must be addressed immediately by both Spain and the EU. Human rights atrocities are carried out every day at the border as guards beat migrants attempting to enter Spain. They also face discrimination at the border, as people with lighter skin can request asylum, but if Africans walk up to security at the border to ask for asylum, they'll be thrown back to Morocco (Vox 2017, 9:20). High rates of immigration also have economic consequences. Spain has experienced dropping test scores from students as rates of immigration increase (Carabaña 2008), and a struggling Spanish economy has put undocumented immigrants at risk during times of economic crisis. Immigrants have contributed positively to the economy by taking the jobs that natives won't fill, but as rates of immigration increase, Spain must deal with more jobless immigrants residing in the country (Urriza 2008).

Spanish immigration policy has been shaped by both Morocco and the EU. Morocco relies on Spain as one of its principal trading partners, and over half of Morocco's international trade is from the EU. The EU invests billions of Euros in Morocco's development. Because the EU contributes so heavily to Morocco's economy, in return, Morocco protects its border to prevent illegal immigration into Spain. Additionally, many of the EU's policies have affected Spain. The EU has struggled to unite its members around one common immigration policy due to the differences in immigration rates and national laws in each country. When creating its own

laws, Spain has to be cautious of EU ideals, as many immigrants entering Spain will end up moving into other EU countries. Spain also participated in the alliance called the Quadro Group in an attempt to communicate the immigration issue to the EU; advocate for refugees; revise EU immigration laws hurting Spain; and strengthen EU border security (Mainwaring 437-438).

Spain's immigration policies have become stricter over time as rates of immigration into the country have picked up. Spain has learned that by making legal immigration more difficult, illegal immigration only increases. Immigration into Spain is not going to disappear, so instead of making the lives of immigrants more difficult, Spain would benefit more by giving immigrants their own rights and helping them to integrate into the economy. Spain has also tried to offer programs to pay for immigrants' return trip to their home countries, but these programs were not very successful. Even immigrants living in poor social conditions preferred to remain in Spain. After many other attempts to regulate immigration, many low-paying job sectors are still in demand of workers, so immigrants are still coming to Spain in search of work (Sabater 2012, 215). The real question lies in whether Spain should exclude immigrants and help them leave the country, or if the government should take a more inclusive approach by accommodating refugees and protecting their rights. Europe is already giving over €2 billion toward supporting Africa with border control, and the EIB is putting billions of Euros toward the migration crisis. This money should be reallocated to implement the policy options proposed in this paper.

Spain has repeatedly tried to gain control over immigration levels from Africa but has yet to find an effective solution. This paper proposes four recommendations to address the immigration crisis in Spain. The country can take two immediate, concrete actions toward controlling immigration in the country: Spain should invest in regional organizations and police forces in both Spain and Morocco, and they should establish migrant processing centers in North

Africa. Two recommendations to gain a better relationship with African countries in the long-term include building governmental networks as a place to discuss immigration issues between the EU and Africa, and encouraging European corporations to invest in Africa to boost domestic employment and economic growth, discouraging people from leaving. By implementing these four actions, Spain will gain a better handle on immigration rates. As migrant processing systems improve and immigrants learn their rights, violence and discrimination toward immigrants at the border and throughout Spain will diminish. Defending the Spanish border can work hand-in-hand with protecting the wellbeing of African migrants. The integrity of Spain can be upheld while treating immigrants humanely. As Spanish interior minister Fernando Grande-Marlaska said, “Humanitarianism is not permissiveness” (Arostegui 2018). Treating immigrants humanely does not mean eliminating border control and letting everyone in. African migrants can be protected while the Spanish border is defended. The changes recommended in this paper must be implemented to improve not only the wellbeing of migrants, but also the economic security of both Spain and Africa.

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