

MIGRATION, COMMUNICATIONS, THE MEDIA AND DEMONSTRATION EFFECTS

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This paper focuses on the role that mass communication media play in the migratory project of Moroccan immigrants to Spain.

It is difficult to isolate this single element within the causality of a complex phenomenon as migration. As any important social process, migration takes place within a comprehensive framework. It combines three levels: mentalities and symbolic world; systemic linkages; individual acts and material facts.

Slow motion changes that happened in the Mediterranean world throughout centuries suggested the phrase "Mentalities are long-duration prisons", to Historian Fernand Braudel. Braudel stated that every era has its own, determined conception of the world and the things: a collective, overwhelming mentality that pushes and penetrates the masses of society. This mentality determines attitudes, roots prejudices, influences movements of society in one sense or another... Rather than the product of accidental or historical circumstances of one period, it evolves from antique heritages, beliefs, fears, old -frequently unconscious- inquietudes. In fact, it is result of an extraordinary contamination, whose germs -lost in the past- are transmitted from one generation to the other. Social reactions to present events obey less to logic or selfish interests, than to this invisible, usually impossible to express, imperative that is generated by the collective unconsciousness.

Morocco and Spain share a common history, which is now the background of any relation, movement or conflict between them. Centuries of exchanges, positive and negative, asymmetric on different sides, violent or pacific, including mutual invasions and domination, contributed to the respective symbolic vision of Spain and Morocco. Unconsciously, these sentiments belonging to the mentality layer would be present in most migratory projects.

A second level, migration system, is based on capitalism expansion analysis. Global migration system considers international migrations as result of peripheral countries' dependence on central countries, together with other economic, political and social factors. In this sense, flows of workers go after international flows of capital and goods. Capital investments generate a mobile and rootless population, while fostering strong material and cultural bonds with central countries. Finally, international migration tends to happen between former imperialist and colonial countries, because of the existence of previous cultural, administrative, idiomatic, religious, etc. linkages, which became part of transnational markets during colonial and post-colonial rules.

Therefore, migration movements do not happen but in an entangled system, product of common historical development. Nation-states play an important

role within the system, together with a set of private actors, including transnational corporations and households. Their spontaneous, cross-frontier activities partly explain the limited effectiveness of policy and security restrictions to immigration.

In the past century, great inequalities grew steadily between both margins of the Mediterranean basin. Imbalances in demographic-economic growth of Euro-Mediterranean area are now of great width. On the one side Spain has a GNP per capita of \$15,590 and the lowest fertility rate in Europe (1.2 children per woman). On the other side, Morocco's GNP is \$1,040 (7.6 per cent of Spain's), while its fertility rate is 3.6 children per woman. These figures are accompanied by a remarkable deficit in human development achievements.

Historically, Spain has exported its people to settle or govern distant places. Until the 1970's Spain exported labour, mainly to Latin America, Algeria and Morocco and to the wealthiest Northern European countries. Now the country faces a startling change. Spanish's population is falling, while Spaniards' aspirations to do only clean, sedentary, well-paid jobs are constantly on the rise. Richer and better educated, Spanish workers turn their backs on menial jobs in farming, domestic service and construction.

Despite unemployment still high, though much less than a few years ago, there are jobs in these economic sectors that few but immigrants will now accept. The pay and living conditions are poor, the security little, the risks quite large. But what are meagre wages to a Spaniard are riches to a Moroccan and the family he remits them to. Consequently, systemic, causal factors propelling Moroccan immigration to Spain could hardly be clearer.

Moroccan migratory background is also affected by the global migration system, whose patterns are feminisation, globalisation, restriction, diversification and high mobility trends.

Migratory patterns

In Europe, there are more immigrant women than in past decades. As primary migration is very restricted, this effect is due to family reunification.

Since the early 1990s legal immigration into many European countries has declined, due to a "zero net migration policy". Some 400,000 to 500,000 migrants slip or are smuggled into the EU each year through trafficking networks, becoming illegal residents most of them.

The number of asylum claims, which had stayed fairly stable all through the 1980s, swelled dramatically after the collapse of communism and the war in the Balkans. Claims rose from just over 200,000 in 1988, for the 15 countries that now form the European Union, to a peak of around 676,000 in 1992. After this "crisis", particularly in Germany, refugee policies tightened up and

rejected applications began to increase. Consequently, most of these not-admitted refugees became illegal residents.

Skilled workers qualify for work permits in some countries as Britain and Germany, but unskilled seem to be those entering into others like Spain, mainly as result of “quota” policies.

There are new categories of migrants, known as “cross-border commuters” (as in the Mexican-American frontier), “labour tourists” or “incomplete migrants” (frequently from Eastern Europe into Germany and Austria, and from Maghreb into Spain and Italy) who come and go seasonally.

The third part of the migratory framework is the level of individual acts and material facts. That is, the dialectic relation between the objective living conditions and the way people feel about and refer to them.

According to two golden migratory rules, most people migrate for economic reasons -as referred before-, and people are more likely to migrate over short distances, -as in the case of the few kilometres that separate both Mediterranean coastlines or the narrow lines bordering Ceuta and Melilla Spanish cities in North Africa territory.

Nevertheless, objective factors are not sufficiently explanatory. Why do a person -within a particular socio-economic group- become an immigrant, while others do not? Personal, family and background issues act pushing ones, and inhibiting others. Most of these develop through informal networks. Information, know-how, practical skills and knowledge are typical network’s services, developed to increase efficacy and efficiency in immigration chain.

In fact, migration is more likely to be a social, family project than a merely individual decision. Research on remittances, for example, showed the importance of family strategy in migratory projecting.

Concerning recent immigration to Spain, a set of causal modalities was detected among the most important flows:

- Emigration in order to grant family subsistence, and their children’s social improvement in particular. In this case, economic motivation is overwhelming. By saving as much money as possible to remit home, everything else (specially personal investment that might favour social integration) could turn a secondary matter.
- Single immigrants seeking personal promotion. They are frequently urban, young women who want to put an end to their subordinated, resigned affiliation to patriarchal societies. They are likely to be young girls, living with their parents, who need their permission in order to emigrate; parents would be prone to authorise if the promise of sending money home goes along with the alleged interest in following studies abroad.

- Youngsters wanting exciting adventures, usually in a background of ongoing migration.
- Wives who emigrate after their husbands, to accompany them in their migratory itinerary. No personal decisions are involved, but spirit of resignation. Ethnographic research already confirmed the importance of this modality within immigrant married women from Morocco.
- Children and youngsters (“second generation”) coming to Spain due to family reunification. Again, this is not an autonomous migratory modality, but the result of parent’s will.
- Non accompanied children and youngsters, crossing the Strait as an adventure or for economic reasons.

Migration analysis by using the former sociological categories facilitates understanding the phenomena at the group level, and aids in isolating the forces that begin the flow by examining the behaviour in its context.

The importance of mass communication media

Communication is the vehicle connecting structural, systemic and individual levels: ways how history is transmitted, recreated, deformed through ages between Moroccan and Spanish societies; images of how roles are respectively assumed; visions of how conflicts between traditional identities and modernisation forces are taking place.

Economic, cultural, political, administrative relationships are exposed by mass communication media, regarding different interests and perceptions in a bilateral scenario.

The ending of the colonial rule in Maghreb region, particularly in the case of France, did not mean an abrupt change in the dominant, European way of life paradigm. Transmitted by personal and impersonal socialisation agents - immigrants, intellectuals, exiled politicians, educational institutions, co-operation agencies, mass media- European assets are still presented as models to be replicated, or goals to be achieved. At the same time, Western lifestyle is subject of ideological rejection, due to its association with colonialism.

Movies, newspapers, books, sport games, television and radio programmes show a different, liberal, rich world to people who are waiting for modernisation and democratisation forces to root at home.

Simultaneously, most frequent images of Maghreb immigration on the media allude to xenophobia and racism. Moroccan immigrants appear as boat-people (in crowded *pateras*), *trafficked by organised crime networks and persecuted by police authorities, or as exploited greenhouses’*

workers, socially rejected by ordinary neighbours. At the core of Spanish politicians' discourses and statements, African immigration is associated to external borders control, labour market needs, submerged economy, population change, differential citizenship rights and security problems. A derogatory perception of Maghreb immigration is also recurrent in broadcasted debates on crime (robbery, violence, drugs traffic), terrorism and prostitution.

Allegedly, affirmative demonstration effects -specially those related to consumption of expensive or symbolic goods- are playing a key role in promoting emigration from poor Maghreb to wealthy Europe. The argument is somehow incoherent in itself, as negative demonstration effects mentioned above are not claimed to prevent the migratory flows, on their turn.

This survey will analyse the extent of these general statements and opinions, through the testimonies of newly arrived Moroccan immigrants in Madrid.

Moroccan migratory projects to Spain and demonstration effects

Migration statistics, by definition, record only those migrants known to the civil, administrative or police authorities. Moreover, data collection is often related to policy interests and demand, rather than to academic or social motivations.

Instead, ethnographic fieldwork provides precious information and insights from both legal and illegal residents. This ethnographic approach helps to understand the mentality and culture of the target group.

In order to find out the linkages between their material reality in Morocco and their perception of both migratory project and experience, a survey was planned, containing a set of several direct and indirect questions on these subjects, particularly focusing the overall impact of mass media.

The survey was conducted by interviewing a subset of Moroccan immigrants, residents in Madrid in a range of 6 months and 3 years time, by quota sampling method (with a stratification variable being sex 60/40 male/female). The sample size was fixed in 100 interviews, which allows us estimate P - population proportion- with an error of ± 7 per cent and a confidence level of 90 per cent.

We wanted to check out what was happening with recent Moroccan immigration. Therefore, limits of residence duration were settled in order to select the sample, while the reference population was not the total of Moroccans living in Madrid, but those who had arrived during the last three years (which account to 12.000). This

emphasis in the short run is important to measure the impact of a new communication media as the Internet, as well.

As Barcelona, Madrid is one of the meeting and concentration points for recently arrived immigrants. Consequently, it might correctly represent the trends and general situation of these new Moroccan immigrants to Spain.

Who are the new immigrants from Morocco?

The sample is integrated by 57 men and 39 women aged between 18 and 51. While age restriction was fixed in 18 years old, it did not have an upward limit. Selection of the interviewees made an average age of 28 years old, even half of them were aged under 28.

Majority of people came from the cities (87.2%), confirming the usual pattern: a first stage of migration from rural to urban areas within the domestic process, followed by a second stage, from the cities to another country, in the international process.

Where did you live before coming to Spain?

		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Accumulative Percentage
Valid	Countryside	3	3.0	3.2	3.2
	Cities	82	82.8	87.2	90.4
	Town-village (1000 inhabitants)	9	9.1	9.6	100.0
	Total	94	94.9	100.0	
Lost	9	2	2.0		
	System	3	3.0		
	Total	5	5.1		
Total		99	100.0		

Most of them declare to have a very low level of qualification or studies; only 15 per cent claim to have a secondary or technical degree.

What kind of studies did you follow in Morocco?

		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Accumulative Percentage
				Percentage	Percentage

Valid	None	19	19.2	19.2	19.2
	Primary	37	37.4	37.4	56.6
	Secondary	28	28.3	28.3	84.8
	University	13	13.1	13.1	98.0
	Technical	1	1.0	1.0	99.0
	Ph. D.	1	1.0	1.0	100.0
	Total	99	100.0	100.0	

Concerning their residence status, 50 per cent of the interviewees got a valid stay permit; 16.2 per cent have already asked for it to the authorities, and 32.2 per cent have neither got, nor applied for one.

Half (52.6 per cent) of these immigrants have been living in Spain for the last two years or less. It is remarkable that they could manage to get a regular residence status within this short period. Eventually, this was possible due to the “regularisation process” carried out by Spanish authorities in 2000.

When did you arrive to Spain?

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Accumulative Percentage
Three years	47	47.5	47.5	47.5
Two years	30	30.3	30.3	77.8
One year	16	16.2	16.2	93.9
Six months	6	6.1	6.1	100.0
Total	99	100.0	100.0	

About half of them are single (51.5 per cent); the rest are married (39.4 per cent) and divorced (8.1 per cent). Although this information does not seem to be relevant in itself, it is revealing of migratory decision-making process when data is segregated by sex and marital status.

Migratory decision-making process

In fact, as the following table shows, migratory projects are different by sex. When asked for the original reason of migrating to Spain, “Because of my family” is the first selection by both, male and female, although they do not prefer it in the same share (35.1 per cent and 59.0 per cent respectively).

These shares change when migratory reasons are conditioned to marital status. While among singles family variable only guides the decision of 35.3 per cent of the men and 33.3 per cent of women, the married group reacts dramatically different: 40 per cent of husbands declare to act under this influence, in front of 88.9 per cent of wives.

This gender effect is reinforced by the selection of the cause “Because of my studies”: this option is only chosen by single women.

**Why did you decide to immigrate to Spain?
(considering sex variable)**

BECAUSE OF...	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
my family	35.1%	59.0%	44.8%
my friends	33.3%	12.8%	25.0%
the television	3.5%		2.1%
the radio	1.8%		1.0%
acquainted Spaniards	1.8%		1.0%
tourism travels	3.5%	5.1%	4.2%
my studies		12.8%	5.2%
Other reasons or persons	21.1%	10.3%	16.7%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The second preferred is the option “because of my friends”, more frequent among men (33.3 per cent) than among women (12.8 per cent). Indeed, it is again important to observe the influence of marital status and sex: married or women living in couple would not choose this chance at all. However, single or divorced women select it as the second best (in a smaller share than in the case of men, though).

**Why did you decide to immigrate to Spain?
(considering sex and marital status variables)**

Marital status	BECAUSE OF ...	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Single	my family	12	5	17	35.3%	33.3%	34.7%
	my friends	12	4	16	35.3%	26.7%	32.7%
	television	2		2	5.9%		4.1%
	tourism travels	1		1	2.9%		2.0%
	my studies		5	5		33.3%	10.2%
	other reasons or persons	7	1	8	20.6%	6.7%	16.3%
	TOTAL	34	15	49	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Married	my family	8	16	24	40.0%	88.9%	63.2%
	my friends	5		5	25.0%		13.2%
	the radio	1		1	5.0%		2.6%
	tourism travels	1	1	2	5.0%	5.6%	5.3%
	Other reasons and persons	5	1	6	25.0%	5.6%	15.8%
	TOTAL	20	18	38	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Divorced	my family		2	2		33.3%	25.0%
	my friends	1	1	2	50.0%	16.7%	25.0%
	acquainted Spaniards	1		1	50.0%		12.5%
	tourism travels		1	1		16.7%	12.5%
	Other reasons and persons		2	2		33.3%	25.0%
	TOTAL	2	6	8	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Living in couple	my friends	1		1	100.0%		100.0%
	TOTAL	1		1	100.0%		100.0%

Mass media are not reported as a major influence or reason by none of the interviewed women. In the case of men, only 5.3 per cent claim that media were the key variable.

Experience balance of recent Moroccan immigrants

As shown in the following table, 30 per cent of the immigrants declare having advised others to come to Spain. This share falls abruptly regarding the possibility of counselling others to immigrate at present times or in the future: only 18.6 per cent would do so.

Despite that statistical dependence between variable “reasons to emigrate” and variables “Advised others to come to Spain” and “Would advice others to come to Spain” could not be found, it is possible to detect that 51.7 per cent of those who counselled emigration to others, had themselves emigrated because of their family.

The crossing of questions 32 (“In your opinion, which are the most important things to have?”) and 33 (“Did you come to Spain in order to get them?”)

provides clarifying results. Majority (63.8 per cent) of immigrants answer affirmatively, but the intensity varies. Two clear priorities are “house” (30.9 per cent) and “job” (36.2 per cent). However, they did not come to Spain to obtain the first (presumably the expectation is to get their “beautiful house” in Morocco), but the second.

How do these immigrants feel about their decision of immigrating to Spain? Delusion and deception are the words chosen by most of them (55.7 per cent). However it is important to remark that this balance steadily depends on the obtaining a valid stay permit. In fact, among those who already have a legal residence status, most of them declare to feel satisfied and optimistic (56 per cent). On the other side, a maximum of 73.3 per cent of persons are unsatisfied within those who applied for their permits, but could not manage to get them. This discomfort or frustration is bigger to those waiting for their application resolution, than to immigrants who simply do not have the permit.

Moreover, the individual, experience balance is associated both to the previous ideas about Spain and Europe, as to obtaining a stay permit. A former vision based on concepts like “work”, “savings”, “family income”, “freedom” and others of the sort, plus the access to a stay permit, determine a clearly positive balance (more than 50 per cent declare to be satisfied and optimistic). On the contrary, a former vision associated to enjoyment and enrichment always leads to a openly negative balance, whether they get a stay permit or not.

This analysis is reinforced by the fact that having a legal residence status modifies the perception of being right or wrong, concerning their previous ideas about Spain. It comes out that those with a stay permit consider themselves less mistaken in this perception, than others who do not have, nor applied for the permit.

Which were your previous ideas about Spain? How do you feel about your immigration experience to Spain?

	Previous ideas about Spain and Europe	Total	

					work, savings and family income			enrichment		freedom		other ideas				
			Do you have a stay permit in Spain?		Do you have a stay permit in Spain?			Do you have a stay permit in Spain?		Do you have a stay permit in Spain?		Do you have a stay permit in Spain?		Do you have a stay permit in Spain?		
			No	Did you apply for it?	Yes	No	Did you apply for it?	Yes	No	Yes	Did you apply for it?	Yes	Did you apply for it?	Yes	No	Did you apply for it?
How do you feel about your immigration experience to Spain?	Deluded and pessimistic	Numbers	3	1	14	14	9	2	4	3	1	3		22	21	11
		Percentage of previous Ideas about Spain and Europe	60.0%	100.0%	46.7%	60.9%	75.0%	66.7%	100.0%	37.5%	100.0%	37.5%		44.9%	65.6%	73.3%
	Satisfied and optimistic	Numbers	2		16	9	3	1		5		5	1	27	11	4
		Percentage of previous Ideas about Spain and Europe	40.0%		53.3%	39.1%	25.0%	33.3%		62.5%		62.5%	100.0%	55.1%	34.4%	26.7%
Total		Numbers	5	1	30	23	12	3	4	8	1	8	1	49	32	15
		Percentage of previous Ideas about Spain and Europe	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

According to the former statement, for 31.3 per cent of interviewees who are happy with their migratory experience, most frequent explanations are “better life quality in Spain than in Morocco” (45.2 per cent) and “chance to get a stay permit” (*tener “papeles”*). Similarly, for those who consider themselves to be mistaken in the decision of coming to Spain (61.7 per cent), alleged main reasons are “finding more difficulties than I imagined before” (54.8 per cent) and “impossibility of getting a stay permit” (14.5 per cent).

Network chaining depends on immigrant's advice, and this counselling is determined by achieved a certain satisfaction degree, as regards expectations. Despite that only a minority advised or would advise others to emigrate to Spain (30 per cent and 18 per cent respectively), these percentages remarkably increase if applied to the group of "satisfied and optimistic" (39 per cent and 33 per cent respectively).

Evaluating mass communication media impact

- Television

Spanish TV channels (by air) arrive without difficulty (Channels 1, 2, Telecinco, Antena 3 and regional channels of Andalusia), specially in the Northern households. Parabolic antennas are gradually increasing, connecting to international European channels, French in particular.

A 19.2 per cent of the total declare that television had a big influence on their vision of Spain and Europe; 39.4 per cent experienced low influence, and 41.4 per cent were not at all influenced.

As regards the ages of those most influenced, no significant variations from the rest can be perceived. The same happens with the educational level.

However, sex variable shows a different picture. The 73.7 per cent of the most influenced are men (more important percentage than male presence in the sample, which is 59.4 per cent). Thus, conditioned by sex variable, 24.6 per cent of men declare to be very influenced by TV, in comparison with 12.8 per cent of women.

The 79.8 per cent of them declare having watched Moroccan TV (95 per cent during more than one hour per day); their favourite programmes were sports, foreign serials, national news.

A significant, comparative difference emerges between the very influenced group and the less/non influenced group, as regards watching Spanish TV in Morocco. While 58.8 per cent of the latter declare to have watched Spanish TV, the percentage raises to 89.5 for the first group.

Differences in channel choices are irrelevant for both groups, as well as in programme preferences: sports, news reports and Spanish serials are selected by both. It is interesting to notice that, in the very influenced group, 11.2 per cent preferred advertisement.

Satellite television watching has similar, scarce importance in both groups, who again coincide in programme selection (sports, news reports, movies, serials).

A noticeable fact is the relation between the very influenced group and listening to Spanish radio variable: 52.6 per cent of this group were fond of the radio, in comparison with 33.8 per cent of the less/non influenced group.

No relevant, comparative differences exist between both groups and the "rural/urban origin" variable. Same happens with reading the press, or navigating the Internet.

- Radio

Only 8.1 per cent of the interviewees declare being very influenced in their previous vision of Spain and Europe by listening to the radio in Morocco. Remarkably, this group coincides with those who say to listen to the Spanish radio. Among these, programme choices are as follows: music (50 per cent), sports (23 per cent) and news reports (15 per cent).

No association could be found between the very influenced by the radio group and those listening to the Moroccan radio. Therefore, those who admitted to be very influenced by the radio generated their visions through a Spanish source.

- Press

Just 6.1 per cent of the total say to have been very influenced by written press. A rather small proportion in order to extract further conclusions. The only point would be, again, the original source of influence: not Moroccan, but Spanish and French newspapers.

- Internet

None of the interviewees claim to be very influenced by the Internet. However, it is interesting to notice the increase in the access to this media: only 6 individuals declare to have navigated the Internet in Morocco, in front of 14 who say to do so, in Spain.

Distorted visions and the media

Do the media transmit correctly the Spanish reality? Most of the people answered in a negative way (66.7 per cent).

However, only 1 among those who find themselves mistaken in their previous vision of Spain attributes his error to the media; concretely, to television.

Most of the immigrants selected a general answer to explain their distorted perception: "because things are not as easy as I imagined" (54.8 per cent of those who consider themselves mistaken). Second best is the phrase "because it is impossible to obtain a stay permit" (14.5 per cent of the same group).

For those who believe to have a right vision of Spain, only 2 persons make the media responsible for it (TV and radio). The causes alleged to this correct vision are "obtaining the stay permit" (16.1 of the group) and "better living conditions as regards Morocco" (45.2 per cent).

In this context, the preferred explanation "Things are not as easy as I imagined before" might express the impossibility of getting a legal residence status.

The special situation of non accompanied immigrants from Morocco

Regarding mass media influences and demonstration effects in immigration, it is interesting to determine if these are present in the Moroccan minors' projects and itineraries.

The situation of the minor immigrants entering Spain on their own means - that is without parents, tutors or relatives- is specially important in the Southern regions, particularly in Andalusia. This flow has attracted headline news, prime-time debates, and engendered intense negotiations between the regional and the central governments during the year 2000. Often referred to in terms of "avalanches", these Moroccan minors have been increasingly smuggling into Spain since the king Mohamed IV arrived to the throne in Morocco in 1999.

However, without minimising the impact and new challenges that they represent, numbers of these youngsters do not seem to indicate a massive phenomenon; rather a thousand fluctuate among both banks of the Mediterranean. Of these, near 200 remain in the Andalusian territory, although neither in a stable way. By December 2000, only 88 were looked after by the Andalusian social protection centres.

They are all males, mostly with ages between 15 and 17, although some exceed the age of 18. In fact, they do not carry their personal documentation with them, so as not to be easily returned to their homes and to keep their actual age unknown. Most of them come from the cities -Tanger, Casablanca, Rabat, Tetuan and Fez-, but it is possible that they had formerly migrated from rural areas. Living in the Moroccan streets during months in

order to accomplish their migratory dream, these boys already experienced the hardness of the survival in the loneliness and homelessness.

All the interviewees coincide in pointing out that, among the non accompanied Moroccan minors, it seems to be three types of differentiated migratory projects and itineraries:

1) Boys who migrate as results of a family strategy. Sent by their parents, they are supposed to work and remit them money in order to help them survive in Morocco. They are majority of Berebers, generally coming from the rural areas, who usually cross the Gibraltar Strait in *pateras*. *Although travelling alone, these boys claim to have relatives in some European countries and they maintain their bonds with their families in origin. This group faces the deception of discovering that the legal age to work in Spain is 16 years old, only in certain circumstances. Anyway, they manage to skip this restriction by entering the informal economy, and become victims of labour exploitation. Occasionally, specially if they are aged under 15, they may follow educational programs or professional training with success, granted by the Spanish social services and non-profit organisations.*

Whether this group is influenced by the media or not, is hard to tell. Probably, they would follow the general pattern of Moroccan immigrants, whose migratory decisions are shaped by family and network influences.

2) Boys who have been waiting to cross during months, living alone in the Moroccan streets, habituated to seek “easily earned money”. They experience at least three traumatic episodes. The first, in their rural homes, where they often live under miserable conditions and/or family abandonment. Second trauma emerges in Tanger or other cities, where they have survive in hard conditions, waiting for the Strait crossing, hidden in trucks. The third trauma happens in Spain, when they discover that the reality is so different from their dreams, frequently built on a television basis, particularly on the quiz shows “where money is just given away” by “sexually liberated women”. For all these reasons they face serious social risks, as falling into prostitution, drugs traffic and marginalisation. The educational programmes offered at school or at minority centres do not fit in with their expectations of effortless earnings. Furthermore, they often get into conflicts with the social workers and escape from the centres. One reaction is to continue with their travel to other European countries. Some might consider that this adventure is somehow an adulthood initiation. To wander about Europe, without being returned to Morocco, is praised a goal in itself. Police states the cases of minors who have already travelled through thirty European and non European countries in their short lives. A second sort of reaction could be violent. Social workers explain that these boys are so accustomed to be ill-treated, that they only respond to threatens and hits, and have not developed the needed social skills to live in freedom and self-management. If involved in a conflict, they do

not have the capacity of peaceful reactions, but rather they spread to the violent resolution.

The influence of television, specially of commercial advertisements, could be bigger among this second group. In 2000, a minority centre belonging to the NGO Andalucía Acoge was completely destroyed because some Moroccan boys living there would not accept to wear other boots than Nike. This is not an isolated case, but an example of how important the consumption of advertised goods -particularly sports merchandising- has become to this youngsters.

3) Boys who already possess a conflicting or criminal record in their country, coming from reformatories or the jail. Covered in by what they consider the “kindness” of the Spanish police (in comparison with the repressive character of the Moroccan police) and a minority legislation aimed at the protection of their rights, they survive in a context of social conflict that takes them to the crime rate. Protection measures provided by Spanish social services are not adapted to this social profile of youngsters. They are known as the “cutter and paste group”, since it is the sharp leaf of the plastic knife that has given them the strength for surviving and the inhalation of the toxic, the one that has allowed them to develop escapist dreams. The interviewees coincided in highlighting the absurd of keeping them in Spain, as they are prone to augment the prison population as soon as they are aged 18. Media influences on this third group were not clearly detected, according to interviewees’ testimonies.

To conclude, migratory causes of young, non accompanied Moroccans are structural and systemic: the lacks they suffer in human development accomplishments -particularly concerning capacities and income poverty-, which are not balanced by public social investment.

On the other hand, there are incidental elements that encourage that migratory potential. One of these could be the *affirmative demonstration effects of the media, by means of creating consumption needs which cannot be possibly met within their standard of living at home. A second element would be the existence of fluent information coming from the migrants and the relationships that characterise a migratory network. A third element is the operation of organised crime associations devoted to trafficking people, that create their own demand by facilitating transport and “placement” of these boys in secret, marginal or criminal activities.*

Conclusions

Media’s influences on determining migratory projects are relatively small, accounting for less than 100 per cent of recently arrived, adult, Moroccan

immigrants (as stated above, among non accompanied minors, the impact of demonstration effects can be bigger).

For those who admit having been very influenced in their former vision of Spain by the media (19.2 per cent by TV, 8.1 per cent by the radio, 6.1 per cent by written press), information came clearly from their choice of Spanish sources. In this sense, cultural rejection to Western values and lifestyle (possibly at the mentality level) was not strong or did not exist at all.

Main reasons of migratory decision-making are associated to “family” and “friends” factors. This responds to coherent projects of economic improvement, mainly conducted by young, unskilled, single men, or husbands, seconded by their wives. For most of the interviewees, Spain is the place where they can work and improve their family income, despite the fact that they would occupy menial jobs in the labour market or the submerged economy (global migration system impact).

Research has shown that, according to testimonies, television and the media did not inform accurately about the difficulty of getting a legal residence in Spain, nor about the negative consequences of this situation on expected standard of living and earnings. This is an important point, as obtaining this stay permit (*los papeles*) *is a key element to feeling satisfied and optimistic (or frustrated and pessimistic).*

Affirmative demonstration effects -in the sense of showing a living standard which may attract more immigration- are more likely to happen through immigrant’s family-and-friends informal networks (by means of short visits, remittances, photographs, letters, tapes or phone calls), by Spanish presence in the nearby territory (Spanish cities of Ceuta and Melilla) or by the irradiation of “transnational spaces” inside Morocco (regions who have been devoting themselves to emigration for decades, as Souss, Rif and Tedla).

We have analysed visible data, available from real immigrants’ testimonies. What we ignore is the extent to which the media discourage emigration to Spain and/or Europe (what we previously called negative demonstration effects). Why do most of Moroccan people prefer to stay? A valid answer could only come from ethnographic analysis in Moroccan society.