ROUTLEDGE REVIVALS

Labour Immigration in Southern Europe

African Employment in Iberian Labour Markets

Cristóbal Mendoza

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LABOUR IMMIGRATION IN SOUTHERN EUROPE

Research in Migration and Ethnic Relations Series

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A mis padres, José y María, y a mi hermana Maite

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1 Iberia in the New International Migration Map

The Iberian Peninsula currently receives a considerable number of immigrants from developing countries. This is new. The Peninsula has traditionally been a labour exporter; first to the Americas, then to Central and Northern Europe. The turnaround from emigration to immigration has been dated as 1975 for Spain and 1981 for Portugal (King and Rybaczuk, 1993). Even if this turnaround has been recent, this does not mean that Iberia did not attract immigrants before the mid-1970s. For Spain statistics record substantial growth in the number of foreign residents in the 1960s. To be specific, the 148,400 foreigners who lived in Spain in 1970 were more than twice the 1960 figure (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 1962a; 1972a). This increase was mostly comprised of immigrants from Central and Northern Europe, who either took jobs associated with foreign direct investment in the country or came to retire in Spain (Mendoza, 1994; Solana and Pascual de Sans, 1994). A similar trend was observed in Portugal in the second half of the 1960s, after this country joined EFTA in 1960, reduced controls on foreign capital in 1965 (Hudson and Lewis, 1984; Lains, 1994), plus the increasing popularity of Algarve as a destination for tourists adding to the nation's appeal (Lewis and Williams, 1989).

More numerous than international immigration, internal migration and emigration were the two distinctive population movements in Iberia in the 1960s. In this decade, 4.5 million Spanish residents changed their municipality of residence within the country (Romero González and Albertos Puebla, 1996). As an illustration of the scale of internal migration in Spain, Cabré (1999) calculated that the population of Catalunya would be approximately three million (instead of six million in 1991), if it had received no in-migrants since 1900. As for international emigration, Nadal (1984) estimated that two million Spanish citizens left the country between 1960 and 1974. The bulk of both internal and international emigration in the 1960s originated in the same regions; namely, Andalucía, inland Spain and Galicia (García Barbancho, 1975; Nadal, 1984). By contrast, Portuguese emigration into Central and Northern Europe has considerably outnumbered internal movements since the 1960s (Cavaco, 1993; Peixoto, 1996). This huge emigration into Europe provoked labour shortages in construction and manufacturing in Portugal, which were filled by Cape Verdean workers in the late 1960s and at the beginning of the 1970s (Saint-Maurice and Pires, 1989; França, 1992).

Whether internally or internationally, migration is a key element in the recent development of the Iberian economies. Similarly for both countries, international emigration provided the Iberian economies with remittance foreign currency which contributed substantially to the balance of payments situation in the 1960s and 1970s (Payne, 1987; Pereira, 1992; Lieberman, 1995; Lopes, 1996a). Furthermore, emigration alleviated would-be social upheavals under both the Portuguese and the Spanish dictatorships, as it expelled 'redundant' workers (Fontana and Nadal, 1976; Leeds, 1980; Merigó, 1982; Poinard, 1994). Yet internal migration played a different role in both countries. Thus, the growth of Spanish manufacturing activity and of tourism centres was heavily dependent on inflows of unemployed agricultural labourers. In the 1960s, such flows were encouraged by the shared interests of the rural *latifundia* landlords and the urban industrial bourgeoisie (Giner and Sevilla, 1979; Martínez-Alier and Roca Jusmet, 1988). With Franco's strict control of the labour force through the regime's trade unions [*sindicatos verticales*], migration helped trigger mechanisation in agriculture, industrialisation and urban growth (Naredo, 1986). By contrast, there were weak connections between agriculture and manufacturing in Salazar's Portugal; the former stagnated as a result of high subsidy policies, while the latter developed through the importation of cheap raw materials and labour from Portugal's colonies (Sapelli, 1995).

From the late 1970s and into the 1980s, partly on account of return migration to regions of origin, migration balances changed between the Spanish Autonomous Communities. Thus, whereas Andalucía and Extremadura experienced positive migration balances with the rest of Spain in the 1980s, Catalunya and País Vasco recorded the opposite (Romero González and Albertos Puebla, 1996). Reasons for this turnaround lie in a reduction in income differentials across Spain,[1] alongside new economic dynamics in agriculture and tourism areas that previously suffered from out-migration (e.g. on the effects of intensive farming in Almería, see Tout, 1990). This has stimulated return migration, and has lessened out-migration. Yet, internal migration has been reduced enormously in Spain in the 1980s and 1990s (Olano, 1990; Blanco Gutiérrez, 1993; Bentolila, 1997). In the case of Portugal, Lisbon and Porto likewise attracted less immigrants over the 1980s and early 1990s, although the traditional movement from inland Portugal to coastal areas does persist (Peixoto, 1996). This is because substantial labour surpluses still exist in agricultural areas (García Lizana and Alcudia, 1990; André, 1991).

Contrary to this pattern of reduced internal migrant volumes, immigrants from developing countries have moved increasingly into Iberia. This is one reason why the international migration balance has turned from negative to positive in Southern Europe. Yet initially the shift to a positive international migration balance resulted mainly from a decrease in the volume of emigration[2] and the return movement by their own nationals, consequent upon the closure of Central and Northern European job openings during the 1970s economic recession (and, for Portugal, upon the African decolonisation process).[3] However, once return migration slowed, it was immigration that led to the current positive international migration balance in Iberia (as in other Southern European countries).

Iberia, a New Immigration Area

In 1996, more than half a million foreigners lived in Spain (Table 1.1 on next page). This constituted 1.4 per cent of the total population of the country. This percentage is slightly lower than for Portugal. Here, there were 172,912 non-Portuguese residents in 1996, which constituted 1.7 per cent of the population. Table 1.1 shows that there is a wide range of origin countries for these immigrants.

Behind these heterogeneous figures, some trends can be observed:

- A sizeable immigration inflow from Central and Northern Europe, and from the USA, which is composed of both professionals and business-owners (see, for instance, Mendoza, 1994, for Germans in transnational corporations in Catalunya, or Lardíes-Bosque, 1997, on European business-owners in the tourism industry in the same region), as well as retired people (see Williams et al., 1997, for an analysis of this group, or Warnes, 1991, for the specific case of retired immigration into Spain).
- A notable level of migration amongst the Iberian countries themselves. The number of Portuguese in Spain is substantial, with this group being the fourth largest non-Spanish nationality. The academic literature on the Portuguese in Spain has found common trends between immigrants from developing countries and those from Portugal (see Colectivo IOÉ, 1987; Galaz, 1993; López Trigal and Prieto Sarro, 1993; López Trigal, 1996). To a lesser extent, and probably for different reasons, the

Spanish constitute the sixth largest foreign nationality in Portugal. Yet the number of legally resident Spaniards in Portugal has diminished since 1960, passing from 60 per cent of foreigners in 1960 to 5 per cent in 1996 (Instituto Nacional de Estatística, annual a).

Table 1.1 Main legally resident foreign nationalities in Iberia, 1996*

Spain	n. residents	%	Portugal	n. residents	%
Morocco	77,189	14.3	Cape Verde	39,546	22.9
Britain	68,359	12.7	Brazil	20,082	11.6
Germany	45,898	8.5	Angola	16,282	9.4
Portugal	38,316	7.1	Guinea Bissau	12,639	7.3
France	33,134	6.1	Britain	11,939	6.9
Italy	21,362	4.0	Spain	9,314	5.4
Argentina	18,426	3.4	USA	8,503	4.9
Peru	18,023	3.3	Germany	7,887	4.6
Dominican Rep.	17,845	3.3	France	5,102	3.0
USA	15,661	2.9	Mozambique	4,413	2.6
Total	538,984	100.0	Total	172,912	100.0

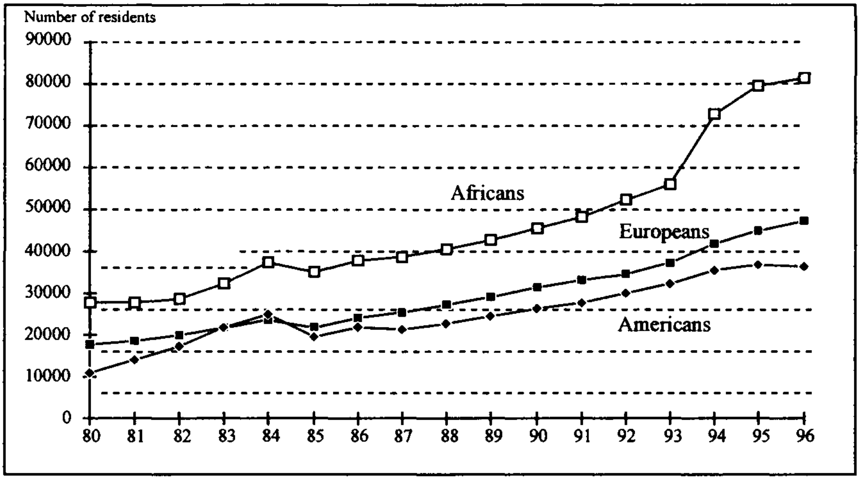
* The ten countries listed above amount to 65.7 per cent of the total Spanish foreign population and 78.5 per cent of the Portuguese.

Sources: For Spain, Comisión Interministerial de Extranjería (1997); for Portugal, Instituto Nacional de Estatística (1997a).

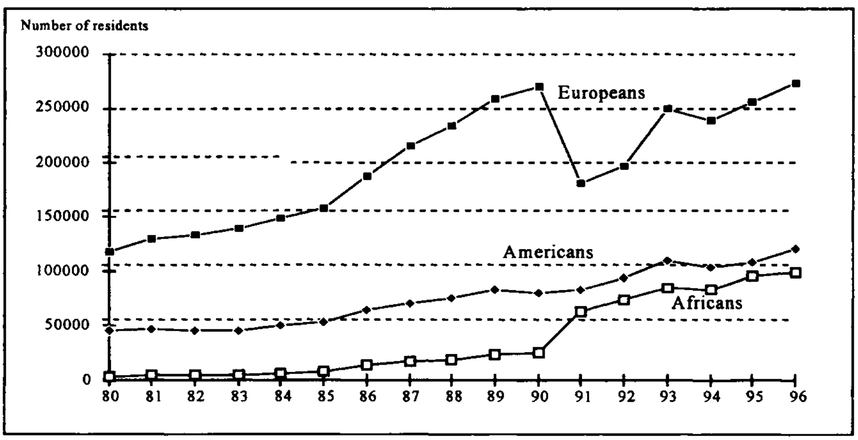
- Significant volumes of immigration from former colonies, where socio-cultural and linguistic ties play a key role; e.g. from Argentina to Spain (see, for an overview of the characteristics of Latin Americans in Spain, Palazón Ferrando, 1996), or from Brazil to Portugal (see, for a characterisation of the different immigrant groups in Portugal, Machado, 1997).
- The emergence of substantial inflows from two African countries (Moroccans in Spain and Cape Verdeans in Portugal), which now constitute the main foreign nationalities in Iberia. These inflows are especially remarkable because nationals from Africa were scarcely recorded in official statistics in Spain in 1980 (Figure 1.1).

Figure 1.1 Legal foreign residents in Iberia, by nationality group 1980-1996

Portugal



Spain



Notes:

a) Americans includes North, Central and South America.

b) The decrease in numbers in the Spanish figure in 1989 is due to a data file review which affected the numbers of EU nationals listed.

Source:

For Portugal, Instituto Nacional de Estatística (annual); for Spain, Dirección General de Migraciones (1996) and Comisión Interministerial de Extranjeria (1997).

Thus, there were only 4,067 legal Moroccan residents in Spain in 1980 compared with 77,189 in 1996 (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 1985a; Comisión Interministerial de Extranjería, 1997). Even if relative growth in African nationals is not as remarkable as for Spain, Portuguese statistics record almost three times as many Africans in 1996 as in 1980 (Figure 1.1).

In addition to the legally resident African population, there is a sizeable component that is not officially registered. An indication of this is given in Figure 1.1, which shows sharp increases in the number of African nationals in 1991 in Spain and in 1994 in Portugal. These are not the result of large increases in inflows in these two years. Rather they are the direct consequence of legalisation processes that were undertaken in 1991 in Spain and in 1992-93 in Portugal; both of which brought previously illegal foreign residents into legality.[4] According to data provided by the Portuguese Foreigners and Borders' Service [*Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras*], three out of four of those who were 'legalised' in the 1992-93 campaign came from countries which have Portuguese as their official language (PALOP).[5] To be specific, out of the 39,166 foreigners who became a legal resident of Portugal at that time, 32.0 per cent were Angolans and a further 40.4 per cent were other PALOP nationals. Africans equally stood out in the 1991 legalisation process in Spain. Here Moroccans constituted 44.6 per cent, and other African nationals a further 12.3 per cent, of the 108,321 newly legalised residents (Dirección General de Migraciones, 1993). What is clear is that African nationals are increasingly living in Iberia. It is also clear that some of these nationals do not have a legal residence permit. Yet Izquierdo Escribano (1992) casts a word of warning here. By comparing legalisation data for previously illegal residents with estimations of the illegal population, he showed that researchers have tended to over-estimate the incidence of illegal residence.

The bulk of these new African residents are workers in Spain. Thus 75.6 per cent of legally-resident Africans were work permit holders (Table 1.2). This rate of paid economic activity is almost twice the figure for the total population in the country. For Portugal, even if the percentage of African residents who work is higher than for the country as a whole, the figure is not as significant as for Spain. This contrasting pattern points to differences in African communities in both countries. For Spain, it suggests that Africans are basically workers. By contrast, Table 1.2 suggests that Portuguese Africans are a more heterogeneous population, with a larger retired, housewife and child population than in Spain.

Table 1.2 Population and labour force by nationality in Iberia, 1996

	Portugal			Spain		
	Residents	Workers	%	Residents	Workers	%
Africans	81,176	43,365	53.4	98,820	74,693	75.6
Other non-EU	48,004	20,254	42.2	188,245	87,207	46.3
EU nationals *	43,732	23,191	53.0	251,919		
Population	9,831,000	4,780,000	48.6	38,848,000	15,872,000	40.9

* Spanish official statistics do not offer information about the labour market situation of EU nationals since 1992. In 1991, the percentage of the EU nationals who work in Spain was 29.4 per cent.

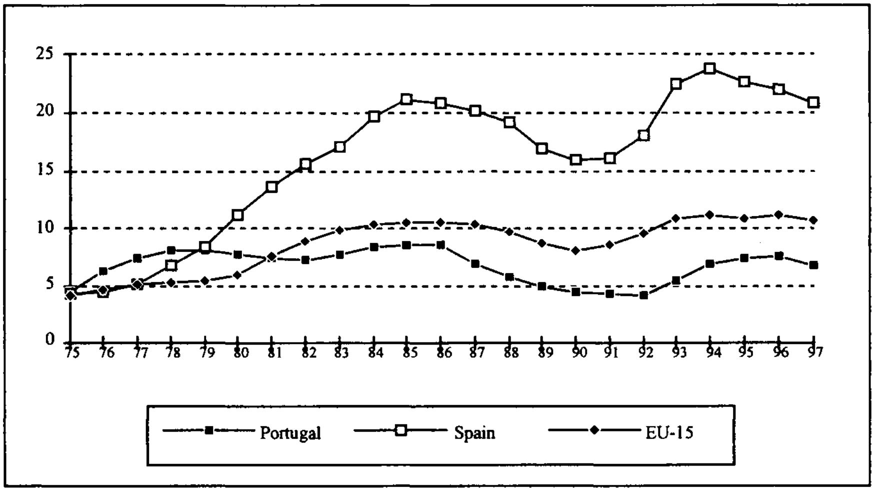
Sources: Data on population and labour force in both Portugal and Spain, Eurostat (1998). Data on foreigners: Portugal, Instituto Nacional de Estatística (1997a). Spain, Comisión Interministerial de Extranjería (1997).

So far it has been shown that international population inflows into Iberia in the 1980s and 1990s have seen significant increases in African workers. This has occurred in a context of increasing unemployment (for Spain at least) and changing labour markets (in both countries). As Figure 1.2 shows, Spanish unemployment rates have been almost twice the EU-15 average throughout the 1980s and 1990s. By contrast, Portuguese unemployment rates have always remained lower than the EU average. In fact, whereas Spanish unemployment has been the highest in the EU since 1981, the Portuguese economy has stood out as having one of the lowest unemployment rates in Europe.

The reasons for this contrasting picture have been explored by Blanchard and Jimeno (1995). After showing that differences in figures are not 'statistical artifacts',[6] these authors named the 'potential suspects' for the recorded divergence. Specifically, they investigated four economic indicators to see if they accounted for differences between the two countries:

- Fiscal policy. The ratio of general government receipts to GDP passed from 27 per cent in 1978 to 39 per cent in 1994 in Spain. Similarly, for Portugal, this percentage rose from 29 per cent to 46 per cent over the same period. Equal trends are observed with regard to the (high) fiscal deficit which both countries saw in the 1980s. Therefore, since government expenditure, deficits and debts are not higher in Spain than in Portugal, Blanchard and Jimeno (1995) did not consider them to contribute to higher interest rates, and consequently to higher unemployment.

Figure 1.2 Unemployment rates in Iberia, 1975-1997 (%)



Source: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (1997) and Eurostat (1998).

- Collective bargaining. Blanchard and Jimeno (1995) argued that labour market institutions are similar in the two countries. In both Portugal and Spain, sectoral collective bargaining dominates. However, sectoral bargaining in Portugal typically sets lower, less binding floors on firm-level wages than in Spain (for more information about the Spanish collective bargaining system, see Abellán et al., 1997; Portuguese collective bargaining is described in Ferreira, 1994a).
- Employment protection. These researchers argued that Portugal and Spain have the same level of employment protection, and have seen roughly similar changes to their employment protection systems, with a slow decrease in protection since the mid-1980s (for more information on the Spanish employment protection, see Toharia, 1997).
- Unemployment benefits. In this regard, Portugal and Spain are less similar. In Spain, workers are eligible for benefits if they have worked for one year in the last four years. This period was six months before the 1992 reform. By contrast, benefit is only payable if you have worked for one year and a half in the last two years in Portugal. This difference is reflected in the proportion of unemployed workers on

unemployment benefits; 59 per cent in Spain versus 41 per cent in Portugal.

With the exception of eligibility for unemployment benefit, Blanchard and Jimeno (1995) did not find substantial differences between Portugal and Spain. Contrary to their argument, other scholars believe that the peculiarities of the welfare state and of industrial relations in Spain cause rigidities in labour markets which in turn provoke high unemployment (e.g. Bentolila and Dolado, 1994; Salmon, 1995). The same lack of rigidity (or flexibility) in Portuguese labour markets is said to lie at the core of low unemployment here. In this regard, Modesto and associates (1992, p.171) have described the characteristics of Portuguese labour markets in the following terms:

> The main characteristic of the Portuguese labour market is its relative flexibility, when compared with other European states. The lack of rigidity in the wage determination process in the short run prevents workers from fully incorporating the productivity gain in their wage. This means that the adjustment in the market is made rather quickly which accounts for the low level of unemployment in Portugal.

The fact that gains in productivity are not incorporated into wages in the short run is easily demonstrated by comparing wages in Portugal with the rest of the EU. Thus, Branco and Melo (1992) have calculated that Portuguese wages were 60-65 per cent lower than Spanish ones. Indeed, labour costs are more comparable to those of Southeast Asia than to other European nations (e.g. in 1986, Portuguese labour costs were similar to Hong Kong ones and 10 per cent less than Taiwanese costs; Poinard, 1994). Thus Portuguese firms have faced less pressure than Spanish ones to mechanise their operations, which results in lower productivity per person in Portugal than in Spain (Brassloff, 1993). This model of labour-intensive firms in Portugal has been stimulated by the entry of foreign capital into industries such as electronic goods or food processing, which have been especially active since the 1980s (André, 1991; Branco and Melo, 1992). The Portuguese pattern of trade exhibits comparative advantage in industries that are intensive in unskilled labour, and comparative disadvantage in products that are intensive in either skilled labour or capital (Commission of the European Communities, 1991; Courakis and Roque, 1992; International Monetary Fund, 1995).

This model of labour-intensive firms is the reason for the country having high labour force participation rates (see Table 1.3). To be specific, the Portuguese economic activity rate of 72.6 per cent amongst those aged 15-64 (64.1 per cent for females in the same age group) is well above the

EU-15 average. Thus, not only has Portugal low unemployment, but its economy allows considerable shares of the Portuguese population to find a job.

Table 1.3 Labour force participation rates amongst the 15-64 aged population in the EU, 1996 (%)

	Total	Women
Austria	71.9	62.4
Belgium	62.5	52.3
Denmark	80.1	74.0
Finland	74.1	70.6
France	67.8	60.7
Germany	70.3	60.4
Greece *	62.0	45.3
Italy	58.5	43.7
Luxembourg	61.5	45.9
Netherlands	70.5	59.8
Portugal	72.6	64.1
Spain	61.8	47.6
Sweden	79.0	76.3
UK	77.3	68.4
EU-15	66.8	56.1

* Data for Greece, 1995

Source: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (1997a).

By comparison, Spain, as with Italy, has the lowest activity rates in the EU (Table 1.3). For women, there is a 16.7 per cent difference between the activity rates of the two Iberian countries. Furthermore the Spanish economy not only provides jobs for a small percentage of its potential working population, but has the highest unemployment rate in the EU. The reason for extraordinarily high unemployment started in the last years of the Franco regime. Confronted with considerable social upheaval, oil prices were kept at artificially low levels to avoid the consequences of the international crisis that started in 1973 in the rest of Europe, but in 1975 in Spain. Maravall (1993, p.83) describes the hard times for the Spanish economy in the mid-1970s as follows:

Unions remained illegal, but the government was unable to control wage rises. From 1970 to 1979 wages grew forty percentage points ahead of productivity. Exports lost competitiveness, and the balance of trade deteriorated sharply. At the beginning of the transition, the Spanish economy was experiencing high inflation, an important trade deficit, growing unemployment, a collapse in profits, and an increasing public deficit as the government tried to compensate for the drop in external demand by expanding public expenditure.

As a consequence, in the 1975-1978 political transition, the crisis was more acute in Spain than in most of Europe (Tamames, 1985). Thus, 1,031,800 jobs were lost in the period 1975-1979, and a further 918,500 over 1980-1984 period (Espina, 1990), with unemployment rising from 4.3 per cent in 1975 to 11.1per cent in 1980 and reaching up to 21.1 per cent of the labour force in 1985 (see Figure 1.2). In this regard, Jimeno and Toharia (1994) have argued that the foremost cause of the massive employment loss of these years was the inefficiency and market weakness of most Spanish firms, whose viability was based on the existence of cheap labour and a lack of competition. Later periods of growth[7] have been unable to create enough jobs for the existing unemployed and new entrants into the labour market, so unemployment has never been below 15 per cent since 1982 (Figure 1.2). This is due to two factors. The first is related to growth in the labour force of more than one million over the period 1985-1990 (Salmon, 1995). These new entrants are primarily comprised of young people who were born in the Spain's 1960s baby boom, alongside females who have (re-) entered the labour market in the favourable economic context of the second half of the 1980s (Blanes, Gil and Pérez, 1996). Yet, even accounting for these new entrants, activity rates lie substantially behind other EU countries (see Table 1.3). The second reason for high unemployment is related to characteristics of Spanish labour markets. Contrary to what is observed for Portugal, Salmon (1995, p.30) is one of a number of researchers who have stressed that rigidity is a particular feature of Spanish labour markets. In his words:

> A particular feature of the labour market has been its rigidity, maintaining uneconomic overstaffing and discouraging employment creation [...]. There has been a long tradition of job security dating back to legislation passed during the Franco era [...] and revised in the Basic Employment Law [...] and Workers Statute [...] in the early 1980s. Dismissals necessitated a lengthy redundancy procedure involving agreement from the government and trade unions [...] and large redundancy payments [...]. Inadequate training facilities, rent control and strong regional attachments further hindered labour mobility. Thus, rigidity was supported by the legal framework of employment and by labour market practices.

This might well be a faithful portrait of the Spanish labour market until the mid-1980s, but it should be noted that successive governments have implemented policies to increase labour market flexibility during the second half of the 1980s and 1990s. This turnaround in employment policies towards encouraging more 'flexibility' started in 1984, with the reform of the 1980 Workers' Statute [*Estatuto de los Trabajadores*], which introduced a variety of temporary contracts for different categories of workers (Palacio Morena, 1991).[8] Since then, new labour market regulations (e.g. on dismissal procedures, on collective bargaining, on strike action, on private employment agencies, on measures to encourage geographical mobility, and on new contracts) have been introduced with the same aim of increasing labour flexibility (Martín, 1997). In addition, regulations governing entitlement for unemployment benefits were hardened in 1992 (Toharia, 1997). None of these measures have reduced unemployment remarkably. Indeed, the ups-and-downs of Figure 1.2 suggest that the reduction of unemployment in Spain (and in Portugal) in the period 1986-1997 is related to a favourable international economic context (more than to the specific circumstances of these economies; see also Viñals and Jimeno, 1997). Furthermore, when new jobs have been created, these have commonly been temporary in nature. To be specific, temporary employment in Spain constituted 33.7 per cent of the employment in 1994, which was twice the 1987 figure (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 1996a). Especially notable here is the fact that the incidence of temporary employment is higher for the young (87.5 per cent for employees aged 16-19 and 70.6 per cent for those aged 20-24 in 1994) and for women (37.9 per cent for employed women, compared with 31.4 per cent for men; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 1996a). This throws doubt on the idea that the Spanish economy is not flexible. Indeed, if the indicator of flexibility is the number of fixed-term contracts, then Spain is the most flexible economy in the OECD. In this regard, Recio (1996) has argued that, more than job creation, policies aiming at increasing flexibility have stimulated casualisation.[9]

Despite contrasting differences over employment, there is one substantial similarity in the employment situation in Portugal and Spain. This is the role that the family plays in both economies, as well as in other Southern European countries (Mingione, 1995). For Portugal, family strategies complement relatively low wages with multiple activities, which often involve irregular engagements in manufacturing or service employment (Lewis and Williams, 1987). For Spain, even if this is changing fast, a large part of household strategies is still based on a relatively high wage for one working person (generally a male adult) which supports other non-working members of the family (Sanchís, 1992). It has even been suggested that the relatively high wages of mature male workers are at the expense of low participation rates for women, alongside particularly high unemployment rates for the youth (Castillo and Duce, 1997). The other side of the same coin is that, when living in family homes, young Spaniards may be not urged to take 'any' job, but one that matches their education and training. In this regard, jobs which carry negative social connotations can be rejected by increasingly more educated, young entrants to Spanish labour markets (Cabré, 1992).

When we place this picture for Spanish employment alongside continuing inflows of African labourers, it is not difficult to imagine why high unemployment has not stopped foreign immigration. Certainly, unemployment (or, at least, the national unemployment rate) does not look to be a key issue affecting immigration (given existing immigration rates). Furthermore, despite its low unemployment economy, Portugal is potentially the only net emigration country in the EU (Simon, 1991). For Simon, this is due to sociological (well-established immigrant networks in Europe) and economic reasons (labour surpluses in farming, plus high wage differentials between Portugal and other EU countries). As an illustration, the number of legal Portuguese nationals in Spain passed from 24,094 in 1980 to 38,316 in 1996 (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 1985a; Comisión Interministerial de Extranjería, 1997), despite significant (adverse) unemployment differentials between the two countries.

Rather than unemployment, comparatively higher wages looks to be a key element for understanding why Portuguese (or African) workers move to Spain, although this does not explain why foreign labour is employed in a high unemployment context. However, higher wages in Central and Northern Europe (compared to Spanish ones) do not foster emigration from Spain (Poulain, 1996). Indeed, intra-European migration from Spain has decreased since the 1980s (Simon, 1991). The same is true for intra-Spanish migration, despite considerable unemployment differentials between the Autonomous Communities (Romero González and Albertos Puebla, 1996; Bentolila, 1997).[10] Indeed, not only do areas of high unemployment attract immigrants from other Spanish regions (some of whom are former emigrants), but certain areas in Andalucía and Extremadura are destinations for international immigrants. All this suggests that international migration does not arise from a simple adjustment process between EU regions, in which employment and wages tend to level through migration (as neo-classical approaches argue, see Chapter 2). There are other factors which need to be explored.

Opposite trends in wage rates and employment rates in the Portuguese and Spanish economies suggest that reasons for the employment of

Africans in these countries may differ. The objective of this book is to explore African employment patterns in these two rather contrasting economic settings. Inside each country, incorporation of immigrants into labour markets is examined in diverse local economic contexts and activity sectors. This is pursued through the analysis of two surveys on African employees[11] and a second on employers.[12] A four-type classification of the Girona municipalities in which immigrants were found to live, according to 1991 Census, was used as the base for the surveys (see the Methodological Appendix, for more details on how this classification was made). In all, 151 interviews were carried out with African immigrants in Spain. Out of the 151 Africans who were interviewed in Spain, 87 were Moroccans, 38 Gambians, 25 Senegalese and one person from Mali. In the particular case of Moroccans in Spain, the survey found immigrants from both rural and urban background, with considerable differences in formal education levels. For Portugal, the 69 interviewees were born in an ex-Portuguese colony in Africa (namely, Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique and São Tomé e Príncipe). Here the surveys on immigrants and employers were based on two types of municipalities. In all, 69 African-born immigrants were interviewed. At the time of interview, 31 of them had already obtained the Portuguese nationality either through family links or residence. Differences in labour market outcomes may arise depending on immigrants' origin or nationality. Finally, to provide a full picture of the reasons for African employment, this information is contrasted with insights from key informants (non-governmental organisations, key civil servants in municipal and state administrations, and trade unions), as well as observer participation in the studied areas; namely, Girona, Algarve and Setúbal.

Girona, Algarve and Setúbal

Situated in northeastern Iberia (see Figure 1.3), the Catalan province of Girona attracted an increasing number of non-Spanish nationals in the 1980s and 1990s, with foreigners passing from 0.8 per cent of Girona's population in 1981 to 3.3 per cent in 1995 (Table 1.4). This figure is almost twice the Spanish average. The growth of foreign residents in Girona should be placed in the context of the population dynamics of the province. Thus, Girona grew from 177,539 inhabitants in 1960 to 530,631 in 1996, which is almost a threefold increase (Valenzuela 1991, for the 1960 figure; Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya, 1997, for 1996 population register data). This growth was partly brought about by in-migration from the rest of Spain (Valenzuela, 1991). As well, Girona has always been a place of residence for a non-working, non-Spanish population, many of whom have come from Central and Northern Europe, because of the role of tourism in the area. Yet the share of Europeans in the total number of foreigners has fallen, as a consequence of the rise of African labour inflows over the 1980s and 1990s (Table 1.4; Figure 1.1).

Table 1.4 Demographic indicators for Girona, Catalunya and Spain

	Girona	Catalunya	Spain
1981 Census population	467,012	5,956,598	37,683,363
1991 Census population	509,628	6,059,494	38,872,268
1995 population	533,867	6,093,492	39,188,194
Growth 1981-91 (%)	9.1	1.7	3.2
Growth 1991-95 (%)	4.8	0.6	0.8
1981 foreign residents	3,912	39,640	198,042
1981 African residents	206	1,026	5,012
Foreigners/population (%)	0.8	0.7	0.5
Africans/foreigners (%)	5.3	2.6	2.5
1995 foreign residents	17,365	106,809	499,773
1995 African residents	8,650	36,408	95,725
Foreigners/population (%)	3.3	1.8	1.3
Africans/foreigners (%)	49.8	34.1	19.2

Sources:
For 1991 and 1981 population, Instituto Nacional de Estadística (1985, 1995).
For 1995 population estimates, Banco Bilbao Vizcaya (1997).
For 1981 foreign population, Instituto Nacional de Estadística (1982a).
For 1991 foreign population, Dirección General de Migraciones (1993).
For 1995 foreign population, Comisión Interministerial de Extranjería (1996).

Figure 1.3 The regional and provincial/*distrito* division of Iberia

Spain

Andalucía
1 Almería
2 Cádiz
3 Córdoba
4 Granada
5 Huelva
6 Jaén
7 Málaga
8 Sevilla

Aragón
9 Huesca
10 Teruel
11 Zaragoza

12 *Asturias*

13 *Balears*

Canarias
14 Las Palmas G. Canaria
15 Santa Cruz de Tenerife

16 *Cantabria*

Castilla-La Mancha
17 Albacete
18 Ciudad Real
19 Cuenca
20 Guadalajara
21 Toledo

Castilla y León
22 Ávila
23 Burgos
24 León
25 Palencia
26 Salamanca
27 Segovia
28 Soria
29 Valladolid
30 Zamora

Catalunya
31 Barcelona
32 Girona
33 Lleida
34 Tarragona

Extremadura
35 Badajoz
36 Cáceres

Galicia
37 A Coruña
38 Lugo
39 Ourense
40 Pontevedra

41 *Madrid*

42 *Murcia*

43 *Navarra*

País Vasco
44 Álava
45 Guipúzcoa
46 Vizcaya

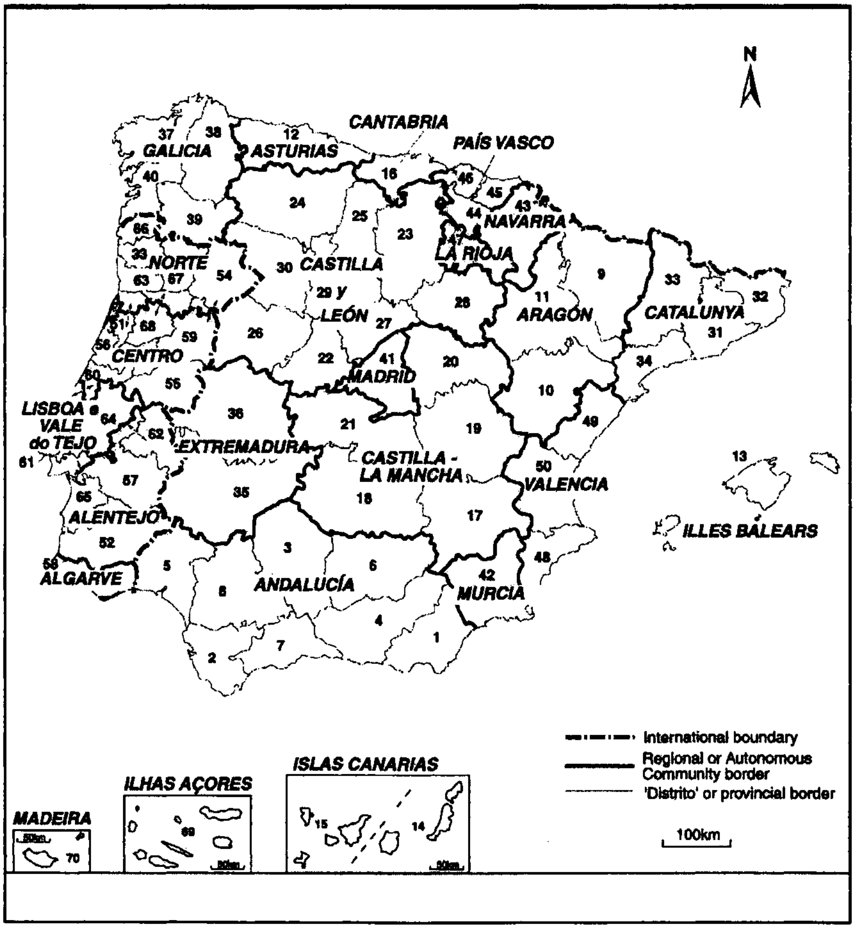
47 *La Rioja*

Valencia
48 Alicante
49 Castellón
50 Valencia

Portugal
51 Aveiro
52 Beja
53 Braga
54 Bragança
55 Castelo Branco
56 Coimbra
57 Évora
58 Faro
59 Guarda
60 Leiria
61 Lisboa
62 Portalegre
63 Porto
64 Santarém
65 Setúbal
66 Viana do Castelo
67 Vila Real
68 Viseu

Autonomous Regions
69 Açores
70 Madeira

Figure 1.3 The regional and provincial/*distrito* division of Iberia



As Gozálvez Pérez (1995) has pointed out, Girona is possibly one of the Spanish areas where foreign workers will more easily increase in numbers in the future. This researcher has argued that the potential of the region as a future immigration area lies in its large tourism-oriented coast, which is associated with a large transient population, in the economic diversification of employment in the province (see Table 1.4), in the increasing importance of retired people in the demographic structure of inland towns, and on account of high provincial per capita incomes (in the Spanish context). As an illustration of this last point, the province passed from being the seventh highest in terms of per capita income in 1973 to be the second in the provincial ranking in 1995. Likewise, it has moved from eighth in 1971 to second in 1995 in terms of production levels per capita (Banco Bilbao Vizcaya, 1983; 1997). Valenzuela (1991) has held that tourism is centrally responsible for Girona's (good) economic performance.

Table 1.5 Economic indicators for Girona, Catalunya and Spain (%)

	Girona	Catalunya	Spain
Jobs by sector 1983			
Agriculture	12.4	6.2	16.9
Manufacturing	28.8	35.2	24.5
Construction	9.8	7.6	8.1
Accommodation and restaurants	9.0	4.3	4.9
Other services	39.9	46.6	45.7
Jobs by sector 1993			
Agriculture	6.5	3.3	9.5
Manufacturing	22.7	28.1	20.0
Construction	9.3	8.1	8.6
Accommodation and restaurants	16.6	6.2	6.8
Other services	44.9	54.3	55.1
Legal non-EU workers 1996			
Agriculture	17.6	12.2	15.2
Manufacturing	12.3	11.5	6.9
Construction	14.4	10.8	8.8
Services	36.5	56.7	64.4
Non-classified	19.2	8.8	4.7

Sources: For job data, Banco Bilbao Vizcaya (1985; 1997); for non-EU worker data, Comisión Interministerial de Extranjería (1997).

However, despite the number of jobs in accommodation services and restaurants, the share of services in provincial employment is similar to the Catalan and Spanish average (Table 1.5). What is not similar is the percentage of non-EU workers in service industries, with Girona having a more balanced distribution of non-EU workers across economic sectors (Table 1.5). This had implications for the survey undertaken for this book, as the 151 interviewed African workers lived in municipalities with contrasting economic characteristics.

Similarly to Girona, the percentage of foreigners in Algarve's population is the highest of the Portuguese regions (Table 1.6) and tourism plays a substantial role in providing jobs (Table 1.7).

Table 1.6 Demographic indicators for Algarve, the Setúbal *Distrito and Portugal**

	Algarve	Dist. Setúbal	Portugal
1981 Census population	323,534	658,326	9,833,014
1991 Census population	341,404	712,594	9,862,670
1994 estimated population	344,830	716,780	9,912,140
Growth 1981-91 (%)	5.5	8.2	0.3
Growth 1981-94 (%)	1.0	0.6	0.5
1981 foreign residents	3,895	7,258	62,692
1981 African residents	1,105	5,999	27,948
Foreigners in population (%)	1.2	1.1	0.6
Africans amongst foreigners (%)	28.4	82.7	44.6
1994 foreign residents	19,741	13,830	157,073
1994 African residents	6,215	10,621	72,630
Foreigners in population (%)	5.8	1.9	1.6
Africans amongst foreigners (%)	31.5	76.8	46.2

* Data on foreigners are only published at *distrito* level. The Setúbal *Distrito* includes the Peninsula of Setúbal and three Alentejo's coastal municipalities.

Sources:
For 1991 and 1981 Portuguese population, Instituto Nacional de Estatística (1984; 1996c).
For 1994 population estimates, Instituto Nacional de Estatística (1996d).
For foreign population data, Instituto Nacional de Estatística (1982a; 1992a; 1995a).

Yet, there are considerable differences between the two regions:

- Even if the number of Africans rose from 1,105 in 1981 to 6,215 in 1994, the proportion of Africans amongst the foreign population has remained almost unchanged since 1981 (Table 1.6). In other words, growth in the number of non-Portuguese nationals in the region has been similar for Europeans and non-Europeans.
- Manufacturing does not have a key role in total employment in Algarve, unlike Girona. Furthermore, the few manufacturing industries in the region (like food processing firms) have been losing workers since the 1980s (see Table 1.7 which shows the declining trend in manufacturing employment in Algarve in the period 1981-1991).

Table 1.7 Employed labour force in Algarve, the Setúbal *Distrito* and Portugal, by economic sector (%)

	Algarve	Dist. Setúbal	Portugal [a]
1981			
Primary	25.0	9.8	19.7
Manufacturing	11.5	34.1	27.1
Construction	16.2	11.0	11.6
Accommodation and restaurants	9.8	3.0	2.7
Other services	37.5	42.1	38.9
1994 [b]			
Primary	10.6	5.7	11.5
Manufacturing	7.2	23.9	25.0
Construction	13.2	9.8	7.8
Accommodation and restaurants	20.1	5.0	4.4
Other services	59.2	55.6	51.3

Notes:
a) Only for continental Portugal. These data come from the Portuguese Employment Survey [*Estatísticas do Emprego*]. This survey does not cover the Autonomous Regions of Azores and Madeira.
b) The Setúbal *distrito* data are for 1991.

Sources: For 1981 data, and 1991 Setúbal data, Instituto Nacional de Estatística (1984; 1996c); for 1994, Instituto Nacional de Estatística (1995b).

- Agriculture is a more important employer in Algarve than in Girona. It gave jobs to 10.6 per cent of the labour force in Algarve in 1994; which is substantially above the Girona employment figure at 6.5 per cent in 1993 (yet, close to the Portuguese average; Table 1.7).

Given these differences, it is likely that African employment does not show as much inter-municipal dissimilarity in Algarve as in Girona. Hence, in order to broaden the employment base that was investigated in Portugal, two localities in the manufacturing-oriented Península de Setúbal were also examined (see Appendix 1). In absolute volume terms, the Península de Setúbal is the second area of concentration of African-born population in Portugal, after Lisbon. The first African inflows into the area occurred at the end of 1960s when Portuguese emigration left vacant numerous jobs in manufacturing and construction (Carreira, 1982; Saint-Maurice and Pires, 1989; França, 1992). The manufacturing base of Setúbal was largely based on heavy industries, but these suffered a remarkable re-structuring in the 1980s. Thus, in the period 1982-1984, 74 manufacturing firms closed down. For 1981-1985, 11,031 jobs were lost in the region (Torres, 1996). However, since 1986, new jobs have been created in light labour-intensive industries (Instituto de Apoio as Pequenas e Médias Empresas e ao Investimento, 1991). The manufacturing economic base of the Península of Setúbal offers a complementary view to Algarve's localities.

Structure of the Book

The aim of this book is the analysis of African employment patterns in two Southern European countries which are affected by similar overarching political-economic processes, as well as common immigration trends. Yet the economies of Portugal and Spain differ substantially one from another. African employment may also show contrasting patterns in both countries. To explore differences and similarities between Portugal and Spain, the surveys of African employees and employers cover the main economic sectors in which Africans are employed in both countries, as well as places with contrasting economic mixes (see Appendix 1 for more detail on the surveys). The results of these surveys are presented, discussed and contrasted with previous evidence from the literature throughout this book.

Before examining the survey results, Chapter 2 reviews the literature on labour migration in order to define the theoretical questions to be answered in this book. The theories which seek to explain international labour migration are largely based on principles of labour market economics and economic sociology. Here, the incorporation of immigrants into labour markets is viewed in terms of: (i) neo-classical and behavioural approaches; (ii) structural analysis; and (iii) ethnic entrepreneurship. These three groups of theories differ in their interpretation of immigrant incorporation into host labour markets. Yet they agree on the 'distorting' effect of both the state and social networks on labour markets. Thus, after reviewing these groups of theories, the chapter examines contrasting interpretations on the role of the state in managing immigration. In the current political situation of restricted immigration into Western Europe, social networks have been portrayed as playing a crucial role in channelling immigrants to jobs. The chapter therefore examines the extensive literature on immigrant networks. This literature distinguishes between those who argue that these networks are a hindrance to further job promotion and those who say that they are a great help in the incorporation and occupational progression of immigrants in host labour markets. A further consideration in this chapter is the literature on female migration. Effectively, this literature shows that changes in production practices in labour markets have smoothed the entry of immigrant female workers into more advanced economies. The review on the three main theories of immigrant labour market incorporation, as well as on the state, immigrant networks and gender, provides the book with questions to address from different (contrasting) ideological schools.

A first question revolves about the role of the state in managing international labour inflows. Chapter 3 places this role in the Portuguese and Spanish contexts. To explore the significance of the state in controlling, diverting and channelling immigrants in the Iberian economies, the legislative frameworks on immigration and naturalisation are presented and discussed. To illustrate the role of the state, the chapter uses data from both official statistics and my surveys. The relevance of this chapter lies in the fact that labour outcomes for non-EU immigrants may be highly conditioned by (restrictive) immigration policies. Indeed, partly as a result of their membership of the European Union and their geographical situation on the European mainland, the Iberian countries have been pushed to change their immigration legislation. As part of this re-structuring, processes of legalisation have been introduced for some illegally-resident foreigners. Despite attempts to harmonise policies across the EU, immigration remains a responsibility of each state. Therefore, the implications of the legislative framework on African employment are discussed separately for Portugal and Spain. In this regard, the chapter highlights the different approaches of the two Iberian states regarding immigration policies, as well as exploring its effect on African labour outcomes.

The next chapters contextualise African employment in specific settings by exploring work patterns in three economic sectors. Specifically, Chapter 4 focuses on farming, Chapter 5 on construction, and Chapter 6 on accommodation services and restaurants. Here the analysis is based on both African employees and employers surveys. To build up the picture of African employment in each sector, information from key informants is contrasted with views of employers and employees. Cross-border comparisons of the same economic sectors will highlight differences in both immigration policies and economic settings. Indeed, divergences across the border appear to be vital, for immigrants are employed in large numbers in, for example, farming in Spain, but not in Portugal. As well, within the same country, these three economic sectors show considerably different trends. This highlights how reasons for African employment differ by economic sector. As an illustration, Spanish farming (but not Spanish construction) has a large turnover in African employment. However, if Africans are found in the same unstable poorly-paid jobs at the bottom of Portuguese and Spanish labour markets, regardless of economic sector, then this conclusion has important theoretical implications. Underlying the analyses in these chapters then, there is an evaluation of the theoretical postulates outlined in Chapter 2.

Complementing the sectoral analysis, Chapter 7 focuses on localities. The underlying assumption of the chapter is that broader economic trends affect localities in different ways. In other words, local economic characteristics might shape economic activities, and, consequently, determine uneven (African) patterns of employment in the same industry. The point to explore here is if African employment varies due to local characteristics rather than simply economic sector or previous worker training and experience. In this regard, the Girona survey does cover African workers who live and work in municipalities with different economic bases. Specifically, four types of local economic structure were identified in Girona. For Portugal, the two regions of Algarve and Setúbal share few common economic trends. If African labour outcomes show no great differences between these regions, then this will mean that local employment characteristics hardly affect the involvement of Africans in labour markets. Assessing this question is the central focus of Chapter 7.

Chapter 8 complements the demand-side considerations of previous chapters with an examination of the characteristics of African workers. The first aim of the chapter is to evaluate whether the previous educational and occupational endowments of immigrants affect patterns of incorporation into Iberian labour markets. The 151 respondents to the Girona survey, as well as the 69 of the Portuguese one, incorporate varying experiences of immigrants who may (or may not) face relative common labour market positions, depending on their educational or job experience. The underlying questions asked here come from human capital theory. According to this theoretical position, workers attain and move between jobs depending on their skills or education. Thus, alongside immigrant characteristics, the issue of immigrant mobility patterns within Iberia (and further emigration out of Portugal and Spain) are examined.

Finally, Chapter 9 provides an overview evaluation of the validity of theories on immigrant incorporation in host labour markets for understanding African patterns of employment in Iberia.

Notes

1. With the Spanish average as 100, the difference in Gross Family Income between the Balearics and Badajoz (Extremadura), which are at the top and the bottom of the provincial league table, fell by 10 points over the period 1983-1995 (Banco Bilbao Vizcaya, 1985; 1997). For more information on the decline in inequalities in the Spanish provinces, see Villaverde Castro (1996) who supports the conclusion that this decline is due to changes in those provinces which initially had the lowest development levels.
2. Legal Spanish emigration changed from 834,100 for the period 1960-70 to 493,050 for 1970-81 and to 204,910 for 1981-91 (Dirección General de Migraciones, 1996). For Portugal, legal emigration dramatically fell from 66,300 in 1970 to 6,556 in 1984 (Commission of the European Communities, undated).
3. An annual average of 69,000 Spaniards returned to their home country in the period 1970-80 (King, 1984). For Portugal, the 1981 Census indicated that 505,087 residents lived in one of the nation's ex-colonies on 31 December 73. This constituted more than 5 per cent of the total population living in Portugal in 1981. The impact of return migration on Portuguese social and economic structures has been analysed extensively in the literature. Some examples are Pires et al. (1987) on *retornados* [return migration from ex-Portuguese Africa] and Brettell (1986), Reis and Nave (1986) and Cavaco (1993) on the impact of return migration from Central and Northern Europe on rural Portugal. For Spain, return migration has been studied by Rhoades (1978), Castillo (1980), Garmendía (1981), Solé (1988), Cazorla Pérez (1989), and Pascual de Sans and Cardelús (1990), amongst others. Pascual de Sans and Cardelús (1990) argued that, rather than return, this movement is a new migration, as the areas of origin at the point of emigration to Europe, and the destinations of 'return' migrants, are often different. In a high proportion of cases, rural-background emigrants prefer cities on their 'return'.
4. Two legalisation processes have been undertaken in Portugal (1992-93 and 1996) and three in Spain (1985-86; 1991-1992 and 1996).
5. PALOP refers to *Países Africanos de Lingua Oficial Portuguesa*. The PALOP countries are Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and São Tomé e Príncipe.
6. 'Official unemployment numbers in both countries are based on large labor-force surveys, using identical questions to assess whether somebody is unemployed. There is no obvious bias in the way the sample is designed or the way the survey is administrated' (Blanchard and Jimeno, 1995: 213-214).
7. The Spanish economy was the most dynamic in Europe in the late 1980s, with an annual growth rate at 4-5 per cent in the period 1987-1990 (Salmon, 1995). In the period 1985-1989, 1,950,900 new jobs were created (Espina, 1990).
8. Three types of temporary contracts were introduced: those for temporary jobs, those for fixed-term work (initially a minimun tenure of six months, which was raised to one year in 1992), and those for training and apprenticeships for young workers (Jimeno and Toharia, 1994).
9. Probably due to the percentage of employees on fixed-term contracts in Spain, the 1997 reform of labour market legislation introduced a new kind of permanent contract, with

incentives for employers to hire employees on a permanent basis (see Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales, 1998, for more information about current types of contracts).

10. Andalucía's unemployment rate (30.4 per cent) was three times that of Navarra (10.0 per cent) in 1997 (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 1998c).
11. The survey on African employees was carried out between July and December 1995 in Girona and between January and June 1996 in Portugal. In particular, research attention was focused on the province of Girona in Spain and the region of Algarve and Peninsula of Setúbal in Portugal (to see the questionnaire see Appendix 2).
12. The survey on employers was carried out from July to October 1997 in the same regions as the previous survey of African employees. Thirty-two employers in farming, in construction, in accommodation and in two manufacturing industries (ceramics and metallurgical firms) were interviewed in Girona. For Portugal, 20 interviews with employers were concentrated on the construction, accommodation and metallurgical industries (the questionnaire on employers in on Appendix 3).

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