

Southern Europe and the New Immigrations

Edited by
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Contents

Preface and Acknowledgements	vii
1 The International Migration Turnaround in Southern Europe <i>Russell King, Anthony Fielding and Richard Black</i>	1
2 Immigrants in the Athens Labour Market: a Comparative Study of Albanians, Egyptians and Filipinos <i>Theodoros Iosifides</i>	26
3 Foreign Labour Immigration in High-Unemployment Spain: the Role of African-Born Workers in the Girona Labour Market <i>Cristóbal Mendoza</i>	51
4 Gender-Selective Migration: Somalian and Filipina Women in Rome <i>Victoria Chell</i>	75
5 Indians in Lisbon: Ethnic Entrepreneurship and the Migration Process <i>Jorge Malheiros</i>	93
6 Migrants as Networkers: the Economics of Bangladeshi Migration to Rome <i>Melanie Knights</i>	113
7 Citizenship Rights and Migration Policies: the Case of Maghrebi Migrants in Italy and Spain <i>Joanna Apap</i>	138

8	Immigrants and Politics in Left-Wing Bologna: Results from Participatory Action Research <i>Davide Però</i>	158
9	<i>De facto</i> Refugees in Portugal and Spain: State Policy, Informal Strategies and the Labour Market <i>Jorge Malheiros and Richard Black</i>	182
	The Contributors	205
	Index	206

Preface and Acknowledgements

This book is a product of the newly-formed Sussex Centre for Migration Research, an interdisciplinary grouping of some 25–30 faculty and research students working on various aspects of migration research. The University of Sussex was founded on the ethos of interdisciplinarity, and remains committed to that philosophical ideal. Within the social sciences and the humanities, there can be few research themes which are so open to interdisciplinary work than the study of human migration. Hence the new Centre comprises scholars from a wide variety of academic backgrounds: anthropologists, geographers, sociologists, economists, historians, specialists in international relations, cultural and literary studies and others who share a common interest in migration and economic, social, cultural and political change.

With the help of a grant from the University of Sussex Research Development Fund, one of the first activities of the Sussex Centre for Migration Research has been the organisation of a series of workshops on specific themes in migration research. This book collects together revised versions of papers presented and discussed at the first of these workshops, held in the Sussex European Institute on 6–7 December 1996. Focusing primarily on the theme of links between migration and economic development, this workshop was devoted to the study of Southern Europe as a major region of immigration in the late twentieth century.

The workshop itself attracted lively interest in particular from a number of young researchers who were completing, or had just completed, their doctoral theses. This provided an immediacy to the discussions and presentations which in most cases were based on recent and extended periods of field research in Southern Europe, investigating the evolving character of immigration phenomena in some detail. Some of this research was funded by European Union mobility grants.

Finally, we thank the chapter authors for adhering to the rather stringent timetable we set for the preparation and revision of their

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3

Foreign Labour Immigration in High-Unemployment Spain: The Role of African-Born Workers in the Girona Labour Market

Cristóbal Mendoza

Legally resident foreigners represent only a small percentage of the population in Spain. With a foreign population share of just 1.1 per cent in 1993, Spain's stock of foreigners stands well below that of many Central and Northern European countries. However, the number of foreigners in Spain rose sharply in the 1980s and 1990s. At the end of 1994, the total foreign population was 461,364 (Ministerio de Asuntos Sociales 1996), which was more than double the 1984 figure. These new inflows into Spain have occurred in a context of high unemployment (22.9 per cent of the labour force was unemployed in 1995, which was twice than the EU average of 11.2 per cent, and three times the OECD average of 7.6 per cent; OECD 1996). In fact, the unemployment rate steadily increased through the 1980s and 1990s, and as over half of those who were unemployed in 1995 had been so for more than one year¹, the increase in foreign inflows has occurred alongside substantial long-term unemployment.

It could be argued that this high level of unemployment has been caused by an increased employment participation rate. In particular, along with the incapacity of the Spanish economy to create new jobs

1 See recent issues of the quarterly *Encuesta de Poblacion Activa*, Madrid: INE. This is the main source for other employment data given in the Introduction.

(Fina 1993), a primary factor in rising unemployment might be thought to be an increasing female participation rate in the labour force. The female participation rate certainly has increased in the last few decades (for instance, it rose from 28.5 per cent of the labour force in 1986 to 36.2 per cent in 1995). However, in Spain the female participation rate is still low in comparison with other OECD countries (Fina 1993). Moreover, the participation rate of the 16–64 year old population in the labour market was lower in 1994 (48.8 per cent) than in 1964 (51.5 per cent). Irrespective of the changing balance of the Spanish workforce, the reality is that Spain has not created sufficient jobs for those who want employment. In fact, many of the new jobs created in the 1980s and 1990s have been temporary. Spain now has the highest incidence of temporary employment in its labour force in the OECD. In 1994 such jobs comprised 33.7 per cent of employment (OECD 1996), which was twice the 1987 figure. The incidence of temporary employment is higher for the young (87.5 per cent for employees aged 16–19 years in 1994 and 70.6 per cent for those aged 20–24) and for women (37.9 per cent for employed women compared with 31.4 per cent for men). This growth in casualisation has occurred in parallel with the increase in the foreign population.

This chapter focuses on the role that foreign workers play in the high-unemployment context of an increasingly precarious Spanish labour market. Macro-economic views on the role of foreign labour have followed two main (and opposed) theoretical lines: those of neo-classical and structural approaches. Neo-classical theories of labour markets emphasise that immigrant performance in the labour market improves as they adapt to destination countries; through, for instance, investing in human capital after emigration. For example, Chiswick (1978), in his study of foreign-born men in the USA, and Long (1980), in his research of foreign-born women in the same country, came to the conclusion that the 'Americanization' of immigrants had a positive effect on their earnings. Behind this lies the assumption that the performance of workers depends on pre-market differences among people (their innate ability, their upbringing and their education) and is not an outcome of the operation of labour markets.

In contrast to this neo-classical image which portrays foreigners as entering a unified labour market, structural theories emphasise the social context of the migration process and support the idea that immigrants tend to hold jobs that are distinct from those of the indigenous work force. Among structural theories, dual labour market theorists affirm that the explanation of wage dispersion lies in fundamental institutional differences between two dissimilar treatments of labour which result in the presence of not one, but (at least) two quite different earn-

ing functions. As Morrison (1990, p. 493) argues, 'The labour market is segmented into two broad types with the essential difference being the way in which labour in the two segments is "priced". The rules and procedures for the operation of the "secondary" labour market differ from the rules which govern the pricing of labour in the "primary" market'.

Dual labour market literature implicitly assumes that foreign workers occupy jobs in the secondary sector. As Piore (1979, p. 17) argues, 'there is something in common among jobs held by migrants in widely diverse geographic areas and very different historical periods: the jobs tend to be unskilled, generally but not always low paying, and to carry or connote inferior social status'. This approach may reduce the process of integration of foreign labour to a unique outcome. However, foreigners are not the only group to be found in the secondary labour market (another example is young people). Furthermore, not all foreign workers are employees in the secondary labour market. Indeed, Bailey (1987, p. 7) found in the USA that 'almost all foreign-born groups are over-represented among small business owners, and the research in this area generally concludes that entrepreneurship has played an important role in the economic adjustment of many immigrants'.

The objective of this chapter is to analyse the processes of integration of foreign labour into the Spanish labour market. Specifically, the chapter focuses on the role that immigrants of African origin play in labour markets of the province of Girona (northern Catalonia). The key questions are:

- Do immigrants occupy marginal and unskilled jobs in the secondary labour market in Spain in general, and Girona in particular, as the dual labour market theory suggests? If so, does this hold true across all economic sectors?
- Is there a lack of competition between immigrants and natives in the labour market, as the dual labour market theory assumes?
- Alternatively, are the pre-market characteristics of these workers important in permitting integration and competition with local workers for some groups, but limiting opportunities for others?

To achieve these aims, the chapter is divided into two main sections. In the first, a general description of the foreign population and of recent inflows into Spain is presented, drawing on data from the 1991 legalisation process to cast light on the shadow areas of the Spanish labour market. Then, in the second section, the results of a survey of African immigrants in the province of Girona are presented, including an examination of the economic sectors in which Africans are employed, the 'needs' of different economic sectors for foreign labour, and the human capital of African workers. In synthesis, I argue that whilst certain

aspects of dual labour market theory are supported by the experience of African workers in Spain in general, and Girona in particular, notably the marginalisation of foreign workers into certain unskilled jobs, there are some aspects of this experience that do not fit with expectations.

Spain: a new immigration country?

As we saw in chapter 1, the literature on Southern Europe has recently focused on the change in international migration trends, with the region having moved from being a zone of out-migration to one of immigration. From the analysis of official statistics, this section identifies what lies behind this change, who these new immigrants are, what kind of jobs they do and where they live. Although it is clear that a high share of the new immigrants are from Third World countries, official statistics only partially reflect the number and characteristics of the foreign labour force.

Labour inflows and the increase of foreign residents in the 1980s and 1990s

The large increase in the number of foreigners in Spain in the 1980s and 1990s was not unique in the recent immigration history of Spain. In 1970, for example, the number of foreigners (148,400) was 129 per cent above the 1960 figure (INE 1962 and 1972). Yet the increase in numbers in the 1960s was largely composed of immigrants from northern and central Europe (Solana and Pascual de Sans 1994). In contrast, Figure 3.1 highlights the changing balance in foreign residents after 1980. EU residents still make up an important share of new arrivals, and their total numbers have grown steadily over the last fifteen years.² In fact, almost one in two foreign residents (47.8 per cent) in Spain in 1994 came from within the EU. However, more substantial increases were recorded for Africans. Their numbers rose from 4,067 residents in 1980 to 82,607 in 1994. Furthermore, the largest African group, the Moroccans, constituted 63,939 immigrants in 1994, making them the largest nationality overall in official statistics (Ministerio de Asuntos Sociales 1996).

This growth in numbers of foreign residents has been accompanied by an increase in the number of foreign workers in the 1980s and 1990s. The stock of foreign workers rose from 70,566 at the end of 1989 (Ministerio de Trabajo y Seguridad Social 1991) to 119,321 in 1994

2 The decrease in numbers in 1989 is due to a data file review which especially affected the numbers of EU nationals listed. Until 1989 the number of residence permits at the end of each year was calculated by adding permits issued during the year to existing permits, without discounting expired permits.

(Ministerio de Asuntos Sociales 1996). This represents an increase of 69.1 per cent over the 1989 figure³ and implies a higher ratio of workers to population (47.5 per cent) than is found for the whole Spanish population (38.6 per cent in 1995).⁴ This provides one indication of the importance of labour flows in immigration amongst non-EU nationals.

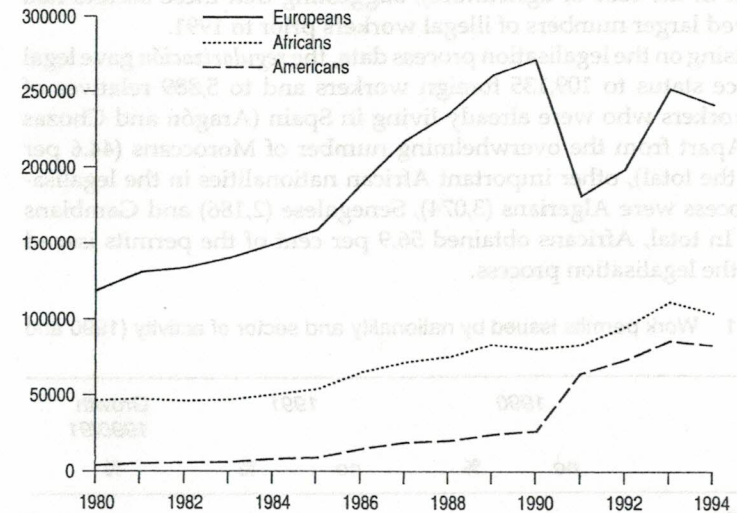


Figure 3.1 Evolution of legal foreign residents in Spain, by continent of origin, 1980–94

Source: Ministerio de Asuntos Sociales (1996).

The Spanish government has undertaken two legalisation processes in 1985/86 and 1991 to bring illegal foreign workers and their families already living in the country into legality (see Apap, Chapter 7). In the first, a total of 34,832 residence permits were issued (Izquierdo 1992), whilst the 1991 legalisation process doubled the number of foreign

3 This increase occurred despite the fact that these statistics do not provide complete coverage of non-Spanish EU workers. The stock of foreigners holding a work permit was not published until 1989. The EU nationals who are self-employed have been excluded from a work permit since the entry of Spain into the EU (specifically, since the enforcement of the Real Decreto 1099/1986). From 1 January 1992 (1 January 1993 for those from Luxembourg), non-Spanish EU citizens have not needed a work permit to obtain (legal) employment in Spain. At the end of December 1991, the number of EU nationals holding a work permit in Spain was 46,479 (27.2 per cent of the total), according to the *Estadística de Permisos de Trabajo a Extranjeros*, issued by the Ministerio de Trabajo y Seguridad Social (1993).

4 See *Boletín Mensual de Estadística*, Madrid: INE; data for late 1996.

workers, with the stock of legal foreign workers passing from 85,372 at the end of 1990 to 171,033 by the end of 1991 (table 3.1). The growth in African numbers was 297 per cent over this period, so Africans constituted 30 per cent of the legal foreign labour force in 1991 (excluding the self-employed from the EU). By economic sector, agriculture and construction experienced considerable relative increases (reaching 345 per cent in the case of agriculture), suggesting that these sectors had employed larger numbers of illegal workers prior to 1991.

Focusing on the legalisation process data, the *regularización* gave legal residence status to 109,135 foreign workers and to 5,889 relatives of these workers who were already living in Spain (Aragón and Chozas 1993). Apart from the overwhelming number of Moroccans (44.6 per cent of the total), other important African nationalities in the legalisation process were Algerians (3,074), Senegalese (2,186) and Gambians (2,054). In total, Africans obtained 56.9 per cent of the permits issued during the legalisation process.

Table 3.1 Work permits issued by nationality and sector of activity (1990 and 1991)

	1990		1991		Growth
	no	%	no	%	1990/91
<i>Nationality</i>					
Moroccans	8,844	10.4	41,095	24.0	364.7
Total Africans	12,884	15.1	51,155	29.9	297.0
Total permits	85,372	100.0	171,033	100.0	100.3
<i>Economic sector</i>					
Agriculture	3,437	4.0	15,289	8.9	344.8
Manufacturing	12,830	15.0	20,984	12.3	63.6
Construction	6,054	7.1	18,218	10.7	200.9
Services	62,476	73.2	114,888	67.2	83.9
Non classified	575	0.7	1,654	1.0	187.7
Total permits	85,372	100.0	171,033	100.0	100.3

Source: Ministerio de Trabajo y Seguridad Social (1991).

In the *regularización* process, four occupations were dominant: domestic sector employees (21,694), agricultural labourers (16,736), construction workers (14,228) and waiters, kitchen assistants and other unskilled jobs in hotels and restaurants (11,182; Aragón and Chozas 1993). In 1993, after the legalisation process, the Spanish Government decided to enforce a quota system to fill labour shortages, estimated from unemployment figures, and channel new inflows into deficient

employment niches. However, rather than channelling inflows, the quota system is used to legalise existing illegal foreign workers.⁵ Reflecting the tighter new immigration regulations, statistics show low foreign labour inflows into Spain in the following two years, with 19,044 new work permits being issued in 1993 (i.e. excluding re-issued permits) and 21,543 in 1994.

From official statistics, two main dynamics may be observed regarding foreign inflows into Spain. First, the EU is the place of origin of almost half of all foreigners residing in Spain. In 1991, 29.4 per cent of these EU residents were employees.⁶ As the self-employed population is not included in this percentage, the participation rate of EU nationals may be closer to the Spanish rate (38.6 per cent in 1995). Secondly, non-EU nationals, especially Moroccans, have seen an important growth in numbers in the last decade. As the legalisation process data suggests, non-EU inflows are mainly workers who occupy low-skilled jobs in the Spanish labour market.

Spain: from leisure to work?

The number of foreigners is not equally spread across Spain, with Madrid and Barcelona having high concentrations, and accounting for just over a third of the total number of legally resident foreigners whose province of residence was known in 1994 (Ministerio de Asuntos Sociales 1996). The first five provinces by number of resident foreigners had more than a half of the national total (56.8 per cent), while the first ten accounted for 73.7 per cent in 1994 (table 3.2). The Mediterranean coast from Málaga to Girona, Madrid and the Canary Islands are the top resident destinations for foreigners.

As table 3.2 (overleaf) shows, there are different location patterns for EU and non-EU citizens. Tourist provinces are clearly attracting EU nationalities (in Alicante, 74.8 per cent of foreigners are from the EU; in the Balearics, 68.8 per cent; in Santa Cruz de Tenerife, 68.5 per cent), whereas the smallest percentages of EU residents among the total number of foreign population are found in Madrid and Barcelona. However, rather than the total size of the foreign labour force, the

5 The 1993 quota was 20,600 for the whole of Spain (10,000 for agricultural labourers, 1,100 for construction workers, 6,000 for domestic sector employees and 3,500 for non-qualified jobs in the service industries). Just 25.2 per cent of these were taken up (5,200 permits). In 1994, 37,277 people applied for a work permit within the 20,600 quota established by the Government (Ministerio de Asuntos Sociales 1996). In 1995, 17,000 permits, out of the 25,000 quota, were issued in response to previous applications which fulfilled the prerequisites.

6 Calculated from the number of work permits and residence permits on 31 December 1991.

importance of foreign workers in provincial economies should be seen in relative terms. Figure 3.2 maps the percentage of work permit holders in relation to the labour force at a provincial level. Apart from the African cities of Ceuta and Melilla, Girona is the province with the highest percentage of non-EU legal workers in its labour force (2.1 per cent), followed by Madrid (2.0 per cent). The percentages range from 1 per cent to 1.5 per cent for the other three Catalan provinces (Barcelona, Tarragona and Lleida), as well as for the Balearic Islands, Almería and Las Palmas in the Canary Islands. No other provinces have more than 1 per cent of their workers as non-EU immigrants.

Table 3.2 Legal foreign residents and legal EU residents in Spain in selected provinces (1994)

Province (by rank order of % foreign residents)	Foreign residents		EU nationals		EU/total
	No	%	No	%	%
1. Madrid	93,606	20.9	27,427	13.0	29.3
2. Barcelona	65,080	14.5	20,462	9.7	31.4
3. Alicante	38,787	8.6	29,029	13.8	74.8
4. Málaga	31,634	7.0	19,420	9.2	61.4
5. Balears	25,891	5.8	17,821	8.5	68.8
6. Sta. Cruz Tenerife	24,643	5.5	16,882	8.0	68.5
7. Las Palmas	22,787	5.1	10,716	5.1	47.0
8. Valencia	12,982	2.9	5,537	2.6	42.7
9. Tarragona	7,865	1.8	3,288	1.6	41.8
10. Girona	7,734	1.7	3,359	1.6	43.4
Spain	448,869	100.0	210,221	100.0	46.8

Source: Comisión Interministerial de Extranjería (1995).

Moving from foreign residents to foreign workers, table 3.3 compares the occupations of non-EU workers with that of the Spanish labour force in the nine provinces with the highest percentages of foreign workers.⁷ These provinces can be classified in three main groups according to their labour market structure: agricultural provinces (Lleida and Almería) whose agricultural labour force is far larger than the Spanish average; service sector provinces (Ceuta and Melilla, Las Palmas, the Balearic Islands and Madrid); and the other three Catalan provinces (Barcelona, Tarragona and Girona), which have a well-diver-

⁷ Calculated as number of work permits held by foreigners at the end of 1994 as a percentage of the total working and short-term unemployed population recorded in the last quarter of 1994.

sified economy and an important manufacturing base (for example the province of Barcelona has 32.1 per cent of its population in manufacturing, compared to the Spanish average of 21.0 per cent).

In comparative terms, migrants work more in the primary sector than the local labour force in all the provinces, except the Canary province of Las Palmas (table 3.3). Extreme divergences are found in Tarragona where 31.1 per cent of non-EU workers are in agriculture, compared with 10.7 per cent of the total labour force, in Lleida (29.9 per cent as opposed to 15.5 per cent) and especially in Almería. In this last province, a quarter of the working population is in the primary sector, but 73.8 per cent of the foreigner work permits were issued for primary sector activities. It seems that non-EU immigrants are working in highly competitive agricultural zones, such as the horticulture industry in Almería, whose competitive position may have been boosted by the Spain's entry into the EU (García-Ramon 1985).

Table 3.3 Local labour force and non-EU legal workers by sector of activity in selected provinces in 1994 (%)

Province (by rank order of % foreign workers)	Agriculture		Manufacturing		Construction		Services	
	Spanish	Foreign	Spanish	Foreign	Spanish	Foreign	Spanish	Foreign
1. Ceuta & Melilla	1.9	3.0	5.7	4.1	11.1	22.9	81.4	70.0
2. Girona	6.5	17.5	23.3	16.2	11.9	20.7	58.2	45.6
3. Madrid	0.8	1.5	18.8	6.0	9.4	11.3	71.0	81.2
4. Las Palmas	5.5	2.1	7.6	4.6	9.4	2.9	77.5	90.4
5. Barcelona	1.2	8.7	32.1	14.5	7.2	12.9	59.6	64.0
6. Balears	2.6	8.5	14.0	4.4	11.8	13.2	71.6	73.9
7. Lleida	15.5	29.9	15.4	21.4	13.1	17.3	55.9	31.4
8. Almería	25.5	73.8	8.3	3.0	9.5	1.8	56.7	21.4
9. Tarragona	10.7	31.1	21.7	9.5	11.8	18.2	55.8	41.2
Spain	9.6	11.5	21.0	8.7	10.4	10.4	59.1	69.5

Source: Ministerio de Asuntos Sociales (1996).

However, nationally the agricultural sector has been sharply losing workers over the last few decades, with its percentage share of the labour force falling from 21.4 per cent 1975 to just 9.3 per cent in 1995. Recent growth in the demand for Mediterranean products as a consequence of entry into the EU may be one of the reasons for the need for foreign labour in a sector which had lost many workers, although employers may have other reasons (e.g. keeping salaries low) for hiring non-EU nationals rather than Spanish workers.

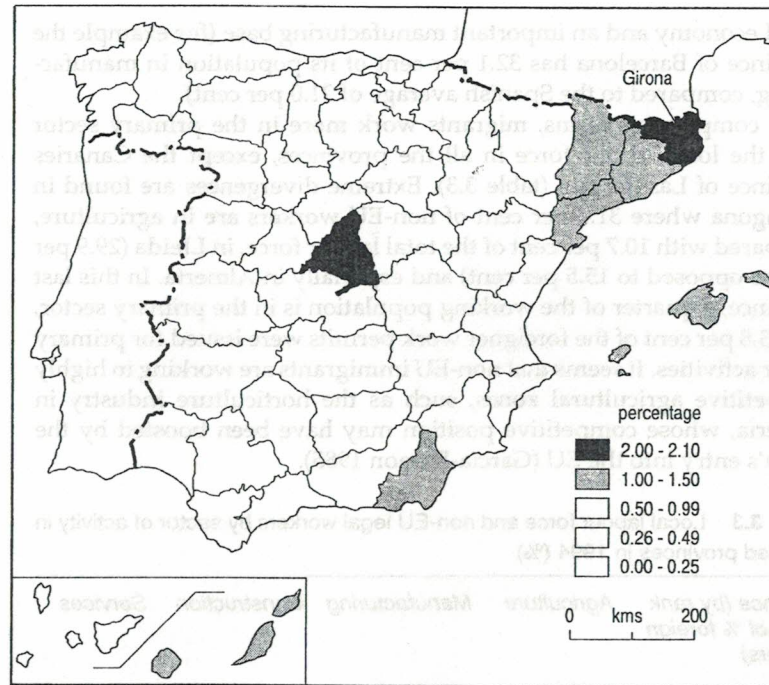


Figure 3.2 Foreign holders of work permits as a proportion of the active population, provinces of Spain, December 1994

Apart from Almería, it was the service sectors that attracted the majority of migrants in the rest of the major immigrant provinces. There are two different kinds of province in which foreigners in service industries outnumber the local labour force. First of all, there are service-oriented provinces (Las Palmas, Madrid and the Balearic Islands) with an overwhelming majority of non-EU workers in services. Then there are provinces with more diversified economies, which have a more balanced pattern of foreign labour force participation (the Catalan provinces). The manufacturing sector provides employment for relatively few non-EU workers. Only in Catalonia does their employment share stand in a roughly equal position to that of the local labour force.

By province, Madrid has 81.2 per cent of its work permits issued for service activities. This is because of the importance of the domestic sector in this province. In the legalisation process, 11,733 work permits were issued for domestic activities in Madrid, which was half of the total

Spanish number (Ministerio de Trabajo y Seguridad Social 1993). In short, non-EU foreigners work in the economic sectors that are more important in the provinces where they live (Almería, agriculture; the Balearics or Las Palmas, services, etc.). Nevertheless, across the country as a whole, non-EU workers are over-represented, in comparative terms, in agriculture and construction and under-represented in industry.

African workers in northern Catalonia

As noted above, Girona has the highest percentage share of non-EU workers of any province in Spain. This section focuses on the position of African immigrants in local labour markets in Girona, in order to address two main questions: (i) locally, does migrant integration in the labour market follow the pattern of local workers? (ii) sectorally, what kind of jobs (skilled versus unskilled, temporary versus permanent, contract versus non contract) are migrants doing in the different economic sectors? The final section then examines whether language and literacy skills, and previous experience in the labour market of immigrants' countries of origin, are valued in the current jobs of these workers in Girona.

The province of Girona: a booming and well-diversified economy

Situated in the north-east of the Iberian Peninsula, the Catalan province of Girona is one of the richest areas in Spain. It has passed from being the seventh province in terms of per capita income in 1973 to first in the ranking of the 50 Spanish provinces in 1991 and from eighth in 1971 to first in 1991 in terms of production per capita (Banco Bilbao Vizcaya 1995). According to Valenzuela (1991), tourism is directly responsible for the Balearics and Girona occupying the first two places in the per capita income table. However, although tourism is important, the province has one of the more diversified economies of the Spanish provinces (table 3.3).

Girona has had one of the fastest growing populations of any province in Spain: it rose from 177,539 inhabitants in 1960 to 509,628 in 1991, a growth of 187 per cent. This growth was partly a result of immigration from the rest of Spain. Valenzuela (1991) argued that rural Andalusia (Jaén and Granada especially) provided the least-qualified labour working in hotels and catering on the Costa Brava. Legal foreign residents in the province represented 1.5 per cent of the population in 1991, which was three times the 1981 figure. As a tourist area, Girona has always been a place of residence for a non-working, non-Spanish

population, mainly from Northern Europe. However the weight of Europeans within the number of foreigners has constantly dropped as a result of the increasing immigration of African workers.

Girona presents a balanced distribution of foreign workers across all the economic sectors, reflecting the well-diversified economic base of the region. Given that African workers are found in the dominant economic sectors of each province of Spain, investigating a diversified economy like Girona should give insights into economic integration patterns elsewhere. Thus, the demand for seasonal (and non-seasonal) labourers in Girona's agriculture may be representative of other agricultural regions of the Mediterranean area, such as Almería, Murcia or Lleida. The demand for foreign workers in construction and tourist-related activities in Girona should not be different from other tourist-dominated areas, like the Balearic Islands, Málaga or Alicante. Finally, the manufacturing base of the province may be helpful in drawing conclusions about integration of the foreign labour force in other industrial areas, such as Barcelona or Madrid.

As Gozávez et al. (1995) point out, Girona is likely to be one of the areas where foreign workers will increase in numbers most easily. The province has a large tourism-oriented coast, with a transient population; a strong economic diversification; an increasing percentage of elderly residents in many inland towns and high incomes per capita (in the Spanish context), which makes it difficult to pay low wages to local workers, even though some activities might not survive without such low wages.

Methodology

A total of 151 interviews with African immigrants (87 Moroccan nationals and 64 from Western African countries, mainly from Gambia 38 and Senegal 23) were carried out in the coastal area of the province in Girona, in the *comarques* of Alt Empordà, Baix Empordà and La Selva. In this area, four kinds of localities were defined, based on the characteristics of the local labour market (as identified through 1991 Census data by municipality which was provided by the Catalan Institute of Statistics):

(a) Small localities (the largest municipality is Sant Pere Pescador, with 1,199 inhabitants) in which an important share of their labour force works in the *primary sector*. La Pera, with 381 inhabitants, has the lowest percentage of workers in primary sector (23.8 per cent) in the sample. Primary activities accounted for 6.6 per cent of the labour force of the province of Girona and 3.7 per cent in the whole of Catalonia.

(b) Medium-sized localities (Figueres, with 34,573 inhabitants and

Blanes, with 25,663) which have *more diversified service-oriented local economies*. The bulk of jobs are located in the service sector in these towns (62.0 per cent in the case of Figueres), but manufacturing employs about a quarter of their working population. The primary sector has insignificant weight.

(c) Localities heavily reliant on *tourism*. The tertiary sector here accounted for more than 50 per cent of the workforce. Construction occupies more workers in these localities than the average for either Catalonia (8.2 per cent) or Girona (12.4 per cent).

(d) *Manufacturing-based localities*, where the proportion of the workforce in this sector is well above the provincial or the Catalan average. The range of values recorded for this sector in the study areas is lowest in Santa Coloma de Farners (42.6 per cent) and highest in Breda (62.3 per cent).

Africans in the Girona labour market

Before analysing the kind of jobs and the sectors of activity in which immigrants are employed, it is interesting to note the levels of unemployment and economic inactivity of the interviewed population, which were surprisingly low. The unemployment rate was 13.2 per cent, with unemployed workers spread across the surveyed localities, whilst a mere 2.7 per cent of those surveyed were economically inactive. However, it is worth noting that occasional workers, such as gardeners or people who collect pine cones in the forest have been included in the category of the working population. This goes some way to explain the discrepancy with figures produced by Gozávez et al. (1995), who considered occasional workers in the primary sector and in service industries to be unemployed, and as a result calculated an unemployment rate of 40 per cent among Moroccans and 15 per cent among Senegalese. Overall, the unemployment rate found amongst the sample population is close to the average of 13.0 per cent for Girona province in 1995.

As the fieldwork was phased over two periods (July–August 1995 and October–December 1995), it was also possible to note that none of the sample population was unemployed during the summer period. A similar seasonal trend is observed in the province as a whole: the unemployment rate fell to 10.6 per cent in the summer of 1995 compared with a figure of 13.2 per cent for the second quarter of the year.⁸

A second element of employment status concerned the importance of self-employment. At the time they were interviewed, just three out of

8 Data from *Boletín Mensual de Estadística*, Madrid: INE, for 1996.

151 African workers surveyed were self-employed. Nevertheless, a larger number, about 20 of those interviewed, had been self-employed at some stage during their time in Spain. This self-employed population generally undertook service activities within their communities of origin (such as 'ethnic' shops, halal butchery, and renting houses to new immigrants). This is not to say that all self-employed Africans have businesses directed at their own communities, although there may be a relationship between the growing African population and a rising demand for African products which increases opportunities for self-employment. As work permit statistics for Spain as a whole show, there is a higher percentage of self-employment among the African working population than the number found in the Girona survey (15.1 per cent of all African work permits in Spain by the end of 1994 were for self-employment). This may reflect a concentration of African business activity in larger cities, where there is a greater demand African products because of the presence of a larger African community or more heterogeneous consumption practices among Spanish residents.

Table 3.4 shows the distribution of current or most recent jobs by economic sector of those interviewed in each locality type. This table shows some correlation between the sector of employment and the type of locality in which individuals live. Specifically, 19 out of 34 of those interviewed who lived in a locality dominated by primary sector activities worked in the primary sector, just as 34 of the 58 who lived in service-based localities worked in the tertiary sector. Perhaps the most remarkable data in the table is that more than half of those interviewed in manufacturing localities also worked in this sector. This is noteworthy since the Government's quota system does not allow non-EU foreigners to take jobs in the manufacturing sector. Equally noticeable is the number of employees in the primary sector (10 out of 30) in the two small cities with a diversified employment structure, although in both cases, the immigrants concerned worked in rural localities nearby, to which these cities were historically linked. These data suggest that the sample population 'fits' the local employment structure, and is not restricted to certain sectors in all localities, in spite of legal restrictions.

The construction sector also shows an interesting pattern. Somewhat surprisingly, the lowest percentage of employment in this sector was found in tourist-dominated service centres. However, a representative of the construction employers' association (*Unió d'Empresaris de la Construcció de la Província de Girona*) did point out that few new accommodation facilities are being built in Girona, as a result of a crisis of confidence over growth in this sector. New buildings for the tourist sector are predominantly for second homes in quiet, inland towns, far from the busy coastal axis.

Table 3.4 Current sector of economic activity of sample population by locality type (no. individuals)

Locality type	Primary	Manufacturing	Services	Construction	Total
Primary	19	2	7	6	34
Manufacturing	5	14	6	4	29
Services	13	6	34	5	58
Diversified	10	2	12	6	30
Total	47	24	59	21	151

Source: Author's survey, 1995.

In general, it seems that the sample population is working in the same economic sectors as the local labour force, suggesting that the barriers normally associated with a secondary labour market may not operate in this case. However, the same conclusion cannot be drawn if one examines the first jobs obtained by immigrants on arrival, where there are some economic sectors more open to initial employment than others. Table 3.5 shows the economic sectors in which those interviewed had found their first job in Spain. It is clear from this table that the primary sector played a leading role in introducing the sample population into the Spanish labour market, as almost half of those interviewed had their first job in this sector. Moreover, despite differences in later employment described above, this sector was the dominant place of initial employment for workers across all locality types, with the exception of those currently living in service-dominated localities, where the majority of those interviewed had entered the Spanish labour market through the tertiary sector. This suggests some progression within the labour market amongst the sample population, for example from the primary to the manufacturing sector. In this regard, it is worth noting that work permits in manufacturing are not granted to newly-arriving immigrant workers, only becoming available in certain cases after some years in Spain. Thus for example, the majority of the Senegalese workers interviewed in the inland localities of *La Selva comarca* who are now in manufacturing, were previously agricultural labourers in the neighbouring province of Barcelona.

Regarding the type of jobs held by the sample, data presented in table 3.6 also show that the majority are employed in non-skilled jobs in all economic sectors, again an indicator of some labour market segmentation. Demand for unskilled work seems to be higher in construction and in the primary sector than in manufacturing and services. Specifically, 90 per cent of interviewees in these two sectors were in unskilled jobs, whereas in manufacturing, qualified workers made up 21 per cent of the survey respondents.

Table 3.5 Sector of first job in Spain of sample population by present locality type (no. individuals)

Locality type	Primary	Manufacturing	Services	Construction	Total
Primary	23	0	6	5	34
Manufacturing	13	3	9	4	29
Services	21	2	27	8	58
Diversified	17	1	7	5	30
Total	74	6	49	22	151

Source: Author's survey, 1995.

Table 3.6 Skills level of sample population by current economic sector (no. individuals)

Skills level	Primary	Manufacturing	Services	Construction	Total
Skilled	5	5	12	1	23
Unskilled	42	19	47	20	128
Total	47	24	59	21	151

Source: Author's survey, 1995.

Whether the skilled workers interviewed had obtained their training in Spain or in their countries of origin was also addressed in the survey, since this sheds some light on the pattern of recruitment of foreign labour into the local labour market. In total, half of the skilled workers interviewed reported that they had learned the job in Spain (notably agricultural foremen and skilled industrial workers), whereas the remainder had learned their professions in their countries of origin (including blacksmiths, tailors, skilled agricultural workers, and carpenters). The pattern for the first group points to the possibility that promotion inside the Spanish labour market is possible, but is nonetheless limited to a few categories of workers, and driven by the needs of the labour market. However, the presence of the second group suggests that there is a shortage of certain categories of skilled worker within Spain.

It is also interesting to note the relative precariousness of the jobs held by the immigrant workers surveyed, with a large majority holding either temporary jobs, or having no contract of employment at all (table 3.7). In the primary sector, for example, 17 out of 47 employees interviewed had no contract. Within this sector, there are a number of marginal forestry activities, such as work picking up pine cones or brushing forests, which are characterised by non-contract piece-rate

payments. Another source of informality comes from seasonal work in agriculture. Seasonal migration has long played a crucial role for certain crops such as fruit and vegetables in Mediterranean Europe (Berlan 1986), and this is now largely composed of foreign workers. As Valderrama (1994, p. 222) puts it, 'Mediterranean agriculture increasingly needs a cheap labour force which is not found in the European countries. In Europe, the agricultural sector of Mediterranean regions has the highest proportion of foreign workers, either legal or illegal'.

Table 3.7 Contractual status of sample population by current economic sector (no. individuals)

Contractual	Primary	Manufacturing	Services	Construction	Total
No employment contract	17	2	12	3	34
Temporary contract	24	18	35	14	91
Permanent contract	6	4	9	4	23
Self-employed	—	—	3	—	3
Total	47	24	59	21	151

Source: Author's survey, 1995.

Manufacturing again presents the exception to the rule, as just two of the 24 interviewees in this sector had no contract. This helps to confirm the hypothesis that the manufacturing sector is a final-stop sector, with lower rates of informality. However, many of the jobs undertaken, for example in small ceramics or marble-transforming firms, medium-sized metal industries, agricultural processing industries and timber yards, are also attractive to local workers. This raises the question of why employers prefer immigrant workers. Regarding the particular case of industries in southern Girona, Gozávez et al. (1995) suggest that low wages paid to foreigners in the agricultural sector have triggered an imitation process among employers in other economic sectors. Manufacturing employers have thus lowered salaries to agricultural level by hiring immigrants.

The pattern of using immigrants when employment returns and security are not high is further seen in the construction sector. Compared to other countries, the construction sector in Spain has few large companies: for example, the largest construction firm (Dragados y Construcciones, with 11,692 employees in 1988) is only of medium-size by world standards (Salmon 1991). Consistent with this, two thirds of construction workers interviewed (14 out of 21) were employed in firms with less than 10 employees. Although further research on employers is required to substantiate this point, it appears that small,

vulnerable construction firms rely on the flexibility of immigrants to adjust to business cycles in the sector.

Finally, immigrants work in a range of service activities in the province of Girona. Every subsector has its own dynamics regarding hiring policy, but in general the jobs immigrants obtain are again of low standing. This can be illustrated through an analysis of three subsectors. In each of these, a different process appears to be operating. Thus in garbage collection, there is some substitution of the local labour force with foreign workers in low-skilled jobs; in the accommodation sector, there is a clear labour segmentation between the jobs done by locals and foreigners; whilst in retail activities, there is an incipient creation of employment niches.

Garbage collection provides an interesting example of substitution of local labour with African workers. Companies collecting garbage in Girona largely employ Moroccans, who represent half of the labour force in these firms in some localities. Furthermore, an important percentage of these workers have permanent contracts. This reflects the dominance of one firm in the garbage collection and street cleaning service in northern Girona, which uses decentralised administration and relies strongly on its local foremen. The foremen, who are Moroccans, recruit employees from within their own community. However, despite their permanent contracts, workers described a number of abusive practices by Moroccan foremen towards employees, saying that they were sometimes forced to do unpaid work (such as cleaning up a public space after a concert), or to accept working hours that Spaniards refused. This pattern has been observed in other sectors, such as agriculture, where companies rely on immigrant foremen.

In contrast, even in tourist-dominated localities, accommodation services offer relatively few jobs for immigrant workers from the Third World. These jobs are more attractive for locals, as well as for Spanish or other European immigrants. A significant part of this sector is run by families who hire the same workers every season. Furthermore, no work permit is issued to non-EU workers for tourist-related activities, except for guarding, cleaning or gardening. The local administration argues that there are many unemployed Spanish workers who are willing to take up tourism-related jobs. In fact, temporary internal Spanish migration to coastal areas has been a traditional response to the peak summer demand of tourism (Lever 1987). Thus Moroccans (just one Western African was found in these jobs) occupy only the margins of employment in the sector, working for example as gardeners and watchmen on campsites, and kitchen assistants and cleaners in hotels. In this case, there is little direct competition between Spanish and non-EU workers as they occupy different segments of the labour market. These segments

are clearly delimited by employers and the government⁹.

The retail sector demonstrates a third feature of the service sector – the incipient creation of employment niches. Thus immigrants were found in jobs with a strong craft component in businesses such as bakeries, carpenters' workshops and in furniture-making. To a certain extent, tourism and its search for 'authenticity' has preserved these activities in a traditional form, and yet the necessary skilled workers are in short supply locally. Thus in some areas of skilled work (carpenters, cabinet-makers) or even semi-skilled work (bakery assistants), African workers have been able to move easily between different jobs within a highly narrow employment niche. However, this incipient market niche presents a quite different picture from the mainstream trends observed in Girona labour market, where demand for African workers is overwhelming for unskilled labour.

The data presented above suggest that different dynamics are at work in the diverse economic sectors (and even for particular occupations) in the province of Girona. However, in general, it can be concluded that the number of permanently contracted workers is low, and work is generally of an unskilled nature. This makes the bargaining position of immigrants weak, as well as subjecting them to cyclical changes in the economy. Moreover, the lack of employment contract means that these workers face tough labour and living conditions, low salaries and, based on interviewees' reports, regular impositions of abusive practices by employers.

Africans in Girona: a low-qualified labour force?

As to whether the labour market trends outlined above represent de-skilling, or indeed a learning of new skills by immigrants on arrival in Spain, the evidence is less clear. In order to assess the level of qualifications of the African labour force in Girona, two basic indicators were chosen from the survey:

- the immigrants' language skills, and in particular, their literacy and their knowledge of Spanish and Catalan; and
- their labour trajectory in their countries of origin.

Regarding the first point, data presented in table 3.8 shows that there was a clear difference between Moroccans and West Africans: the

⁹ However, it is worth noting that two Moroccans interviewed had changed their employment category in order to be accepted by the Girona office of the Ministry of Labour and Social Security. Indeed, the reality is that immigrants work where employers wish, no matter what category is defined on their work permit. However, the category does establish their salary. This practice is not restricted to the accommodation sector.

majority of Moroccans declared they could write and read whereas the bulk of West Africans interviewed were not literate. Meanwhile, whilst Spanish was spoken by the vast majority of respondents (138 out of 151), Catalan was spoken by only 11.9 per cent of the interviewees, although half could understand the language. To a certain extent, the low knowledge of Catalan is surprising in an area where Catalan is the normal language of communication, and this may suggest a limited level of social integration for African workers, perhaps as a result of high migrant mobility patterns, short lengths of residence in Catalonia or lack of social relations between Africans and locals. On the other hand, it reflects the fact that African workers generally do not occupy jobs which require particular language skills (e.g. clerical jobs).

Table 3.8 Literacy level of sample population by nationality (no. individuals)

Can you write and read your first language?	Moroccans	West Africans	Total
Yes	60	16	76
Yes, but with difficulties	15	14	29
No	12	34	46
Total	87	64	151

Source: Author's survey, 1995.

However, in determining the relationship between literacy levels and labour integration, a number of problems arose. First, the small number of skilled employees (19 out of 148) in the sample makes it difficult to come to firm conclusions about whether literacy leads to skilled employment; and although the majority of skilled workers, whether Moroccans or West Africans, did have writing skills, the majority of Moroccans in unskilled employment (67.6 per cent) also reported that they knew how to write and read in Arabic. The lower proportion of West Africans in unskilled employment who could read and write (21.8 per cent) suggests however that there may be some relationship between place of origin, writing skills and integration in local labour markets.

Differences were also found between Moroccan and West African respondents in terms of their occupational background in their countries of origin, suggesting different labour market trajectories for the two groups. Data presented in table 3.9 shows the relative importance of non-family employees among Moroccans compared with the West African group, suggesting a more market-oriented economy in Morocco, and probably a more urban background for these migrants.

As the Colectivo IOE (1994) mention, the economic crisis in the late 1980s and 1990s pushed many middle-class members of Moroccan society, and especially young students from urban backgrounds, towards the idea of emigration. Indeed, Moroccans interviewed in this research came both from rural parts of the Rif (Northern Morocco), and from cities such as Nador, Tetuan or Tanger.

Table 3.9 Main occupation in the country of origin of sample population, by nationality (no. individuals)

Occupation	Moroccans	West Africans	Total
Employed on family land or in family business	27	49	76
Self-employed	12	3	15
Non-family employee	23	9	32
Unemployed or only occasional employment	25	3	28
Total	87	64	151

Source: Author's survey, 1995.

Table 3.9 does not show the kind of job (skilled or non-skilled), but the relationship to production (employee or employer; family or non-family; self-employment), and as such, it is not possible to affirm that there is a de-skilling process as a consequence of the migratory process. Nonetheless, the table displays a great diversity of situations in the country of origin for Moroccans, whereas the West Africans' immigration patterns fit more into conventional ideas of labour immigration from poor countries, as migrants have come mainly from a poorly-developed agricultural sector.

Conclusions

This chapter has attempted to cast some light on a relatively little-studied phenomenon, namely the increase of African immigration into the Spanish labour market. From being almost non-existent in official statistics, one African nationality (the Moroccans) is now the main legally resident foreign population in Spain. However, the total number of non-EU residents in Spain is still far lower than in central or northern Europe and new labour inflows have experienced a remarkable decline since 1992.

Quite differently from the inflows of immigrants into central and western Europe in the 1960s, labour immigration into Spain occurs in a high-unemployment context; the highest in the OECD. However,

official statistics suggest that immigrants are employed in a range of activities across all the economic sectors of the Mediterranean provinces, with the same pattern being recorded for the Canary Islands and Madrid. Some economic sectors are more porous to the entry of foreign labour than others; namely, agriculture, construction and the domestic sector. Within these sectors, immigrants are not necessarily occupied in declining firms, as is witnessed by the employment of immigrants in the highly-productive agricultural sector of Almería. Meanwhile, data presented here from a survey of African workers in Girona confirms the general Spanish picture of immigrant workers fitting into local employment structures. Economic sector thus is not seen as crucial for the differentiation of labour inflows.

Regarding the kind of jobs that these workers do, the Girona survey points to the African labour force mainly doing unskilled jobs in secondary labour markets. This occurs across all economic sectors. Although every sector has its own particular dynamics, immigrants are found in the most unstable and seasonal parts of the labour market. In other words, even though employers may have different reasons for hiring foreign workers in manufacturing and agriculture, the outcome is similar. Linked to this, only a few of the jobs are permanent. This should be understood in the context of greater casualisation of the Spanish labour market as a whole. The casualisation of the labour market definitely smoothes the path of integration of unskilled foreign workers into secondary labour markets. This is not to say that casualisation just affects immigrants, for other groups, especially women and the young, suffer from it as well. Yet non-EU foreigners are probably the group that is most overtly at risk. Finally, the kind of jobs that Africans do in Girona is unaffected by their previous education or work experience.

This account confirms the thesis advanced by Piore (1979) in the sense that African workers fill unskilled jobs in the secondary labour market. Self-employment has not been developed to a great extent and access to skilled jobs for African workers is largely restricted to those sectors that are in short supply in local labour markets, although other groups of foreign workers, such as EU nationals, may have a more diversified pattern of integration. Meanwhile, in all this, it seems clear that the state is vital not just in the process of casualisation which is taking place in Spain, but also in limiting possibilities for foreign workers in the labour market depending on the worker's nationality.

Finally, however, while the dual labour market theory posits that the competition between native and foreign workers is minimal, the array of jobs that African workers occupy in Girona, and high unemployment and casualisation in the Spanish labour market, cast a doubt on this

point. There are jobs created by African immigrants (e.g. ethnic businesses), jobs clearly rejected by locals (e.g. brushing forests), but for some other occupations (e.g. industrial workers) competition between foreigners and non-foreigners is clearly present. In addition, the dual labour market theory does not give an explanation of the concentration of foreigners in certain unskilled jobs, while other unskilled jobs are undertaken by natives. In this sense, it seems clear that any framework for the study of labour immigration in Spain needs to combine macro, structural approaches (with clear recognition of the importance of the dual labour market theory) with micro-scale analysis (e.g. the role that immigrants' networks play in channelling information about jobs), in order to reach a more complete understanding of the process of labour market change.

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4

Gender-Selective Migration: Somalian and Filipina Women in Rome

Victoria Chell

Within the past 20–30 years, Italy has changed from being a country of net emigration to one of net immigration. As pointed out in Chapter 1, three distinct trends contributed to the 'migration turnaround': a rapid decline in Italian emigration; the return of Italian nationals from abroad; and, most important of all, a significant immigration from various countries of the 'South'. Initially, this immigration to Italy was fairly limited: mainly women from Cape Verde, the Philippines and Eritrea who were employed as domestics; and an agricultural labour force made up of men from North Africa, particularly Morocco and Tunisia. These migration flows started to become significant in the early 1970s, but since the early 1980s the number of immigrants entering Italy has increased sharply and has involved a greater range of nationalities, including recent refugees from Somalia.

At the heart of this chapter are the implications of international migration for female migrants of different origins and with different expectations, who have arrived in Italy at a tumultuous and unprecedented period in Italian migration history. This chapter can be seen as a specific and detailed response to the important remark made in Chapter 1 about the marked gender and work selectivities of the various national migration streams which have entered Southern Europe in the last 20 years. My analysis can also be seen as a vindication of the powerful argument of Morokvasic (amongst others) who has pointed out the falsity of the gender-blind and reductionist stances of much writing about migration where it is implied that most 'active' migrants