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Mediterranean and Eastern European Countries
as New Immigration Destinations in the European Union
VI European Commission Framework Programme



 **IDEA**
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**Patterns of immigration
in the 'new immigration' countries
(outline of the report)**



Mediterranean and Eastern European countries
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Patterns of immigration in the 'new immigration' countries

Report prepared by the teams of
Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain

Outline

- Similarities and differences
 - Evolution of migration flows
 - Characteristics
 - Labour market insertion
 - Policies
 - Impacts
 - Integration
- Explaining factors
- A model in the making

Evolution of migration flows

- All these countries have had high emigration until recently. During the turn of the 19th to the 20th century and after the WW II they were engaged in mass migration directed first to the new immigration continents (mainly North and South America) and afterwards to Western Europe.
- During the 1970s and 1980s a migration turnaround took place. Emigration decreased, return migration increased (although declining later) and foreign immigration augmented.
- In a short time span, these countries went from net emigration to net immigration.

- The timing and rhythm of inflows was not the same. In Greece most of the inflows occurred during the 1990s, in Italy and Portugal during the early 2000s and in Spain all along the new century, until the recent economic recession.
- At the same time, emigration has not ceased completely. The most exceptional case is Portugal, where immigration decreased and emigration resumed during the new century.
- International flows do not follow a linear trend and may know unexpected variations. The recognition of anything similar to a 'mobility transition' (Zelinsky, 1971), with the linearity prevailing in demographic transition models, must not be done without reservations.

Figure 2.1 - Immigration from abroad of foreign citizens - Italy, Portugal and Spain, 1990-2007. Absolute values and percentages of foreigners on the overall immigration

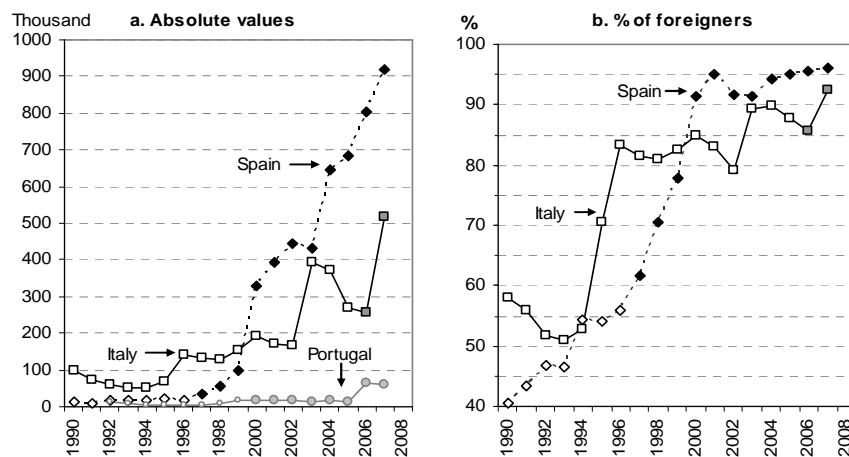


Table 2.1 - Foreign population according to different sources in the Southern European Immigration Countries around 1991, 2001 and 2007. Absolute values (in thousands) and percentages of total population (at the end of the year or at the census data)

Country /categories	Absolute values (in thousands)			% of total population		
	1991	2001	2007	1991	2001	2007
ITALY						
Permits to stay holders ^(a)	649	1,448	2,415	1.1	2.5	4.1
Residents ^(b)	356	1,335	3,433	0.6	2.3	5.8
Estimate of total foreign pop. ^(c)	1002	2,460	4,328	1.8	4.3	7.2
SPAIN						
Permits to stay holders ^(d)	361	1,109	3,979	0.9	2.7	8.6
Residents (census) ^(e)	353	1,572	...	0.9	3.8	...
Residents of <i>Padrón</i> (total foreign population) ^(f)	...	1,978	5,221	...	4.8	11.3

Table 2.1 - Foreign population according to different sources in the Southern European Immigration Countries around 1991, 2001 and 2007. Absolute values (in thousands) and percentages of total population (at the end of the year or at the census data)

Country /categories	Absolute values (in thousands)			% of total population		
	1991	2001	2007	1991	2001	2007
GREECE						
Permits to stay holders ^(g)	149	...	696	1.5	...	6.3
Residents ^(h)	166	762	884	1.6	7.0	7.9
Estimate of total foreign pop. ⁽ⁱ⁾	1,092	...	...	9.8
PORTUGAL						
Legal residents and holders of visas ^(j)	...	351	446	...	3.4	4.2
Residents ^(k)	107	233	402	1.1	2.2	3.8
Estimate of total foreign pop. ^(l)	...	...	496	...	...	4.7

Characteristics

- Similar demographic characteristics of immigrants: most of them are young adults, who either targeted directly the labour market or came in the framework of family reunion. This explains why the immigrants offspring' is only now becoming visible.
- The most significant exception to this age profile: presence of retirement migration in Spain and Portugal.
- In gender terms, immigration is in general balanced, although an observation by specific nationalities reveals some more male- and female-oriented flows.
- The national origin of immigrants is highly variable.

Table 2.3 - Foreign resident population by geographical areas and main countries of citizenship, Southern European Immigration Countries, 2007. Absolute values (in thousands) and percentages by citizenship and of females

Main countries of citizenship	ITALY			Main countries of citizenship	SPAIN		
	Abs. val. (thousand)	% by citizenship	% females		Abs. val. (thousand)	% by citizenship	% females
2007 Population Registers (Anagrafe)				2007 Population Registers (Padrón)			
Total	3,432.7	100.0	50.4	Total	5,220.6	100.0	46.8
MDCs	201.1	5.9	59.9	MDCs	1,160.0	22.2	46.8
CEE	1,614.9	47.0	54.4	CEE	1,180.3	22.6	47.3
LDCs	1,616.7	47.1	45.3	LDCs	2,880.3	55.2	46.6
Romania	625.3	18.2	52.9	Romania	729.0	14.0	46.3
Albania	401.9	11.7	44.7	Morocco	644.7	12.3	36.7
Morocco	365.9	10.7	40.8	Ecuador	420.1	8.0	50.8
China	156.5	4.6	47.3	UK	351.9	6.7	49.2
Ukraine	132.7	3.9	80.4	Colombia	280.7	5.4	55.6

Table 2.3 - Foreign resident population by geographical areas and main countries of citizenship, Southern European Immigration Countries, 2007. Absolute values (in thousands) and percentages by citizenship and of females

Main countries of citizenship	GREECE			Main countries of citizenship	PORTUGAL		
	Abs. val. (thousand)	% by citizenship	% females		Abs. val. (thousand)	% by citizenship	% females
	2005 Permits to stay^(b)			2007 Legal residents (SEF)			
Total	692.4	100.0	37.7	Total	401.6	100.0	45.3
MDCs	..	..	..	MDCs	99.7	24.8	46.9
CEE	605.0	87.4	38.5	CEE	79.2	19.7	41.9
LDCs	87.4	12.6	31.9	LDCs	222.7	55.5	45.8
Albania	481.7	69.6	31.4	C. Verde	61.1	15.2	44.9
Bulgaria	44.0	6.4	65.2	Brazil	55.7	13.9	52.8
Romania	25.4	3.7	47.2	Ukraine	34.2	8.5	38.6
Ukraine	19.8	2.9	81.7	Angola	30.4	7.6	46.3
Pakistan	15.8	2.3	1.2	UK	23.6	5.9	47.2

Labour market insertion

- Immigrants have high employment rates, both male and female, confirming the labour orientation of most inflows.
- They are mostly inserted in the same economic sectors: construction, manufacturing (mainly Italy), hotels and restaurants, retail trade, domestic work and agriculture (except Portugal). They benefit from the seasonal character of some activities.
- They are mainly inserted in the so-called 3-D jobs, normally rejected by natives. They also often face overqualification for the jobs they perform and are over-exposed to flexible and precarious labour arrangements, including temporary contracts and unemployment.

Policies

- Immigration policies present some similarities in terms of general evolution and objectives, but also many differences resulting from institutional contexts.
- Main resemblance: similar path taken by policy approaches. All countries started to deal with administrative norms about the entry and residence of foreigners; they afterwards looked for a stricter control and rigorous enforcement; they progressively sought for ways of managing labour migration (mainly labour quotas); they gradually developed integration approaches; and they carried out from time to time regularisation processes.
- Moreover, some traits of ethnic preference were present, either regarding ancestry or postcolonial contexts.

Table 4.2 - Overview of regularisation processes in Southern European migration regimes (1985-2007)

Spain	Italy	Greece	Portugal
1985	1986	-	1992-1993
1991	1990	-	1996
1996	1995	-	2001
2000	1998	1998	2003
2001	2002	2001	2004
2005	(2006)	2005-2006	2007

Table 4.3 - Results of regularization processes in Southern Europe

	Italy	Spain	Greece	Portugal
1985-1990	322 626	34 832		-
1991-1995	244 492	109 135		39 166
1996-2000	217 124	221 748	370 000 (white card) 220 000 (green card)	35 082
2001-2007	634 728	811 049		183 833 (a)

- Policies to manage proactively immigration flows have also been put in practice. Systems based in labour market quotas (or equivalent) were common to all Southern countries. Italy (1990) and Spain (1993) were the first to introduce this kind of system, followed by Greece (2001) and Portugal (2001).
- Only in 2000 the (then) EU Commissioner for Justice and Home Affairs, António Vitorino, stated that “the zero immigration policies of the past 25 years are not working”, urging for “new legal ways for immigrants to enter the EU”.
- The mechanisms enacted for border control were progressively improved. Visa overstaying was the main avenue for irregular immigration.

Impacts

- The demographic impacts were evident, since these countries are among the ones with a lower fertility and more rapid ageing in the world. The entry of foreign young adults helped to sustain total population growth, revitalised births and also marriages (mixed marriages).
- In economic terms, several studies confirm that immigrants have contributed strongly to economic growth and are net financial contributors to the welfare state.
- In social terms, impacts have varied, since the social context of reception and public opinions have multiple views about the issue. Nevertheless, a considerable degree of acceptance seems to exist, tempered by concerns about criminality or, mainly in the case of Greece, ethnic cohesion.

Integration

- Integration outcomes are generally limited, although prospects vary from case to case.
- Besides a rapid insertion in the labour market, much needs to be done on this field. Moreover, the labour insertion itself is confined to the least protected and desired segments of the labour market (a case for structural exclusion).
- However, the increase in the duration of stays, the insertion in social networks (either of fellow foreign citizens, other foreigners or nationals) and policy assistance have led and may lead in the future to some improvement.

Explaining factors

- Why have all these processes evolved like this, and why did similarities showed up so often among the Southern European countries?
- Explanatory variables (interrelated factors)
 - Timing of inflows ('generation effect')
 - Stage of the migration cycle ('age effect')
 - Type of labour demand
 - Socio-economic structures or regimes
 - Perceptions and attitudes towards immigrants

Timing of inflows ('generation effect')

- Despite the non-linearity of the migration process, it may be argued that all Southern European countries are marked by the same historical imprint in their immigration experiences, i.e., they are affected by the same 'generation effect'.
- They all have witnessed strong immigration growth and had to deal with their outcomes after the 1980s, a period characterised by de-industrialisation, flexibilisation of the labour markets and de-regulation in all advanced economies.
- This means that the regulation of migration, i.e., the enactment of effective control and recruitment policies, and the prevention of integration deficits would always be of utmost difficulty.

Stage of the migration cycle (‘age effect’)

- In all Southern European cases most of the inflows are still in the first stage of the migration cycle. Only now the immigrants’ offspring starts to be significant, either by means of 1.5 generation immigrants (children arrived early in their lives) or children already born in the host countries. I.e., Southern countries are affected by the same ‘age effect’.
- As a result, the immigrants’ impacts over the welfare system are still generally positive (they are net contributors, since they are mostly engaged in the employed labour force, but this may change in the future). Issues related to the second generation only now are becoming challenging (and they will confirm, or not, the prospects for integration).

Type of labour demand

- In all Southern European countries a vast labour intensive economic sector exists, sometimes linked to traditional activities, others to new types of demand. In all these sectors foreign manpower is mostly substituting native manpower (a case for complementarity , not competition). During the last decades, job creation in these sectors was vast.
- The strong labour demand for immigrants is also related to the extent of the informal economy. Although informal arrangements are now common in all advanced economies, comparative studies show that Southern Europe has the higher levels of informality in this context. This factor explains the endemic presence of irregular immigration.

Socio-economic structures or regimes

- One of the main explanatory factors is the type of the welfare state. Although there is no consensus about a 'Southern European' model, many approaches stress similarities.
- The 'conservative model' attributes to families several welfare obligations; it does not directly provide many welfare services; and it protects the already employed.
- This helps to explain the immigration demand for some sectors (for example, the caring for the elderly at the households) and the segmentation of the labour market.
- If we add the law enforcement difficulties faced by Southern states, we may also explain the public acceptance of informal and irregular situations (common to natives and foreigners).

- Other factors relate to the organisation of the civil society:
 - strong labour unions, explaining the coexistence of well protected sectors of the labour force and less protected 'immigration jobs';
 - accrued presence of women in the labour market, explaining the immigrant recruitment at the households;
 - increased levels of education and social expectations among the youth and remaining local population, explaining complementarity;
 - power of individual employers and employers organisations, explaining wide immigrants' recruitment;
 - role of some pro-immigrant NGOs and the Catholic Church, explaining immigrants' integration and the strength of the pro-immigrant coalition.
- The integration in the European Union also directly constrains national immigration policies.

Perceptions and attitudes towards immigrants

- Some similarities arise between the Southern countries, although many differences prevail.
- Public opinion seems generally divided in Southern countries. Some indicators confirm the acceptance of immigration, whilst others demonstrate fear and concern.
- Past colonial and historical links, specific language and culture, and various stereotypes add to the complexity in this field, making it impossible to generalise.
- All in all, perceptions and attitudes are a dependent and an independent variable – as occurs with other factors mentioned before. It evolves in a dynamic way, affecting and being affected by other variables.

A model in the making

- A Southern European model of immigration undoubtedly exists, as was admitted by research during the 1990s and early 2000s (see, among others, King et al., 2000).
- This model encompasses many similar traits, factors and outcomes, although specific contextual frameworks make a difference (for example, the various timings and characteristics of inflows have been accompanied by various timings and characteristics of immigration policies).

- But this model is dynamic, in the sense that new dimensions are arising (for example, the second generation), new social frameworks are built (for example, evolving social attitudes) and new policies are enacted (a long way has been done since the first policies were drawn).
- Issues to follow up:
 - evolution of migration, integration, impacts and policies
 - effect of the current economic recession over migration

- Immigrants, native populations, institutions and governments have struggled to adapt to a new environment in Southern Europe, which is probably structural and will influence many years to come.
- Immigration became part and parcel of Southern societies. Social change related with immigration became pervasive and irreversible.
- In a sense, it is not only immigrants that are looking for Southern Europe. It is Southern Europe that is looking for itself.

Thank you.