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Irregular Immigrants to Spain

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by

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Abstract: The reference point for this study has been, for many years, the apparently increasing number of people who have not been granted legal residence in Spain. The core of this study is to provide confirmation that shows how people, forced to lead a clandestine existence, must face social, legal, and political problems in their everyday lives. Furthermore, this study aims at an understanding of the specific experiences of irregular immigrants without a residence permit, in contrast with the legal everyday lives led by resident citizens or legal immigrants. Irregular immigration implies a process through which these persons are refused their human and civic rights, and their vulnerability to the growing presence of international criminal organizations, a situation that is not acceptable in a democratic society.

Key Words: citizenship, demographics, illegal immigration, immigration legislation, legal immigrants, Mafia, social welfare, Spain, xenophobia

Introduction

This paper follows to a great extent the design of a report entitled “Illegality as a social and political problem in Spain,” prepared by the Pedro Arrupe Institute of Human Rights in the framework of the University of Deusto’s priority lines of research.

One of the most pressing concerns of European governments at present, and in which Spain has a leading role, is the administrative and social control of immigrants. This control revolves around administering the potential threat to the social welfare of their citizens represented by waves of immigrants. While lamenting the increase in and growing social acceptance of attitudes and programs that can only be described as xenophobic, when not actually bordering on racism, the governments concerned are caught between two antithetical strategies. On the one hand, they try to safeguard the values of democracy, freedom and the respect for pluralism; on the other, they see it as their duty to defend their citizens from an invasion that supposedly will or may threaten public safety, the economic well-being of their citizens and their western lifestyles.

On the assumption that immigrants are a threat on the *cultural* level (for example, Islam as opposed to Christianity), at the *social* level (poor citizens in societies threatened with structural unemployment) and the *political* level (revolutionary groups opposed to political formulas institutionalized in Europe), immigrant-receiving countries in Europe attempt to tranquilize their citizens by establishing laws governing aliens, conditions controlling rights to citizenship, and entry and residence controls that are designed to put a definitive end to this potential risk. The social and cultural homogeneity of European countries is defended as an unquestionable political value. The syndrome of a Europe under threat of migratory invasion has reached a point where the concept of a threshold of tolerance concerning the levels of immigration a country can accept without upsetting its own social and political integrity has become perfectly acceptable politically.

In this respect, current Spanish legislation recognizes the convenience of not tolerating the entry into Spain of more than a fixed number of immigrants calculated every year in line with unemployment levels in the country. Last year, for example, the quota of admission for foreign immigrants was established at 30,000 (See Table 7).

Partial or imperfect success in managing migratory flows has brought into sharp focus the problem of migrant international citizens who, in their attempts to settle in the countries of their choice, are prevented from doing so under the new legal frameworks. Notwithstanding the fact that legal interdictions have multiplied and become much stricter, the apparently unstoppable flow of such immigrants to our societies leads us to believe that such measures are, if not wrong, at least ineffective. This is where the legal figure (with the accompanying set of problems and issues) of the *irregular* immigrant, also classed as *illegal*, *without papers*, or even *clandestine*, takes on particular importance.

Before turning our attention to the irregular immigrant group, however, we should first analyze the main general features of Spain as a target country for immigration.

Immigration in Spain

In the 1980s, Spain (traditionally a source of emigrants) became a target country for immigrants (Izquierdo 1996). In the last twenty years, the foreign population resident in Spain has tripled, while the number of Spanish emigrants has fallen. The 1980 total of 183,422 foreigners resident in Spain had risen to 278,796 in 1990 and to a total of 609,813 people by the end of 1997, of whom 260,599, i.e., 42.7% were citizens of the European Community. Three decisive features can be derived from these figures:

- Immigration into Spain is a phenomenon with little *actual demographic effect* on the Spanish population as a whole, as it accounts for less than 2%.
- It is *slightly on the increase*, as is clear from a comparison of the migrant quotas over five years.

- The *majority* of immigrants are *European in origin* (47.4%). The second group of foreign residents comes from *the African continent* (mainly from the countries of the Maghrib) (23.4%) which has relegated the group of *Latin American nationals* to third place (18.4%).
- However, the data reflect major changes occurring in the last few years in the national and ethnic origin of immigrants to Spain. In this respect, it is enough to point to the increase in the number of immigrants from African countries (Checa 1998), which in 1980 accounted for 2.8%. Changes in the national and ethnic origin of immigrants, rather than growth in the actual number of foreigners, account for the fact that immigration is now beginning to be perceived as a problem by Spanish society.

Apart from the Spanish and the legal immigrant populations, there is a third group of foreigners in Spain living in an irregular situation. Because they are living illegally in Spain, this makes it difficult to determine the number, structure and, above all, the way illegal immigration's social complex actually works. The existence of illegal immigration in Spain is undoubtedly a fact, however recent and limited a phenomenon it might be in comparison to other countries, particularly in Europe and North America. According to Bimal Ghosh's (1998, p.11) calculations, five million people were living in an irregular situation in 1996, while the most accurate calculations for Spain put the figure at between sixty and seventy thousand people (Observatorio Permanente de la Inmigración, 1996). Their forms of expression and development processes would, however, appear to be subject to the same factors as in the rest of Europe.

To judge the social significance of migratory flows to Spain, a further group of people would have to be taken into account — those who are intercepted as they cross the Spanish border and who are refused entry permits.

Irregular Immigrant Specificity

By *illegal immigrant* we mean any non-native person of a country who matches one or several of the features of the following profile: a) entry without permit or without complying with the legal requirements; b) residence in the country without going through the formalities established in the entry permit (for example, applying for an extension to the original period of residence); c) involvement in illegal activities or in activities without prior acquisition of the required authorization.

Far too often, the two kinds of immigrants — legal and illegal — are identified as though they faced the same kind of problems and as though they lived in the same social space. Equating the social condition of the irregular immigrant with the situation of the legal immigrant would, however, be a serious mistake. The irregular immigrant requires specific consideration in his own right. This is what guides and orients our efforts. Nevertheless, illegal immigration is something that derives from all the forces and elements that feed international migration in general and make it such a conflictive process.

Being an irregular migrant in the country of asylum implies a very different social status from that enjoyed by a legal immigrant. Although both may be subject to pressures and social prejudice related to their condition as immigrants, irregularity introduces connotations of exclusion, social weakness, personal helplessness and administrative neglect that ensures that the irregular migrant is a fundamentally different kind of citizen to the regular migrant.

The apparently simple term “illegal” is actually very complex as regards definition and legal status and the social situation it implies.

The Irregular Immigrant in Spain: A Profile

From the data compiled via the different regularization processes carried out since the Spanish Aliens Act was passed in 1985, illegal immigrants in Spain are, for the most part, young, single people, usually male, although the number of women appears to be

increasing. People over forty and fifty years old, usually in poor health, with progressive difficulties in social adaptation or often retired, are also beginning to arrive in greater numbers. No less important, despite neglect of the issue, is the problem of family regularization through the regrouping of original family cores, or the creation of new nuclei of people exclusively in an irregular situation or by a mixture of people, some with their situations regularized and others not. Finally, there is the presence of *marginal irregulars* (to use the old terminology employed by Robert Park) represented by the native children of irregular immigrant parents.

A third of these immigrants come from North Africa, and specifically from Morocco and Algeria. The second group is made up of immigrants from Latin American countries (people from Peru, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Colombia and Brazil). The third group includes immigrants from Africa's sub-Saharan zone (largely from Senegal, Benin, Gambia, Guinea and Cameroon), followed by a group of immigrants from eastern European countries, usually Poles and Rumanians. Lastly, Asians (mostly Chinese) make up one of the major groups.

Methodological Approach

In this context, we should make clear that the emphasis of our research work is not on how many citizens in Spain are included in the group called irregular immigrants, but on how they live their irregular situation on a day-to-day basis. We also examine what steps they take to get back into civic life, with itineraries in which, unfortunately, many fail and all suffer unfairly.

Essentially, the report is based on a qualitative methodology (in-depth interviews). Specifically, our main source of information was the illegal immigrants themselves, more than a hundred of whom related their individual migration stories.

Both the geographical dispersion of irregular immigrants settling in Spain (Madrid, Catalonia, Murcia, Andalucía and the Basque Country) and the enormous ethnic and cultural variety (most interviewees came from the Maghrib, Latin America, the sub-Saharan, China and Eastern Europe) were taken into account in the selection process. The

sample selected for the report needed to cover a sufficiently wide range in order to represent in a substantial rather than an overly-statistical manner the entire group of irregular immigrants in all its forms or, at least, in its most essential features. The basic purpose of this qualitative analysis was, therefore, simply to record the tales of emigration these people had to tell.

Deciding to Emigrate

Socio-economic migration theory habitually seeks the motive for migration in what it describes as the push-pull factors. While the theory is substantially correct, it does not make a sufficiently clear distinction between them, concentrating to a great extent on economic factors to the detriment of the host of other, equally or more important factors found at the origin of many plans to migrate. Economic motives are by no means the only ones to lead to a decision to migrate.

Irregular immigration is not confined to minorities, or to people in desperate straits, nor to experts, nor does it run in one direction only. On the contrary, the modern emigrant may well belong to high or low spheres on the social and economic scale. He or she might come from a rural or urban environment, be illiterate or highly-trained, and may have emigrated one or several times, including a return journey to the country of origin or involving different stages on the personal itinerary.

Modern emigrants also have a variety of personal reasons for emigrating. Along with the larger group of what we might call the *survivors* who, driven by the want and misery in their countries of origin or by the plight of their families, or by both circumstances, search for less precarious means of survival in some other place, we come across *adventurers*, young people interested in exploring other worlds; *tourists*, *students* or *sportsmen* who, following an unexpected opportunity, have changed their residence without complying with the applicable regulations; *refugees*, and *investors* or *entrepreneurs* aware that they possess capital (be it education, talent or whatever) and who decide to move in search of greater social success and similar rewards. These immigrants may start on their migration project autonomously, independently, on their

own initiative, or in an organized way under contract, either voluntarily or forced by circumstances.

The independent is an irregular immigrant who administers his resources, organizes his journey, route, the moment and the speed of the move on his own account, alone or in the company of others. The hired man is an irregular immigrant who conceives his project as though it were something approaching a planned investment, something carefully organized beforehand, supported by a contract governing his transport or work or both, and which establishes the conditions of departure and the more or less specific point of arrival, or the conditions of his stay and possible return deadline (it may set all these conditions in one go). However, the contract (for transport, work, passing the frontier and so on) is illegal from the beginning, fraudulent or easy to manipulate.

In any case, both these situations make it clear just how precarious the conditions are in which such migratory projects are planned and implemented. The majority of accounts tend to highlight the complete lack of guarantees, of professional advice and of institutional coverage from private or public international displacement organizations in the search for work, in police protection, and in international aid bodies. One partial consequence of this state of affairs is personal exposure to the risk of accident and abuse from extortionists who make the commissions, from transport intermediaries, and from all the collaborators who take part in getting immigrants to their chosen destination, without the latter ever enjoying any safety mechanisms or guarantees whatsoever.

The lack of professionalism, information and guarantees contribute to an unnecessary increase in the financial, physical, emotional, and social costs borne by the immigrant, in addition to the essential costs he has to meet if this intrinsically high-risk project is to have some chance of success. The moment the immigrant actually crosses the customs frontier is just one more traumatic moment in the long, drawn-out fight to bridge the gap between the immigrant and the legal, social body. In such cases, an immigrant becomes irregular more or less at the point and time he expected. In other cases, this happens rather more unexpectedly, after having enjoyed a legal stay in the country.

In both initial and ensuing irregularity, however, becoming part of the irregular citizenry always means entering a world where the future is uncertain, legal coverage disappears and, far too often, arrival into a world of emergency, subsistence, and social exclusion, of contingency and institutional defencelessness. This process of social opacity is the feature that tends to distinguish the condition of the irregular immigrant from that of the regular immigrant, and leads to two related but different areas: the area of daily needs and requirements of social survival and the area of institutional relations.

In practice, the illegal immigrant's institutional absence means a civic exile from all the formal aspects of everyday living, as well as a forced state of unconditional and almost total social vulnerability. The scope and extent of such institutional exclusion varies greatly. Let us begin by analyzing its effects in the world of work.

Employment

Driven by the need to gather the minimum resources to stay and subsist in Spain, the illegal immigrant is virtually bound to look for a paid job despite the fact that the law expressly forbids it. Bearing in mind that the immigrant sees achieving a contract for a job of work as an essential step towards legalizing his situation, it is clear that it will take a great deal to persuade him from trying to get one.

What kind of work is this immigrant likely to find? One of the most striking things in this respect is the enormous difference between the kind of professions claimed by the immigrants, what they say their professions are or do, and the jobs they are offered in the receiving country (Martínez Veiga 1997).

In general, irregular migration accepts that the jobs available (which, as we shall see, become the basis for social legitimation by the receiver society) are to be found on the lowest rungs of the work scale (seasonal agricultural labourers, domestic service, construction workers, moveable street stalls, etc.), which, bearing in mind the professional talent and training of many immigrants, is a complete waste of human capital.

The most widespread stereotype of the illegal immigrant, the one usually identified with this group, is that of a young, single man. To sharpen the picture, a range of secondary features is often added to this basic profile; our young, single man is probably illiterate, from a rural background and on his own. This stereotype, which corresponds to the classic symbolism of traditional emigration, remains the most accepted one, although it is being increasingly altered by the sheer heterogeneity of migratory movements in general and by irregular migration in particular.

This would certainly seem to be confirmed by the immigrants interviewed for this report: more than ten percent had university-level studies in their country of origin, a further ten percent were former students, a third were craftsmen or similar, and only half actually had no training at all (i.e., were either completely illiterate or had primary schooling and no more).

Working as labourers on building sites or on the land, or in the restaurant and hotel trade, or in domestic service remains the most suitable occupations for their almost total lack of professional training. The lowest rungs of the work ladder are the ones that match their social and professional status. No one seems to assume the existence of an imbalance between the immigrant's educational capital and his contractual exploitation. The reality is, in fact, quite different.

Half the irregular immigrants residing in Spain are illiterate or have the most basic primary schooling. They have no specific training and know no other language other than their own. The other half, however, have been through vocational training courses, manual trade or crafts courses, baccalaureate degrees, or who have been to university where they have graduated or obtained a master's degree. There is a whole series of craftsmen, hairdressers, musicians, engineers, computer technicians, teachers of literature, primary school teachers, and journalists who have seen their studies, or their hopes of working in a profession suitable to their training, cut short by their irregular situation. These people, in roughly equal proportions either still students or with university degrees, soon become aware that the impossibility of obtaining a regular job forces them to waste their professional capital and work in jobs where their previous training and education are simply not needed.

As we mentioned in the section on methodology, this analysis is based on a non-probabilistic purposive sample. For this reason, the information cannot be extrapolated to the group as a whole without reservations. Even so, given the distance between the points where the field work was done, the remarkably disparate channels taken to contact interviewees, their ethnic and national origins, the differences in age and sex and the extent of the sample, we can safely conclude that the discovery of such a large group of university students, degree holders and professionals amongst irregular immigrants is not simply a question of chance, but highlights an important datum that is usually overlooked.

This imbalance does not just reveal the squandering of a major investment in education. It is also a further factor in discouraging or in creating resentment in the educated or trained immigrant as he sees his education going to waste, never mind the double effort — professional and attitudinal — he has to make to adjust to a new kind of job, lifestyle and living condition.

It would also be wrong to suggest that this waste of educational capital only affects men in the belief that almost all irregular women immigrants come from a rural background or a poor urban environment where the only choices are prostitution, farm labouring, harvesting or domestic service. Far from being scarce, women with secondary or higher education are almost as frequently encountered amongst the irregular immigrant population as are men. During the preparation of this report, we encountered females who were graduates from business, nursing and film schools, hairdressing and secretarial academies, tourism diploma holders, university graduates and even doctors of law, literature and architecture. All were obliged to work as waitresses, prostitutes, maids in domestic service or street vendors in order to survive.

The jobs immigrants without official papers do are not just unskilled, and on the lowest rungs of the labour scale. Their illegal situation, poor working conditions, low wages, long hours and their total dependence on their employers (largely as a result of their lack of social muscle in negotiations for better conditions) make the jobs they find particularly precarious.

The working life of these immigrants usually involves long periods of unemployment, followed by irregular, usually seasonal and highly unstable jobs in the underground economy. If we remember that jobs are the basis of social legitimation in the country providing asylum, such poor work prospects would seem to spring from the idea that irregular immigrants — the last to arrive — should only access work niches that have been abandoned by both the native population and the immigrants who have been in the country the longest.

We also found a large number of immigrants of the same nationality doing the same job, which is not surprising given that, in most cases, immigrants find work through people they know (family, friends, etc.). The importance of migratory networks in finding jobs for irregular immigrants is also a contributing factor.

Below is brief analysis of the major areas of activity where most of the immigrants considered in this report worked.

Agricultural sector

Agricultural work, especially at harvest time, is one of the major areas where immigrants in general, and irregular immigrants in particular, most easily find occupation. Despite the fact that unemployment levels in Spain are the highest in the European Union, jobs generated in grape-picking and fruit-collecting seasons, and so on, are not attractive to the unemployed Spanish population, which means they become available to foreign workers. The employment authorizations quota for non-EU foreign workers for last year estimated that almost a third of such authorizations would be for agriculture and cattle (See Table 8).

Irregular workers doing this kind of job live in a tenuous situation. Besides the seasonal nature and harshness of such agricultural work, which forces the worker to move from one place to another on a fairly regular basis, the extra effort it involves for irregular immigrants is clear, forced as they are to work very hard for poor wages — often a good deal lower than the money their legalized immigrant companions are paid for the same work, and which on occasion barely reach subsistence levels.

The uncertainty that affects irregular immigrants working as agricultural labourers is clear from many verbal accounts. Such testimonies usually emphasize the fact that the farmer employer only guarantees work from one day to the next, which provides a fair idea of his view of irregular immigrants as a reserve work force that is always available, and that can be employed or laid off as required. Similar circumstances apply to irregular immigrants working as labourers in the construction industry.

In many cases, agricultural labourers say that employers show absolutely no concern for the upkeep of the places used to house such workers, which means that hygiene and living conditions are generally deficient.

Domestic service

Female irregular immigrants are usually employed in indoor domestic service. It is fairly clear why Spanish women have stopped working as domestics and why regular women immigrants are also looking for other kinds of jobs. In the first place, conditions are tough and working hours long and hard. In this respect, many of the women interviewed who were working as live-in maids said they work all day, with barely one afternoon or evening off a week. The wages are also low. Wages for external domestic service are calculated by the hour, which means they increase as the hours worked increase. This is not the case for live-in or internal domestic service, as wages are calculated as a monthly unit.

Besides the excessive working hours, many live-in maids complain of fierce supervision by the lady of the house. They also try not to be seen either indoors by guests or neighbours, or outdoors, as they lack the required papers. Many women say they feel as if they are living in cages, deprived of their freedom and the right to social and family life.

Internal domestic workers do, however, believe their jobs are more stable and that they have more chance to save than other female irregular immigrants who work as external maids in domestic service, as their workplace covers their basic requirements of food and lodging. In general, this kind of internal work is usually taken on by women

who initially travel alone and who report that they send large amounts of money to their families in their country of origin. Once other members of their families — husbands or children, for example — begin the migratory process, these women usually prefer to leave live-in service to take on other jobs in external domestic service.

Street vendors

As regards income and working conditions, street vendors cannot really be included either in the primary or secondary labour market, belonging to the informal sector of the economy. Street selling usually involves very small businesses, where certain kinds of small-scale mercantile activities take place, with many small vendors competing with each other. Owing to their irregular situation, most try to keep out of sight of the authorities and thereby prevent their goods — their only source of income — from being confiscated.

Irregular immigrant street vendors usually sell tobacco or small crafts objects from their countries or which they have made themselves. Street selling is not usually a long-lasting way of scraping a living. Such vendors often work in agriculture or in other types of paid jobs at other times.

A general agreement among the great majority of immigrants interviewed, working in a range of labour niches, was that changing their legal status was very difficult. Employers flatly refused to give them job contracts, alleging economic problems in some cases or legal problems in others. Often their only response to a request for a contract by an irregular immigrant was to suggest he look for work elsewhere.

Driven by the need both to make the bare minimum to remain and subsist in Spain and to get a work contract as an essential preliminary step to legalizing their situation, illegal immigrants are unlikely to be dissuaded from looking for employment, despite it being prohibited by law. Clearly, precarious legal and labour situations are not going to stop immigrants from achieving the resources that will enable them to survive. On the contrary, they are more likely to accept abusive labour situations, by way of improving their conditions in the future.

Illegal immigrants often debate about whether they should accept offers from networks of organized crime that say they can provide a job contract at a reasonable price. As a regularized situation is virtually impossible to achieve for the majority of clandestine immigrants, the “normal” thing (in sociological terms) is to be irregular, clandestine, and even, in certain circumstances, technically a delinquent. This is a consequence of being forced to obtain income in a marginalized area of activity lacking any kind of labour/trade union or police protection or guarantees.

Prostitution

Finally, some reference needs to be made to the group of irregular immigrants linked to prostitution. A major distinction needs to be drawn here between the women who are in prostitution because of the money it brings and the women who say they are detained in night clubs against their will. The latter declare themselves to be victims of Mafia networks that promised them job contracts in Spain, almost always in the domestic service sector, and which, when they arrived, proved to be non-existent, the real destination being a brothel. These women are kept there to pay their debt owed to the Mafia organization for setting up the journey to Spain, even though the Mafia has not fulfilled its part of the deal.

Immigrants using a trafficker may do so because they are unaware of any other channel, or out of pressing need or under coercion or kidnapping. Payment is an essential feature of the contract, and may be made in money or in kind. The latter form of payment may involve performing illegal or criminal acts, or require behaviour clearly contrary to human dignity and liberty. Payment may also be made beforehand, during or after the journey. A payment that may in some cases be set beforehand and maintained until the end, or changed during the operation, or never fixed definitively (being prolonged for as long as the trafficker wants) leaves the migrant completely unprotected by the law and easy prey to people-trafficking networks, which are almost certain to limit their personal freedom. Ignorance of the law, removal of documentation, personal threats, threats to other family members in their home country and other similar factors all conspire to make any measure of real freedom very difficult for such migrants.

The traffic in people is by no means a new phenomenon, being as old as slavery itself, but a number of conditions are beginning to give it much greater social significance. The first is the connection between arms and drug trafficking networks with the people trafficking networks. The second is the extent to which these networks have apparently moved into the migratory routes to set up a highly profitable and particularly repellent market. The third is the ease with which they manage international transactions, as well as the operational capacity they demonstrate in the flexibility of route changes as they come under police surveillance and control.

Ironically, one of the direct effects of the introduction of tougher control measures on migration, presented as an instrument designed to rationalize the migratory process, is that they actually force immigrants to resort to international people traffickers, and are therefore a major promoter of such traffic.

Social Citizenship

Most irregular immigrants have to endure labour situations that offer no national insurance or access to the regular national health system, thereby adding the risk of no coverage for potential accidents or illnesses to the risk of losing their jobs. Living standards are frequently on or below the poverty threshold. They lack all rights to family reunification, accommodation is usually sub-standard, and they are unable to report criminal situations, outright exploitation or abuse. Living in Spain without documentation means leading an underground, officially non-existent life. For these immigrants, integration is simply not an option and, given their structural situation, never will be. All of which widens the gap between them and the society in which they work.

In this way, the illegal immigrant has to rely on his own capacity to resist, on his personal initiative, on the generosity and social support of philanthropic institutions (NGOs, religious organizations, and individual kindness) and, unfortunately, on people and trafficking organizations looking to make money from situations of social exclusion. The irregular immigrant is subject to social isolation, which frequently impedes him from meeting other people of his own ethnic group, colour of work occupation, for fear that

their high visibility will make their location by the police that much easier. All this influences the process of finding housing, work, legal advice, participation in social services — making it much more difficult than it already is. The length of the regular emigrant process, which in many cases involves long years in irregular situations, further complicates this tremendous waste of human capital, while making the social issues immigrants face that much more difficult to cope with.

Understandably, therefore, getting these papers is the greatest, if not the only, obsession of such immigrants as they set out on their lives as irregular citizens. It is an obsession that will remain with them for years, until they actually have the papers in their hands. It is an obsession that will lead many to bribe civil servants, policemen, legal agents and employers, and to put up with extortion, assault, robbery and the violation of their most basic rights. Having these highly prized papers means work, freedom from the attentions of the police, improved housing, renewed contact with their families, and stable social relations.

In short, although many migrants understand and accept an irregular situation in the beginning, it is by no means their direct objective. In many cases, it is not even expected or understood as part of the process, but is something they suffer as a result of the failure of their initial legal, regularized emigration projects. While the migrant never looks for irregularity, in the ordinary run of things it is something intuited, foreseen and accepted as the price to pay for a better future. However, even in cases where irregularity is accepted as inevitable, it is not seen as a permanent state; an irregular situation is simply tolerated as a transitory stage, as a temporary state that will, in time, become a regularized legal and personal condition. As all migratory projects are prepared as a means of getting away from misery or of improving social conditions, they always involve a large measure of enthusiasm, and dreams of freedom and social success. After months or years of fruitless waiting, however, they are bound to become a source of discouragement, resentment and defeat as legality takes longer and longer to achieve.

Illegal immigration is one of the most painful institutional failures of governments of developed nations, which have proved to be incapable of or unwilling to tackle the management of trans-national migratory flows. Parallel to migratory flows and the

accompanying social consequences, which are being more or less suitably managed by the laws on aliens introduced by migration-targeted countries, there exists a whole world of illegal immigration for which these laws have no answer beyond police persecution, arrest and expulsion. Meanwhile, tens of thousands of people outside the law subsist defenceless in the face of all kinds of burdens and exploitation, with no choice other than to accept conditions of social co-existence that condemns them to a civil death. It is like a sentence passed on illegal immigrants in exchange for life projects designed in their country of origin that are costly in financial terms, long on family sacrifice and humiliating to their sense of personal identity and dignity.

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IRREGULAR IMMIGRANTS IN SPAIN
APPENDIX

Table 1. Inflows of foreign workers into selected OECD countries (in thousands)

	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
Australia											
Permanent settlers ¹	12.6	22.7	34.8	43.8	42.8	48.4	40.3	22.1	12.8	20.2	20.0
Temporary workers ¹	..	..	..	..	..	14.6	14.9	14.2	14.3	15.4	..
Austria	18.0	15.3	174	37.2	103.4	62.6	57.9	37.7	27.1	15.4	16.3
Belgium	2.2	2.4	2.8	3.7	..	5.1	4.4	4.3	4.1	3.0	2.2
Canada	..	..	..	289.2	229.5	233.8	230.4	185.6	172.9	..	..
Denmark	..	..	3.1	2.7	2.8	2.4	2.4	2.1	2.1	2.2	2.7
France											
Permanents	9.9	10.7	12.7	15.6	22.4	25.6	42.3	24.4	18.3	13.1	11.5
APT	1.4	1.5	1.9	3.1	3.8	4.1	3.9	4.0	4.1	4.5	4.8
Germany	37.2	48.1	60.4	84.8	138.6	241.9	408.9	325.6	221.2	270.8	262.5
Hungary	..	..	..	25.3	51.9	41.7	24.6	19.5	18.6	18.4	14.5
Ireland	..	..	..	1.2	1.4	3.8	3.6	4.3	4.3	4.3	3.8
Italy	..	..	..	..	..	125.5	123.7	85.0	99.8	111.3	129.2
Luxembourg	8.4	10.5	12.6	14.7	16.9	16.9	15.9	15.5	16.2	16.5	18.3
Spain	..	..	..	..	19.8	85.0	52.8	17.4	23.5	36.6	..
Switzerland	29.4	33.6	34.7	37.1	46.7	46.3	39.7	31.5	28.6	27.1	24.5
United Kingdom											
Long term	7.9	8.1	10.4	13.3	16.1	12.9	12.7	12.5	13.4	15.5	16.9
Short term	8.0	9.4	11.8	12.2	13.8	12.6	14.0	13.3	12.9	15.6	16.8
Trainees	2.8	2.9	3.8	4.2	4.8	3.5	3.4	3.5	3.8	4.4	4.0
Total	18.7	20.4	26.0	29.7	29.0	30.1	29.3	30.1	35.5	37.7	
United States											
Permanent settlers	56.6	57.5	58.7	57.7	58.2	59.5	116.2	147.0	123.3	85.3	117.5
Temporary workers	85.4	97.3	113.4	141.3	144.9	169.6	175.8	182.3	210.8	220.7	254.4

¹. Including accompanying dependents.

Source: TRENDS IN INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION, SOPEMI, 1998

**Table 2. Stocks of foreign population in selected OECD countries
(in thousands and percentages)**

	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
Austria	314.9	326.2	344.0	387.2	456.1	532.7	623.0	689.6	713.5	723.5	728.2
% of total population	4.1	4.3	4.5	5.1	5.9	6.8	7.9	8.6	8.9	9.0	9.0
Belgium	853.2	862.5	868.8	880.8	904.5	922.5	909.3	920.6	922.3	909.8	911.9
% of total population	8.6	8.7	8.8	8.9	9.1	9.2	9.0	9.1	9.1	9.0	9.0
Czech Republic	..	..	..	..	..	..	41.2	77.7	103.7	158.6	198.6
% of total population	..	..	..	..	..	..	0.4	0.8	1.0	1.5	1.9
Denmark	128.3	136.2	142.0	150.6	160.6	169.5	180.1	189.0	196.7	222.7	237.7
% of total population	2.5	2.7	2.8	2.9	3.1	3.3	3.5	3.6	3.8	4.2	4.7
Finland	17.3	17.7	18.7	21.2	26.3	37.6	46.3	55.6	62.0	68.6	73.8
% of total population	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.8	0.9	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.4
France	..	..	..	..	3596.6	..	..	..	..	..	..
% of total population	..	..	..	..	6.3	..	..	..	..	..	..
Germany	4512.7	4240.5	4489.1	4845.9	5342.5	5882.3	6495.8	6878.1	6990.5	7173.9	7314.0
% of total population	7.4	6.9	7.3	7.7	8.4	7.3	8.0	8.5	8.6	8.8	8.8
Hungary	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	137.9	139.9	142.5
% of total population	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1.3	1.4	1.4
Ireland	77.0	77.0	82.0	78.0	80.0	87.7	94.9	89.9	91.1	96.1	118.0
% of total population	2.2	2.2	2.4	2.3	2.3	2.5	2.7	2.7	2.7	2.7	3.2
Italy	450.2	572.1	645.4	490.4	781.1	863.0	925.2	987.4	922.7	991.4	1095.6
% of total population	0.8	1.0	1.1	0.9	1.4	1.5	1.6	1.7	1.6	1.7	2.0
Japan	867.2	884.0	941.0	984.5	1075.3	1218.9	1281.6	1320.7	1354.0	1362.4	1415.1
% of total population	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.9	1.0	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1
Korea	41.6	42.8	45.1	47.2	49.5	51.0	55.8	66.7	84.9	110.0	148.7
% of total population	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3
Luxembourg	97.3	102.8	105.8	106.9	113.1	117.8	122.7	127.6	132.5	138.1	142.8
% of total population	26.3	26.8	27.4	27.9	29.4	30.2	31.0	31.8	32.6	33.4	34.1
Netherlands	568.0	591.8	623.7	641.9	692.4	732.9	757.4	779.8	757.1	725.4	679.9
% of total population	3.9	4.0	4.2	4.3	4.6	4.8	5.0	5.1	5.0	4.7	4.4
Norway	109.3	123.7	135.9	140.3	143.3	147.8	154.0	162.3	164.0	160.8	157.5
% of total population	2.6	2.9	3.2	3.3	3.4	3.5	3.6	3.8	3.8	3.7	3.6
Portugal	..	..	94.7	101.0	107.8	114.0	123.6	131.6	157.1	168.3	172.9
% of total population	..	..	1.0	1.0	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.6	1.7	1.7

Table 2 (continued)

	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
Spain	293.2	334.9	360.0	249.6	278.7	360.7	393.1	430.4	461.4	499.8	539.0
% of total population	0.8	0.9	0.9	0.6	0.7	0.9	1.0	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.3
Sweden	390.8	401.0	421.0	456.0	483.7	493.8	499.1	507.5	537.4	531.8	526.6
% of total population	4.7	4.8	5.0	5.3	5.6	5.7	5.7	5.8	6.1	5.2	6.0
Switzerland	956.0	978.7	1006.5	1040.3	1100.3	1163.2	1213.5	1260.3	1300.1	1330.6	1337.6
% of total population	14.7	14.9	15.2	15.6	16.3	17.1	17.6	18.1	18.6	18.9	19.0
United Kingdom	1820	1839	1821	1812	1723	1750	1985	2001	1946	2060	1972
% of total population	3.2	3.2	3.2	3.2	3.2	3.1	3.5	3.5	3.4	3.4	3.4
United States	..	..	..	..	11770.3	..	..	..	..	..	..
% of total population	..	..	..	..	4.7	..	..	..	..	..	..

Note: Data are from population registers or from register of foreigners except for France and the United States (Census), Portugal and Spain (residence permits), Ireland and the United Kingdom (Labour Force Survey) and refer to the population on the 31st of December of the years indicated unless otherwise stated.

Source: TRENDS IN INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION, SOPEMI, 1998

Table 3. SPAIN - Stock of foreign population by nationality (in thousands)

	1985	1990	1995	1996 ¹
Morocco	5.8	11.4	74.9	77.2
United Kingdom	39.1	55.5	65.3	68.4
Germany	28.5	31.2	41.9	45.9
Portugal	23.3	22.8	37.0	38.3
France	17.8	19.7	30.8	33.1
Italy	10.3	10.8	19.8	21.4
Argentina	9.7	12.1	18.4	18.2
Peru	1.7	2.6	15.1	18.0
Dominican Republic	1.2	1.5	14.5	17.8
United States	12.2	11.0	14.9	15.7
Other countries	92.2	100.2	167.3	185.0
Total	242.0	278.8	499.8	539.0
of which: EU	143.5	164.6	235.6	251.9

Data include 21,300 permits delivered following the 1996 regularization program.

Source: TRENDS IN INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION, SOPEMI, 1998.

Table 4. SPAIN - Acquisition of nationality by country of former nationality

	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
Argentina	586	806	732	1096	639	944	1532	1690	1314	1387
Peru	143	209	154	242	136	212	246	468	658	1150
Dominican Republic	..	..	..	156	105	146	298	393	499	833
Morocco	4939	3091	2122	1675	427	597	986	897	785	687
Colombia	.	..	..	260	174	247	433	383	364	457
Philippines	190	236	192	318	188	283	380	340	281	455
Portugal	519	584	404	496	234	447	424	503	372	452
Chile	325	487	342	440	249	344	725	335	317	425
Uruguay	..	..	..	266	147	187	268	246	217	260
Cuba	271	285	144	163	119	146	..	172	169	250
Guinea-Bissau	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	118	118	183
Venezuela	149	220	136	237	139	183	373	211	130	133
India	..	..	..	..	..	..	.	129	111	128
China	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	106	74	109
Iran	..	..	.	.	.	..	..	107	87	78
Other countries	1963	2219	1692	1684	1195	1544	2747	1704	1260	1446
Total	9085	8137	5918	7033	3752	5280	8412	7802	6756	8433

Note: Persons recovering their former (Spanish) nationality are not included.

Source: TRENDS IN INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION, SOPEMI, 1998

Table 5. SPAIN - Stock of foreign labour by nationality (in thousands)

	1988	1990	1995	1996 ¹	Women 1996
Morocco	5.0	8.8	51.6	59.2	9.7
Peru	0.6	0.9	11.4	14.2	9.1
Dominican Republic	0.5	0.7	9.7	12.5	10.6
Philippines	3.3	4.1	7.1	8.1	5.3
China	1.3	1.7	6.2	8.0	2.5
Argentina	3.5	6.3	7.5	7.7	2.7
Colombia	0.8	1.2	3.1	3.6	2.4
Senegal	..	..	3.4	3.4	0.2
Poland	..	..	2.6	3.2	1.0
Algeria	..	0.2	2.7	3.1	0.2
Cuba	..	..	1.4	2.0	0.7
Other countries	43.4	61.5	32.2	36.7	12.4
Total	58.2	85.4	139.0	161.9	56.8
Total of which EU	31.4	34.8	..	..	..

Note: Data are counts of valid work permits from 1992 onwards, workers from the EU are not included.

¹ Provisional data (including work permits delivered following the 1996 regularization program).

Source: TRENDS IN INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION, SOPEMI, 1998

Table 6: SPAIN - Immigrant Groups

CONTINENT/ COUNTRY	Resident permits¹ (12/31/98)	Work permits² (12/31/98)	Applications for a permit – (1999)³
TOTAL	719,647	190,643	
EUROPE	329,956	11,394	5,279
Germany	58,089	--	--
Belgium	11,997	--	--
Bulgaria	2,336	1,341	848
France	39,504	--	--
Italy	26,514	--	--
Low Countries	16,144	--	--
Poland	6,651	3,726	1,124
Portugal	42,310	--	--
Rumania	3,543	2,387	2,379
Russia	3,312	740	206
Sweden	8,491	--	--
United Kingdom	74,419	--	--
Other Europeans	36,646	3,200	722
Africa	179,487	91,370	26,667
Algeria	7,043	3,728	996
Gambia	6,969	2,263	310
Guinea	3,158	1,022	364
Morocco	140,896	65,243	23,277
Senegal	6,657	3,164	615
Other Africans	14,764	8,036	1,105
Asia	61,021	28,476	12,763
China	20,690	11,589	8,808
Philippines	13,553	8,300	1,724
India	8,144	2,379	525
Japan	3,631	1,142	26
Pakistan	4,238	2,054	1,031
Other Asians	10,765	3,012	649
North America	16,997	2,302	78
Latin America	130,203	56,785	20,844
Argentina	17,007	4,740	374
Brazil	7,012	1,868	551
Colombia	10,412	4,243	3,800
Cuba	13,214	2,905	933
Chile	5,827	2,083	235
Ecuador	7,046	7,276	7,026
Peru	24,879	15,910	2,698
Dominican Republic	24,256	13,053	3,940
Uruguay	3,907	1,228	113
Others Latin Americans	16,643	3,479	1,174
Oceania	1,023	135	15
Stateless/unknown	960	181	20
TOTAL	719,647	190,643	65,666

¹ Foreign persons who hold a resident permit in Spain in December 31, 1998. Source: Comisaría General de Extranjería y Documentación (Dirección General de la Policía, Ministerio de Interior)

² Foreign persons with a work permit in December 31, 1998. The data is still a provisional estimation. Source: Subdirección General de Estadísticas Sociales y Laborales. Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales.

³ Applications presented in order to get a work permit within the 1999 regularization process. Source: Dirección General de Ordenación de Migraciones. The data came out at the end of July 1999. At that moment, the number of applications was 96.542, but the statistics just pointed out the nationality of 65.666 applicants, those who are presented in this table.

Table 7: SPAIN - Geographical distribution of immigrants

AUTONOMOUS REGION	Resident permits ⁴ (12/31/98)	Work permits ⁵ (12/31/98)	Regularization	Process 1999
			Quota	Applications ⁶
TOTAL	719,647	190,643	30,000	96,542
Andalucía	95,970	19,193	4,261	14,032
Aragón	11,877	5,602	742	2,725
Asturias	8,682	1,769	43	222
Baleares	40,399	4,905	716	2,686
Canarias	68,848	6,878	690	3,804
Cantabria	3,910	811	30	101
Castilla-La Mancha	11,347	4,115	650	2,080
Castilla y León	20,113	2,935	323	1,114
Catalonia	148,803	53,485	6,245	20,059
Com. Valenciana	69,972	11,293	3,129	9,160
Extremadura	9,063	3,673	625	1,611
Galicia	21,140	2,524	190	715
Madrid	148,070	58,295	9,050	27,831
Murcia	15,731	7,717	2,500	8,138
Navarra	6,385	2,400	300	663
Basque Country	16,995	2,176	225	820
Rioja	3,253	1,024	281	781
Ceuta	1,196	201	--	--
Melilla	1,054	1,199	--	--
Unknown/interprovin.	16,812	448	--	--

⁴ Foreign persons who hold a resident permit in Spain in December 31, 1998. Source: Comisaría General de Extranjería y Documentación (Dirección General de la Policía, Ministerio de Interior)

⁵ Foreign persons with a work permit in December 31, 1998. The data is still a provisional estimation. Source: Subdirección General de Estadísticas Sociales y Laborales. Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales.

⁶ Applications presented in order to get a work permit within the 1999 regularization process. Source: Dirección General de Ordenación de Migraciones.

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