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Andreu Domingo
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Demographic Analysis of Latin American Immigrants in Spain

From Boom to Bust

Springer

Demographic Analysis of Latin American Immigrants in Spain

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Preface

Lessons from Latin American Migration in Spain

By the mid-nineties it seemed evident that, like elsewhere in the south of Europe, Spain had ceased to be one of the countries essentially characterised by emigration. Nevertheless, despite certain indicators of a sharp upturn in economic growth at the end of the twentieth century and the shaping of a migration policy that gradually took into account the high demand for workers to fill labour-intensive, low-skilled jobs, (hardly) anyone anticipated an immigration boom such as that which occurred during the greater part of the first decade of the twenty-first century. Likewise, few people foresaw its collapse at the end of the decade as a result of the economic crisis and, still less, what the outcome would be with regard to different populations from Latin America, which would not only come to stand out in terms of volume and intensity (on arrival and departure) but would also end up constituting what might now be described as the Latin American migratory kaleidoscope.

In this kaleidoscope, different groups entering Spain from abroad have been the main precursors of the diversity of the Latin American population in this country, through different periods of time, origins, and composition by age and gender of the migrant populations. This has given rise to new and clearly population-shaping processes in the host country, including inter alia family reunification, formation of new couples and/or the numbers of people taking citizenship, the latter process depending on the agenda of Spanish (and European) migration policy and its national preferences. Although the great majority of these processes have been simultaneously shaped by at least two geographic contexts, one of them Spanish and the other Latin American, the evolution and consolidation of migratory patterns and the consequent settlement of the different populations from Latin America has also naturally led to growth of the Latin American population in situ, thus feeding into the Latin American kaleidoscope through the birth of "Spanish-Latin Americans". From the standpoint of timing, the formation, establishment and consolidation of the Latin American migratory sequence is clearly marked by a before and an after in terms of the onset in 2008 of the economic crisis, not only because of the unsurprising decline in migrant flows and the return of some members of the Latin American populations to their countries of origin, but also because of the incipient process

of re-emigration of Latin American migrants to third countries, where European countries tend to be preferred, although they are not the only option. In this regard, the identity markers for Latin American migration to Spain are increasingly global, involving a considerable number of countries and regions, which further raises levels of complexity in its future repercussions.

Given this situation with its clear areas of inertia but also uncertainties, Spain unquestionably constitutes a good example of the fact that the future of demographic growth in post-transitional countries is mainly and irreversibly marked by the evolution of migratory movements, while the latter factor is closely linked with the economic state of affairs. In the short term at least, the causal relations go from economy to demography. In the long term, if economic growth is linked with demographic growth as some economists hypothesise, this would also be fundamental, not only in the sense of growth itself but also with regard to how this might be distributed.

The Spanish case has been especially interesting because of the convergence of two factors: Spain's belatedness in joining the ranks of immigrant-receiving countries, and the high intensity and volume of the immigrant movement into Spain in the early years of the twenty-first century, in terms of both its peak and decline. Detailed examination of the migrants coming from Latin America and the population they have established in Spain opens up two perspectives which offer good examples of what has happened in other immigrant destinations. These may not be wholly original but they are exceptional, once again in terms of intensity. The first noteworthy feature is the growing, trailblazing presence of women among the immigrants and, accordingly, in the settlement conditions of the immigrant population. Second and no less important, is the evident role played by legislation—sometimes used as an instrument of immigration policy and sometimes not—in the phenomenon under study, both in explaining the volume and rates of migratory flows into and out of the country and the sociodemographic characteristics of the migrants. The role of legislation is also important in relative terms, indicating the advantages, or offering a context in which such advantages can be compared with the situation of people from other origins, or Latin Americans in other countries where they do not enjoy the benefits of positive discrimination as they do in Spain.

The fact that the majority of migrants arriving in the United States in recent decades are also from Latin America only adds to the comparative interest of two extremely different migratory experiences which are the result of the economic, legal-political and social conditions of the context in which these occur. However, the contemporary geography of Latin American migration also reflects the globalisation of the world economy and labour markets, in which an increasing number of countries have become participants in global migration systems, including Spain. For instance, part of the increase in some immigrant flows from Latin America into Spain during the boom period was due to the increasingly greater difficulties of settling in the United States (which, until the mid-1990s, was unquestionably the leading country in terms of this immigrant inflow), it might be expected that some people among the Latin American migrants who have been obliged to leave Spain

because of the economic crisis, together with potential emigrants from different Latin American countries, would no longer see Spain as an attractive destiny and would therefore join the flows that are still entering the United States.

The origins of this book lie in our efforts -both individual and collective- to understand Latin American migration in Spain. They go back to conversations between the editors first about the exceptional volume and intensity of migration flows from Latin America to Spain over most of the first decade of the 2000s, and the dramatic turnaround as a result of the economic recession. These discussions rapidly developed into wider debates about how to give due emphasis to several important aspects of Latin American migration to Spain, while also seeking to offer a broad overview of the main processes and outcomes of Latin American immigration and emigration to date, and to bring together different perspectives on this fast-changing situation. In doing so, we are grateful to the contributors to this volume who have engaged so enthusiastically in this project.

As governments in Europe and around the world try to come to terms with new migration streams and the politics of difference, a global economy and the post-modern condition, migration finds itself at the centre of a major political struggle between those who see it as a threat to security, and those who see its potential as an opportunity to enrich communities, countries and regions. Unfortunately, the prolongued economic recession has contributed to unscrupulous politicians to recognise and exploit people's fears, blaming migrants for our economic woes. Nonetheless, the great majority recognise that ageing demographics and declining labour forces will make it impossible for many EU countries, including Spain, to maintain their economies with "purely homegrown" workers.

In these "new times", we have looked at migration in Spain, and while we have been involved in conducting seminars, workshops and conferences, we have also searched in vain for a suitably critical and accessible text on Latin American migration in Spain. This book attempts this task, and may be viewed as located in the space between demography, sociology and population geography. In editing this book, we have stressed the importance of thinking about the relationship between policy and change, not only because policy may be viewed as a response to broader social, cultural, economic and political change, but also because it prescribes changes which migration is expected to implement at different levels. The analysis of change has therefore been a central part of our migration research.

While the chapters of this book can be read alone, the commonalities in the literature discussed, types of data used and methods employed, mean that the book can also be used as a cohesive source for exploring themes of Latin American migration in Spain. The resulting volume opens with Prieto and López (Chap. 1), who draw attention to the main push and pull factors influencing Latin American migration to Spain. They usefully comment that the emergence and expansion of this new migration system is due to several factors: (i) Spanish economic growth; (ii) the upwards mobility of women in Spain and the fact that Spanish cohorts reaching adulthood are relatively small in number; and (iii) immigration policy, which is especially favourable to settlement of the Latin American population. Prieto and

López also indicate significant push factors such as: (i) the relative income differentials and several economic upheavals in Latin American economies; (ii) the demographic structure which is notable for its concentration of young adults; (iii) a labour market offering few opportunities, and (iv) expanding educational opportunities in the region.

The unique relationship between migration and legislation, in which positive discrimination towards Latin Americans is clearly evident, is discussed by Domingo and Ortega (Chap. 2). Their analysis demonstrates that a range of comprehensive government policies on migration as well as the existence of a legal framework based on shared cultural traits (such as language and traditions), together with preferential treatment received under Spanish nationality law (e.g. a reduced 2-year residence requirement to apply for naturalisation) have had a measurable effect in the form of growing numbers of immigrants from Latin America. Although the linkages between demographic and naturalisation issues have had a very low profile in the political arena, they are undoubtedly important, particularly in shaping the various forms of present-day international migration, and notably with regard to subsequent circular migration and re-migration, in the midst of economic recession.

In Chapter 3, Sabater and Massey provide a significant example of the importance of analysing spatial integration after immigration by documenting levels and trends in residential segregation for Latin Americans which, at the same time, are compared with those for the African group (the second largest non-European immigrant group in Spain). Although segregation is measured as a succession of static outcomes, Sabater and Massey also make an interesting contribution by examining the question of whether internal migration within Spain operates to reinforce or mitigate residential concentration. They find that Latin Americans are much less segregated than Africans despite their later arrival and faster population growth. In addition, they find that, over time, Latin Americans have tended to move away from original settlement areas and thus towards desegregation, a situation that clearly differs from that of Africans, amongst whom segregation has generally increased owing to a much slower pattern of dispersal.

Vidal and Vono (Chap. 4) focus on the changing socioeconomic environment of Spain as a major determinant of occupational opportunities for Latin American women. Their careful analysis shows that Latin American women only improved chances for upwards mobility between 2005 and 2007, under favourable economic conditions and when most of the regularisation of immigrants in Spain had been completed. They also provide evidence concerning the role played by the deteriorating post-2008 labour market context in blocking women's opportunities for finding higher-status jobs than housekeeping and care occupations. This chapter sheds considerable new light on the insider-outsider model of work relations and the low incidence of intersegment mobility. In other words, immigrant women who work in domestic and care-related occupations have little chance of leaving those jobs, and the economic cycle—far more than immigrants' characteristics and individual experiences in Spain—is the chief determinant of their prospects for upward mobility.

The next chapter by Sabater and Galeano (Chap. 5) provides an analysis of occupational segregation of Latin American men and women in conjunction with their

residential segregation at national level and for the metropolitan provinces of Madrid and Barcelona. Since labour force survey data is subject to small sample sizes at sub-national level, they employ a statistical technique to adjust sub-national data to the national counts and are thereby able to offer a more reliable analysis of occupational segregation for sub-national areas such as the metropolitan provinces of Madrid and Barcelona. After adopting this important measure, they find that, while residential segregation tends to decrease over time for both men and women, occupational segregation has increased during the same period, particularly among women. Their results also draw attention to a negative correlation between occupational and residential segregation for both men and women, thus suggesting that, contrarily to the parsimony hypothesis (i.e. positive correlation), there is an inverse relationship between these two forms of segregation. Within this context, it is argued that the existence of a multidimensional problem clearly demands specific target policies, particularly in domain of the labour market.

In Chap. 6, Del Rey and Grande investigate the reproductive behaviour of the Latin American and Caribbean migrant population in Spain, studying data pertaining to the birth of the first child and the determinant factors from a longitudinal perspective. In particular, they focus on family circumstances and the sociodemographic characteristics of migrant women upon arrival in Spain. The departure point for this study is the hypothesis that reproductive behaviour after emigrating is closely linked to the migrants' circumstances upon arrival, while length of residence is also deemed to be another important explanatory factor. They come to three important conclusions. First, the time variable—length of residence—is an important factor in the analysis of reproductive behaviour of the Latin American and Caribbean migrant populations in Spain. Second, they find two different profiles of migrant women, these depending primarily on whether or not they have had children before emigrating. Finally, they highlight how a migrant's personal characteristics and region of origin are important factors in reproductive behaviour.

In Chap. 7, De Valk and Bueno examine the complex interplay between participation in the labour force and the household demands and structures faced by women of Latin American origin in Spain. They focus on the diverse ways in which these women cope with and negotiate work and living arrangements, as well as their relationships with children, partners and other household members in times of economic constraint. Their specific analysis of multigenerational households and participation in the labour force suggests that the presence of grandparents in a household reduces women's labour activity by comparison with that of women from other household types. They make the point that this issue might be related to the presence of an active and still-employed grandparent in the multigenerational household and, indeed, highlight the fact that grandparents who provide the financial resources for the household allow the mothers of minors to care for them rather than finding a job, in contrast with the situation where grandparents look after the grandchildren. Finally, their analysis illustrates two very different patterns in complex household compositions, in which some mothers are more likely to be active (Ecuador and Bolivia) than others (Argentina and Venezuela, and to a lesser extent Colombia).

While most chapters in the book deal with migration to Spain and various demographic processes after settlement, Recaño, Roig and De Miguel provide, in Chap. 8, an analysis of Latin American migration from Spain as a result of the economic recession. They examine current patterns of emigration taking different characteristics such as age, sex, country of birth and province of emigration, and highlight significant migratory differences between Latin American populations in response to the crisis. Their analysis suggests that, at all ages, men emigrate significantly more than women in the current economic climate. This phenomenon is interpreted in terms of optimisation of the demographic structure of the workforce within families, thus reducing the burden of dependent groups. Recaño, Roig and De Miguel show the rising trend of return migration among Latin Americans, which constitutes the most important type of migration at present. Their findings suggest that acquisition of Spanish citizenship has become crucial in facilitating the right to freedom of movement, not only for return migration but also for remigration to third countries, particularly to European destinations such as the United Kingdom, Germany, France and Switzerland, and, of course, the United States, which is still the second most popular destination among Latin Americans.

This volume brings together different and valuable perspectives on Latin American migration to and from Spain in an attempt to outline past, present and future directions for Latin American migration research in Spain. The magnitude of transnational movements across the globe has increased markedly in recent decades, reflecting adjustments in demand and supply on the labour market, population growth, changes to political contexts, immigration policies and technological innovations in communications and travel. In this context, it is worthy of note that a third of the Europe-bound migrants have been coming to Spain during most of the past decade, thus making this country the leading destination of international migration in Europe, and the second-ranking destination, after the USA. Of course, immigration from Latin American countries was pivotal in terms both of its magnitude (representing 38.4% of the total inflow until 2010) and its gendered nature. While a significant number of Latin Americans have embarked on a return journey to their country of origin, or emigrated elsewhere, many more have chosen to stay on in Spain. Hence, political and policy approaches to the integration of immigrants and their descendants is seen as a priority. It is hoped that this book will contribute to the already-substantial debate in the media, in policy-making and by academics. The particular areas in which it is hoped it will shed some light are discussions about how to deal with population dynamics of Latin American populations and integration as a process. Although these are, of course, ambitious aims we hope that this book will represent a major step forward in the field.

Finally, we would like to thank Springer for their administrative and editorial support for this project, and for their patience and unfailing efficiency in the production of this book. Without their help, this edited volume would not have been possible.

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Chapter 1
Push and Pull Factors of Latin American Migration

Victoria Prieto Rosas and Antonio López Gay

Introduction

The migration system that links Latin America and Spain has a long history that has been dominated by the flow of migrants who leave Spain for Latin America. This flow traditionally contributed to inhabit this region, but recently, particularly during the last decade of the twentieth century, an inverse flow has dominated the migration pattern of these regions as migrants have been leaving Latin America for Spain. During the first decade of the twenty-first century, the profile and intensity of migration from Latin America to Spain has suddenly changed as Latin Americans of Spanish origin have emigrated from Latin America to Spain, and the latter has become the second extra-regional destination for those who emigrate from Latin America.

The evolution of this migration flow can be examined either by analyzing the stock of the foreign population residing in the host country or by analyzing the migration flows. The most frequently adopted perspective is the former, and it is rare to find contributions that assess this issue based on data about the countries of origin. Herein, we propose to address these concerns in two ways. First, we use indicators that relate the flow of Latin Americans to Spain with the population at origin that is exposed to the risk of migration. Second, we examine the economic, socio-demographic and political determinants of migration from a bilateral perspective. The latter allows us to assess the reasons for the emergence, consolidation and decline of migration by considering either the push or the pull factors.

Regarding the first objective, three significant periods of the migration of Latin-Americans to Spain are identified by examining the differences in the intensity of migration and the profiles of the migrants. The first period, which is associated with

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the emergence of the flow of Latin Americans to Spain, spanned the years from 1990 to 1999. The second period covers the expansion of the flow, which began in 2000 and ended in 2008 when the flow initiated its decline which is ongoing. The determinants of this migration flow are analyzed for each of these three periods.

This chapter is divided into four parts, the first of which is the introduction. In the second part, the analytical perspective is introduced and the main contributions that assess the evolution of Latin Americans' migration to Spain and its driving forces are presented. In the third part, the main stages of the flow are described by examining the intensity of the migration and the demographic composition of the flow. In the fourth part, we discuss the hypotheses presented in the second part of this chapter and contrast them using empirical data regarding the economic, political and socio-demographic factors that contributed to the emergence, expansion and decline of this flow from the origin to the destination. Finally, the main conclusions are presented.

A Bilateral Perspective for the Study of Migration From Latin America to Spain

The consideration of bilateral determinants in the study of the emergence and continuity of migration flows is not new, and it has been comprised within migration studies as from Lee's work (1966). In the latter, the migration flows and counter-flows are analyzed based on the similarity or difference between the origin and the destination. Recently, works such as Mayda's (2010) analyze the effects of the origin and the destination together, and identify these as not distributed homogeneously within both scopes. The importance of changes in each of these scopes is determining, depending on whether they take economic, political or demographic aspects into account. For example, the determinants related to job opportunities and economic dynamism of destination countries (pull factors) have great explanatory power, even more than the push factors generated in origin countries.[1]

Fortunately, the moment in which this migration cycle took place between Latin America and Spain has coincided with certain degree of maturity among the migration studies which currently address migrations as a multi-causal phenomenon at a micro, mid and macro level (Massey et al. 1998). From our point of view, the literature specialized in the settling process of Latin American people in Spain has been benefited from this perspective, and its revision highlights at least three major groups of factors that contribute to understanding the progress of this migration cycle. Both the background and the brief empirical and descriptive analysis of economic, demographic and political factors, which explain the emergence of this flow, will be analyzed in a diachronic and bilateral manner taking into account what happens in the destination and origin in terms of each of these dimensions.

[1] The terminology "push/pull" was coined by Lee (1966), and it has been recurrently used within migration studies in order to identify the factors promoting the exit of flows from origin places ("push") and factors that attract the flows towards certain place ("pull"). Lee's perspective also introduced the taking into account of multiple levels of analysis of migration determinants at micro, mid and macro levels.

In this section we begin by reviewing how the specialized literature has addressed these determinants.

Socio-Demographic Complementarity

The structure of population and demographic growth are among the different pull and push forces at macro level. Scientific studies addressing these demographic implications on this phenomenon may be organized in two major groups: one group observing the demographic factors related to destination countries; and the other group taking into account the demographic factors in origin countries. From the point of view of the push factors, the main hypothesis states that in periods of high demographic growth and in societies with lack of capacity to absorb young workforce, the international migration operates as a release. However, scientific literature is not conclusive in this regard and there is vast evidence in favor of and against the relevance of demographic growth to explain the migration processes (Salinari and De Santis 2013).

Within the group of contributions which conceive the role of demographic factors in the generation of foreign population demand, there are at least two major hypotheses intended to explain the Spanish pull force on Latin American migration. Both are based on confirming the ageing of the Spanish society and the strong decrease of fertility, but they differ in terms of which the true reasons for the relationship between migration and demographic decrease are. One of the hypotheses considering the ageing process of destination societies as pull factor of foreign population is comprised within the replacement migration concept. Therein, it is stated that the migration flow will be able to stop the decline of the population size, especially of population groups in active ages, and to resist, although slightly, the demographic ageing process (Lesthaeghe et al. 1988; Lesthaeghe 2000). The United Nations Population Division, which initially promoted this debate (United Nations 1998), confirmed that the migration flow required to stop the decline in the European population in active ages was extremely high (United Nations 2001). In the Spanish case, the idea of migration attracted towards a "replacement" demand, which would resolve the entry in active ages of empty cohorts originated at the end of the 1960s, was proved insufficient to explain what happened.

The evidence collected triggered the socio-demographic complementarity hypothesis. This supposes the complementarity between the recent Latin American migration (mainly of women) and the emergence of workforce demand within the personal services sector in the Spanish labor market, which was especially relevant to the household activities (Vidal 2009; Domingo and Gil 2007). This perspective analyzes the demographic change in view of other social transformations such as social promotion of Spanish women lead by the Spanish cohorts in the second half of the twentieth century. The increase of the share of Spanish women with completed secondary education has favored them towards more qualified jobs, while the homecare activities, formerly linked to the family scope, have been commercialized or "defamiliarized" (Esping Andersen 1999). The core of the social protection of Spanish welfare did not assure the institutionalization of care and, on the contrary,

promoted a model in which the assistance to older people would depend on informal caretakers. Therefore, according to the socio-demographic complementarity hypothesis, Spanish homes hired foreign workforce, a population group willing to carry out such activities. This process also explains the feminization feature of the migration flow in the last years, which mainly impacts the Latin American people (Vono and Vidal 2011).[2]

The study of Cebrian (2008) is the only one that analyzes, from a multivariate perspective, the effect of population stock in migration ages in origin countries on the Latin American flow to Spain. In 2008, the author proposes a multivariate model for the 1995–2006 period in which she controls for the post-facto management of migration in Spain, the political changes of origin countries and the effect of bilateral economic determinants. In this case, the percentage of young population residing in each origin country is considered a proxy of the demographic pressure on migration and, although the relation is positive, the effect is not statistically significant. Nevertheless, 1 year later the author extends the study to the 1995–2007 period and includes the rest of origin countries in the analysis (Africa and European countries outside the European Community) (Cebrián 2009). In this case, the percentage of population residing in origin countries, aged 20–34, corresponding to the year previous to the observation, results a significant variable. However, the difference between the results from both estimates does not allow the revised literature to conclude on the demographic effect on origin countries.

Economic Cycles Complementarity

The 63 % of migrants living in Spain in 2007 stated economic factors as reasons for migrating, whether for improving their life quality (20,5 %), searching for a job (11 %) or a better job (20 %).[3] Therefore, there is no doubt about the prevailing work and economic nature of migration in Spain.

Several particular economic-related events such as migration caused by the dollarization of the Ecuadorian economy in 2000, or the bank restrictions to cash withdrawals called corralito in Argentina in 2001, favored the emergence of labor out migration.

Unemployment is one of the most relevant variables to explain the evolution of international migration (Mayda 2010; Jennissen 2004). The multivariate analysis

[2] Despite the high levels of women activity, the longitudinal analysis of job careers in the origin country and Spain reveals a decreasing socio-professional mobility pattern, and a limited job promotion once settled in Spain, restricted to the economic sector where the first insertion occurs (Vono 2010). Therefore, there is a strong inequality between migrants and native population, which Domingo and Gil (2007) called "the other side of complementarity". Even though the working situation has improved within migrants, inequality decreases as the staying in Spain prolongs, but it remains.

[3] Figures derived from the analysis of the National Immigrant Survey carried out in Spain in 2007. The data presented herein were gathered from the online version of the survey (2012). Site: http://www.ine.es/jaxi/menu.do?type=pcaxis&path=%2Ft20%2Fp319&file=inebase&L=0. Access: June 2012.

of Cebrián (2009) abovementioned reveals that employment, migration costs and wages inequality are, as a whole, the reasons for the emergence and temporary progress of such phenomenon. In the specific case of Spain, it has been proved that the relative differences between wages in the origin and the destination country have an impact on immigration, for both the Latin American people as well as the whole migration flow (Cebrián 2008, 2009).

Legal Favoritism

There is a wide agreement on the Spanish legislation's preference towards Latin American migration (Izquierdo et al. 2002; Domingo 2005; Vono 2010). Despite the fact that most of this kind of signs took place after the emergence of this flow, which triggering factors are to be found in the economic and demographic variables reviewed herein, there is no doubt that the legislation and several regularizations have influenced the extent, durability and timing of the migration flow.

We may as well mention at least three legal-wise elements that have been acknowledged by the literature as being associated to the emergence and continuity of the Latin American migration in Spain. The first one refers to the inherited diaspora of the migration history linking both regions. The second element is related to the preferences granted by the Civil Code to the Ibero-American group to access the Spanish citizenship by means of residency. Finally, the third element refers to the ad hoc nature of the migration management in the past decades, which includes, for example, the several regularizations causing a "pull effect". Legal factors have been present in the post-facto management of migration during the economic crisis. It is within this framework that the emergence of the return migration program or renewal of residency permit facilities for unemployed immigrants will be analyzed.

Methodological Aspects

The period of this study extends from 1990 to 2011. The Municipal Register[4], which is the official record of registrations and delistings of residency, serves as the Spanish record of migration as it tracks the evolution of Latin American immigration and returns during this period.

The number of arrivals of Latin Americans in Spain is based on the registrations recorded in the Municipal Register, a document made available through the

[4] This is an administrative register where local residents are recorded. Its function is controlled by Law 4/1996, from January 10, 1996, which modifies Law 7/1985 from April 2, 1985. According to this regulation, local councils must record monthly variations in the register and communicate them to the NSI, who subsequently conduct a consistency analysis and prior to publishing. The register is also known as the continuous register, a name that refers to the permanent nature of its being kept current since 1996. Previously, the register's updates were less frequent, being conducted annually on May 1, but since 1998 there has been continuous management, using the January 1st of each year as the reference date.

Register of Residential Mobility, which is produced by the Spanish National Statistics Institute. Although there is no direct register of outflows in the same way as there is for inflows, the number of departures is approximated through the delistings due to residential changes, as recorded in the same data source.

As registration in the Municipal Register is voluntary, not all residential changes are communicated or recorded. Accordingly, there are other adjustment mechanisms that allow incorporating this omitted movement, such as registration by omission (altas por omisión), cancellation for undue inscription (bajas por inclusión indebida) and cancellation due to expiration (bajas por caducidad). The first of these, registration by omission, corresponds to those residential movements in which the destination is ignored. In contrast, the other two are residential delistings due to the residential mobility of foreigners whose destination is unknown. These are the most common types of delistings, as it is rare for migrants to register their departure from Spain. The cancellations for undue inscription have been registered since 2004, while the registration of cancellations due to expiration began in 2006, when the renewal of inscription became mandatory for foreigners after 2 years.

The variable used herein to identify foreigners is that of country of birth, as this parameter enables a flow analysis that considers the delistings due to expiration and registrations by omission, both of which are only available by country of birth. However, the country of birth is recorded for every type of registration in the Municipal Register. Accordingly, registrations and delistings as registered by the migrants, as well as those that result from administrative acts, are considered herein.

In addition to the information regarding migration flow from Latin America to Spain, which was obtained from the registration and delisting records, data on the population stock for the countries of origin were also used to estimate the intensity of migration, i.e., how many of the individuals exposed to migration experienced this event. The data on the population residing in the countries of origin are derived from the population estimations and projections elaborated by the United Nations and published in the World Population Prospects 2010.

Using the above inputs, yearly emigration rates to Spain by age, sex and country of origin were estimated. Later, a summary index of emigration, namely, the migraproduction rate, was estimated. This index expresses the average number of emigrations to Spain an individual could experience during his life if the levels of migration observed for the period of reference remained stable throughout the individual's entire life. The main advantage of this index is its comparability among countries with different age structures and population sizes. Accordingly, it is possible to evaluate the levels of migration in scarcely populated countries that are rarely considered in the ranking of highly migratory countries based on absolute figures of migrants.

In describing the trends in the factors that could trigger the migration of Latin Americans to Spain, several data sources were used. To describe the gap in employment rates between the main origins and Spain data from the International Monetary Fund was used. Census data of the countries in study, mostly made available by IPUMS International, was analyzed to describe demographic structures and educational attainment of the population. Finally, the magnitude of family reunification was assessed by analyzing annual data on family residence permits published by Foreign Affairs Ministry.

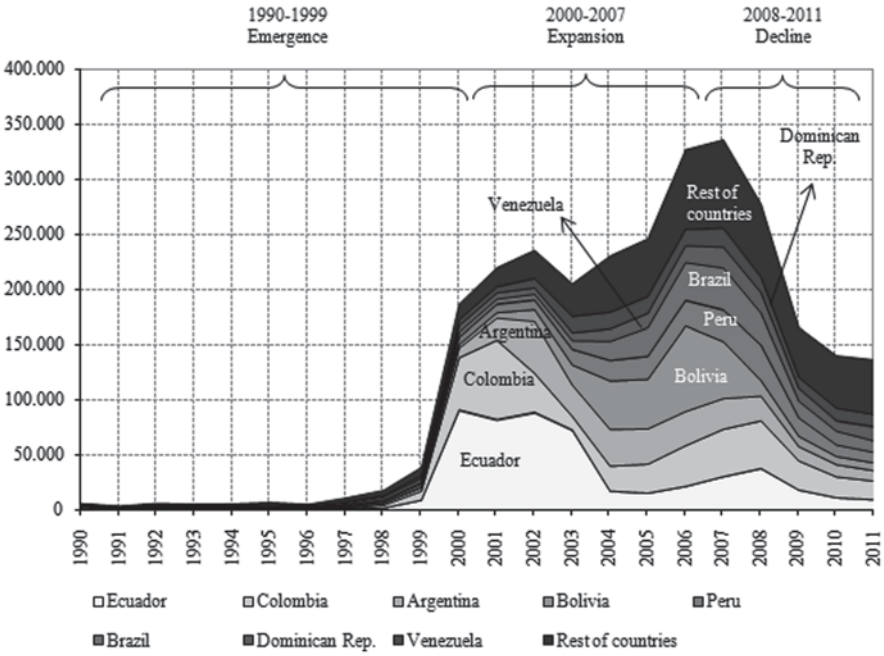

Fig. 1.1 Evolution of migratory flows from Latin America to Spain by origin, 1990–2011. (Source: Own work from the Spanish Register of Residential Mobility, INE)

Characteristics and Intensity of Migration from Latin-American to Spain

In this section, we describe the evolution of migratory flows from Latin America to Spain in recent years, especially those flows that occurred during the last decade when they reached their highest intensity. Between 1990 and 2011, we can distinguish three periods in the migratory relation between Latin America and Spain: emergence, rise or expansion and decline (Fig. 1.1).

Until 1980, migration from Latin America included a remarkable contribution of individuals from Argentina, Chile and Uruguay. Most of these migrants moved from their home countries for political reasons related to the dictatorships established in several Latin American countries during the 70s. The contribution of the Spanish-born population returning to Spain was also an important factor in this flow. Beginning in the 1980s, a new profile of economic migrants emerged (Lera and Oso 2007; Vono 2010), and Spain became a frequent destination of migratory flows during the last half of the 1990s, especially after 1997. At this stage the inflow of Latin Americans was mainly integrated by Cubans, Peruvians and Dominicans.

The year 2000 marks the start of the expansion period of immigration in Spain, and Latin America became the main origin of the migratory flows. A total number of 175,000 individuals arrived in Spain from Latin America in 2000, a figure five times greater than the inflow registered in the previous year. This increase continued

through 2002, when the number of migrants reached 250,000. Between 2000 and 2003, 50% of the persons arriving in Spain were born in Latin American countries, which meant that this group of countries was the main contributor of migrants during this period. As a consequence, at the end of 2002 the population born in Latin America residing in Spain exceeded 1 million. Only 4 years earlier, the total population of this group had been below 200,000. However, the rest of the world increased its contribution to the total migratory flow to Spain. During the period from 2000 to 2002, one of every two persons arriving in Spain was born in Latin America, but in 2004, Latin Americans represented only one third of the total inflow. However, Latin American migration to Spain increased again after 2005. This year marked the beginning of a new expansion period of migration from Latin America that reached a historical peak in 2007. The total number of migrants arriving in 2007 meant that Spain had the second largest annual migratory inflow in the world, only after the United States. In 2007, the number of Latin Americans arriving in Spain reached 330,000 persons, the highest volume of Latin Americans ever registered in Spain in a single year. In that moment, the population born in Latin America living in Spain exceeded 2 million people.

The decline of migration to Spain began in 2008, being especially intense with respect to emigrants from Africa and Latin America (Domingo and Recaño 2007, 2009). The number of Latin Americans entering Spain in 2011 fell to 125,000, which represented less than 40% of the inflow registered in 2007. The collapse in the number of immigrants from Latin America changed the composition of the migratory inflow, as Latin Americans no longer represented the largest group of immigrants in 2008. Thus, while the inflow from Latin America has continued since 2008, the growth of the population born in Latin America and living in Spain has been remarkably reduced.

While we have presented a general picture of migration from Latin America to Spain, the chronology of the migratory relations established with each country of the region is quite diverse. In Table 1.1, we have sorted the origin countries according to the size of the inflows and the intensity of out-migration during the studied periods measured through the Gross Migraproduction Rate (GMR). The GMR is an intensity index that relates the migration flow to the population size of the origin countries. As a result, the ranking of this indicator differs significantly from the ranking of the absolute annual inflow. The introduction of the GMR allows us to observe the transcendence of the migratory process in less populated countries such as Paraguay, the Dominican Republic and Uruguay, that is, countries that do not appear on the list when the total migratory flow into Spain is considered.

During the 1990s, the majority of the Latin American flow into Spain consisted of individuals born in Argentina, Colombia, Peru, the Dominican Republic and Venezuela. However, when analyzing the intensity of out-migration, we note that individuals from the Dominican Republic, Cuba, Uruguay, Ecuador and Peru were among those most likely to move to Spain during this period (Table 1.1).

The expansion period of migration to Spain, which occurred between 2000 and 2007, is split in two phases, as denoted in Graph 1. The first phase was characterized by a rapid growth that lasted until 2002–2003. The second phase began

Table 1.1 Total migratory inflow and annual average of the Gross Migraproduction Rate by period, 1990–2011. (Source: Own work from the Spanish Register of Residential Mobility, INE and Population Estimations of the United Nations)

	1990–1999				*2000–2003*					*2004–2007*				*2008–2011*			
#	*Total inflow*		*GMR*		*Total inflow*		*GMR*		#	*Total inflow*		*GMR*		*Total inflow*		*GMR*	
1	Argentina	15,969	Dom. Rep.	0.02	Ecuador	336,911	Ecuador	0.87	1	Bolivia	219,669	Bolivia	0.83	Colombia	105,935	Paraguay	0.31
2	Colombia	15,230	Uruguay	0.02	Colombia	166,303	Uruguay	0.29	2	Colombia	129,544	Uruguay	0.51	Ecuador	77,537	Uruguay	0.19
3	Peru	14,140	Cuba	0.02	Argentina	105,820	Bolivia	0.16	3	Argentina	124,765	Paraguay	0.42	Peru	69,731	Dom. Rep.	0.18
4	Ecuador	12,622	Ecuador	0.01	Bolivia	37,656	Colombia	0.14	4	Brazil	115,679	Dom. Rep.	0.23	Brazil	67,848	Ecuador	0.18
5	Dom. Rep.	11,966	Peru	0.01	Peru	36,070	Argentina	0.10	5	Peru	90,437	Ecuador	0.20	Argentina	56,302	Cuba	0.15
6	Cuba	11,392	Argentina	0.01	Venezuela	33,738	Dom. Rep.	0.10	6	Ecuador	85,320	Cuba	0.13	Paraguay	56,149	Bolivia	0.15
7	Venezuela	10,632	Venezuela	0.01	Uruguay	25,558	Cuba	0.08	7	Paraguay	69,529	Peru	0.13	Dom. Rep.	51,743	Honduras	0.11
8	Brazil	6931	Colombia	0.01	Dom. Rep.	24,512	Peru	0.06	8	Venezuela	61,979	Argentina	0.12	Venezuela	46,368	Peru	0.09
9	Chile	4096	Chile	0.00	Cuba	23,189	Venezuela	0.05	9	Dom. Rep.	58,976	Honduras	0.11	Cuba	44,131	Nicaragua	0.08
10	Uruguay	3549	Bolivia	0.00	Brazil	22,495	Chile	0.04	10	Uruguay	44,733	Colombia	0.11	Bolivia	38,267	Colombia	0.08
	Total	114,197			Total	849,686				Total	1,141,228			Total	722,173		

GMR Gross Migraproduction Rate

with a stagnation of the inflow that was then followed by a moderate increase that peaked in 2007. During the first phase, Ecuador was the greatest contributor, with more than 325,000 migratory entries to Spain between 2000 and 2003. This inflow doubled that of the migrants from Colombia for the same period. Argentina ranked third, with more than 100,000 entries. Bolivia, Peru and Venezuela followed Argentina but the size of the inflow, at slightly more than 30,000, was far below from those of the top-raking countries. However, considering the intensity of out-migration during the first half of the period, countries such as Uruguay, the Dominican Republic and Cuba were the top-ranking countries. The composition of the Latin American migration to Spain by origin changed significantly during the subsequent years, from 2004 to 2007. Ecuadorians, for example, accounted for the 40 % of the total inflow from Latin America in 2002 to 2003, but in the second phase, they represented only one in every ten migrations. With more than 200,000 entries to Spain, Bolivia ranked as the number one contributor of migrants for this period, followed by Colombia, Argentina and Brazil, each with more than 100,000 entries. Bolivia was also the country with the greatest intensity of out-migration, followed by Uruguay, Paraguay and the Dominican Republic (Table 1.1). In late 2007, Ecuador was the country with the greatest volume of individuals registered in Spain, with nearly half a million inhabitants, followed by Colombia with more than 300,000, Argentina with 290,000 and Bolivia with 240,000.

During the period of decline of Latin American migration to Spain, the countries of origin that led the immigration boom also led the decline. The greatest decline among all nationalities was that of Bolivia. During the period from 2004 to 2007, more than 220,000 Bolivian-born individuals migrated to Spain, but in the subsequent 4 years, only 40,000 entries were recorded. The inflows from Argentina and Brazil also experienced an intense decline. Colombia, in contrast, recorded only a 20 % decline in migratory inflow from that registered during the expansion period, and thus, it became the most common country of origin, with more than 100,000 entries between 2008 and 2011. Ecuador, which had already experienced a reduction of inflow between 2004 and 2007, experienced a trend similar to Colombia, registering an insignificant reduction in the final period. As a result, Ecuador ascended to the second position in the ranking of absolute inflows. Finally, there was a group of countries that did not experience a decrease in the number of migrants arriving in Spain compared to the previous period. Cuba, Honduras, the Dominican Republic and Nicaragua were part of this group. These countries were also among the top ranking countries with respect to GMR, led by Paraguay. In addition to being the only group that did not experience a reduction in migratory flow to Spain, this group of countries also demonstrated a lower rate than other countries with respect to the number of migrants who left Spain and returned to their home countries, a phenomenon that most countries are currently undergoing (Prieto Rosas 2012). Nonetheless, there is no doubt that the migratory cycle in Spain during the last decade seems to have closed, and Spain has become, once again, a country with a remarkable out-migration flow.

Before we analyze the process of Latin Americans emigrating from Spain, which is a significant feature in the latest period of immigration decline, we focus on one important characteristic of the Latin American migration to Spain during the

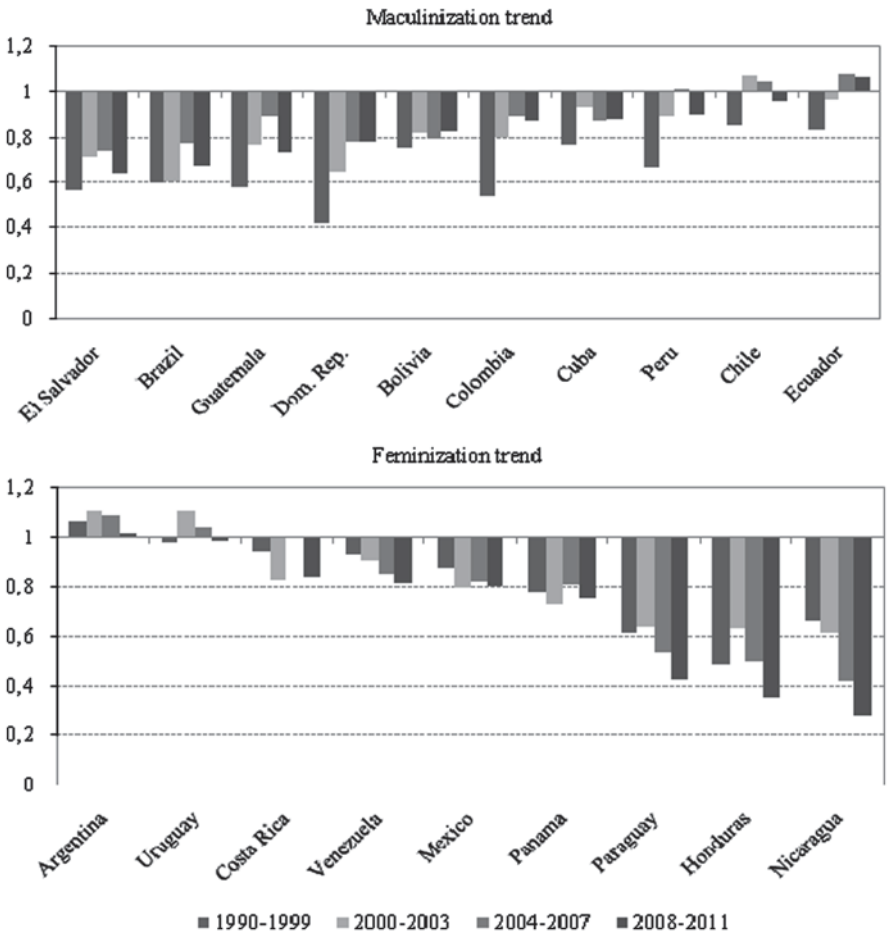

Fig. 1.2. Sex ratio of the migratory inflow by origin, 1990–2011. (Source: Own work from the Spanish Register of Residential Mobility, INE)

emergence and expansion periods: the feminization of the flows—migration to Spain from Latin America was characterized by a strong presence of women. The sex ratio of the inflows by country of origin indicates a preponderance of women in all periods for most countries of origin, with the exception of Argentina, Uruguay and, most recently, Chile and Ecuador (Fig. 1.2). This feature differs from the migratory profiles of Latin Americans moving to the United States and from most of the other international inflows to Spain (Canales 2011).

As evident in Graph 2, the feminization of the inflow was not identical for all countries of origin, nor did it remain constant for all periods. Specifically, two opposite patterns are identified. On the one hand, the emigrants from an initial group of countries included more women than men in the emergence period, and this feature intensified in the last years. These countries included Paraguay, Honduras, Nicaragua, Mexico and Venezuela. In contrast, a second group includes countries that

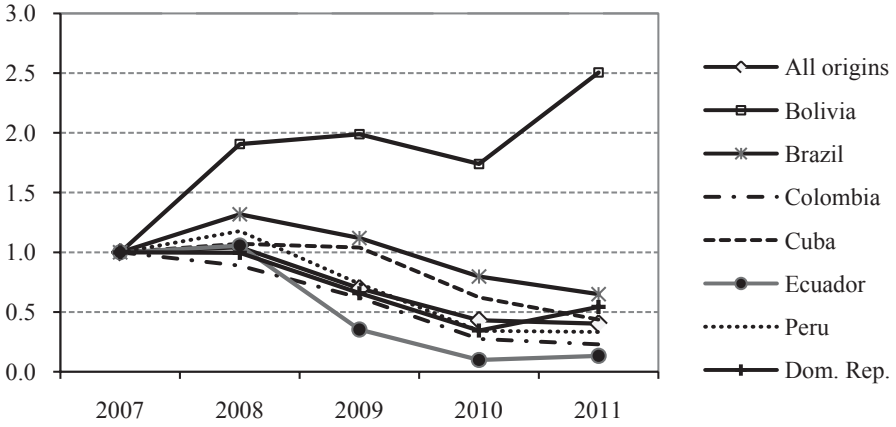

Fig. 1.3 Residence permits for family reunification, relative increase 2007–2011 (Baseline = 2007). (Source: Permanent Observatory of Immigration—Ministry of Foreign Affairs)

follow the opposite trend, with male migrants catching up to the number of female migrants. These countries include Peru, Cuba, Colombia, Bolivia, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala and Brazil.

Family reunification processes explain much of the recent rebalancing between the genders. Some countries, especially the Dominican Republic, Colombia and Peru, exhibited an intense feminization of the inflow during the first stages of their migratory relation with Spain, while a period of reunification of children and male partners followed quite soon thereafter.

Migration due to family reunification is a strategy that has been perpetuated during the last period of the economic crisis. Although some authors have verified that family migration is reasonable given the economic crises (Jennissen 2004), the case of Spain shows that the effect of the crisis on family reunification was lower than expected during the first years (Domingo et al. 2011). This result may be a consequence of the chronology established in the migratory laws, which only allows family reunification after 2 years of residence in Spain. For this reason, one can expect an increase of this type of migration 2–4 years following the arrival of labor migrants. In fact, although the decline of the migration inflow was already observed in 2008 the residence permits for family reunification of all origins did not decline until 1 year later. Besides for some Latin American origins, such as Bolivia or Cuba, the number of family reunification permits kept growing until 2009 (Fig. 1.3).

The recent decrease in the number of Latin Americans moving to Spain coincides with the intensification of the opposite flow, that is, Latin Americans returning to their countries of origin. In 2007, registers show that the number of emigrants leaving Spain was twice the number registered in 2006, exceeding 92,000. Emigration from Spain then increased arithmetically until 2010, when it peaked with more than 135,000 movements (Fig. 1.4). More than half of the outflow during this period consisted of Latin Americans. This number was followed by African emigrants, whose outflow represented a quarter of the total (Gil Alonso 2010).

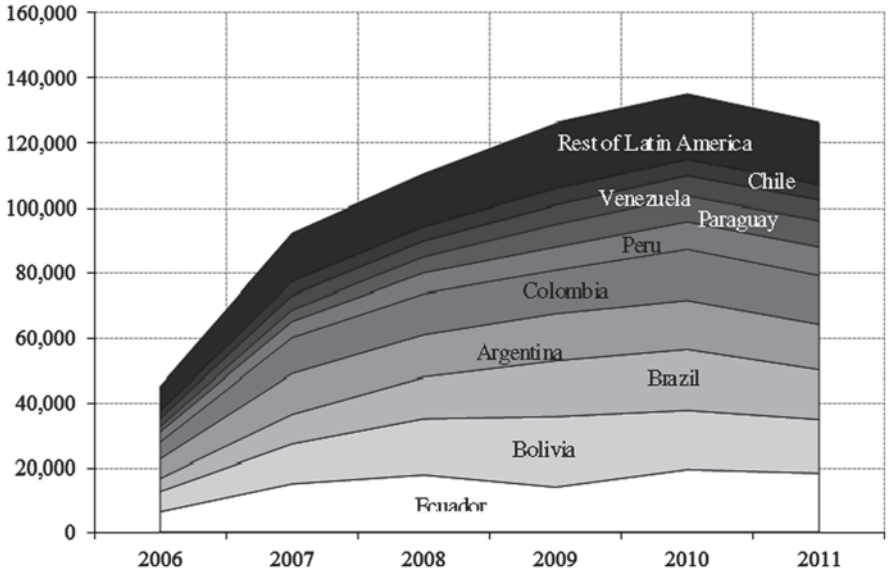

Fig. 1.4 Delistings by country of birth, 2006–2011. (Source: Own work from the Spanish Register of Residential Mobility, INE)

When the composition of Latin America return migration is analyzed by country of birth, we note that most of the participants in this flow were born in countries that led the periods of emergence and expansion of immigration to Spain: Ecuador and Bolivia. Each of these countries recorded more than 90,000 return movements between 2006 and 2011. Brazilians, Argentines and Colombians followed, with approximately 75,000 movements for each. In addition to this group of nationalities, a third group of countries that includes Peru, Paraguay, Venezuela and Chile can be discerned, each of which registered more than 25,000 movements during this same period.

As explained by Gil Alonso (2010), the characteristics of the Register of Residential Mobility result in an underestimation of the number of return movements. For example, with respect to Latin America, only 15 % of the total outflow between 2006 and 2011 can be claimed as real return movements to the country of birth (Table 1.2). For most of the registered movements leaving Spain, which constitute the remaining 83 %, the country of destination is unknown either because it was not reported or because it was delisted due to expiration.

According to the registers, Venezuela, Panama, Nicaragua, Cuba, Uruguay, Guatemala, Argentina and Bolivia are the countries for which we have better information regarding the country of destination. In these cases, the proportion of return movements exceeds 15 % of the total records. With respect to Venezuela, Panama and Nicaragua, this proportion reaches 20 %. Regarding re-migration, movements for which the country of destination is different from the country of origin, the proportion is only remarkable for Cuba, for which 11 % of the movements leaving Spain have a destination country other than Cuba (Table 1.2).

Table 1.2 Migratory outflow by type of delisting from the Spanish Population Register, 2006–2011. (Source: Own work from the Spanish Register of Residential Mobility, INE)

	Country of destination = Country of birth	Country of destination ≠ Country of birth	Country of destination unknown	Delisting because of expiration	Total
Ecuador	13,348	1862	12,202	64,549	91,961
Bolivia	13,912	542	15,612	61,778	91,844
Brazil	8731	1301	11,921	55,200	77,153
Argentina	12,685	2139	15,474	45,206	75,504
Colombia	9010	2528	10,300	50,715	72,553
Peru	4649	1452	6764	26,213	39,078
Paraguay	4331	262	5062	23,534	33,189
Venezuela	7613	2029	3803	16,717	30,162
Chile	3882	614	4387	16,779	25,662
Dom. Rep.	2983	1039	4105	13,194	21,321
Mexico	2229	693	2530	15,519	20,971
Uruguay	3697	581	3664	12,619	20,561
Cuba	2859	1702	2023	8955	15,539
Honduras	1297	86	2640	4932	8955
Nicaragua	620	87	929	1641	3277
Guatemala	416	143	304	1536	2399
El Salvador	286	71	398	1460	2215
Panama	338	53	190	1058	1639
Costa Rica	178	73	199	891	1341
Total	93,064	17,257	102,507	422,496	635,324

As we did not link the absolute numbers to the population at risk of experiencing a migratory movement, they are not truly indicative of the intensity of out-migration from Spain to Latin America. Furthermore, the limitations of the Register of Residential Mobility to measure return and re-migration suggest the use of records from the countries of destination, i.e., census data. In this section, we aimed to show the chronology of return migration and how the increase in this type of movement was simultaneous with the decline of immigration.

As a consequence of these last two migratory processes (declining inflow and increasing return migration) some countries of origin have slightly reduced their numbers of residents in Spain. In 2007, for example, the population in Spain of people born in Bolivia was approaching 250,000 inhabitants, while in 2012, it numbered only 190,000. To a lesser extent, the population of those born in Ecuador, Argentina and Brazil experienced a decrease of 20,000 inhabitants during this same period. In contrast, the number of inhabitants from Central America and the Caribbean countries living in Spain has increased by 70 % since 2007. The Dominican Republic, Cuba, Honduras and Nicaragua are among the most remarkable examples of this trend. However, these countries of origin contribute far fewer residents of Spain compared to those from South America.

Bilateral Determinants of Latin American Migration to Spain

There are multiple factors that contributed to Spain being a privileged destination for the Latin American migration. As stated before, the literature focusing on the settling process of Latin American population in Spain has highlighted the importance of the economic and demographic factors effect. Also, special attention has been paid to the preferential treatment given to Latin American migrants within the Spanish immigration legislation.

In this sense, it is convenient to pose two questions. On the one hand, which factors stimulated the migration from origin countries? And, on the other hand, what made Spain such an attractive destination for Latin American people? Subsequently, an empirical analysis will be conducted on the bilateral factors of demographic, economic and legal nature, which shaped the scenario that generated and consolidated one of the most intense migration flows in the Latin American history.

Socio-Demographic Factors

There are at least three elements of socio-demographic nature that need to be addressed in order to understand the emergence of this flow. First, the changes in the migration propensity of Latin Americans, which is, observed in the increase of migration flows as well as in the diversification of destinations. Second, the characteristics of the demographic structure of Latin American countries and Spain, herein analyzed in terms of socio-demographic complementarity. Third, the educational expansion occurred in Latin America and Spain, together with the demographic potential, is another structural factor that helps in explaining the basis under which this migration system was settled.

We start by addressing the first of these elements. Latin American migration to Spain should be contextualized within the framework of the general increase of international migration from this origin. The emergence of Spain and Europe as relevant destinations is one of the main recent features of international migration in this region. For some Latin American countries the novelty of this new destination acted in detriment of the flows towards the United States. This is the case of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador, Colombia, Honduras, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela. For the other countries in this region the increase of migration towards Spain did not affect the status of the United States as preferred extra regional destination in the rest of Latin American origin countries (Prieto Rosas 2012). When the Latin American flows increased, both Spain and the United States were going through an economic dynamism period which made them an attractive destination. However, as stated before, some Latin American origin countries developed a preference towards Spain and reduced their flow towards the United States. Therefore, is not only vital to identify the factors that triggered the migration from Latin America, but also to observe the conditions that turned Spain into an attractive destination for Latin American migration.

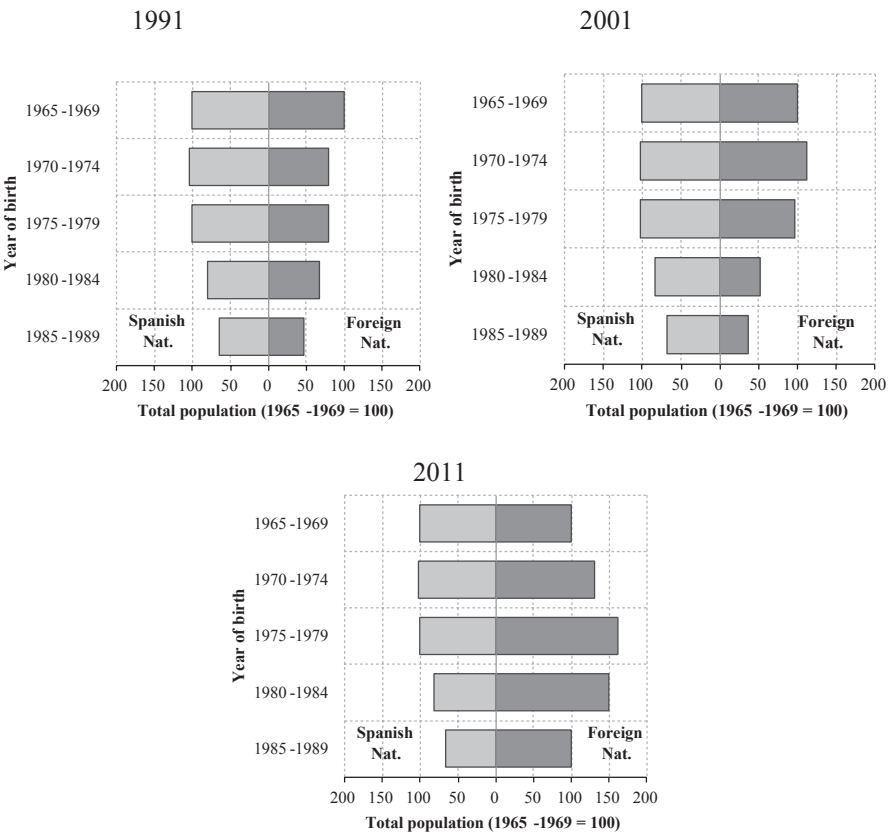

Fig. 1.5. Year of birth of Spanish Nationals and Foreign Nationals in Spain, 1991–2001 (Population born in 1965–1969 = 100). (Source: Spanish population censuses, 1991–2011)

Establishing causal relationships between the demographic transformations in Latin America and the intensity of migration to Spain is not a simple issue. However, by observing the demographic structures of Spanish population by place of birth (without taking mortality into account) it is undeniable that foreign and native cohorts follow complementary paths. By assessing the 1991–2011 period, which includes the three phases of migration to Spain previously described, it is visible that relative weight of foreign population contributed to the age groups that were in deficit among the native population (Fig. 1.5). Total number of births experienced an historical peak during the Spanish Baby Boom. The dramatic fertility decrease that followed can be easily seen in the small size of the cohorts born between 1980 and 1989. Spanish cohorts born in 1980–1984 represent 75 % of the ones born 5 years earlier, and cohorts born in 1985–1989 are almost half of the ones born 10 years earlier. Between 1991 and 2001, the arrival of foreigners contributed to slightly enlarge the size of the cohorts 1970–1979. Ten years later the migration boom increased by three times the 1980–1984 foreign cohort size and by two times the cohort size of those born in 1985–1989.

Table 1.3 Total fertility rate, life expectancy at birth, natural growth rate (‰) and median age of the Latin American countries. Countries ordered by natural growth rate. (Source: Own work using estimations of United Nations Population Division, 2012)

	2005-2010			2010
	TFR	e0	Natural growth rate (‰)	Median age
Cuba	1,5	78,3	3,2	38,4
Uruguay	2,1	76,4	5,8	33,7
Chile	1,9	78,6	9,4	32,1
Argentina	2,3	75,3	9,8	30,3
Brazil	1,9	72,4	10	29,0
Costa Rica	1,9	78,8	12,2	28,4
Guatemala	4,2	70,3	27,6	18,8
Colombia	2,5	72,9	15,1	26,8
Peru	2,6	73,1	15,9	25,5
Mexico	2,4	76,3	16,1	26,0
Venezuela	2,5	73,7	16,3	26,1
Dominican Rep.	2,7	72,2	16,8	25,0
Ecuador	2,7	75	17,7	25,2
Paraguay	3,1	71,8	19,3	23,1
Bolivia	3,5	65,6	19,8	21,7
Nicaragua	2,8	72,9	20,1	22,0
Honduras	3,3	72,1	22,7	20,9
Latin America and the Caribbean	2,3	73,4	13,5	27,3

TFR Total Fertility rate
e0 Life expectancy at birth

The population age structure is, as expected, younger in Latin America than in Spain, but this feature is not equally distributed among Latin American countries. The heterogeneity of the demographic structures of this region is noticeable and there are at least four groups of countries in the different stages of the Demographic Transition, and, therefore, four groups of countries with different demographic potential for migration (Table 1.3).

The group of countries that that have a younger demographic structure experienced a later decrease in fertility and the annual population growth rate of 2005–2010 is still over 19‰. This is the case of Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Bolivia and Paraguay. The second group corresponds to countries in advanced stages of fertility decrease, growing at moderated growth rates (between 12 and 17‰). This is the case of Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Peru, Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia and Costa Rica, which went through the 2000s with major demographic potential for migration. Finally, a group of countries are at advanced stages of the Demographic Transition is identified, such as Chile and Brazil, or at highly advanced stages as Cuba, Argentina and Uruguay. The natural growth of these countries is lower than 10‰, or even below 5‰, as Cuba (3.2‰), the age structure is much older and, therefore, are less prone to migrate.

Table 1.4 Evolution of the proportion of population (age 20–29) with secondary education or more in Latin America by sex and country (%). Various years from the 1970–2010 census rounds. (Source: Census data from IPUMS-International and National Statistical Offices)

	Men					Women				
	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010
Argentina	17.5	25.9	35.6	44.3	43.2	20.3	30.3	42.9	54.3	52.7
Bolivia	–	16.5	32.3	46.2	55.7	–	9.2	25.4	40.9	54.3
Brazil	7.4	15.4	20.1	27.3	48.0	7.9	17.6	25.1	35.2	57.0
Chile	14.9	28.1	39.4	53.0	–	13.7	30.2	44.2	56.2	–
Colombia	12.5	24.8	28.3	52.1	–	8.7	25.4	31.3	57.6	–
Costa Rica	9.3	16.3	–	29.9	43.3	8.5	15.4	–	33.6	51.0
Cuba	–	–	–	46.0	–	–	–	–	56.6	–
Dom. Rep.	–	21.8	–	38.7	43.9	–	23.2	–	48.2	57.9
Ecuador	11.8	21.8	32.1	34.5	50.6	9.8	21.3	33.2	37.2	52.5
El Salvador	–	–	21.5	–	30.2	–	–	23.0	–	31.2
Guatemala	–	–	–	30.1	–	–	–	–	26.0	–
Honduras	–	–	–	21.3	–	–	–	–	26.6	–
Mexico	6.6	–	26.2	29.9	41.9	3.0	–	24.5	30.9	44.0
Nicaragua	8.2	–	13.6	25.1	–	6.2	–	18.0	30.5	–
Panama	14.2	27.9	32.9	39.4	50.5	14.8	32.0	40.5	47.8	60.7
Paraguay	–	–	–	31.1	–	–	–	–	35.2	–
Peru	–	–	56.9	–	70.4	–	–	50.6	–	66.3
Uruguay	25.4	33.7	–	48.0	50.8	24.2	33.1		58.7	62.0
Venezuela	11.1	21.3	25.8	37.7	–	8.8	23.1	31.9	49.0	–
Spain	–	27.7	44.7	52.9	85.5	–	24.1	49.3	64.5	90.7

Taking a look at the main origins of the Latin American migration to Spain, we observe both examples: countries with great demographic potential and countries in an advanced or highly advanced stage of the Demographic Transition. Due to this, it is hard to prove the positive effect of the demographic structure on the profile and intensity of Latin American migration. As stated in Cebrián's work (2009), the demographic heterogeneity of the region prevents observing the Latin American events as a whole.

Therefore, even though the Spanish demographic growth played an important role in the generation of foreign population demand, the role of demographic changes in the emergence of this flow from Latin American needs to be the study object of future researches and it requires a detailed analysis of the evolution in each country.

As stated in the first lines of this section, the growth of the demographic potential for migration, i.e. the increase in the share of young adults, occurred simultaneous to the educational expansion of Spain and Latin America. Educational expansion in the latter is clearly observed during the most recent decades, both

for males and females (Table 1.4). The proportion of population aged 20–29 that completed secondary education experienced a remarkable increase in all Latin American countries. This increase has been especially important in those countries that concentrated most of the migratory inflow arriving in Spain. Nowadays, more than 50 % of the population of the mentioned age group has completed secondary education in Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia and Colombia. In most of these cases, less than one quarter of the population finished this educational level in the 1970s and 1980s. As we argued, on the one hand the increase of higher education in Spain boosted the specialization of population in skilled works during the period of economic expansion creating a demand for this kind of workers. The proportion of population with secondary education or more moved from 25 % in 1981 to 88 % in 2011. On the other hand, the expansion of education in Latin America adds qualification to the demographic potential, which means that complementarity between the demand and supply regions could be thought not only from a demographic point of view but also if we take into account the qualification of the Spanish demand of workers and the supply of educated Latin Americans in migration ages.

Economic Factors

Unemployment in Spain decreased between 1995 and 2001, from 24 to 10 %. As from this date, the decline decelerated but continued until reaching a minimum value in the last decades, an 8.3 % in 2007. From 2007 on the unemployment rate increased and exceeded the 20 % in 2011.

On the contrary, unemployment in Latin American has recovered noticeably in most of the countries as from the second half of the last decade. The figures provided by the International Labor Organization placed the unemployment rate of the whole region above the 11 % in the 2000–2002 2-year period, while in 2012 the rate reached 6.4 % (ILO 2013).

It is observed that the evolution of the unemployment rate gap between Spain and the main origin countries of Latin American migration towards Spain has accompanied the flows trends between 1990 and 2011. The periods identified as migration peaks of the main origins reaching Spain coincide with the moments in which unemployment rate in these countries exceeded that of Spain (Fig. 1.6).

In the case of the Dominicans, for example, the migration flows towards Spain present two intensity peaks; one at the beginning of the 1990's, and another one at mid-2000. During the latter two major financial crises took place in the Dominican Republic, one in the 2003–2004 period, and another one in 2008–2009. Unemployment reached its historic highest value in 2004 exceeding the 18 %. Despite these two outstanding periods of unemployment increase, in the Dominican Republic, the rate continued to decrease over the last decade, although it was accompanied with an underemployment increase (ILO 2013b).

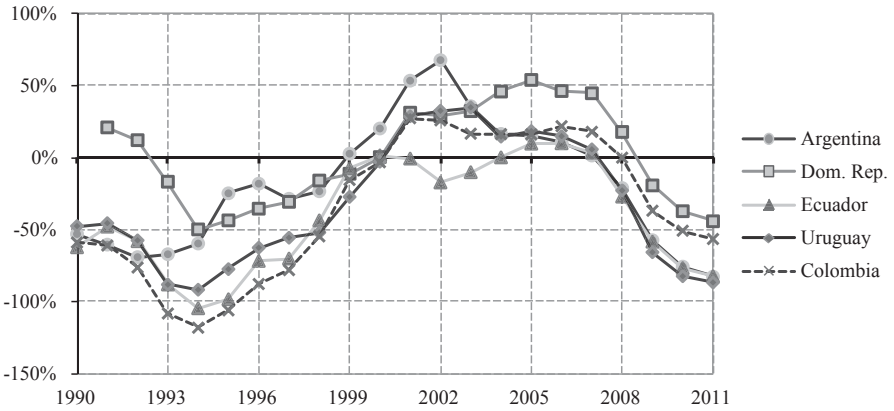

Fig. 1.6. Difference between the unemployment rate of Latin American countries and Spain, 1990–2011. (Source: Own work using the estimations of the International Monetary Fund, 2013) (Base = Spain, 1990)

In the case of Argentineans and Uruguayans there is a relationship between the difference of the unemployment rate in relation to Spain and the intensification of the migration. The phase of the highest migration inflow to Spain from these countries coincides with the financial crisis in Argentina and Uruguay, which was especially severe between 2000 and 2002. The crisis was visible in all the macroeconomic indicators and resulted in a high increase of unemployment and poverty.[5]

Likewise, the peak of the Ecuadorian migration to Spain coincided with the unemployment increase in this origin country between 1998 and 2001. The period of employment improvement in Ecuador in 2002–2003 may as well be considered a reason for the migration reduction that took place as from 2003. Finally, unemployment in Colombia followed an upward trend between 1994 and 2004, starting from levels close to 5 % at the beginning of this period up to reaching its highest value of 17 % in 2004. Since then, unemployment has decreased, but the unemployment rate continues to be one of the highest in the region, exceeding the 10 %.

One of the main reasons for the Latin American migration to Spain is work-related, and this is seen in the way the economic crisis of each origin has shaped the evolution of this migration flow. Nevertheless, the economic factors are not the only aspects to explain this evolution. For example, we should consider the fact that the decline was not seen until 2009 and the fall in migration has been lower than expected in view of the unemployment growth. This cannot be understood without taking into account other aspects such as the family nature of the flows or the timing effects incorporated by the changes in the migration legal management order.

[5] The decrease of the GDP was of 10 % in both countries in 2002, with respect to the GDP in 1997 (Becker 2010). Poverty exceeded the 20 % in both countries and the unemployment rate reached its historic highest exceeding the 22 % in Argentina in 2002 and the 17 % in Uruguay in 2003.

Legal Factors

The Spanish migration of the twentieth century has laid the foundations of a diaspora development, consisted of those who were born in Spain and migrated at some point and of descendants born abroad. The Spanish population residing abroad has exceeded 1 million since 2002, and although the Spanish born in Spain still prevail, the main component of the recent growth of this group corresponds to the Spanish people who were born abroad. They went from representing a third of the group in 1997 to comprise almost half in 2007 (Prieto Rosas 2010). This change in the constitution of the Spanish population abroad responds to the ageing of the population born in Spain and to the dynamism of the recovery of the Spanish citizenship of those who were born abroad, especially in Latin America. The countries showing a higher number of Spanish people born abroad, representing the second, third and even fourth generation of the first Spanish immigrants, are Argentina, Venezuela, Uruguay and Mexico. In all of them, the percentage of Spanish descendants who have recovered the citizenship of their ancestors by means of a community passport has increased and even exceeded those who were born in Spain (Prieto Rosas 2009).

The increase in the number of Spanish people residing abroad chronologically coincides with the period of increasing migration to Spain, although during the boom years of migration to Spain the entry of Latin Americans with Spanish citizenship relatively decreased, in virtue of the increase of entry of foreigners (Prieto Rosas 2012).

The clearest indicator of the preference of the Spanish legislation for the Ibero-Americans is the granting of the Spanish citizenship by means of residency in the country. Article 22 of the Civil Code establishes as requirement for accessing the citizenship through residency to prove the staying in the Spanish territory for at least 10 years, reduced to 5 years in the case of refugees, and to 2 years in the case of natural people from Ibero-American countries and the Philippines, Equatorial Guinea, Portugal, Andorra or the Sephardic population. Besides, the law favors the right to the Spanish citizenship for the descendants of Ibero-American parents born in Spanish territory, during the first year of life. Nationalization through residency is the main means for this group through which to access the Spanish citizenship, which was granted with the 84 % of the authorizations in 2008 (Vono 2010, p. 104). It must be also stated that as from 1990 (Law 18) Ibero-Americans were exempted from the obligation of renunciation of their origin citizenship.

The analysis of the temporary series of flows on a monthly basis has revealed the "pull effect" caused by the announcement of the Schengen visa requirement for Ecuadorian people in 2003, and for Colombian people between April 2001 and January 2002 (Vono 2010). Subsequently, the same effect was confirmed on the flows lead by Bolivian citizens, as from the second half of 2007, and until the beginning of 2008.[6] This type of pull effects caused by the extraordinary regulation

[6] The "pull effect" was not confirmed in other origins which were also subject of the Schengen visa requirement in 1999. This is the case of the people from the Dominican Republic, Cuba and Peru (Vono 2010). The people of these three countries were subject to the unilateral visa requirement from Spain at the beginning of the 1990's (Peru and the Dominican Republic) or even before that time (Cuba).

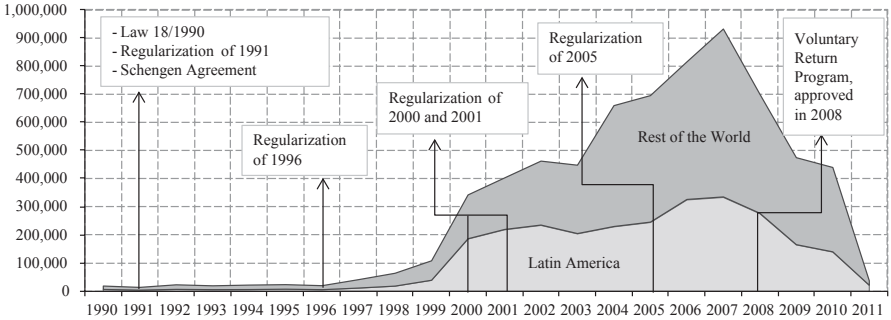

Fig. 1.7. Evolution of the international migratory inflow to Spain and main milestones of the Spanish immigration legislation, 1990–2011. (Source: Own work from the Spanish Register of Residential Mobility and Bueno, 2007)

processes, also known as normalization processes, has been registered in the literature on migrations in Spain (Cebrián 2009; Vono 2010; Bueno 2007; Bedoya and Solé 2006). Its impact is visible for each separate group, and for the flow as a whole (Fig. 1.7).

The regularization processes, together with the legal status change, granted the access to fundamental rights such as education and healthcare, but the effects of this legal tool transcended the law scope. The regularizations shaped the intensity and the demographic profile of the migration flows in Spain. Domingo and Recaño (2005) describe four immediate consequences of the regularization processes which worked as a "pull effect": (i) large groups of population that had the chance to return to their country, but finally decided not to so as to take advantage of the abovementioned process; (ii) some migration projects occurred earlier; (iii) the de facto family reunification processes increased; and (iv) the pull effect impacted on irregular migrants who were settled in other countries of the European Community up to that moment (Domingo and Recaño 2005, 18). [7]

The visa policy had a more important and systematic impact than the regularizations. According to Cebrián (2009), the visa requirement reduced between 0.4 and 0.6 % the chances to migrate of those citizens that required visa with respect to those who did not. Meanwhile, the regularizations had different effects depending on the period. The regularization in 1996 and in 2005 had a negative effect on the immigration rate, while the regularization in 2000 had a positive effect increasing the flow; and that in 2001 was ineffective (Cebrián 2009, 64).

In September 2008 two methods of voluntary return were approved for those immigrants immersed in the labor market, namely: the productive return program,

[7] The effects of regularizations were visible also at the statistical system scope since one of the requirements to access the legal status change was that of registration. For example, in the case of the regularization in 2005, it required to prove to have been registered before August 2004 (Santolaya 2005).

and the advanced payment of benefits to foreigners.[8] These programs did not have any effect on the flows arriving in Spain, which is the object of this study, but represent milestones within the post-facto immigration management analyzed herein. The voluntary return program with capitalization of the unemployment benefit was implemented to mitigate the economic crisis and unemployment increase within the migrated population, but the response was not as expected. During the first year of implementation 5000 people applied to it, which represents only 2 % of the delisting registered by the Register of Residential Mobility (López Lera 2010).

Conclusions

The settlement process of the Latin American population in Spain has coincided with at least three phases that are distinguishable by differences in the intensity of migration and the composition of the flows by origin.

The first of these periods, from approximately 1990 to 1999, was characterized by the emergence of a strong flow of Argentineans, Colombians, Peruvians and Ecuadorians. During the same period, Dominicans, Uruguayans and Cubans also exhibited an outstanding migration intensity, but in absolute numbers, their flows were not significant. The second of these periods, between 2000 and 2007, was characterized by an expansion or boom of the Latin American migration to Spain. During this time, Ecuadorians, Colombians and Argentines recorded higher levels of migration. From 2004 to 2007, the second push of the Latin settlement process occurred. This period was characterized by the emergence of new countries of origin, such as Brazil and Bolivia, and the continuity of the origins that had reached maximum values of migration intensity in the previous 4 years. Finally, in 2008, the migration pattern reversed and migration declined sharply, while the return migration of Latin Americans became remarkable.

While it is undeniable that this migration cycle of Latin Americans to Spain appears to have reached its end, the decrease in migration intensity has not resulted in a return to the levels observed before the onset of Latin American immigration. Actually, all countries exhibit greater levels of participation than those registered in the 1990s. As evidenced from this period, those who started the settlement process later became major contributors to the maintenance of this migration flow, together with other Central American countries that followed the trend of migration to Spain.

One remarkable feature of the settlement of Latin Americans in Spain has been the strong female presence, although this trend has not held for all countries or for all periods. In recent phases, those countries that demonstrated a strong female presence in the emergence phase are now showing an increasing male presence, which helps to balance the gender composition of the flows.

Understanding the factors that encouraged emigration from Latin America and the conditions that made Spain an attractive destination has been one of the

[8] Since 2003 there was another return program but of humanitarian nature, managed by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) by means of non-governmental organizations.

objectives of this first chapter, in which the economic, demographic and legal determinants of the emergence and evolution of this flow were reviewed.

Regarding the demographic factors that may have contributed to the emergence of this phenomenon, it must be noted that the diversity of trajectories in which the different countries experienced their demographic transition is not representative of the region as a whole. Younger countries have participated more intensely in recent years, and they continue to increase their migration flows to Spain even now. However, the evidence regarding the effect of demographic changes on the migration propensity of Latin Americans is not conclusive, and although the demographic transition created the conditions for the existence of a surplus of Latin Americans, the demographics are not a determinant of migration itself in this case. In the same way as the demographic aging of Spain did not generate a demand for foreign labor until it was combined with the effects of educational expansion and segmentation of the Spanish labor market, neither do the demographic changes in Latin America directly explain the emergence of the migration flow from this region. Educational expansion was particularly rapid in Latin America and simultaneous to the demographic transitions. The demographic potential of this region, generated during the recent phases of high natural increase, was fueled with the expansion of qualification which contributed to generate a qualified supply of people in migration ages.

The answers to the why and when of the emergence of migration from the countries of Latin America is found in the interaction of factors of a structural nature, such as income differences, educational expansion in Latin America and population aging in Spain, with other contextual factors associated with the economic crises that have occurred in Latin America during the last two decades and the recent decline of the Spanish economy. The analysis of the differential between the Spanish unemployment rate and the unemployment rates of the main origin countries of the Latin American migration to Spain has made it clear that this gap has accompanied the evolution of flows and that the times of maximum unemployment in the countries of origin match the booms of the migratory flows from these countries.

While the demographic and economic convergences were conveniently amalgamated until the first half of the last decade, immigration to Spain continued even after the Spanish economy entered into recession. Not restricting the analysis of bilateral factors explaining the emergence and continuation of migration flows to these two elements allows the identification of other macro-level processes that may contribute to understanding the permanence of flows. The legal factors are a good example of this phenomenon.

Undoubtedly, the Spanish legislation was favorable to immigration from Latin America. The mass regulations of immigrants, as much as the ad hoc visa requirements affecting certain countries of origin, have influenced the timing, durability and age schedule of the migration flows. Additionally, family reunification processes contributed to this effect by buffering the decreases in flows. Because some reunification processes were initiated before the recession was in place, and the entire procedure requires at least 2 years, migration decreased long after the economy declined.

It is necessary to put into perspective the concept of definitive closure to the migration cycle of Latin Americans to Spain. As stated herein, the emergence of this flow is founded in the historical boundaries that link the two regions. There are least two reasons to expect the resumption of this flow in the future, either if the Spanish economy recovers or when the Latin American economic growth decelerates. The first has to do with the length of the settlement that allowed many Latin Americans to acquire Spanish citizenship based on residency. Second, the entry into force of the Law of Historical Memory towards the end of the period under study boosted the acquirement of Spanish citizenship for those born abroad. As a result, the Spanish diaspora of second and third generations doubled in 5 years. Furthermore, although the increase in survival and the fertility decline among the Latin American population may trigger changes in the population structure and in the population at risk of migrating, a decline in the demographic potential is not expected before 2030 (Prieto Rosas 2012).

The future of the migratory relationship between Latin America and Spain, whose history has not yet been written, depends largely on the way in which structural factors, legal aspects and demographics are aligned with each other and on the economic evolution of Latin American countries, Spain and other countries that may attract Latin American immigrants.

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Chapter 2
Acquisition of Nationality as Migration Policy

Andreu Domingo and Enrique Ortega-Rivera

Introduction: Positive Discrimination and Nationality

In Spain, the migration policies pursued by successive governments have favored the flows of nationals from Latin American countries at the expense of foreigners from other places, especially Africa (Izquierdo et al. 2003). This preference, ideologically legitimized through the concept of *Hispanidad* ("Hispanic Community") has its roots in the close historical, cultural and linguistic ties derived Spain's past as colonial power in the region, as well as in the massive transoceanic emigration that occurred between the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries (Joppke 2005). The academic literature has shown the methods, such as positive discrimination, that it has adopted and how it has worked through various policy instruments, such as control policies, bilateral labor agreements, extraordinary regularization programs or reciprocal agreements for the recognition of political rights (Ferrero and López Sala 2009; Gil Araújo 2010; Izquierdo 2011). There is a broad consensus among researchers that the Spanish legal and institutional framework—particularly visa policy and the regularizations—has had a major influence on the direction, extent and timing of migration flows from Latin America (Cebrian 2009; Vono 2010; Bertoli and Fernández-Huertas Moragas 2013). There has also been a gradual erosion of this preferential treatment as a result of the Europeanization of migration policies, a fact that has led to a tightening of flow controls and entry restrictions on non-EU nationals (Ayuso and Sánchez-Montijano 2012).

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However, beyond these policies, the Latin American bias takes its most definitive form in nationality law[1]. The first sign of special treatment is the possibility these nationals have to apply for naturalization after only 2 years of legal residence in Spain, a requirement that contrasts with the ten required of other foreign nationals (Álvarez 2010). This exception goes hand in hand, at the same time, with the acceptance of dual citizenship under a series of agreements signed with several countries in the region. The second involves the acquisition of citizenship by the descendants of Spaniards living abroad to the extent that the Spanish legal framework has historically prioritized the maintaining of links to the Spanish diaspora by facilitating the intergenerational transmission of nationality (Martín Pérez and Moreno-Fuentes 2012).

In recent years, issues related to the naturalization of immigrants in Spain or the acquisition of citizenship abroad have occupied a marginal place in the academic and political debate on migration management. Maintaining a low profile in these fields contrasts, in our view, with the fact that nationality law has served as a key tool in the Spanish migration model in attracting and selecting the immigrant population. It also contrasts with its importance in shaping migration patterns during the current crisis, especially in relation to circular migration, return migration and re-migration.

In this context, this study analyzes the relationship between Latin American migration and Spanish nationality law. Specifically, we address the way in which the Spanish legal and institutional framework favors the Latin American population in the acquisition of nationality, and to what extent positive discrimination affects the naturalization by residence of foreign immigrants in Spain. To this end, the chapter is divided into six sections, in addition to this introduction. The next section outlines a number of theoretical considerations on the relationship between the processes of international migration and citizenship. Additionally, we also review the recent literature devoted to the comparative study of different nationality schemes as well as several empirical studies that have examined the effect of the legal and institutional framework on the naturalization of immigrants. The third section covers the fundamental aspects of nationality law in Spain, with particular attention to the requirements in the procedures for naturalization by residence. This part dissects the preferences that characterize the Spanish nationality system. The statistical sources and methodology used are presented in the fourth section, which precedes the analysis of the patterns of naturalization by residence in Spain from 2003–2012. Then, the sixth section an approach is made from stock data provided by various statistical sources to the extent and characteristics of the other existing pathways to acquire nationality. In particular, we focus on the Spanish-born children of foreign immigrants and the descendants of the Spanish diaspora. The chapter closes with a summary of the main results and some conclusions.

[1] In this study, we use the term “nationality” rather than “citizenship” to indicate the legal relationship between individuals and the state. In the Spanish context, ciudadanía (“citizenship”) has a more restricted meaning than that of nacionalidad (“nationality”).

Theoretical Framework

Citizenship or nationality—in the legal sense—refers to the official status establishing a bond between individuals and the state that confers specific rights and obligations such as, for example, voting rights or access to certain state welfare services. Various states have very different ways of determining "who is and who is not a citizen" (Carens 2004, p. 401), stemming from their own individual histories and conceptions of national community (Brubaker 1992). Traditionally, nationality has followed either the principle of *ius soli*—that is, the right by birthplace—or the principle of *ius sanguinis*—the right by descent. From a policy perspective, the predominance of one criterion or another has been associated with opposing models of citizenship: with the civic model, which is more inclusive, promoting the attribution of nationality based on the criterion of *ius soli*, while the ethnocultural one, which is more restrictive, prioritizing intergenerational transmission based on the criterion of *ius sanguinis* (Vink and Bauböck 2013).

Along with such differing legal traditions, international migration is considered to be a key factor for understanding the shaping of and changes in nationality laws and citizenship policies (Weil 2001; Joppke 2003). In fact, migration flows—of both immigration and emigration—create populations of foreign residents inside and expatriates outside of state borders (Bauböck 2010). As a part of the process of incorporating immigrants, many countries have carried out legal reforms in recent years. In this process of institutional change, some authors have identified a certain degree of convergence toward more inclusive schemes to the extent that many states—at least in Western Europe—have softened the principle of ius sanguinis by introducing elements of ius soli (Bauböck et al. 2006). The settlement of the immigrant population has also led to states redefining the legal status and rights of foreign residents by creating new categories of quasi-citizenship or denizenship (Hammar 1990).

Furthermore, some countries with a long tradition of emigration have taken measures of varying scope to foster links with so-called communities abroad or diasporas (Collyer 2013). Countries in southern and northern Europe have created provisions offering preferential treatment to certain categories of foreigners—as well as to former expatriates—that make it possible to acquire or recover citizenship without requiring residence in the country (Dumbrava 2013). This is the case in Spain, and is known as the Ley de la Memoria Histórica (Law of Historical Memory). This legal reform has allowed a significant number of children and grandchildren who are Spanish "by origin" who emigrated during and after the Civil War, either for political or economic reasons, to acquire nationality (Izquierdo 2011). In external citizenship—together with the growing acceptance of dual citizenship—several authors have noted the erosion of state sovereignty and emergence of transnational citizenship. Beyond its legal and political implications, transnational citizenship has produced complex practices of national belonging and more fluid forms of mobility on the part of migrant populations (Faist and Geddes 2008; Mateos 2014).

For several decades now the relationship between citizenship and migration processes has attracted substantial academic and political interest. More recently, there have been several comparative research projects on nationality law and citizenhip policies in Europe and North America. The majority of these studies have focused on the regulation of the acquisition and loss of nationality by immigrants from the construction of complex systems of indicators (see, for example, Howard 2009; Janoski 2010; Huddleston and Niessen 2011). It is worth noting, on this subject, a few aspects of the research carried out by the European Union Democracy Observatory on Citizenship, which studied the legal systems of more than 30 European countries (Wallace 2010; Bauböck et al. 2013). The first aspect is the prevalence of the ius sanguinis criterion in the acquisition of nationality in all countries analyzed. However, the ius soli criterion is also applied in Belgium, France, Germany, Holland, Portugal and Spain, among other states. A second aspect is the considerable variation among these countries regarding the requirements, as well as the administrative procedures, for naturalization by residence for foreign immigrants. Focusing exclusively on the first dimension, countries with more liberal immigration, such as France and the UK, require a shorter period of residence than other traditionally more restrictive places like Germany, Austria or Switzerland. Similarly, countries that have experienced more recent immigration—such as, for example, Spain, Italy and Greece—also demand a longer period of stay, like the countries that have recently joined the EU.

A second important indicator concerns the requirement for the renunciation of nationality of origin. There is a clear distinction between the countries that have recently joined, where the law makes naturalization contingent upon the renunciation of one's previous nationality, and those countries in the EU-15 group, where dual citizenship is widely accepted—except for Germany, Austria, Denmark and the Netherlands, where there are more restrictions. One final aspect to emphasize is the provisions that favor certain categories of people based on their specific ties to the country, whether individual or collective. More specifically, the former refers primarily to family relationships with nationals or former nationals, while the latter indicates individuals belonging to a group with a cultural, ethnic or religious affinity with the nation and/or historical relationship from its colonial past (Vink and Bauböck 2013, p. 11). In Europe, almost all countries offer, to a greater or lesser extent, special treatment to certain nationals, especially to those from former colonies. For example, Spain facilitates naturalization by residence for people who are related to a Spanish national by marriage or descent, or for nationals of Ibero-American countries, the Philippines, Equatorial Guinea and members of the Sephardic community.

Along these lines, some authors have studied the effect of different institutional frameworks on the naturalization of immigrants and their relation to individuals' characteristics (Dronkers and Vink 2012; Vink et al. 2013). The results of this work highlight the fact that the differing laws of the destination countries—as well as that of the countries of origin—have a significant influence on immigrants' naturalization. In general, immigrants who live in countries with more inclusive systems are more likely to naturalize. However, this effect depends on the so-called "origin fac-

tor", that is, on the level of development of the immigrants' country of origin: those immigrants from developing countries have a higher tendency to naturalize than those from more developed regions. This would be consistent with those explanations that, at the micro level, conceive of naturalization as a cost-benefit analysis. Thus, for immigrants from developing countries, naturalization means greater potential benefits in terms of legal stability and security in the country of residence, access to state welfare benefits or occupations reserved for nationals, and greater ease in bringing over family members who are still in the country of origin. Ultimately, as these authors suggest, the naturalization of immigrants is influenced by not only the individual characteristics of each immigrant, but also the conditions in the country of origin and structure of legal opportunities in the country of residence.

The Acquisition of Spanish Nationality: The Political Geometry of Affinities

In Spain, nationality law has been defined by its prioritizing of the maintenance of ties with communities of Spaniards abroad and the establishing of, at the same time, a preferential system that offers special treatment to certain categories of individuals or groups in the naturalization process (Rubio Marín 2006). As we shall discuss below, the change in the migration cycle in Spain has not resulted in a corresponding change in the orientation of the law, which to this day remains rooted in the migratory and colonial past of the country (Martin Pérez and Moreno-Fuentes 2012). Following this, we review the fundamental aspects of the regulation of the acquisition of nationality in Spain, with particular attention to the requirements for naturalization by residence. Although the administrative procedure and loss of nationality are key elements of the legal framework that deserve exhaustive treatment—especially from the perspective of individuals affected by the naturalization process—the scope of such treatment means we are unable to provide it here (see Álvarez 2008).

That having been said, Spanish nationality is regulated by Articles 17–26 of the Civil Code (hereafter referred to as "CC") and a scattered set of rules establishing the procedure for administrative processing. The statutory scheme sets out two separate access pathways: automatic acquisition (attribution) of nationality by birth or descent, and non-automatic acquisition (Álvarez 2010). The automatic attribution is based on the principle of ius sanguinis, although there are some elements of ius soli for second- and third- generation immigrants. By means of attribution, the state confers Spanish citizenship "by origin" on the biological or adopted children—regardless of their place of birth, whether in Spain or another country—of either a Spanish father or mother (Art. 17.1. And 19.1. CC). Nationality by origin also extends to children born in Spain of foreign nationals, in the event that at least one of the parents was born in Spain; and to children born in the country of unidentified parents, or ones who might otherwise become stateless, either because the

parents lack nationality or because the laws in their states of origin do not grant it to individuals who are born abroad (Art. 17.1 CC).

In contrast to the first pathway, non-automatic acquisition is voluntary, that is, the state grants "derivative" nationality to those who apply that fulfill certain requirements. Non-automatic acquisition includes three different types: by option (Art. 20 CC), by "possession of status" (Art. 18 CC) and by naturalization (Art. 22 CC). The first is intended for people who have some kind of special connection with Spain. People who fall under this category, for example, are those who are under the legal guardianship of a Spanish national or were born in Spain and whose father or mother is of Spanish origin, regardless of place of residence or age. This option was passed into law in 2002 to provide access to citizenship to the children of Spanish expatriates. More recently, in 2007, the Ley de la Memoria Histórica opened the door to applications, for a limited period of time, to those whose father or mother was originally Spanish and to the grandchildren of those who lost or had to give up their Spanish nationality as a result of exile. As to the type "possession of status," those who have used Spanish nationality for ten continuous years and in "good faith" may acquire it even if they are not legally eligible.

Thirdly, acquisition by naturalization may be granted either by carta de naturaleza (discretionary naturalization) (Art. 21 CC) or by residence (Art. 22 CC). The discretionary naturalization is reserved for individuals and groups who qualify under a number of exceptional circumstances. In this sense, the definition of "exceptional circumstances" is determined at the discretion of the government. In practice, the certificate of naturalization has been used for the naturalization of persons of recognized academic and intellectual prestige, elite athletes, entrepreneurs, former presidents of other states and those who fought in the International Brigades in the Civil War between 1936 and 1939. Nevertheless, the Sephardic community has been the group that has benefited most from this in recent years in terms of the number approved by the government,—specifically, 779 between 2006 and 2012 (see Álvarez 2012, pp. 43–45).[2]

Fourthly, foreign nationals may obtain Spanish nationality through naturalization after a period of 10 years of legal and continuous residence in Spain. As mentioned above, this requirement is one of the strictest among the countries in Europe both for the amount of time required and, above all, the fact that it must be uninterrupted and legal residence, a situation that the Spanish migration model, which could be characterized as tolerated irregularity, does not exactly favor (Izquierdo and Cornelius 2012). However, the Civil Code contains provisions that reduce the time required for different categories of people (Art. 22 CC). Thus, political refugees

[2] On June 6th, 2014, the Spanish government approved a bill to facilitate the granting of Spanish citizenship to Sephardim through from the reform of Article 23 of the CC (Gobierno de España 2014). With this reform, the granting of Spanish nationality does not require renunciation of their original nationality and also is no longer done on a discretionary basis but rather has come to be considered a right. To acquire nationality, Sephardim must prove their "Sephardic status" and the maintaining of a "special relationship with Spain." This change demonstrates the pronounced path-dependency of the Spanish law, whose evolution has historically been driven by a post-colonial and ethno-national logic (Martín Pérez and Moreno-Fuentes 2012).

may apply for naturalization after 5 years of residence in Spain, while nationals of the Ibero-American countries, Portugal, Andorra, the Philippines and Equatorial Guinea may do so after only two. Additionally, foreign residents belonging to the Sephardic community may choose this option. Finally, there are six categories of individuals of whom only 1 year of residence is required, specifically: people born in Spain; those who were entitled to acquire nationality by option but did not choose to do so at the time; those who have been under the legal guardianship of a Spanish national or institution for two consecutive years; those which, at the time of application, have been married to a Spanish national for 1 year; widows or widowers of nationals if they, at the time of their spouse's death, were not separated legally or de facto; and lastly, people born outside Spain with at least one parent or grandparent of Spanish origin.

To qualify for the granting of nationality, foreigners must demonstrate, in addition to legal and continuous residence, "good civic conduct" and a "sufficient degree of integration" in Spanish society. The law does not define these terms precisely. In practice, the government usually requires applicants to have no criminal record in either the country of origin or in Spain, have sufficient financial means to live in the country and demonstrate adequate knowledge of the Spanish language or the co-official languages of the autonomous communities (Álvarez 2010, pp. 109–112). It should be added that, in recent times, tests of Spanish history and culture have been introduced. This integration requirement has been controversial not only for its lack of any legal basis but also because, along with the demonstration of good conduct, it is one of the main reasons for the rejection of applications (Tjagen and Sánchez-Montijano 2013).

As can be seen, the nationality law contains provisions that confer special treatment on certain categories of individuals or groups who have some kind of relation to the processes of international migration. These provisions are organized on the basis of a set of criteria and reasons, such as the existence of family ties between Spanish and foreign nationals—either by descent or marriage; the recognition of a status of particular vulnerability, such as that of political refugees; having made a special contribution to the country; and, finally, the existence of an ethnic, cultural or historical affinity with certain groups.

According to Mateos and Durand (2012, pp. 17–20), these provisions define a system of preferences organized according to a hierarchy of ethno-cultural distances while, at the same time, establishing different treatment in the acquisition of nationality. This is encompassed by what the French demographer Hervé Le Bras (2012) has described in general terms as a "geography of affinities" when referring to migration policies, which emphasizes the symbolic recreation of the "cultural distances" with regard to national identity, and which we will call the "political geometry of affinities." In the case of Spain, the highest level in the hierarchy is held by those individuals of Spanish origin who were born abroad, to whom the state grants citizenship by virtue of the principle of ius sanguinis. On the second level are foreign nationals who were born and live in the country, and those who have a family relationship by descent or marriage with a Spanish national. Individuals in this group enjoy a significant reduction in the required time of residence (from 10 to 1

year) to be eligible for naturalization. Below these are foreign nationals from former colonies, countries with historical links with Spain and the Sephardic community. In addition are those foreign citizens who have refugee status. For all of the above the required time of residence is reduced. Lastly, the lowest level in the hierarchy corresponds to nationals of the other countries not included in the previous categories, for whom acquisition of nationality is much more restricted.

It is important to emphasize that this system of preferences results in special treatment in terms of not only the requirements but also the acceptance of dual citizenship and the possibility of transmission and loss of nationality. In this sense, the preference system overlaps with the other instruments of migration policies implemented by the Spanish government. We refer, on one hand, to the bilateral dual-citizenship agreements signed with 12 Latin American countries during the fifties and sixties that have led to recognition of the system referred to as dormant/active nationality (Rubio Marín 2006, p. 480).[3] Additionally, the requirement by law to renounce the nationality of origin does not apply to "naturals" from Latin American countries, Andorra, the Philippines, Equatorial Guinea and Portugal (Arts. 22–24 CC). On the other hand, the preferential system and selective tolerance of dual citizenship work in concert with the rules governing the legal status and rights of foreigners (González-Ferrer and Cortina 2011). Generally, immigration law draws a clear distinction between the set of rules that applies to citizens of the European Union—known as the EU regime—and the one that applies to other foreigners (General regime). These two systems establish significant differences between EU and non-EU citizens as regards their conditions of entry and residence in Spain, access to the labor market and exercise of certain social and political rights (Solanes 2010).

Methodology

Official statistics on nationality in Spain, provided by the Dirección General de Registros y Notariado del Ministerio de Justicia (Directorate General of Registries and Notaries of the Ministry of Justice), only supply information about the acquisition of nationality by residence. There is no data on other methods of acquisition—namely, by option, possession of status or discretionary naturalization—nor on the other method, by attribution. Data on naturalization by residence only include granting of nationality, so the total number of applications and rejections is unknown. Besides the question of the availability of data, there are two other issues with this source. The first is that there is a 'gap' between the date of application for nationality and the date of acquisition that is impossible to quantify. This is relevant when analyzing the evolution of naturalization and its relation to the migration phe-

[3] The states with which the Spanish state has signed bilateral agreements are Chile (1958), Peru (1959), Paraguay (1959), Guatemala (1961), Nicaragua (1961), Bolivia (1961), Ecuador (1964), Costa Rica (1964), Honduras (1966), the Dominican Republic (1968), Argentina (1969) and Colombia (1978).

nomenon. The second is the discontinuity in the series of aggregated data on the variables of gender, age, previous nationality or reason for granting. This has resulted in our taking only the period from 2003–2012 for analysis, even though there are aggregates from previous years.

To study the acquisition of Spanish nationality, we use the naturalization rate as an indicator of intensity. Basically, this is defined as the number of naturalizations by residence within a given year relative to the total foreign population at the beginning of the year. The main drawback of this measure is that, strictly speaking, the probability of naturalization can not be calculated because in the denominator, the total number of the population that have the opportunity to enter the process, that is to say, the foreign population eligible for acquisition of nationality, can not be determined (Bauböck and Helbling 2011). In the numerator there is a second problem because, as mentioned, the data do not cover all existing types of naturalization. To overcome this limitation, some authors have proposed more specific indicators. For example, Thomas Janoski (2010) suggests including automatic acquisition of nationality by birth to adjust the data on naturalization rates. This approach has been discussed, among other reasons, to avoid the double ius soli formula existing in some countries, such as Spain, which automatically grants nationality to children with at least one Spanish parent born in Spain. Others elect to use indicators such as the rejection rate but, in our case, this is not practicable (Hebling 2010).

For the denominators, we use data on the population stock of foreign citizens with a residence permit valid on December 31st of the relevant year. This information is provided by the Ministerio de Empleo y de la Seguridad Social (Ministry of Employment and Social Security). It should be noted that we do not use population data from the Padrón Continuo (Continuous Municipal Register) to calculate rates because this administrative register includes the entire foreign population, irrespective of their legal status in the country. This is relevant due to the scope and characteristics of the phenomenon of irregularity in the country (Recaño and Domingo 2005). For example, the rate of naturalization for the period 2003–2012 is 25% lower on average when calculated from the Padrón data rather than the number of residence permits.

In complementary fashion, stock data from the Padrón Continuo, the Censo de Población de 2011 (2011 Census) and the Padrón de Españoles Residentes en el Extranjero (Register of Spaniards Resident Abroad) collected by the Instituto Nacional de Estadística de España (Spanish National Institute of Statistics) are used. The latter is the source for the number of people with Spanish nationality residing abroad on January 1st of each year.

Naturalization by Residence: Instrumental Assymmetries

In recent years, the number of foreigners who have obtained Spanish nationality has continued to rise, reaching a figure of slightly more than 760,000 between 2003 and 2012 (Fig. 2.1). During this period, the naturalization rate has remained fairly

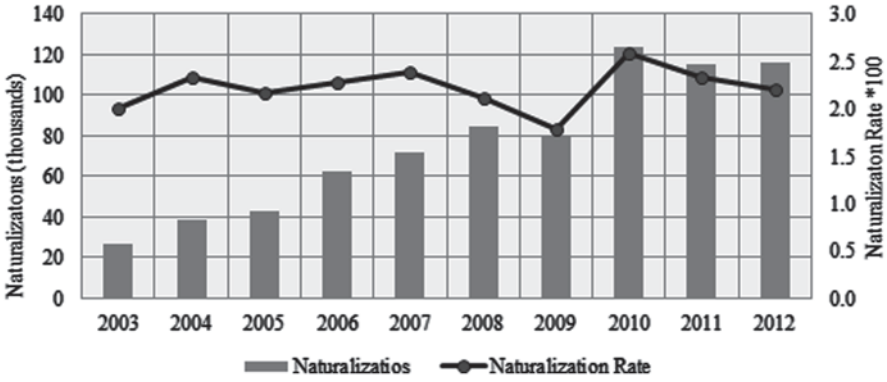

Fig. 2.1 Nationality acquisitions and naturalization rate, 2003–2012. (Source: Acquisition of Spanish Nationality by Residence and Foreigners with a Valid Residence Permit or Certificate (Ministry of Employment and Social Security))

stable at an annual average of around 2.2 %. This rate is lower than that recorded by some neighboring countries, which can be explained in part by the fact that Spain has only recently become a migration destination, and by the strictness of the legal framework. On this theme, it is important to place the intensity of the phenomenon and its recent evolution within a broader context to account for the influence of the Spanish legal and institutional framework on the naturalization processes of the foreign population in general, and of the Latin American one in particular.

The first issue to address is the effect of administrative procedures on naturalization patterns. In recent years, the Spanish government has shown itself to be incapable of responding to the constant increase in nationality applications, which has produced a considerable bureaucratic backlog that led to the government launching a "modernization" program of the judiciary in 2009 to expedite a solution. However, this program did not achieve the results expected and, in June 2012, the Ministry of Justice approved a new Plan Intensivo de Tramitación de Expedientes de Nacionalidad (Intensive Plan for Processing Nationality Applications) to resolve as quickly as possible a delay of two and a half years for decisions on pending applications, the number of which stood, at that time, at 465,000.[4] This fact is relevant for two reasons: first, because any account of the evolution of acquisitions must take into account both the historical sequence of flows—that is, the different cohorts of foreign populations that have fulfilled the requirements to apply—as well as the administrative procedures. In this way the drop in the number of acquisitions in 2009, its sharp increase in 2010, and its subsequent decline can be analyzed; second, be-

[4] The intensive citizenship plan, called Project GEN, delegated the processing of cases to the Ministry of Justice, the Colegio de Registradores de la Propiedad, Mercantiles y de Bienes Inmuebles de España (Association of Property, Commercial, and Real Estate Registrars of Spain). The latest figures available for July 1, 2014, indicate that from the beginning of the plan, more than 497,000 cases have been opened, of which more than 455,000 have been decided on (see www.mjusticia.gob.es).

cause bureaucratic delays affect the timeframe within which foreign immigrants can become citizens and, in Spain, has been estimated to be 9 years on average—which is reduced to six in the case of foreign nationals eligible for fast-track procedures, such as Latin Americans (Tagden and Sánchez-Montijano 2013).

Related to the above, patterns of naturalization have also been affected by the economic crisis that began in 2008. On one hand, acquisitions can fall—as can be observed in 2011 and 2012—due not only to bureaucratic delays but also to the country's worsening economic situation, which affected the immigrant population to a greater extent. This meant that many foreigners could not meet the requirements for legal residence and integration into Spanish society that, among other tests, asks for proof of sufficient financial means. We have no data on the total number of applications and rejections, so it is actually impossible to tell if there has been an increase or decrease in the rejection rate. On the other hand, the crisis has led to the departure of potential candidates for naturalization from Spain, so the number of applications has also decreased. However, some authors suggest that in the current crisis, naturalization is affecting the timing of return migration or re-migration to other countries because it has become a strategic resource of indisputable value that allows movement within the European Community and with the country of origin (Mateos and Durand 2012; Ortega-Rivera et al. in press).

One last factor to note is that the immigration policies implemented by the Spanish government have established, in the end, a model in which irregularity has become a structural feature (Arango 2000; Izquierdo 2011). The inefficiency of migration flow policies and their incompatibility with immigration laws have led to high rates of irregularity. In this situation, the Spanish authorities have had to introduce up to six regularization programs (Finotelli and Arango 2011). Consequently, patterns of naturalization in Spain are subject, at the aggregate level, to changes in the rate of irregularity, which in turn are governed by successive regularizations. However, this can also be seen at the individual level, since the effects of irregularity lead to different legal paths for foreign immigrants, especially for the non-EU population, which does not receive the preferential treatment that, for example, the Latin American one does.

The combination of these three factors, along with the preferential character of the Spanish legal system, has led to the predominance of naturalization procedures of an exceptional nature. As shown in Table 2.1, the majority of foreigners have acquired nationality through the 2-year fast-track procedure (72%) and a much smaller number by marriage to a Spanish national (11%) or by birth in Spain (6%), paths to naturalization that only require 1 year of residence. Therefore, the number of foreigners who have become Spanish citizens through the standard 10-year procedure does not exceed 10% of all naturalizations during the period concerned. When analyzing the different patterns of naturalization, it is interesting to contrast the way different groups of immigrants have obtained nationality. As expected, for Latin Americans the most common pathway of acquisition is the 2-year procedure (88%), while naturalization by marriage to a Spanish national represents a much smaller proportion, around 10% of the total. It is worth noting that, depending on the case, naturalization by marriage reaches very high levels, for example, with

Table 2.1 Naturalizations by country of nationality (regions) and acquisition method, 2004–2012[a]. (Source: Acquisition of Spanish Nationality by Residence and Foreigners with a Valid Residence Permit or Certificate (Ministry of Employment and Social Security))

Region prev. nat.	Total	10 years	2 years	Spanish descendant	Marriage	Born in Spain	Others
Africa	107,797	53,377	3730	75	13,029	36,065	1521
Asia	20,315	7333	5509	23	2783	4193	474
European Union	12,400	2429	4013	64	3699	2045	150
Latin America	583,865	716	513,257	3509	60,268	2948	3167
North America	1021	270	62	20	564	84	21
Oceania	107	31	21	–	48	4	3
Rest of Europe	7231	2263	87	19	3497	1000	365
Stateless	189	51	16	–	18	70	34
Total	732,925	66,470	526,695	3710	83,906	46,409	5735

[a]Information on acquisition method is only available from 2004

Mexicans (47%), Venezuelans (37%), Brazilians (33%) and Cubans (30%). However, the data available does not record whether their spouses are also naturalized Spaniards. The small number of acquisitions by descent—mainly to Argentines, Cubans and Venezuelans—and by birth in Spain are unsurprising because those who obtain Spanish nationality by descent tend to do so in the country of origin, while those born in Spain acquire it automatically by birth to avoid becoming stateless—at least some of them, as we shall see in the next section.

The predominance of Latin Americans in the naturalization process contrasts considerably with the position of other groups of foreign immigrants—in particular those from North Africa and the European Community—which have a more consolidated migration trajectory in Spain. Thus, the differences in the incidence of naturalization speak volumes (Table 2.2). During the period 2003–2012, the Latin American naturalization rate reached 5.5%, a figure three times higher than that of Africans (1.6%) and almost five times that of Asians (1.1%). These differences are even more pronounced when compared to those of EU and non-EU as well as North American immigrants, whose rates range from 0.1 to 0.6%. The variation in the propensity to naturalize is explained largely by the position occupied by the various national groups in the preferential system mentioned above. It is important to remember that the special treatment in the legal framework involves not only a relaxing of the residency requirements but also the acceptance of dual citizenship. At the same time, these elements overlap an immigration system that makes a clear distinction between the legal status of EU and non-EU citizens. In line with the academic literature on naturalization both in Spain and in the wider European context (González-Ferrer and Cortina 2011; Reichel 2011; Dronkers and Vink 2012; Vink et al. 2013), the lower likelihood of EU citizens to naturalize—including the relatively privileged Portuguese, whose rate was only 0.8%—is due to the advantages conferred by the EU system, which include great legal stability, freedom of movement

Table 2.2 Nationality acquisitions and naturalization rates by country of previous nationality (continental aggregates), 2003–2012. (Source: Acquisition of Spanish Nationality by Residence and Foreigners with a Valid Residence Permit or Certificate (Ministry of Employment and Social Security))

Country prev. nat.	Total	Total (%)	Naturalization rates (%)		
			2003–2007	2008–2012	2003–2012
Africa	116,319	15.3	1.7	1.5	1.6
Morocco	90,567	11.9	1.8	1.5	1.6
Equatorial Guinea	3925	0.5	6.3	3.8	5.1
Asia	22,309	2.9	1.5	0.8	1.1
Philippines	7094	0.9	4.2	2.2	3.2
European Union	14,431	1.9	0.2	0.1	0.1
Portugal	6024	0.8	1.0	0.6	0.8
Latin America	598,163	78.7	4.8	6.1	5.5
Ecuador	209,385	27.5	4.2	7.3	5.7
Colombia	135,031	17.8	4.8	7.0	5.9
Peru	65,867	8.7	6.5	6.6	6.5
Argentina	40,305	5.3	4.3	5.6	4.9
Dominican Rep.	34,485	4.5	6.3	5.0	5.7
Cuba	26,287	3.5	7.1	6.0	6.5
Bolivia	22,444	3.0	2.2	3.4	2.8
Venezuela	15,690	2.1	4.6	5.9	5.3
Brazil	11,563	1.5	3.6	3.0	3.3
Uruguay	11,101	1.5	3.3	5.3	4.3
Chile	10,200	1.3	4.3	4.9	4.6
Mexico	6389	0.8	5.9	5.4	5.7
Paraguay	3694	0.5	2.6	2.2	2.4
Honduras	2562	0.3	5.1	3.7	4.4
El Salvador	1204	0.2	6.3	5.1	5.7
North America	1134	0.1	0.7	0.4	0.6
Rest of Europe	6773	0.9	0.6	0.5	0.6
Russia	2353	0.3	1.0	0.9	1.0
Oceania	112	0.0	0.7	0.7	0.7
Total	760,237	100.0	2.2	2.2	2.2

and the possibility of reuniting families, among other privileges. In other words, for EU citizens becoming Spanish does not appear to be of great benefit.

However, for non-EU citizens, who do not enjoy privileged treatment, the laws on acquisition of nationality are an obstacle to naturalization due to the significant associated costs involved, not only in terms of the residency requirements but also the requirement to renounce their nationality of origin. Moroccans are a good case in point. Despite being a community that has been settled in Spain for a long time,

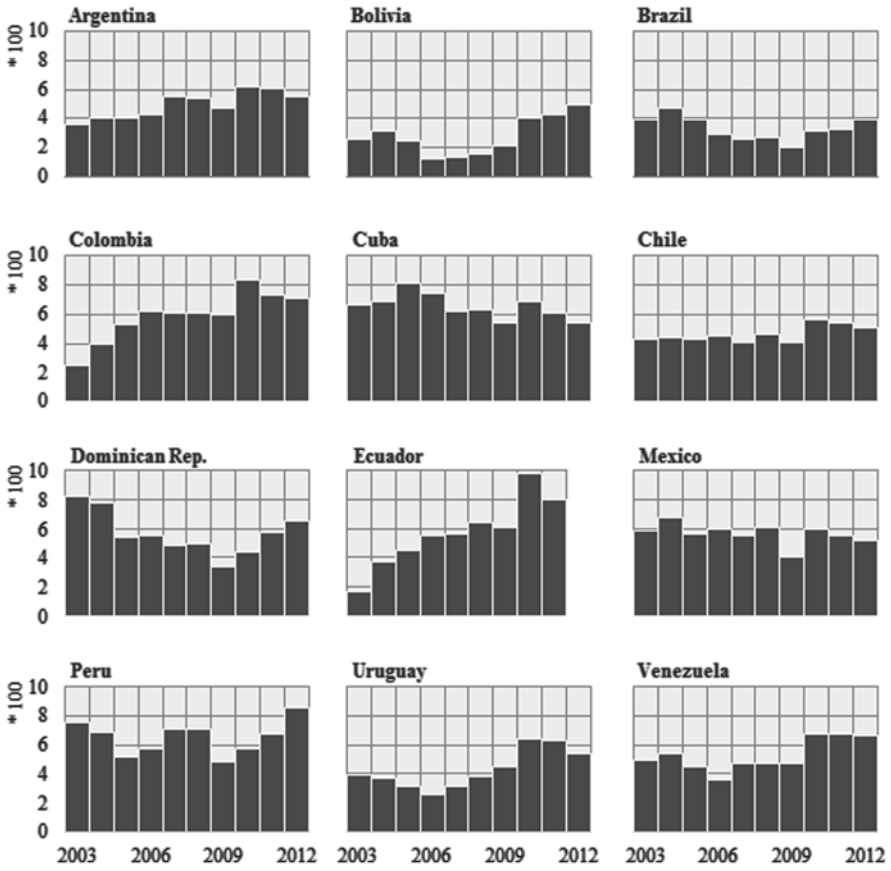

Fig. 2.2 Naturalization rate by previous nationality. Main countries, 2003–2012. (Source: Acquisition of Spanish Nationality by Residence and Foreigners with a Valid Residence Permit or Certificate (Ministry of Employment and Social Security))

they represent only 12% of the naturalizations by residence in the last decade, at a rate not above 1.6%. However, in the next few years we are likely to see an increase in the number of acquisitions by non-EU immigrants once the bureaucratic backlog is cleared and the number of candidates eligible for naturalization grows.

Finally, there are also significant differences in the naturalization rates among the Latin American population, with a range that varies from a low of 2.4% for Paraguayans to a high of 6.5% for Cubans and Peruvians. The arrival sequence of the migration flows and the process of settling in the country are revealed, in this case, as key factors in analyzing the observed differences. A pertinent way of doing so is by examining the change that occurred in naturalization rates in the periods between 2003–2007 and 2008–2012 (Fig. 2.2). The first phase includes the Latin American immigration boom that involved, initially, Ecuadorians, Colombians and Argentines, and subsequently Bolivians, Brazilians and Paraguayans. However,

during these years the highest rates of naturalization were not in these groups, but in others who arrived before, such as the Cubans, Peruvians and Dominicans—nevertheless, the rates of the former are equally high. In the second phase, which coincides with the economic crisis, a significant increase in naturalizations, both in absolute and relative terms, occurs. During these years, there has been a considerable rise in the numbers of Ecuadorians, Colombians, and Bolivians. Undoubtedly, the increased incidence of naturalization in these groups reflects the delayed impact of the extraordinary regularization of 2005.[5]

Statistical Traces of Nationality Law and Latin American Migration

As has been seen, a significant number of foreign immigrants in Spain has acquired nationality through naturalization by residence. The preferential system that characterizes the legal system has led to the predominance of Latin Americans in the naturalization process. However, Spanish law allows for other ways to become a national—both within Spain and abroad—though it is difficult to determine their extent because there are no statistics on the other methods of acquisition, much less the automatic granting of nationality by birth for those who are connected to international migration, especially by children born in Spain to foreign immigrants and the descendants of the so-called Spanish diaspora. For this reason, in this section we attempt to estimate their number and demographic characteristics from the analysis of stock data from various statistical sources, such as the Continuous Municipal Register, Census, and Register of Spaniards Resident Abroad.

Naturalization of Immigrants in Spain

According to the latest data from the *Padrón Continuo* (Continuous Municipal Register) of 2013, the Latin American-born population in Spain is 2,420,000, representing 36.5% of the total foreign-born population. As can be seen in Table 2.3, more than 39% of the Latin Americans here have acquired Spanish nationality—whether by acquisition or attribution—while 4.7% possessed one other than that of their country of birth, mainly Italians. Therefore, the number of Latin American Spanish citizens is far higher than that of the other groups with a significant presence in the country, ranging from 12% for citizens of the EU-27 to 24% for nationals from the rest of Europe. It is worth noting that these continental aggregates mask a high degree of geographical dispersion as a result of asymmetries in the Spanish legal

[5] The so-called 2005 Normalization permitted the regularization of 578,000 undocumented immigrants. Among Latin Americans, Ecuadorians (127,925), Colombians (50,497) and Bolivians (39,773) were the main groups by number of positive decisions (Finotelli 2011).

Table 2.3 Latin American population in Spain by country of birth and country of nationality, 2013. (Source: Continuous Municipal Register (National Institute of Statistics). Data on January 1st)

Country of birth	Total	Country of nationality			
		Spain	Country of birth	Other country	Spain (%)
Ecuador	456,233	207,909	246,188	2136	45.6
Colombia	370,823	147,845	216,984	5994	39.9
Argentina	271,149	120,320	95,133	55,696	44.4
Peru	195,488	84,220	107,047	4221	43.1
Bolivia	185,194	20,522	163,770	902	11.1
Venezuela	162,144	100,051	51,908	10,185	61.7
Dominican Rep.	155,432	65,933	86,194	3305	42.4
Brazil	125,883	29,758	89,356	6769	23.6
Cuba	125,152	68,056	54,022	3074	54.4
Paraguay	86,526	4412	81,072	1042	5.1
Uruguay	80,891	33,487	34,609	12,795	41.4
Chile	62,280	24,084	33,719	4477	38.7
México	50,569	24,167	23,154	2950	47.8
Rest of countries	91,565	17,487	73,546	830	19.1
Total Latin America	2,419,329	948,251	1,356,702	114,376	39.2

framework and the countries of origin, as well as historical patterns of international migration. For this reason, the high percentage of Spaniards who were born in Switzerland (74%), France (56%) and Germany (30%) is not surprising, even though these groups have very low rates of naturalization by residence. These three countries—and to a lesser extent Belgium and Holland—were the preferred destinations of labor migration flows between the fifties and early seventies (de la Torre and Sanz Lafuente 2008). The composition by age and sex, not shown here, reflects the attribution of nationality to descendants of Spaniards born in those countries, like the progressive return that followed this emigration. In contrast, other groups have, despite their long migratory trajectories in Spain, significantly lower proportions of Spanish nationals. Take, for example, those born in the UK (6%) and Morocco (17%). In the particular case of the Moroccans, toward whom the Spanish legal and institutional system is much more unfavorable, this disadvantaged position is key to interpreting the small number of naturalizations, above all when compared to other groups of economic migrants who have settled here more recently. On top of this difficulty is Moroccan law, in which the acquisition of another nationality means the immediate loss of their Moroccan one, which is an either-or choice that does not have to be made by most Latin Americans. The same is true of other recently arrived immigrant groups, among them Romanians (0.5%), Bulgarians (1%), Pakistanis (4%) and Senegalese (6%).

In the specific case of the Latin American-born population, the special treatment that is conferred on them by law has combined with successive migration phases

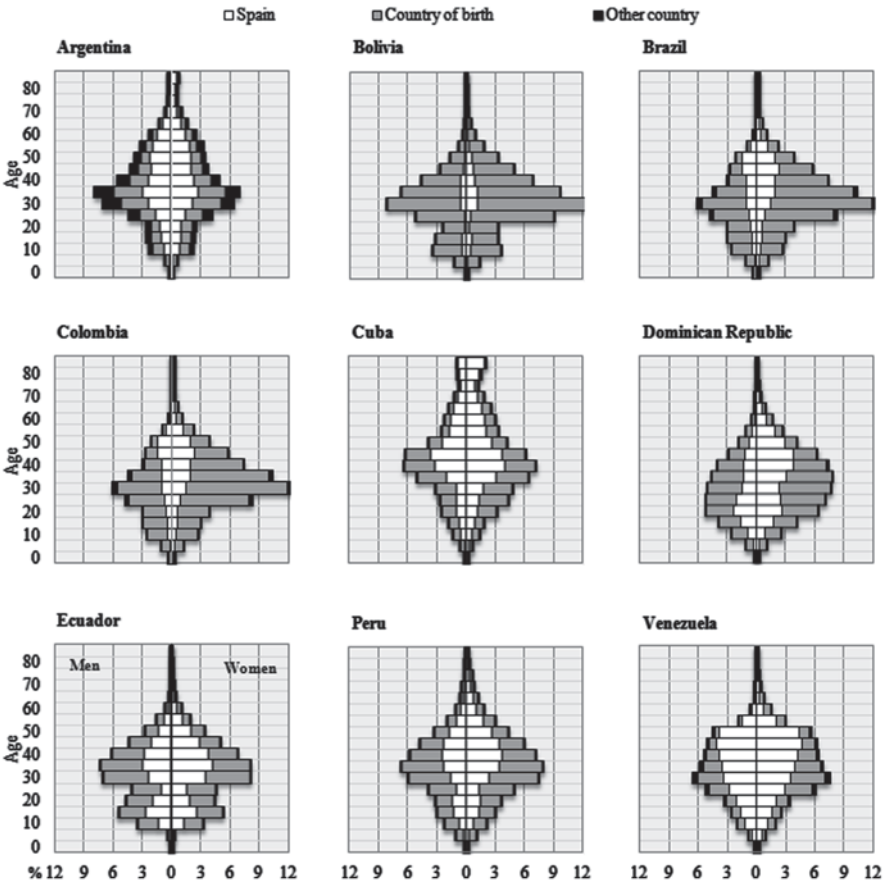

Fig. 2.3 Age pyramids of the Latin American-born population by place of birth and nationality. Main countries, 2013. (Source: Continuous Municipal Register (National Institute of Statistics). Data on January 1st)

that have interconnected the region and Spain since the late nineteenth century (Sánchez Alonso 1995; Palazón Ferrando 2009). It is possible to identify, in this regard, three distinct profiles based on the presence of Spanish nationals among them, their composition by age and sex, and duration and intensity of migration flows (Fig. 2.3). The first group is formed by those born in Venezuela, Cuba, Argentina and Mexico. These populations have very high percentages of Spanish nationals, especially the Venezuelans (61.7%) and Cubans (54.4%). The age composition of the population with Spanish nationality—with a median age of 38 years for Mexicans and 47 for Cubans—indicates the acquisition of nationality by the descendants of Spanish migrants, as well as reflects the longer period of time they have been settled in the country.

A second group is headed by those born in Ecuador and Colombia, who together make up the highest number of immigrants living in Spain. These populations,

whose inflows reached a remarkable intensity during the beginning of the new century, has a percentage of Spanish nationals of 45.6% in the case of Ecuador and 40% in that of Colombia, with average ages of 36 and 39 years, respectively, and a clear gender imbalance in favor of women. This group also includes people from Peru, the Dominican Republic, and Chile, who arrived in Spain earlier and whose proportion of nationals ranges from 37.8% of Chileans to 43.1% of Peruvians. The third group consists of those born in Brazil, Bolivia and Paraguay, in which the proportion of Spaniards is much lower due to their recent arrival. Demographically, their naturalized population is much younger and much more imbalanced gender-wise.

This portrait is not quite complete because those born in Spain with foreign nationality do not appear in it, nor do those born here of Spanish nationality who are descendants of foreign immigrants. Regarding the first group, it is important to keep in mind that the legal system does not grant nationality by birth in this country to the children of foreigners. They usually acquire that of their parents, and in the event that they should want to choose to be Spanish, are required to reside legally in the country for a year. This requirement is problematic because their legal status depends on their parents, a circumstance that prevents those who are in an irregular situation from applying for naturalization. In some cases, depending on the laws of their countries of origin, the state grants nationality to the children of foreign parents to prevent them from becoming stateless. As noted above, this is relevant to the extent that the legal framework of the countries of origin determines a distinct path to becoming a Spanish national from birth, which stands in clear contrast to the preferential treatment given to Latin Americans.

This partially confirms data from the Padrón Continuo. In 2013, the foreign population born in Spain was around 470,000 people (1.2% of the total population). The distribution by nationality and age, not given here, shows that significant numbers are children whose origins lie in Morocco (33%), Romania (15%) and China (7%), all of which are countries that do not grant nationality to children born abroad to expatriates. The group of Latin American children represents just over 12% of the total and is primarily composed of people with origins in Ecuador, Bolivia, the Dominican Republic and Colombia. It should be noted that some of these countries—namely Bolivia, Chile and Ecuador—changed their laws in recent years, creating the possibility of granting nationality to the children of expatriates. As a result of this legislative change, the Spanish state has stopped granting them nationality because the possibility of statelessness no longer holds.[6]

As for the Spaniards born in Spain who are descendants of foreign citizens, quantifying them is more difficult because the Padrón Continuo does not collect information on the households and/or family relationships of individuals registered. It is therefore impossible to know whether Spaniards born in Spain are, for example, children of two foreigners, mixed couples or two former emigrants born in Spain. However, the latest census of 2011 provides information for the first time

[6] At present, the Spanish authorities grant nationality to children born in Spain to Argentine, Brazilian, Colombian, Cuban, Peruvian and Uruguayan parents (Álvarez 2010).

Table 2.4 Population resident in Spain by place of birth, nationality and parents' place of birth, 2011. (Source: 2011 Census (National Institute of Statistics). Data on November 1st)

	Total	Country of nationality		
Country of birth		Spain	Foreign country	Spain (%)
Spanish-born	40,925,541	40,419,571	505,969	98.8
Both parents born in Spain	38,947,733	38,913,454	34,279	99.9
One parent born in Spain	1,180,519	1,118,736	61,782	94.8
Both parents born abroad	797,289	387,381	409,908	48.6
Foreign-born	5,649,158	912,768	4,736,417	16.2
Both parents born in Spain	476,044	375,120	100,923	78.8
One parent born in Spain	275,868	130,884	144,984	47.4
Both parents born abroad	4,897,246	406,764	4,490,510	8.3
Total	46,574,699	41,332,339	5,242,386	88.7

about the place of birth of the parents of the population. As shown in Table 2.4, the number of births to two foreign parents in Spain was more than 797,000 in November 2011, while those born to one parent who was born abroad totaled more than 1,180,000. The origin of the parents reveals significant differences in the percentage of the population with Spanish nationality. Thus, the majority of children of mixed couples—that is, one of whose parents was born outside of Spain—are Spanish nationals, while this number drops by more than half among those whose parents were both born abroad.

These figures contrast sharply when compared to those of the foreign-born population, whether children of mixed couples (47%) or people born abroad (8.3%). Among the latter, those born in Latin America stand out in the highest proportions—numbers reflecting their preferential treatment under the law (Fig. 2.4). Lastly, the majority of the foreign-born population of Spanish-born parents, who could be called the children and grandchildren of Spanish emigration, possess the nationality of their parents. Among these, the Latin American-born population has lower figures in acquisition of nationality than the other continental groups, which is explained by their more recent settlement in the country.

Spaniards in Latin America

This last point confirms the predominance of the criterion of descent over that of birthplace in the acquisition of Spanish nationality. This defining characteristic of the Spanish legal framework also has repercussions outside the state's borders. As has already been seen, the foreign-born children of Spaniards "by origin" are automatically granted citizenship. Similarly, children whose parents are of Spanish origin and were born in Spain also have the opportunity to voluntarily acquire nationality, with no time limits and regardless of their age and place of residence.

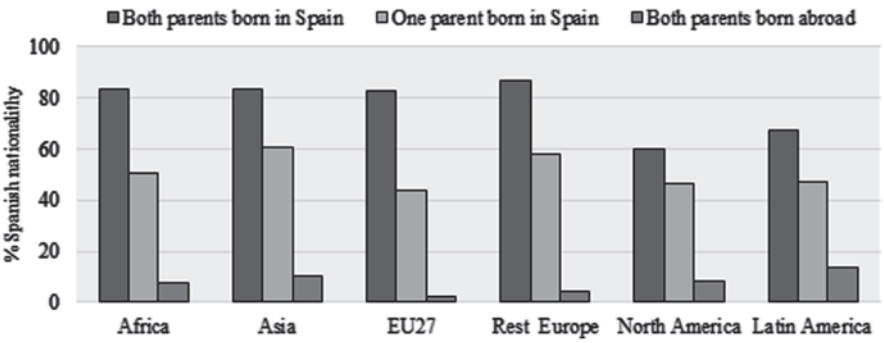

Fig. 2.4 Population resident in Spain by place of birth, nationality and parents' place of birth, 2011. (Source: 2011 Census (National Institute of Statistics). Data on November 1st)

To examine the extent of nationality acquisition by the Spanish diaspora—that is, the migrant population born in Spain whose descendants were born abroad—as well as their demographic characteristics, our source is the *Padrón de Españoles Residentes en el Extranjero* (Register of Spaniards Resident Abroad), which is based on the *Registros de Matrícula de las Oficinas Consulares* (Registers of Consular Registration). Like any other record, the *PERE* collects the registrations and cancellations of people who fulfill, in this case, two basic requirements: possessing Spanish nationality and being permanent residents abroad. Registrations may result from four different circumstances: by birth, by change of residence or immigration, by omission—in other words, unregistered individuals whose residence is presumed—and by naturalization. The fact that registration is voluntary and provides no significant benefits leads to under-reporting by individuals whose numbers are difficult to determine. With regard to cancellations, they may be due to death or changes of residence to another country and, as with registrations, there is a void in the register when the individuals concerned or their family do not notify the consulate.

As can be seen in Table 2.5, the increase in the numbers of Spaniards living abroad has been spectacular over the last few years. Between 2009 and 2013, the period for which data is available, the population stock has grown by more than 442,000—that is, by 30 %—to over 1,900,000 people. Individuals born abroad, especially in Latin America, account for most of this increase. In virtually all of the countries in the region, this group outnumbers the Spanish-born population, reaching very high levels in Cuba (98 %), Chile (86 %) and Mexico (82.5 %). This change in the composition of the population abroad is a result of at least three concurrent factors: First is the aging of the Spanish-born population. As shown in Fig. 2.5, the elderly population born in Spain has high levels of registration, especially among those living in Argentina (83 %), Uruguay (79 %), Cuba (76.6 %) and Brazil (72 %). When analyzing these figures it should be noted that this population is over-represented due to under-reporting of deaths. This, together with the limited availability of vital statistics on the Spanish population abroad, prevents us from performing a more thorough analysis of the aging process and its effect on population

Table 2.5 Spaniards resident in Latin America by country of residence and place of birth, 2009–2013. (Source: Register of Spaniards Resident Abroad (National Institute of Statistics))

	2009			2013		
Country of residence	Total	Spanish-born	Foreign-born	Total	Spanish-born	Foreign-born
Argentina	300,376	96,043	204,333	385,388	93,939	291,449
Venezuela	158,122	58,021	100,101	183,163	56,592	126,571
Brazil	78,505	32,243	46,262	110,422	30,392	80,030
Mexico	69,571	17,723	51,848	100,782	17,646	83,136
Cuba	42,592	2669	39,923	97,980	2229	95,751
Uruguay	49,443	13,710	35,733	62,491	13,114	49,377
Chile	30,709	6154	24,555	51,768	7324	44,444
Ecuador	5502	2213	3289	21,009	6650	14,359
Colombia	11,959	3765	8194	18,213	4496	13,717
Dominican R.	12,855	3445	9410	17,382	3623	13,759
Rest of countries	32,339	10,479	21,860	58,519	13,684	44,835
Latin America	791,973	246,465	545,508	1,107,117	249,689	857,428
Total	1,470,859	644,388	813,637	1,913,376	675,862	1,237,514

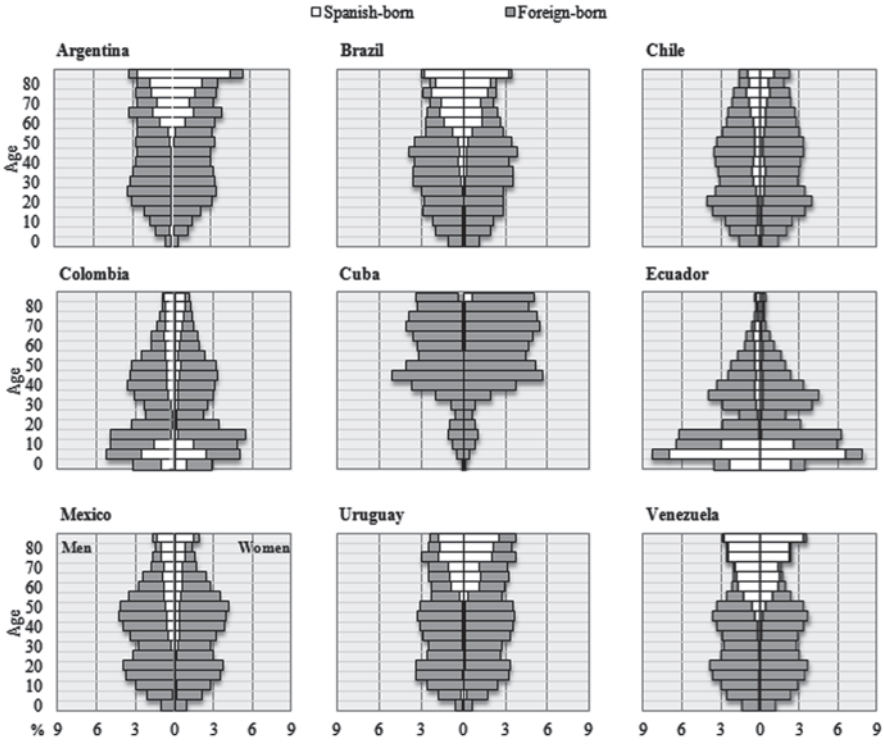

Fig. 2.5 Age pyramids of the Spanish population resident abroad by birthplace. Main countries of residence, 2013. (Source: Register of Spaniards Resident Abroad (National Institute of Statistics))

stocks. The acquisition of nationality by descendants of Spanish nationals is the second—and main—component of change. In this regard, the aforementioned Law of Historical Memory played a decisive role. As discussed in previous sections, this law has allowed descendants of Spanish nationals who had to emigrate for political or economic reasons after the Civil War to acquire Spanish nationality. It has been estimated that the number of applicants while the law was in force, between December 2008 and December 2011, was more than 500,000. Of these, the majority of applications were made from Latin American countries (95%), mainly from Argentina, Cuba and Mexico (Izquierdo 2011). The latest figures released by the Spanish authorities in May 2014 revealed that about 300,000 nationality applications were approved, while around 25,000 were rejected.[7] Consequently, it is reasonable to attribute much of the change in the stock of Spanish population abroad to the effect of legislation. In fact, the largest increases in the foreign-born population have occurred in some of the countries with the highest number of applications for nationality, such as Argentina, Cuba, Mexico and Venezuela. However, the change in the composition of the Spanish population abroad is not explained only by the diaspora's access to nationality, but also by new Spanish emigration. Although it is an emerging phenomenon that has been little explored, in previous research we have found that in the current Spanish migration, very diverse flows converge, not only demographically but also in the places of origin and destination countries involved. Thus the migration of young people and adults coexists with the re-migration of returning Spaniards and the so-called neo-Hispanic migration, or in other words, the population born abroad linked to previous immigration or in the country that has acquired Spanish nationality (Domingo et al., 2014).

Conclusions: Transnational Communities and Migration Founts

The Latin American migration boom in Spain and the fortunes of its nationals within Spanish borders, can not be understood without taking into account the positive discrimination in Spanish law, as has already been stated in the first chapter of this volume. However, the effects of the crisis must also be included in any understanding, even before considering the comparative advantage that Latin America natives have been given over other immigrants in Spain. Regardless of whether this preference is reflected in greater upward social mobility, it is interesting to note how discrimination that was not intended as a selection tool on migration flows—despite appearances—in particular, nor as part of immigration policy in general, has ended up being so. And how, completely involuntarily, it has, along with previous migratory dynamics, created a transnational community as well as great potential for migration in the future in both directions.

[7] This information was supplied by the Ministry of Justice to a parliamentary request by a member of Congress, Jon Uñarritu, representing Amaiur. Congreso de los Diputados (2014).

The preference of the law, although ratified in the reform of the Civil Code in 1990, had its roots in the providential discourse on Hispanidad having been established in 1954 during the Franco dictatorship, when the migration situation was very different, that is to say, when those that formed the greater part of the transatlantic flow with destinations in Latin American countries continued to be Spanish. The idea of Hispanidad underlying the positive discrimination for Ibero-American migrants (in which, besides Latin Americans properly speaking, nationals of the Philippines citizens are included and, since the eighties, those of the former colonies of Equatorial Guinea, Andorra and the descendants of the Sephardic population expelled from Spain in 1492), is based on ethno-cultural assimilation of Latin American migration thanks to historical ties and linguistic commonality. In other words, preferential access to Spanish nationality by residence is explained primarily by a discourse related to national identity rather than to flow management or settlement of immigrant stocks.

For the entire immigrant population, at 2.2% per year, Spain has shown relatively low rates of naturalization during the years 2003–2012, or for the complete rise and fall of the migratory wave that was composed chiefly of, among others, Latin Americans. Three principal factors explain this low and outdated level, as compared to other countries: (1) Endemic delays in a bureaucracy characterized by its slowness, in a process already troubled by difficulties; (2) The impact that the economic crisis itself may have had by eliminating candidates and therefore diminishing the final numbers—although the acquisition of Spanish nationality may also have served to slow emigration; and (3) The high degree of irregularity as a structural factor in the Spanish immigration process. It is precisely in this context of relatively low acquisition of nationality that Latin Americans are over-represented not only in general terms, with 78.7% of all acquisitions, but also in relative terms, with 5.5% of annual nationalizations. This is double the level of migration flows with other origins that have historically been more important, such as that of Africans, particularly the Moroccan population. However, the lack of data on acquisitions (and rejections) does not allow us to translate the number of nationalizations into a difference that would suggest added discrimination in the legal procedure.

Obviously, the differences by type of nationalization between different Latin American countries reflect the pace of migration flows. In this way, for nationalities with lower flow levels, the number of nationalizations unrelated to residence has increased (as with, for example, Mexico), while for the rest, there is a deviation from the average that could be the consequence of the process, irrespective of the number of years strictly necessary to acquire nationality, which in practice takes longer than the mandated two for an average of 6 years. Thus, during the first phase, the actors are the pioneers of Latin American migration: Peruvians, for example, although at this time the largest flows are those of the Ecuadorians. The instrumental nature of the acquisition of nationality is reflected in the low percentage of nationalizations by residents from EU countries, even those where Spanish migration was as substantial as that in Latin America during the sixties. It is worth bearing in mind that for non-EU nationals, the acquisition of Spanish nationality means access to better conditions for movement in the rest of the European Community.

Finally, the comparison of the composition of the populations born in Latin America and resident in Spain by their nationality, on the one hand, with that of Spanish residents living abroad by their place of birth, on the other, brings us closer to the possibilities of a population that—thanks to the legal status they enjoy that grants them Spanish nationality—can be considered as both belonging to transnational communities (including people of other nationalities) that reflect recent and past migration pools, as well as being the fount from which possible migratory movements in both directions might some day spring.

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Chapter 3
Contrasting Patterns of Migration and Settlement

Albert Sabater and Douglas S. Massey

Introduction

After centuries of sustained emigration, Spain in the 1980s not only became a country of immigration but a prominent destination among the 'new immigration countries' of the European Union (King et al. 1997). This turnaround grew particularly intense during the 2000s, when a third of all arrivals to Europe went to Spain, making it the most important destination for international migration on the continent (Pellegrino 2004) and the second largest worldwide, behind only the USA (OECD 2007). After Spain's entry into the EU in 1986, immigration was initially dominated by tourists and retirees from elsewhere in the Union, along with farmworkers responding to seasonal demands for agricultural labor. After 2000, however, immigration into Spain grew larger and more diverse owing to the economic boom known as the *Golden Decade*. Between 2000 and 2010 labor demand in construction and services grew rapidly (EEAG 2011) and immigration from Latin America surged, accounting for 38.4% of the total inflow over the decade. This surge took place beside well-established labor flows from Northern Africa (primarily Morocco) and new flows from Eastern Europe (especially Romania). Rapid growth in the number of immigrants raised fears of segregation in Spanish society and put the issue high on national, regional, and local agendas (Capel 1997; Cachón 2003; Izquierdo and Martínez 2003; Arango 2006; Aja and Arango 2006; Montoro et al. 2009). Given the distribution of jobs and housing and the operation of migrant networks, immigrants tend to concentrate in certain regions and localities, clustering particularly in Madrid (Lora-Tamayo 2001; Martínez del Olmo and Leal 2008; Echazarra 2010) and Barcelona (Martori and Hoberg 2004; Bayona

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2007; Musterd and Fullaondo, 2008; Martori and Apparicio 2011; Galeano et al. 2014). The rapid expansion of ethnically diverse neighborhoods and enclaves (Sabater et al. 2013) spawned negative attitudes among natives, especially those at the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder whose occupational characteristics mirrored those of the immigrants (Checa 2001; Caro 2002; Zapata-Barrero 2003; Calavita 2005; Domingo and Sabater 2012).

The twin processes of immigration settlement and spatial integration combine to produce a diversity of segregation patterns across groups and times which depends on the particular histories of immigration and socioeconomic mobility involved (Massey 1985). Concern about rising segregation levels stems from the well-known connection between a group's spatial circumstances and its socioeconomic well-being (Massey and Denton 1993). Although research to date suggests an ongoing process of spatial deconcentration is occurring among immigrants (Domínguez et al. 2010) while underscoring the importance of internal migration for this dispersion (Finney and Catney 2012), studies linking segregation and internal migration are still scarce in Spain (Sabater et al. 2012), especially for immigrants whose numbers surged after 2000 (Recaño and Domingo 2006). In this chapter, we seek to fill this gap by analyzing trends and patterns of segregation for Latin Americans and Africans in Spain, currently the nation's two largest non-European immigrant groups.

Our work contributes to the existing literature in two ways. First, we extend the geographic and temporal coverage of previous analyses of segregation in Spain, arguing that it is important to document levels and trends using a consistent time series to confirm previous findings about dispersal as well as to reveal trends in newer settlement areas. Second, we analyze the link between segregation and internal migration to reveal the degree to which mobility within Spain reinforces or reduces the clustering of Latin Americans and Africans, thereby gaining a more complete understanding of the spatial processes that contribute to segregation and integration among newcomers. In addressing these two issues, we focus on three specific questions:

1. How residentially segregated are Latin Americans from Spanish natives after a decade of unprecedented immigration, and how do these levels contrast with levels segregation observed for Africans?
2. Has residential segregation increased or decreased for Latin Americans and Africans between 2000 and 2010?
3. Has internal migration acted to reinforce or reduce the residential segregation of Latin Americans and Africans over the past decade?

The remainder of the chapter is organized as follows: the next section describes the context for international migration in Spain; the following section discusses the data and measures we draw upon; two sections then present results on trends in segregation and patterns internal migration; a conclusion briefly summarizes our leading findings; and a final sections ends by considering the future of segregation in Spain.

Table 3.1 Population of Spanish, Latin American and African groups in Spain and within Madrid and Barcelona provinces, 2000–2010. (Source: Own elaboration with data from the Population Municipal Register (INE))

	Year 2000		Year 2010	
	Count	%	Count	%
Spain				
Spanish	38,989,252	96.4	40,416,850	86.0
Foreign-born	1,471,232	3.6	6,604,181	14.0
Latin American	389,730	1.0	2,459,089	5.2
African	308,265	0.8	1,076,389	2.3
Other	773,237	1.9	3,068,703	6.5
Total	40,460,484	100.0	47,021,031	100.0
Madrid				
Spanish	4,935,642	95.0	5,190,685	80.4
Foreign-born	259,944	5.0	1,267,999	19.6
Latin American	108,130	2.1	641,705	9.9
African	52,081	1.0	135,996	2.1
Other	99,733	1.9	490,298	7.6
Total	5,195,586	100.0	6,458,684	100.0
Barcelona				
Spanish	4,548,804	96.1	4,597,931	83.4
Foreign-born	186,177	3.9	913,216	16.6
Latin American	59,837	1.3	422,775	7.7
African	53,227	1.1	175,832	3.2
Other	73,113	1.5	314,609	5.7
Total	4,734,981	100.0	5,511,147	100.0

International Migrants in Spain, Madrid and Barcelona

As shown in Table 3.1, between 2000 and 2010 some 5.1 million immigrants arrived in Spain, raising the foreign born share of the national population from 3.6 to 14.0%. The importance of Latin American and African immigration over the decade is clearly indicated in Table 3.1. Whereas Spain was home to similarly sized populations of Latin Americans and Africans in 2000—389,730 and 308,265 persons, respectively, and accounting for 1 and 0.8% of the population—by 2010 the Latin American population had grown to 2.5 million and the African population to 1.1 million, respectively representing 5.2 and 2.3% of the Spanish population. Together these two groups accounted for more than half (54%) of all immigrants present in Spain during that year. The concentrations are even greater in the provinces of Madrid and Barcelona, Spain's two leading immigrant destinations. In the former, Latin Americans comprise 19.6% of the provincial population and Africans 2.1%, together representing 61% of all foreigners; and in the latter, Latin Americans and

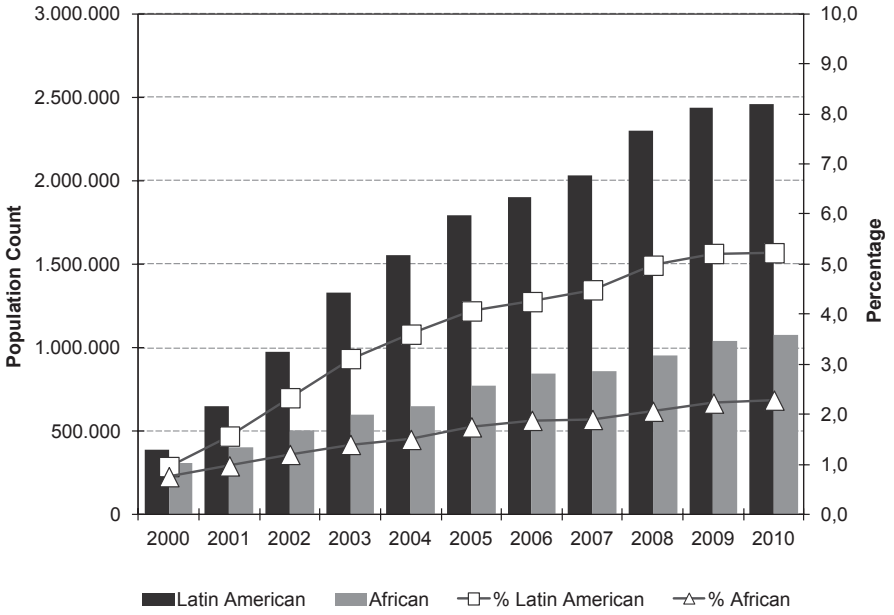


Fig. 3.1 Population change of Latin American and African groups in Spain, 2000–2010. (Source: Own elaboration with data from the Population Municipal Register (INE))

Africans comprise 7.7 and 3.2% of the population, respectively, and two thirds of all foreigners.

In terms of the national origin mix, it is important to note that there are significant compositional differences between Latin Americans and Africans. While the immigrant flows from Latin America have been remarkably diverse, with up to nine national groups with more than 100,000 persons, and four of them with more than 200,000 persons by 2010 (Ecuador with 484,623; Colombia with 371,064; Argentina with 291,740; and Bolivia with 213,862), immigrants originating from Africa are still dominated by one single national origin (Morocco with 760,238 residents). Although Africa's immigration inflows to Spain have also increased in diversity of origins over the past decade, particularly with the growth of international migration from Sub-Saharan Africa, the second and third largest national African groups (Argelia and Senegal with 60,534 and 60,119 persons respectively) still account for a much smaller migration stream to Spain. Thus, immigrants from Morocco comprise the largest non-European national origin in Spain with 1.6% of the total population, while Ecuadorians, the top Latin American immigrant group, constitute just over 1% of the total population (the top four national origins from Latin America constitute 2.9%).

Figure 3.1 shows annual changes in the number and percentage of Africans and Latin Americans between 2000 and 2010. Despite evidence of rising and sustained immigration from Africa, it is evident that Spanish immigration policy had implicit ethnic preferences (Joppke 2005), manifestly favoring immigrants from Latin

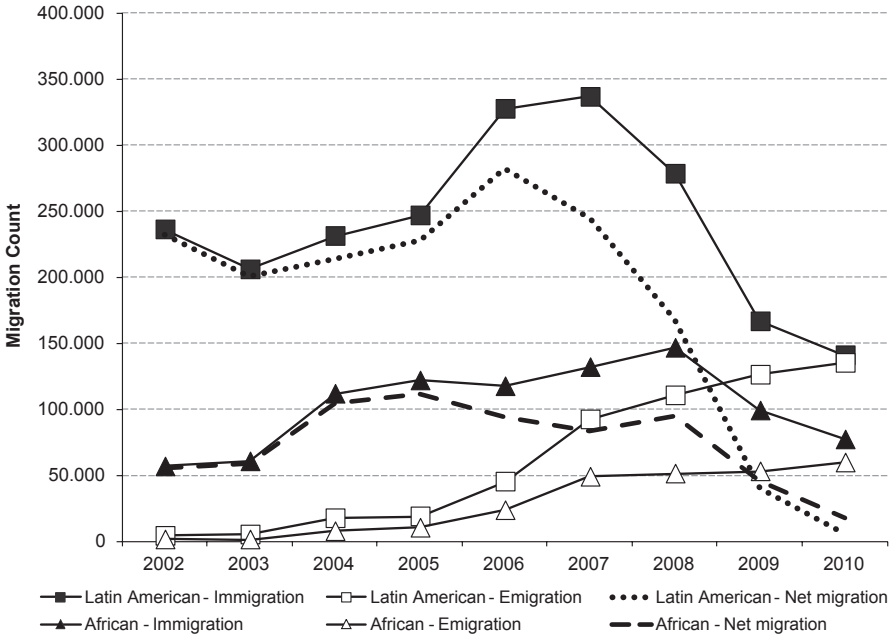


Fig. 3.2 International migration flows of Latin American and African groups in Spain, 2002–2010. (Source: Own elaboration with data from the Residence Variation Statistics (INE))

America (Izquierdo and Martínez 2003) a preferential treatment unique among former imperial powers (Bauböck et al. 2006). Whereas the African population increased by a robust factor of 3.5 over the decade, Latin Americans increased their number by a remarkable factor of 6.3 to become by far the largest immigrant population in the nation.

Figure 3.2 provides further details about the components of growth in the foreign born population by showing numbers of immigrants, emigrants, and net immigration over the period. As can be seen, the peak of net Latin American immigration was reached in 2006 with a figure of 280,000, which represented a balance between around 325,000 immigrant entries and 45,000 exits. Although entries from Latin America continued to rise into 2008, net migration nonetheless fell because departures increased faster. After 2008 exits by Latin Americans continued to rise and entries plummeted, bringing the net inflow down to around 20,000 by 2010. In contrast, net migration from Africa peaked in 2005 at around 110,000 then fell slightly between 2005 and 2008 before falling to around 10,000. Although total arrivals of Africans continued to rise after 2005 and peaked at around 145,000 in 2008, departures also rose steadily over the period and in 2008 reached 50,000 to produce a net of just 95,000 in that year.

Recent trends of international migration are clearly marked by the effect of the Spanish recession. Until 2008, international inflows were in line with the demands of a booming economy that was driven by residential investment and home

construction, an institutionally generated housing bubble that was encouraged by low real interest rates, rapid land deregulation, and tax incentives to encourage ownership. Housing demand grew dramatically among both Spanish nationals and foreigners and developers stepped forward to create a vast new housing stock (García 2010), a situation that greatly contributed to the widespread construction of housing units in metropolitan regions with large immigrant populations such as Madrid (Leal and Domínguez 2008) and Barcelona (Pareja-Eastaway 2009). During the peak years of the Golden Decade more than 800,000 homes were built each year, more than the number of new dwellings erected in France, Germany and Italy combined (Bielsa and Duarte 2010; García Montalvo 2007).

Since the onset of the economic recession, however, low immigration levels have become a characteristic feature of Spanish demography. Nonetheless, despite the low demand for foreign workers and record levels of unemployment, net migration remained slightly positive through 2010. Although we might expect further declines as unemployment rises, it is unlikely to fall below zero. According to González-Enríquez (2009) Spain is likely to remain attractive to immigrants for at least four reasons: (1) the large size of the informal economy; (2) relatively positive Spanish attitudes towards immigrants, at least those from Latin America; (3) a high tolerance of illegality; and (4) the guarantee of social rights for irregular migrants under Spanish law. On the demand side, the need for health and social care among the elderly as a consequence of population aging is particularly important and is likely to sustain policies that encourage international recruitment (Cuadrado et al. 2007; Domingo and Gil-Alonso 2007).

Data and Measures

We measure the residential segregation of Latin Americans and Africans using the smallest geographic unit available in Spain, *Secciones Censales,* which have an average population about 1500 persons. Our dataset consists of a time series running from 2000 to 2010 on population by country of birth. This information comes from Spain's Municipal Registers (*Padrones Municipal de Habitantes*), which are published annually by the National Statistics Institute (*Instituto Nacional de Estadística*, or INE). Data on internal migration come from Residential Variation Statistics (*Estadística de Variaciones Residenciales*) published by INE. Using these data we tabulated all within-country moves that occurred between 2002 and 2010 to compute rates of in-, out-, and net migration. These data are more limited geographically, only allowing us to analyze inflows and outflows at the national, provincial, and municipal levels. Finally, we consider future prospects for integration versus segregation by referring to rates of natural increase obtained from Spain's National Vital Statistics Office for 2005–2010 and frequencies of naturalization from the Ministry of Labor and Immigration.

Since Secciones Censales are constantly affected by electoral boundary changes, harmonization of these areas over time is required to minimize statistical artifacts

produced by the re-drawing of boundary lines.[1] To create a constant spatial grid, we adjusted all units to their 2010 boundaries. This task was accomplished by employing data interpolation based on ad hoc Geographical Conversion Tables (GCTs) that contained street addresses from the Electoral Census Street Map (Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2012) and then undertaking a proportional allocation based on the share of the source geography lying in the target geographic unit. The advantage of this approach to adjustment is that the summation of population data of the source geography is preserved in the transformation of the new target geography (Simpson 2002).

By using the GCTs, which have information on the correspondence between source and target geographies (usually a 1:1 correspondence), we were able to allocate populations to the appropriate 2010 census units (i.e. going from 33,733 to 35,629 Secciones Censales). Unlike previous studies of residential segregation in Spain, therefore, we are able to investigate trends in residential segregation using a consistent geography. Previous work has demonstrated the usefulness of standardizing spatial units to provide more accurate estimates of how populations are changing for small areas over time (Norman et al. 2008), thus precluding possible biases in the measurement of residential segregation (Sabater 2010; Sabater and Simpson 2012).

Segregation can exist at several levels simultaneously, ranging from specific households to neighborhoods to nation-states. However, although different approaches have been suggested to deal with the scale effect (Wong 2010), including a call for multiscale analysis to obtain a more comprehensive understanding (Fotheringham 1989), so far studies in Spain have rarely attended the "inherently scalar nature" of segregation patterns, particularly the features of immigrant residential patterns at the smaller scales of states or provincial areas where patterns are dominated by the existence of large, spatially distinct areas. Given the geographic structure of our data sources, in our study we used *Secciones Censales* to compute measures of residential segregation in all municipalities in Spain and separately for the provinces of Madrid and Barcelona. Secciones Censales are the smallest level at which Municipal Register and census data are released and can be thought as a measure of population distribution at neighbourhood level, particularly for the largest administrative geographies such as Madrid and Barcelona. For convenience in English, from this point on we will refer to Secciones Censales simply as "neighborhoods." Because of data limitations, additional analyses of international and internal migration are undertaken at the provincial municipal levels. Since racial and ethnic categories are not used in Spanish administrative data, our analyses of residential segregation and migration rely on country of birth, which allows for the aggregation of persons born in Latin America and Africa, the two groups of interest here. In doing so, our data allows us to provide an aggregate view of Spain's two largest non-European immigrant groups while minimizing the potential bias

[1] As population sizes for each census tract should be approximately equal (and none cannot exceed 2000 residents), election boundary changes are made for the equalization of electoral districts so that each elector's vote bears a similar weight (Organic Law 5/1985 on the Electoral General Regime).

resulting from segregation analyses in which the population of a group is small relative to the number of areas in the country or region under study (Voas and Williamson 2000).

To assess the spatial situation of immigrants across the smallest areas or neighbourhoods, we turned to the two most common measures of segregation: the dissimilarity index (D) and the isolation index (Pxx*). Although a plethora of indices have been used to capture various dimensions of residential segregation (Massey and Denton 1988; Massey et al. 1996), we rely on the most two most common in order to maintain continuity and allow straightforward comparisons both nationally and internationally. These measures reveal the level and change over time with respect to two dimensions of spatial variation: evenness and exposure.

The dissimilarity index measures how unevenly distributed Latin American and African immigrants are relative to native Spaniards across neighborhoods within a municipality. In this case, D is interpreted as the relative share of immigrants who would have to exchange neighborhoods with Spanish natives in order to achieve an even residential distribution (where each spatial unit has the same proportion of immigrants and natives). A common formula for the dissimilarity index is:

$$D = 0.5 * \sum \left| \frac{N_{xi}}{N_{x\cdot}} - \frac{N_{gi}}{N_{g\cdot}} \right| * 100,$$

where N_{xi} refers to the population of the immigrant group x of interest in neighborhood i; g is the population of the reference group (Spanish natives); and the summation over an index is represented by the dot symbol. Multiplying by 100 expresses the share as a percentage, such that 0 indicates complete integration and 100 represents total segregation.

Residential isolation is computed using the Pxx* index, which is used to indicate the degree of potential contact between members of the same group, represented by x. This index is also commonly expressed as a percentage, where 0 indicates no likelihood of contact with own-group members within neighboroods and 100 means that the unit contains only other immigrants. Pxx* indicates the average percentage of own-group immigrants in the spatial unit inhabited by the average indicate and express the experience of segregation in daily life (Massey and Denton 1988). Pxx* can be expressed as follows:

$$Pxx^{*} = \sum_{i} \left(\frac{N_{xi}}{N_{x\bullet}} \right) \left(\frac{N_{xi}}{N_{\bullet i}} \right) * 100.$$

In order to assess the effect of internal migration on segregation, we computed net migration rates for Spanish provinces and municipalities during the period 2002–2010 and cross-classified them by level of segregation and population composition. Using values of D, we defined four levels of segregation: low (<20), low-moderate (20–34), high-moderate (35–49) and high (≥50). To consider population composition we defined two sets of categories: low versus high immigrant concentrations within municipalities (<10% own group versus ≥10% own group) and low versus high native concentrations (<80% Spanish versus ≥80% Spanish). We also

consider rates of migration by size of place, dividing municipalities into those of moderate size (10,000–100,000 inhabitants) and large size (>100,000 residents). Given that relatively few immigrants settle in small municipalities (<10,000 persons), which are mostly rural, we excluded them from consideration.

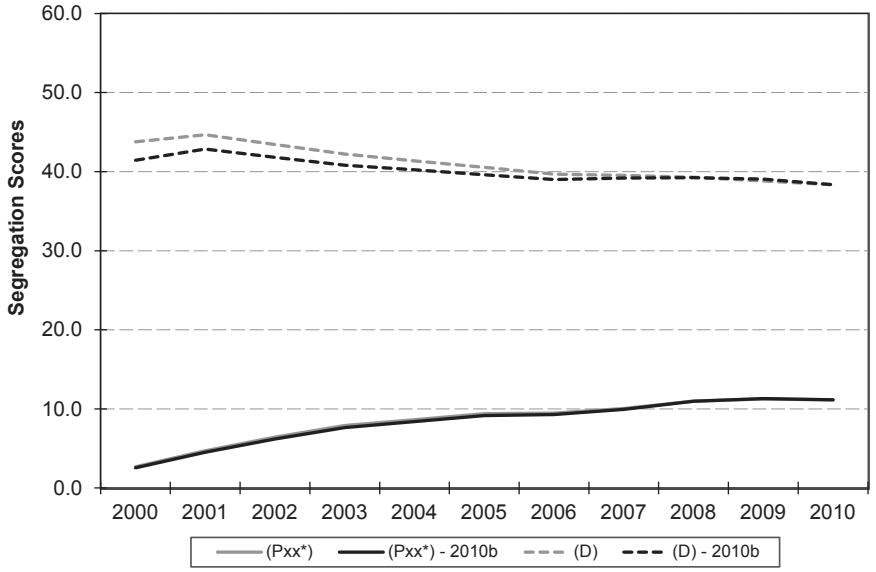
Results

Residential Segregation

Although taking a snapshot of residential segregation may be useful to assess the physical separation between groups at one point in time, we focus on changes over time in order to assess proclivities toward integration or segregation. Figure 3.3 shows trends in residential dissimilarity and spatial isolation for Latin American and African immigrants from 2000 through 2010. For this exercise, segregation measures were computed across all *Secciones Censales* in the country simultaneously in one of two ways: using period-specific boundaries and using constant 2010 boundaries over the study period. In the end, our adjustment for boundary changes made little difference in levels or trends. For the sake of consistency, however, we interpret results for indices computed using constant boundaries.

The results for D reveal differential trends in the degree of spatial integration achieved by Latin Americans and Africans over time. On average, Latin Americans in Spain experience a high-moderate level of segregation that been slowly declining over time (going from 41.4 in 2000 to 38.3 in 2010). In contrast, Africans not only experience a higher degree of residential segregation (at or near 50); it also showed little evidence of a decline over time and in fact rose slightly during the period of observation (going from 47.5 to 48.9). Despite the slight decline in dissimilarity observed for Latin Americans, the results for Pxx* indicate that they experienced a fourfold increase in spatial isolation over the decade (going from 2.5 to 11.2); and despite the slight increase in African segregation, they only experienced a twofold increase in isolation (from 4.0 to 9.1). This contrast reflects the much more rapid demographic growth experienced by Latin Americans over the decade. Mathematically, if a group's share of the population rises while D changes very little, then Pxx* isolation indices have to increase; and the size of the increase depends on the degree to which the group's share of the population rose over time. For both Africans and Latin Americans, however, the degree of spatial isolation is quite small owing the fact that neither group constitutes a high share of the total population. Irrespective of origin, the average immigrant lives in a neighborhood that contains only a little more or a little less than 10% of their own group. By way of comparison, in the United States the average African American lived in a neighborhood that was 48% black (Rugh and Massey 2013), and in this study the unit of analysis was the census tract, which is much larger than a *Sección Censal* and would generally produce a lower level of isolation, other things equal.

Latin American



African

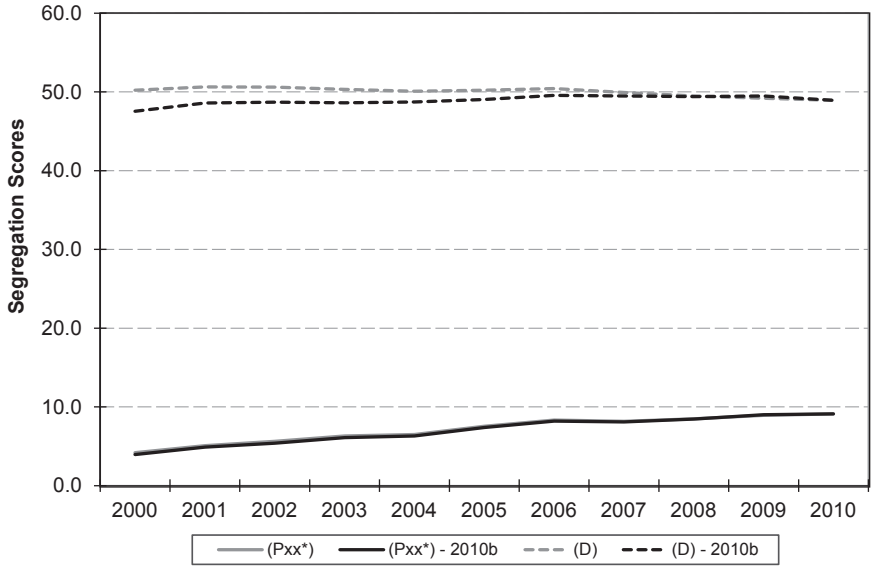


Fig. 3.3 Segregation scores (evenness and exposure) for Latin American and African across census tracts in Spain, 2000–2010. (Source: Own elaboration with data from the Population Municipal Register (INE). NB: 2010b indicates the use of the 2010 boundaries over the study period)

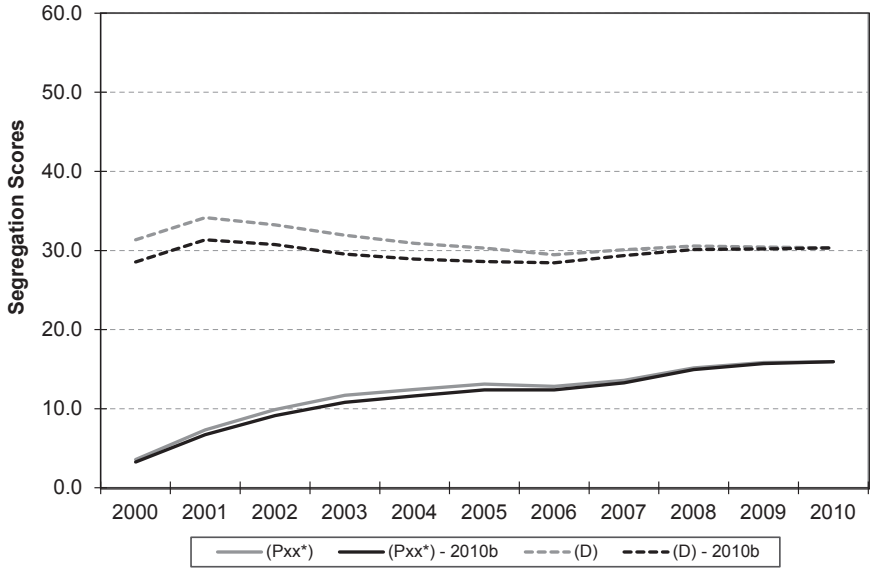
Our results nonetheless suggest contrasting trends in the spatial reception of Spain's two largest immigrant groups by natives. Despite increasing in size by factor of more than six in the course of a decade, the level of dissimilarity between Latin Americans and Spaniards was in the moderate range and fell slightly over time. In contrast, although Africans grew at half the pace of Latin Americans, their dissimilarity increased over the decade and was ten points higher in 2010. As a result, even though the percentage of Latin Americans in Spain was twice that of Africans in that year (5.2 vs. 2.3 %), both groups experienced roughly the same level of spatial isolation nationwide (about 10 %), reflecting the "structural" difference in segregation as indicated by their contrasting dissimilarity scores.

These trends are largely replicated in the provinces of Madrid and Barcelona, though the absolute values of the indices are different. As shown in Fig. 3.4, Latin American residential dissimilarity changed relatively little over the decade and remained in the low-moderate range, increasingly slightly from 28.6 to 30.3 between 2000 and 2010. At the same time, the level of spatial isolation rose, reflecting the fact that Latin Americans went from 2.1 to 9.9 % of Madrid's population over the decade, causing their Pxx* isolation to rise rather sharply in the context of slowly increasing dissimilarity, going from around 3.3 to 15.9. Although the growth of Madrid's African population was less pronounced (increasing from just 1.0 to 2.1 % of the provincial population), the level of residential dissimilarity steadily rose rather markedly over the decade, going from 29.9 to 39.7. Despite their higher segregation in the structural sense, the degree of African spatial isolation was much lower than that of Latin Americans because of their relatively small numbers, rising from just 1.8 to 5.2 over the decade.

As shown in Fig. 3.5, in Barcelona, the relative expansion of the African population was greater than in Madrid (going from 1.1 to 3.2 % over the decade) while the expansion of the Latin American population was more modest (1.2–7.7 %). As a result, in 2010 Latin Americans outnumbered Africans by just 2.4–1 in Barcelona, compared with 4.7 to 1 in Madrid. Possibly reflecting their larger relative numbers, Africans were far more segregated in Barcelona than in Madrid, with the dissimilarity index rising from 45.0 in 2000 to peak at 50.0 (compared with a maximum of 39.7 in Madrid). Given their greater dissimilarity and larger share of the population, Africans were also more isolated in Barcelona, with their Pxx* index rising steadily over time to end the decade at 9.8, compared with 5.2 in Madrid. Although Latin Americans ended up at the same level of dissimilarity in 2010 in both Barcelona and Madrid (about 30) the trends over time were different. Whereas Latin American dissimilarity increased slightly in Madrid, it fell steadily in Barcelona, going from a peak of 39.0 in 2000 to end the decade at 30.0 in 2010, possibly reflecting the slower growth of the Latin American population in the latter. Although the spatial isolation of Latin Americans increased in both provinces, in the end the increase was slower in Barcelona, again reflecting their relatively smaller numbers there. Whereas Latin American isolation in Madrid rose steadily to peak at 15.9 in 2010, in Barcelona it peaked 14.3 in 2009 and then dropped back to around 12.6 in 2010.

To a certain degree, comparisons of segregation and isolation patterns between Madrid and Barcelona reflect where provincial boundaries were drawn. In general,

Latin American



African

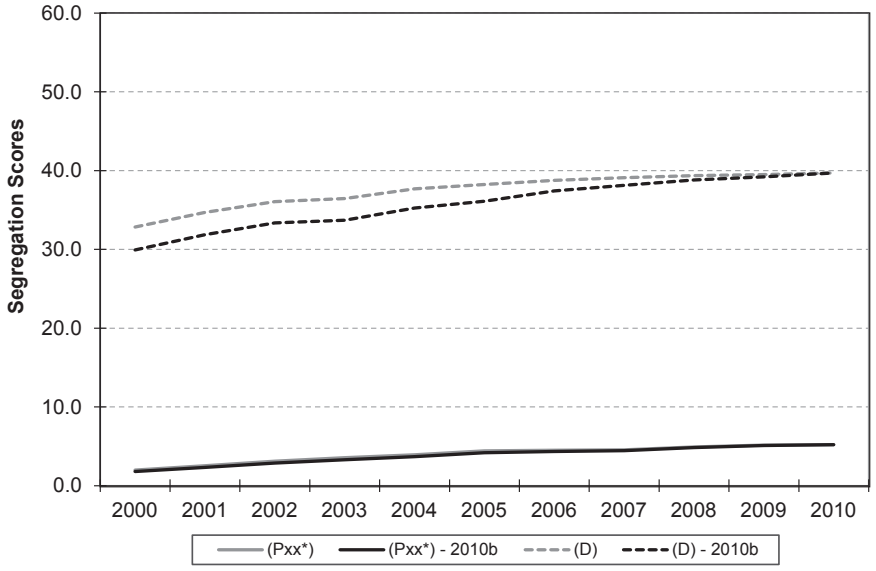
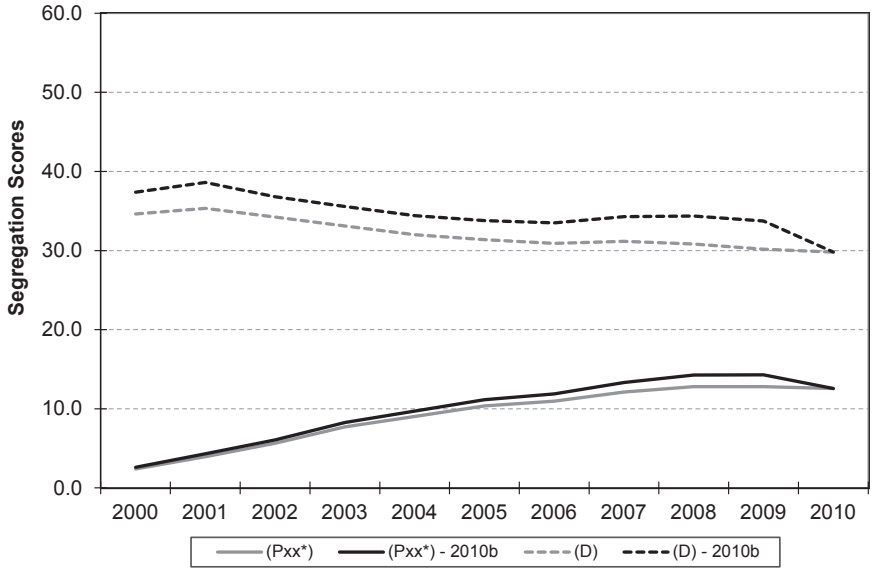


Fig. 3.4 Segregation scores (evenness and exposure) for Latin American and African across census tracts in the province of Madrid, 2000–2010. (Source: Own elaboration with data from the Population Municipal Register (INE). NB: 2010b indicates the use of the 2010 boundaries over the study period)

Latin American



African

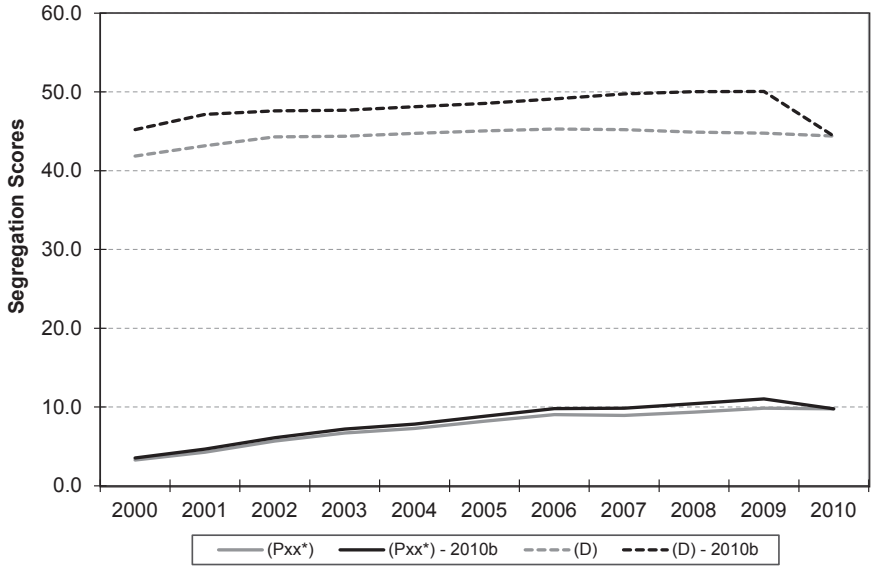


Fig. 3.5 Segregation scores (evenness and exposure) for Latin American and African across census tracts in the province of Barcelona, 2000–2010. (Source: Own elaboration with data from the Population Municipal Register (INE). NB: 2010b indicates the use of the 2010 boundaries over the study period)

the Province of Barcelona includes more non-urban territory and it is more diverse in population composition. Only 78 out of the province's 311 municipalities have an immigrant percentage greater than ten percent. In contrast, the Province of Madrid is a tightly circumscribed, dense metropolitan area in which 136 of 179 municipalities have immigrant shares greater than ten percent. Despite these ecological differences, the respective patterns and trends in spatial isolation and residential segregation yield similar conclusions for both metropolitan areas, as well as the nation as a whole: in each case, the level of dissimilarity from Spanish natives is greater considerably greater for Africans than Latin Americans; and the segregation of Latin Americans has tended to decline over time, however slightly, while African segregation has remained stable or increased. Thus Africans are clearly more segregated in Spain than Latin Americans.

Internal Migration and Segregation

Internal migration plays a key role in redistributing population and determining the demographic, social, and economic composition of specific regions, municipalities and neighborhoods, with direct implications for segregation and social cohesion (Finney and Catney 2012), particularly in gateway metropolitan areas such as Madrid and Barcelona. During the mid −1990s, the leading cities of Spain were caught up in a rapid wave of suburbanization, well before the international migration boom. The municipalities of Madrid and Barcelona, for example, experienced losses of 330,000 and 250,000 persons, respectively, between 1975 and 1996. The exodus of Spanish nationals from the urban core to peripheral areas and surrounding municipalities continued after 2000 and international migration was critical in counteracting depopulation in many metropolitan areas. In the Province of Madrid, for example, non-Spanish nationals rose from 134,000 persons in 1990 to 1 million in 2010 while in Barcelona immigrants rose from 96,000 to 805,000 persons.

In order to determine whether immigrants have been moving toward or away from areas of their own concentration, Table 3.2 computes inter-municipal migration rates for the period 2002–2010, expressed as a percentage of the 2010 population. The table shows net migration rates separately for Latin Americans and Africans and breaks down the data by level of residential dissimilarity (low, low-moderate, high-moderate, and high) and minority concentration (low versus high). These rates reveal the relative degree of movement by both groups into (positive numbers) or out of (negative numbers) specific kinds of municipalities defined by segregation and minority composition.

The top panel of the table focuses on Latin Americans and indicates that inter-municipal migration generally operates to maintain or reduce their segregation with respect to Spanish natives. For example, in municipalities where Latin American segregation was low the net migration rate was −0.81 if the minority concentration was high and 0.73 if it was low, meaning that Latin Americans were moving out of municipalities where they were highly concentrated and into areas where they

Table 3.2 Internal migration rates (as % of 2010 population) by population composition and level of segregation of Latin American and African in Spain, 2002–2010. (Source: Own elaboration with data from the Residence Variation Statistics and the Population Municipal Register (INE))

Segregation	Population composition/Migration type					
	Low concentration < 10 % own Minority group			High concentration ≥ 10 % own minority group		
	In	Out	Net	In	Out	Net
Latin American						
Low	11.45	10.72	0.73	8.90	9.72	−0.81
Low-moderate	10.05	9.57	0.48	9.08	8.59	0.49
High-moderate	9.95	10.01	−0.06	0.00	0.00	0.00
High	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
African						
Low	11.23	11.39	−0.15	9.75	11.20	−1.45
Low-moderate	11.34	10.50	0.84	10.72	9.39	1.33
High-moderate	10.31	9.98	0.32	10.68	11.05	−0.37
High	10.71	9.69	1.02	8.27	3.95	4.32

The level of segregation is defined by the segregation scores of the Index of Dissimilarity: low (< 20), low-moderate (20–34), high-moderate (35–49) and high (=> 50)

were not well-represented. Thus internal migration operated to reduce segregation levels in areas where segregation was already low. In municipalities where Latin American segregation was in the low-moderate range, we observe about the same level net in-migration regardless of minority concentration (0.48 in areas of low concentration and 0.49 in areas of high concentration), suggesting a rough balance in the tendency toward concentration in these municipalities. In municipalities characterized by a high-moderate level of segregation and low minority concentration, the net migration was negative, indicating a clear tendency toward desegregation. There were no municipalities with a low concentration of immigrants and a high degree of segregation and no municipalities with a high concentration of immigrants and either a high-moderate or high level of segregation.

Among Latin Americans in Spain, therefore, segregation levels are never high and rarely even in the high-moderate range, and net migration patterns tend to mitigate, or at least not exacerbate, existing levels of concentration and segregation. In contrast, among Africans we observe municipalities at all levels of segregation and concentration including the highest, and net migration patterns suggest ongoing processes of residential segregation and concentration. As shown in the bottom panel of Table 3.2, among municipalities characterized by low levels of segregation, the net migration rate for Africans is negative irrespective of the degree of minority concentration. Simply put, Africans are moving out of municipalities with low levels of segregation.

In contrast, they are generally moving into municipalities characterized by higher levels of segregation, especially those already displaying high concentrations

of Africans. Among municipalities characterized by low-moderate segregation, for example, the net migration rate was 0.84 in areas of low concentration and 1.33 in areas of high concentration; and among those characterized by high-moderate segregation the net rate was 0.32 in areas of low concentration. Only in areas of high concentration do we observe net out migration, with a rate of −0.37.

The strongest sign of ongoing segregation and concentration among African immigrants are the sizeable positive net migration rates in municipalities already characterized by high levels of segregation, especially in those characterized by a high concentration of Africans. Indeed, areas with both high African dissimilarity and high African concentration display the highest rate of in-migration observed anywhere in the Table (4.32), though the rate is also strongly positive in areas of high segregation and low concentration (1.02). In other words, among Africans by far the largest migrant streams flow directly into highly segregated municipalities, especially those already containing large concentrations of Africans, a pattern of internal migration that can only operate to increase segregation.

The foregoing results thus suggest that processes of internal migration are moving Africans decisively toward higher levels of segregation and concentration while Latin American mobility patterns offer little evidence of a strong shift toward either segregation or concentration. Although African immigrants are not necessarily hampered by limited Spanish proficiency—indeed, many new arrivals use social ties with already established Africans find housing and work—the contrast between the experience of the two immigrant groups suggests that in this case social networks and language proficiency operate to promote the segregation of Africans and the integration of the Latin Americans. Although the extent to which language skills affect some immigrant groups more than others is largely unknown in Spain, the available evidence suggest that individuals with language proficiency are more likely to end up in jobs commensurate with their qualifications (Blázquez and Rendón 2012), a situation that is certainly more likely to occur among Latin Americans due to historical reasons. Of course, this is expected to have implications about the income and poverty levels of some immigrant families and affect sociospatial integration to the host country.

Table 3.3 presents a parallel analysis of intra-provincial migration by level of segregation for specific metropolitan provinces. Once again net migration rates for 2002–2010 yield evidence of lower levels of segregation and greater rates of dispersal among Latin Americans than Africans. In no province are Latin Americans highly segregated, and in those provinces where Latin Americans experience a high-moderate level of segregation we observe a zero or negative rate of net-migration, with one exception—Madrid—where the net rate is rather strongly positive, suggesting potential movement toward high segregation in that particular metropolitan areas. In areas of low and low-moderate segregation within Alicante and Balears the net rates are positive in all but one case but generally quite small, suggesting little movement in either direction. In Madrid, Barcelona, and Valencia the net rates are likewise positive in areas of low and low-moderate segregation, ranging from 1.0 to 1.7.

Table 3.3 Intra-provincial migration rates (as % of 2010 population) for selected provinces (top 5) by level of segregation of Latin American and African, 2002–2010. (Source: Own elaboration with data from the Residence Variation Statistics and the Population Municipal Register (INE))

	Provinces/Migration type														
Segregation	Madrid			Barcelona			Valencia			Alicante			Balears		
	In	Out	Net	In	Out	Net	In	Out	Net	In	Out	Net	In	Out	Net
Latin American															
Low	10.11	8.61	1.50	9.16	7.84	1.32	8.90	7.59	1.31	6.99	6.97	0.02	8.42	8.22	0.21
Low-moderate	8.69	6.97	1.72	8.66	7.43	1.22	7.37	6.32	1.05	6.32	5.80	0.52	6.72	6.92	−0.20
High-moderate	12.69	7.31	5.39	5.21	6.08	−0.87	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.65	4.54	−0.89
High	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
African															
Low	7.73	7.13	0.60	7.01	7.69	−0.68	6.47	5.48	0.99	6.28	7.12	−0.84	5.63	4.50	1.13
Low-moderate	7.65	6.96	0.69	7.40	7.23	0.17	5.25	4.45	0.80	5.32	4.84	0.48	4.76	3.59	1.17
High-moderate	6.37	7.38	−1.01	6.92	6.40	0.52	4.30	4.13	0.17	3.57	3.09	0.48	3.90	3.47	.43
High	11.91	5.47	6.44	7.85	7.31	.54	3.32	1.32	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

The level of segregation is defined by the segregation scores of the Index of Dissimilarity: low (<20), low-moderate (20–34), high-moderate (35–49) and high (≥50)

In contrast, for Africans we observe highly segregated municipalities in Madrid, Barcelona, and Murcia; and in Madrid, especially, we observe a clear trend toward greater segregation. In that province, the net rate of in-migration is 6.44 in highly segregated municipalities and 1.01 in those with a high-moderate level of segregation, but only 0.60 and 0.69 in those with low and low-moderate levels of segregation. Thus African migration is focused disproportionately on areas that are already quite segregated. In Barcelona we see some movement toward segregation—the net rate of migration is negative in areas of low segregation and positive at higher levels of segregation; but compared with Madrid the numbers are quite small, with net rates of 0.17, 0.52, and 0.54 for areas characterized by low-moderate, high-moderate, and high levels of segregation, respectively. Compared with Madrid, the movement toward segregation in Barcelona is thus quite modest.

We also observe moderate shifts toward African segregation in Murcia and Alicante. In the former province the rate of net migration into highly segregated areas was 2.00, but only 0.17 in the next level down. Areas of low and low-moderate levels of segregation experienced positive growth through migration, with net rates of 0.99 and 0.80, respectively. In Alicante, there is modest net migration out of municipalities characterized by a low level of segregation (−0.84) combined with small net migration into areas characterized by low-moderate and high-moderate segregation levels (0.48 in both cases). In Almeria we observe growth primarily in areas typified by low and low-moderate levels of segregation, with respective net rates of 1.13 and 1.17, compared with just 0.42 in high-moderate areas.

In sum, we observe high levels of African immigrant segregation in Madrid, Barcelona, and Murcia, with strong evidence of shifts toward greater segregation in Madrid and to a lesser extent in Murcia and Barcelona. Levels of African segregation are generally lower in Alicante and Almeria, with some movement toward segregation in the former but very little in the latter. In contrast, Latin Americans do not experience a high level of segregation in any metropolitan area, and no segregation even at a high-moderate level in Valencia and Alicante; and in no province except Madrid do we see any clear evidence of movement toward greater segregation. In that metropolitan area, in contrast to others, highly segregated municipalities evince a high rate of Latin American in-migration.

Although the internal migration of immigrants within Spain represents one driver of residential segregation and spatial concentration, the other is the internal migration of Spanish natives, a subject taken up in Table 3.4, which shows rates of net migration for municipalities cross-classified by level of segregation and relative size of the native Spanish population. In general rates of in- and out-migration are much lower than we observed among either African or Latin American immigrants, and the net rates are quite small. Almost by definition, immigrants are far more mobile as a group than the native born.

The top panel of Table 3.4 offers some evidence that Spanish natives are avoiding areas characterized by high-moderate levels of Latin American segregation, with negative net migration rates of −0.19 in areas of high Spanish concentration and −0.04 in areas of lower Spanish concentration. In contrast, we observe positive net migration in areas of low residential segregation, with rates of 0.28 in areas of

Table 3.4 Internal migration rates (as % of 2010 population) of Spanish by population composition and level of segregation of Latin American and African in Spain, 2002–2010. (Source: Own elaboration with data from the Residence Variation Statistics and the Population Municipal Register (INE))

	Population composition/Migration type					
Segregation	High native concentration ≥80% Spanish			Low Native Concentration 80% Spanish		
	In	Out	Net	In	Out	Net
Latin American						
Low	3.73	3.45	.28	4.65	3.91	.74
Low-moderate	2.67	2.50	.17	3.99	3.87	.12
High-moderate	2.09	2.28	−.19	3.99	4.03	−.04
High	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
African						
Low	3.88	3.49	.39	4.69	3.94	.74
Low-moderate	3.27	2.78	.49	4.26	3.73	.53
High-moderate	2.76	2.60	.16	4.28	4.05	.23
High	2.45	2.55	−.10	2.44	2.66	−.21

The level of segregation is defined by the segregation scores of the Index of Dissimilarity: low (<20), low-moderate (20–34), high-moderate (35–49) and high (=>50)

high Spanish concentration and rates of 0.74 in areas of lower Spanish concentration. Low-moderate areas evince small but positive rates of net migration: just 0.17 in areas of low-moderate segregation and 0.12 in areas of high-moderate segregation. As shown in the lower panel of the table, patterns of net migration for native Spaniards are similar with respect to African segregation, with net out-migration from areas of high segregation and net in-migration into areas of lesser segregation, though the absolute value of the rates are generally higher than those observed for Latin Americans. In addition, the rate of net in-migration by Spanish natives generally rises as the level of segregation falls, suggesting progressively greater movement into areas of lower African segregation, with a preference toward areas of low segregation.

To this point we have documented patterns of internal migration for immigrants that generally serve to promote the integration and deconcentration of Latin Americans but that operate to sustain or increase the segregation of Africans, combined with migration by Spanish natives away from areas of high African segregation and a preference for areas of lower African segregation but little selectivity with respect to levels of Latin American segregation. These patterns are consistent with the trends in residential dissimilarity reported earlier, in which Latin Americans evinced low to moderate levels of segregation that were stable or falling over time while Africans displayed moderate to high levels of segregation that were rising over time.

Finally, in Table 3.5 we consider net rates of migration between municipalities classified by segregation and size. Among Latin Americans, there is relatively little

Table 3.5 Internal migration rates (as % of 2010 population) by population size and level of segregation of Latin American and African in Spain, 2002–2010. (Source: Own elaboration with data from the Residence Variation Statistics and the Population Municipal Register (INE))

Segregation	Population size/Migration type					
	Moderate size 10,000 to 100,000			Large size >100,000		
	In	Out	Net	In	Out	Net
Latin American						
Low	10.80	9.65	1.15	6.64	6.64	.00
Low-moderate	10.10	9.67	.43	6.82	6.80	.02
High-moderate	10.56	10.35	.21	5.20	5.42	−.22
High	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
African						
Low	10.96	9.78	1.19	.00	.00	.00
Low-moderate	11.33	10.21	1.11	9.57	9.67	−.10
High-moderate	10.64	10.06	.58	8.49	8.58	−.08
High	11.39	10.05	1.34	7.18	6.18	1.00

The level of segregation is defined by the segregation scores of the Index of Dissimilarity: low (<20), low-moderate (20–34), high-moderate (35–49) and high (≥50)

net movement in or out of large municipalities, being zero at low levels of segregation, 0.02 at low-moderate levels, and −0.22 at high-moderate levels. In contrast, we observe net in-migration of Latin Americans into moderately sized municipalities, with net rates of 1.15 at low levels of segregation, 0.43 at low-moderate levels, and 0.21 at high-moderate levels. Thus Latin Americans who move internally within Spain are going disproportionately to mid-sized municipalities characterized by low levels of segregation, providing little evidence of movement toward greater segregation or concentration.

In contrast, among Africans we observe a relatively strong rate of net in-migration into large municipalities with high levels of segregation (1.0) but little movement in or out of large municipalities with lower segregation levels (net rates ranging from zero to −0.08). Among moderately sized metropolitan areas, however, we see significant net in-migration at all levels of segregation. Nonetheless, the highest net rate is observed in highly segregated areas (1.34), compared with rates of 1.19, 1.11, and 0.58 in areas of low, low-moderate, and high-moderate segregation, respectively. In general then, we observe systematic movement by immigrants toward smaller, less congested municipalities characterized by lower levels of segregation, with the exception of Africans, who display high rates of migration into highly segregated municipalities of both moderate and large size. Once again it is Africans more than Latin Americans who are moving toward greater segregation, though in this case the pattern is balanced by a simultaneous movement of Africans toward smaller municipalities with lower levels of segregation.

Some Conclusions

Our extension of the geographical and temporal coverage of segregation research in Spain supports three basic conclusions. First, the degree of residential segregation and spatial isolation experienced by Spain's two largest non-European immigrant groups—Latin Americans and Africans—are moderate by global standards, with average dissimilarity indices below 50 based on a rather small spatial unit. In contrast, using the same index segregation levels stood at 54 for South Asians in Canada, 59 for Turks in Belgium, 60 for Bangladeshis in Britain, 67 for Turks in Sweden, 69 for Arabs in Israel, and 84 for Africans in South Africa, according to the latest data (Massey 2015). Second, despite the moderate level of segregation over all, the segregation of Africans from Spanish natives is significantly greater than that of Latin Americans. As of 2010, Latin American dissimilarity stood at 38.3 for Spain as a whole, 30.3 in Madrid, and 30.0 in Barcelona. In contrast, African dissimilarity was 48.9 in Spain, 39.7 in Madrid, and 50.0 in Barcelona.

Finally, according to a variety of data Africans appear to be moving toward higher levels of residential segregation and spatial concentration while Latin Americans do not. Nationwide, Latin American dissimilarity from Spanish natives declined from 41.4 to 38.3 between 2000 and 2010; in Barcelona it dropped from 39.0 to 30.0; and in Madrid it remained fairly steady at around 30. In contrast, African dissimilarity from Spanish natives generally increased, going from 47.5 to 48.9 nationwide, from 29.9 to 39.7 in Madrid, and from 45.0 to 50.0 in Barcelona, despite the fact that immigration over the decade was greater for Latin Americans than Africans. Consistent with these broad trends, a careful analysis of internal migration generally revealed a pattern of dispersal among Latin Americans toward moderately sized municipalities characterized by lower levels of segregation and lower minority concentration, in contrast to Africans who evinced a pattern of movement toward larger municipalities and irrespective of size, toward places characterized by higher levels of African segregation and greater minority concentrations. We also detected a tendency for Spanish migrants to avoid municipalities displaying a high level of African segregation while favoring locations with low levels of African segregation, but to display much less selectivity of movement with respect to Latin American segregation.

Discussion

In general, the residential behavior of Latin Americans suggests something distinctive about this group leading to a level of residential segregation markedly below that of Africans, despite their late arrival and exceptional population growth during the 2000s. This lack of residential clustering among Latin Americans after arrival has also been observed in other geographical contexts (Hardwick 2008; Massey 2008) and has been labeled as heterolocalism by Zelinsky and Lee (1998).

By documenting contrasting patterns of migration and settlement between Latin Americans and Africans in Spain, we provide further evidence of the coexistence of different residential trajectories in Spain that correspond to a hierarchy of ethnic preferences prevailing in Southern Europe (Calavita 2005), with Latin Americans on top, followed by Eastern Europeans, Asians, Sub-Saharan or Black Africans and finally North Africans. Indeed, such preferences are also systematically revealed in the various analyses of labour and housing market outcomes for different immigrant groups in Spain. For instance, Latin American immigrants show the highest labour force participation rates and the lowest unemployment rates, whereas the opposite is true for those coming from Africa (Amuedo-Dorantes and De la Rica 2007; Cachón 2009). Although both immigrant groups remain extremely vulnerable to changes in the labour market, particularly since the outbreak of the economic recession, the labour market experience between these groups differs substantially. While Latin Americans are closely related to the demand for immigrant labour in traditionally feminized niches in the service sector such as the domestic service, elderly care as well as the food and leisure industry, Africans are over-represented in the hardest, less prestigious, and generally worse paid jobs in the construction and agricultural sectors (mostly men) as well as in the domestic service (mostly women). The picture from the housing realm is also very indicative and suggests striking differences between Latin Americans and Africans. Although an important part of the stock of rented housing is occupied by immigrant households, Latin Americans have clearly progressed towards home ownership over the past decade, a situation that is hardly seen for Africans despite the starting point for both immigrant groups was very similar two decades ago (Módenes et al. 2013). Africans not only face worse conditions to enter home ownership, but also cope with common negative attitudes in the rental market where they are over-represented. For instance, on a recent study on information and discrimination in the rental housing market (Bosch et al. 2010), discriminatory practices by landlords towards Africans were commonplace, and suggested that Africans were 15 % points less likely to receive a response from landlords than those with a Spanish name. Of course, social networks and economic factors play a key role in explaining the distribution of the foreign-born population in Spanish provinces (Maza et al. 2013), although it is also evident that when avenues of spatial integration are systematically blocked by prejudice and discrimination towards some immigrant groups, their residential segregation persists over time.

Although our results follow universal theoretical notions about immigrant concentration and dispersal derived from the global city model, segregation is nevertheless a context-bound phenomenon (Maloutas 2007; Maloutas and Fujita 2012). In Spain, as in Southern Europe generally, the topic of residential segregation has only recently appeared on the political agenda despite numerous studies (mostly qualitative) have constantly highlighted the growing visible division between different foreign and native-born groups and the relationship between immigration, residential segregation and poverty (see, among others, Martínez Veiga 1999a, 1999b). However, the relatively moderate levels of segregation we observed to a certain extent might explain the lower level of interest compared to other regions in Europe (Musterd et al. 1998). Some authors (Malheiros 2002; Arbaci 2008) have suggested

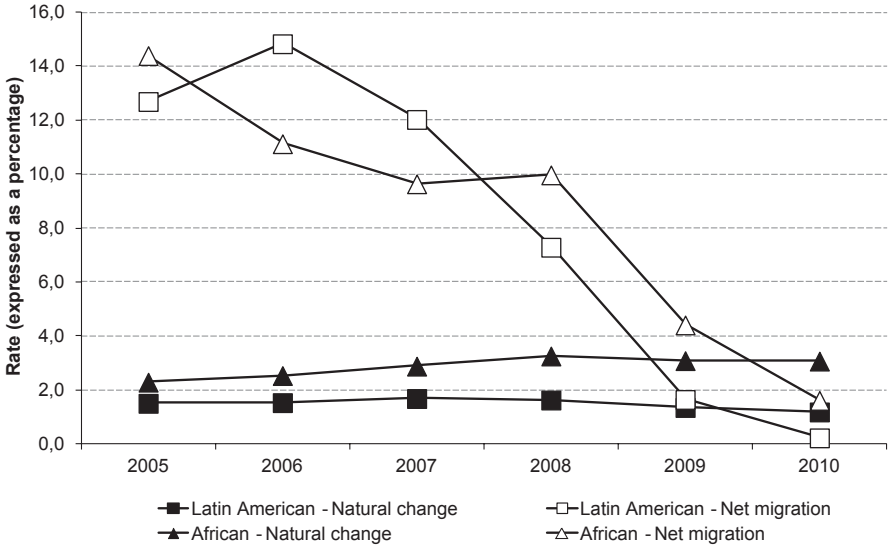


Fig. 3.6 Net migration and natural change of Latin American and African groups in Spain, 2005–2010. (Source: Own elaboration with data from the National Vital Statistics and the Residence Variation Statistics (INE))

that perceptions of residential segregation are different in Southern Europe because fragmented patterns of urban growth formed peripheral urban centers (e.g. banliues, suburbios) in contrast to the concentric progression of neighborhoods envisioned by the Burgess model, thus diluting segregation with minimal public intervention. Within this context, generally weak state regulations and housing informality are still seen as key factors to explain the effects of the southern European welfare regimes on urban segregation (Arbaci 2007). Although the immigrant growth in peripheral urban centers may have limited the degree of segregation experienced by first generation immigrants in Spain, this may change in the future for two reasons. First, a positive rate of natural increase (i.e. an excess of births over deaths) is gradually becoming more important than net migration in determining the size of Latin American and African populations in Spain since 2005 (see Fig. 3.6). As a consequence, the growth in situ of immigrant groups is likely to become increasingly important as mechanism for generation segregation, a scenario that seems quite probable given the very young age structure of Spain's immigrant populations. In a very real way, this means that immigrants' visibility will increase with time as a large second generation comes of age.

Second, integration into the mainstream of Spanish society via naturalization and citizenship access is clearly occurring at different rates for different immigrant groups. As shown in Fig. 3.7, the acquisition of Spanish citizenship is greater and has been rising much more rapidly among Latin Americans than Africans, suggesting that nativity is overshadowed by national origin, with likely implications for

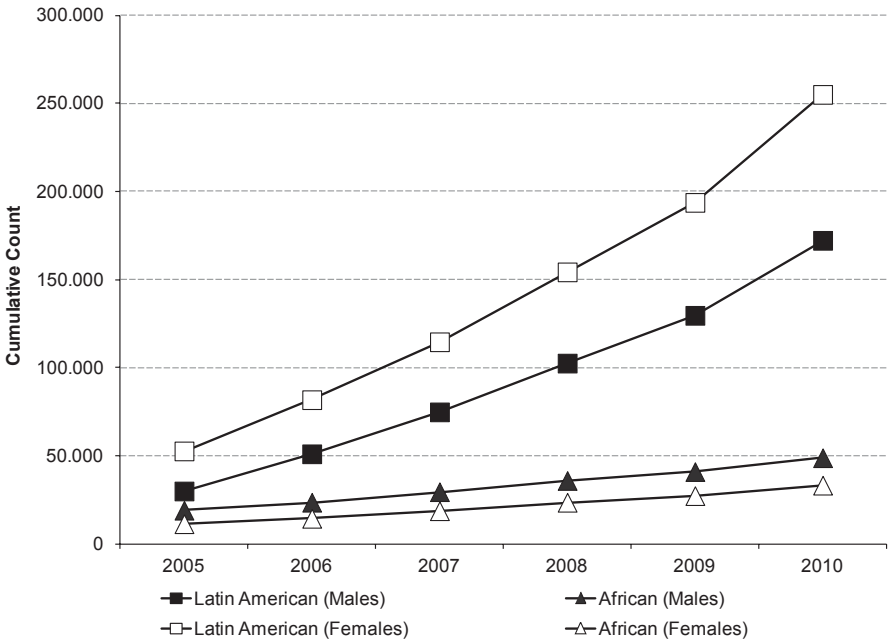


Fig. 3.7 Acquisition of Spanish citizenship for Latin American and African groups by sex in Spain, 2005–2010. (Source: Own elaboration with data from the Ministry of Labor and Immigration)

immigrant integration across the generations. In this context, gender differences between female dominated Latin American immigrants and male dominated African immigrants become particularly relevant, given the role played by mixed marriages in facilitating the integration, both social and spatial, of immigrants into society (Iceland and Anne Nelson 2010). In addition to the contrasting migration and settlement patterns we have described here, variations in fertility, citizenship, and intermarriage in years to come can be expected to exacerbate the contrast in the segregation experiences of Latin Americans and Africans.

In closing, we pause to consider the spatial ramifications of Spain's ongoing economic recession. Rates of employment have fallen more rapidly and profoundly among immigrants than natives, and are thus more likely to have negative consequences for their housing and residential circumstances. In addition, although in normal times internal migration contributes to important goals such as economic growth, cultural dynamism, and social cohesion, during difficult times rates of internal migration generally fall, creating new conditions of social vulnerability by limiting residential choices, causing more immigrants to stay put in distressed neighborhoods and poor areas of initial settlement. It is important, therefore, levels and trends in residential segregation be documented so that this variable can be incorporated fully with the processes of population change that underpin immigrant geographies into research and theorizing about the causes of urban poverty.

Unlike other European countries, Spain has not seen a significant backlash against immigration, even amid its profound economic crisis. Indeed, incidents such as the riots between Moroccans and Spaniards in the agricultural town of El Ejido during early 2000 are a sad reminder of the consequences of negative attitudes combined with residential segregation (Checa 2001; Checa and Arjona 2006). Despite public attitudes toward immigrants tend to harden during difficult economic times groups in favor of immigration are still large, active and vocal in their opposition to immigrants' hostility in Spain (Arango 2013). However, significant changes can be expected if the competition between immigrants and the disfavored segments of the receiving society for scarce social resources becomes greater, a situation that can rapidly deteriorate the general attitude towards immigrants. The question of whether the current crisis is a mere interruption or a major structural change is still uncertain. Whatever the future brings, the depth and length of the recession are likely to have deep and far-reaching effects on Spanish society, including social and spatial polarization.

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Chapter 4
Entrapped as Domestic Workers? The Effect of Economic Context on Work Opportunities

Elena Vidal-Coso and Daniela Vono de Vilhena

Introduction

Like other countries in Southern Europe, Spain is characterized by a feminized, occupation-targeted migration, and women account for 50 % of the foreign-born population. Latin-American women have been the primary contributors to female immigration as a whole and constitute the largest group of foreign-born women in the Spanish labor market. The number of employed women from Latin America increased from 106,863 in 1999 to 888,151 in 2008, according to data from the Spanish Labor Force Survey (SLFS). As a result, just before the beginning of the economic crisis, Latin-American women represented almost 60 % of the immigrant female workers in Spain.

Why have female immigration flows become so high in Spain? Previous research primarily relates the phenomenon to a complementarity dynamic between foreigners and natives in the labor market. More specifically, an increase in the native female participation in the labor market generated an important and unfulfilled demand for domestic and care workers. Consequently, a large proportion of foreign women in Spain, like in other Southern European countries with traditional, family-based care models, gradually took over the housework and care work traditionally done by unpaid native women, resulting in the emergence of a new labor segmentation by gender and country of origin (Bettio et al. 2006). In other words, the existence of an important demand for those services is one of the most relevant

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explanations for the degree of feminization of immigrant flows and the high labor participation rates of women, especially Latin-American women.

The prominence of Latin-Americans in domestic and caring services in Spain is undeniable: at the beginning of the economic crisis in 2008, 27% of Spain's domestic workers were from Latin America (Vidal-Coso and Miret 2013). The overrepresentation of Latin-Americans in housework and care-related occupations is also influenced by a particular type of migration policy characterized by ex post regularizations in lieu of ex ante planning of flows (Bettio et al. 2006, p. 275; Venturini and Villosio 2008; Fullin and Reyneri 2011). In simpler words, migration policies allowed individuals to arrive in the country without work permits and to regularize their status afterwards. Due to the informality of the hiring process for domestic and care-related occupations, it is easy to wait for regularization while doing those types of jobs. Although this observation is valid for all non-EU female immigrants, a preference for Latin-Americans has been identified due to shared language and religion (Izquierdo 2004). This preference may explain why in Spain, Latin-Americans are the most numerous immigrant group working in domestic and care-related occupations.

Since 2008, Spain has been strongly affected by the global economic crisis, which began immediately after an important period of economic boom and employment growth, primarily in the services sector (Bernardi and Garrido 2008). However, according to SLFS data, job-losses in this sector were concentrated in hotels and restaurants, whereas domestic services have not been severely affected by the economic crisis (Vidal-Coso and Gil 2013). Despite the new economic environment, most native families continue to face the same challenges in balancing work and family, and the hiring of immigrant women remains one of the main solutions to balancing work and family.

Therefore, during the period 1999–2012, we can distinguish three interlinked processes: the initial boom in immigration flows, the process of successive extraordinary regularizations prior to 2005, and the changing economic context and labor market opportunities after 2008. The first period, 1999–2004, constitutes the first years of the massive immigration of pioneer women from Latin America, who had been attracted by the demand for labor in housework and care work and were in the process of regularizing their legal status. The second period, 2005–2007, is marked by the accentuation of the economic expansion and enlargement of labor opportunities for migrants, an increasing gender balance within the Latin-American population, and a growing presence of immigrants with regular status due to regularizations, which in turn enabled an increase in family reunifications. Finally, the third period is 2008–2012, the years of the economic crisis, rising levels of unemployment, and the deceleration of migratory Latin-American inflows.

Using data from the SLFS, this study addresses the likelihood of upward job mobility among female immigrants—particularly Latin-Americans—working in domestic and care-related occupations in Spain from 1999 to 2012. In this chapter, we aim to stress the consequences of the changing socioeconomic and migratory

context on women's occupational prospects. First, the chapter describes these women's distribution over time along the occupational scale, together with the trends related to their concentration in domestic and care-related occupations. Second, using the panel version of the SLFS, we elaborate random-intercept logistic regression models to longitudinally analyze the possibility of moving upward (on the Camsis scale of prestige) from domestic and care-related occupations. Our analysis compares Latin-Americans' chances of upward movement to those of non-EU women in Spain. Our primary hypothesis is that the economic crisis has diminished the prospects of occupational ascension for all women working as domestic assistants and caregivers, independent of nationality.

The primary contributions of our research are as follows. We focus specifically on Spain's changing socioeconomic environment as an important determinant of the occupational opportunities for foreign-born women. More concretely, we aim to analyze the role played by the deterioration of the labor market context in preventing women from ascending beyond housekeeping and care occupations. Our analysis covers the period of the current economic crisis that started in 2008 along with previous research on Latin-Americans' occupational upward mobility from those occupations. Moreover, the methodological novelty of this research lies in the use of the SLFS in its panel version to generate a longitudinal model of upward mobility trends.

Theoretical Framework and Research Hypotheses

It has been found that compared to natives, immigrants in Spain suffer from a strong and persistent disadvantage in accessing skilled occupations even after controlling for sociodemographic characteristics (Cachón 2009; Bernardi et al. 2011). Most of the explanations for this disadvantage are in line with the structural or dual labor market theory, which identifies segmentation of the labor force by workers' migrant status, national origin or sex (Piore 1975, 1979; Thurow 1975; Kalleberg and Sorensen 1979). In this sense, Bernardi and Garrido (2008) stress the growing polarization of the Spanish occupational structure, along with the over-representation of immigrant workers in unskilled employment. Amuedo-Dorantes and De la Rica (2009) identify the existence of a labor complementarity process between native and immigrant populations. Moreover, Fullin and Reyneri (2011) note the leading roles of low-skilled labor demand and the underground economy in shaping immigrants' labor market integration, and Vidal-Coso et al. (2006) stress the gender divide of migrants' labor market insertion.

Many authors attribute female migration to Spain as a response to a specific demand for female labor caused by the internationalization of domestic work (Reyneri 1996, 2004; Anthias and Lazaridis 2000; King and Zontini 2000; Solé 2003; Cachón 2009; Fullin and Reyneri 2011). The origins of this labor demand are related to Spain's weak welfare state, along with changes in women's societal roles during the last decades of the twentieth century. In this context, immigrant domestic

house cleaners participate in a form of replacement mobility that allows female nationals with rising educational levels to pursue careers (Lim 1997). The existence of this labor demand in a segmented labor market explains, on the one hand, the pattern of females transitioning towards domestic services after migrating, and on the other hand, the downward occupational movement experienced by immigrant women upon their arrival in Spain[1] (Stanek and Veira 2009; Simón et al. 2011; Veira et al. 2011; Vono and Vidal-Coso 2012). The role that the demand for domestic and care services plays in drawing feminized migration flows from Latin America to Spain is widely recognized among researchers (Izquierdo 2003; Domingo and Esteve 2010; Vono 2010).

Following immigrants' arrival in Spain, their upward mobility is very limited and restricted to labor positions in the secondary segment (Aysa-Lastra and Cachon 2013; Vidal-Coso and Miret 2014). For those who succeed, individual characteristics seem to be important explanatory instruments. Caparrós and Navarro (2010) highlight the importance of human capital to explain labor mobility once an immigrant has arrived in Spain, and Sanromà et al. (2009) stress the importance of the education acquired at the destination for immigrants' ascending occupational movements. In turn, Vidal-Coso and Miret (2014) find that the primary factors of upward mobility are the length of residence in Spain and elements related to assimilation into Spanish society, such as a post-migration education, a Spanish-born partner, and legal status. These results refer to the 2007 National Immigrant survey data, which consider occupational characteristics at three critical moments (the job immediately before migration; the first job after migration to Spain; and the job at the time of data collection). Despite that survey's contribution to the analysis of the research on migrants' occupational mobility, it refers to a period of economic prosperity because the data were collected between November 2006 and February 2007.

In this chapter, we aim to stress the consequences of Spain's changing socioeconomic and migratory context from 1999 to 2012 for Latin-American women's occupational prospects. During the first part of the period analyzed (1999–2004), we expect to find a high percentage of Latin-American women working in domestic and care-related occupations with few opportunities to move upwards to occupations that are more prestigious. As previously mentioned, these occupations have been considered one of the easiest positions to obtain after arriving in Spain, particularly among individuals without work permits. Conversely, we expect to find a lower concentration in these occupations and higher chances of upward movement during 2005–2007, when most of the regularizations had been completed and when favorable economic conditions were supposed to enlarge the labor opportunities for immigrant women, particularly in the touristic sector.

Finally, during the current economic crisis we expect a return to the starting point, with high concentrations in domestic and care-related occupations and lower opportunities to leave them. As previously mentioned, although unemployment levels have increased, most native families continue to face the same challenges

[1] This research uses labor market information about migrants both in the country of origin and in Spain, which is provided by the 2007 National Immigrant Survey (ENI).

in balancing work and family, the primary solution to which is hiring immigrant women. This approach is partly attributed to the familial nature of Spain's welfare state (Esping-Andersen, 1990, 1999) and to the low levels of institutional support to reconcile work and family (González 2006). Therefore, we expect that the economic crisis has negatively affected the chances of occupational ascension among immigrant domestic assistants and caregivers.

In addition to the macro-economic context, other factors are expected to influence Latin-American women's labor transitions from domestic and care occupations to better positions. We are particularly interested in the role of families. Immigrants living with their children and/or partner in Spain either have formed a family or have completed (or at least begun) their family-reunification process, which may be interpreted as success in assimilating. According to previous research (Vono and Vidal-Coso 2012), our expectation is that cohabitation with a spouse is an efficient mechanism that contributes to immigrant women's upward labor mobility because their economic needs are less urgent. Conversely, Cobb-Clark and Kossoudji (2000) have argued that the presence of children may be associated with a greater difficulty in ascending occupational mobility because maintaining a job becomes imperative. Consequently, it is expected that women living with their children have fewer chances to improve their labor status.

According to the neoclassical perspective and its assumptions regarding the importance of the integration process in Spain, we expect a higher likelihood of movement from care and domestic occupations to better positions for more-educated women (McAllister 1995; Modood 1998; Weiss et al. 2003; Redstone 2006, 2008), especially those who have earned a diploma in Spain. Previous analyses have noted that a key factor in determining immigrants' labor performance is the extent to which their education, pre-migration labor market experience, and overseas training are valued in the destination country (Kee 1995; Friedberg 2000; Blackaby et al. 2002; Clark and Drinkwater 2008; Kanas and Van Tubergen 2009). Furthermore, we expect that time spent in Spain leads to an increased understanding of the host labor market, a general increase in institutional knowledge, and more expansive networks (Chiswick 1978; Chiswick et al. 2005; Akresh 2006, 2008). Years of residence in Spain would then contribute to a higher likelihood of abandoning domestic or care work. The influence of an immigrant's legal status in the host country is key to the probability of success in the host labor market (Powers and Seltzer 1998). In this sense, it is expected that holding Spanish nationality has a positive effect on the probability of upward mobility. Finally, Latin-Americans more than other immigrant women are expected to experience a lower likelihood of occupational ascending movement from domestic and care services despite the fact that they are linguistically and culturally closer to the native population. In accordance with Izquierdo (2004), we believe that this is caused by Spanish social and political preferences for Latin-American women domestic works due to a shared language and religion. This argument contradicts the thesis of Redstone (2006), who postulates that cultural and linguistic proximity between origin and destination societies may explain immigrants' greater skill transferability and lower rates of downward mobility.

To assess the direction of labor mobility, we recognize that the structure of the labor market is unequal and ordered into differentiated labor positions. These positions are expressed as occupations, which may in turn be characterized according to their economic and social rewards (Blau and Duncan 1967; Hope 1972; Goldthorpe and Hope 1974; Parkin 1978; Goldthorpe 1980). Labor mobility, therefore, is determined by the opportunity to change one's relative position in a predetermined structure of inequality. We view domestic and care positions as situated at the bottom of the female occupational structure, although some may argue that domestic maids and caregivers share the same low status and salary as other workers within the secondary segment who are employed in entry-level occupations in agriculture, industry, or hotels and restaurants. However, the significant percentage of immigrant women in domestic and care services indicates that these occupations are an authentic labor market gateway in Spain, the primary 'starting point' for women in the destination labor market. In fact, informality and the role played by social networks in hiring is evidence that most female immigrants use domestic and care work in private households as a way to obtain legal residence in Spain and once that legal status has been obtained, they are ready to move into other occupations (Escrivà 2000; Oso 2003). Moreover, other characteristics of domestic work intensify its low status: the private and isolated nature of this type of job and the labor and social security legislation that recognizes fewer labor rights for domestic maids than for other workers (Parella 2009). Specifically, domestic workers were excluded from the general labor regulation until 2011, when the law was changed in an effort to formalize this occupational sector. However, it is uncertain to what extent the new regulation is actually being followed.

Data and Methods

In this study, we use the panel version of the SLFS from 1999 to 2012. The survey is conducted by the Spanish National Statistics Institute (INE), which administers quarterly interviews of a sample representative of the entire Spanish population. The sample consists of approximately 200,000 persons in 65,000 households. Using this data source for our analysis is the best option for our purposes for many reasons. First, it contains a great variety of individual-level information related to the population's sociodemographic and labor characteristics during the reference week (previous week), including sex, age, employment status, employment characteristics of the respondent's primary job, and previous work experience. Second, although the survey was designed to analyze the labor market from 1999 on, it is also a unique source for studying household composition and the characteristics of household members during the inter-census period (Garrido et al. 2000). Third, the SLFS also collects rich information about the immigrant population, including citizenship, country of birth and length of residence. Fourth, the quarterly frequency of the survey allows an analysis of trends in the characteristics of the individual labor market.

The SLFS sample is renewed every sixth trimester, allowing it to carrying its analyses from a longitudinal perspective. Specifically, the survey is a rotated panel in which for each wave, 1/6 of the sample is substituted, with 5/6 of the sample remaining. Each wave is representative of any observed moment, but all of the waves considered together show a representative pattern for a specific individual. This characteristic gives us the ability to follow immigrant women over 18 consecutive months (six trimesters) to observe occupational transitions over time, especially among those who initially work as housekeepers and caregivers. We matched respondents in all observations by linking their household identifiers with their person line numbers. However, data characteristics such as sample attrition, household moves, and other data collection factors decreased the number of observations in the sample. Moreover, the SLFS does not track movers. Accordingly, our results can only be generalized to those who did not move (Mattingly and Smith 2010).

To test our hypothesis, two sets of random effects logistic regression models were implemented. We use as the dependent variable the prestige scale (Camsis), which has been merged with the data through the CNO-94 variable. Specifically, we analyze the probability of upward mobility among women employed in domestic service and care-related occupations in t-1. We consider as upward mobility any increase of 5 points or more in the prestige score[2] from t-1 to t. The first set of models includes all non-EU immigrant women in Spain, whereas the second is restricted to the primary origins of Latin-American women in the country.

Independent variables include the region of birth (and country of birth in the second analysis), the period of the survey, the maximum educational level attained (compulsory education, secondary level and university level), the length of residence in Spain, Spanish nationality, age, age squared, marital status, the presence of children in the household, and the country where the maximum educational level was attained.

Some clarifications must be made on certain variables. First, in addition to the fixed characteristics of region/country of birth and survey period, all other independent variables are considered in t-1. Second, due to the high number of transnational families among immigrants and the short history of immigration in Spain, we have opted to build our family-related variables based on whether individuals share a household with their families. This is an important feature for our analytical purposes because household migration strategies seem to be related to immigrant women's labor position at the destination. In this regard, it has been shown that domestic work is predominant among pioneering migrant women because it is the easiest way to earn and save money (Oso 2003). Consequently, marital status is defined as a dummy variable measuring whether individuals live in unions, sharing a household with a partner. We performed sensitivity tests considering only legal marital status, and the results are consistent with our first choice. To create the variable for children in the household, we have linked individuals with all members of the household. Finally, the place where studies were completed has been created by subtracting the year of arrival in Spain from the year when the last educational degree was obtained.

[2] Variations in this criterion did not substantially change our results.

Descriptive Analysis

It is beyond doubt that with the arrival of the new millennium began one of the most interesting periods in Spain: the acceleration of migration inflows. Although it is true that residents of the EU and Africa had previously begun to arrive, since 2000 migrants from Latin-Americans have been the primary new migrants. Figure 4.1 shows that Latin-American women of working age increased from 244,593 in 2000 to 1,359,953 in 2009. Since then, numbers have decreased because of the economic turndown. Their presence in Spain is impressive not only in absolute terms but also in relative terms because they represent approximately 50% of the total female immigrant population.

These trends are also reflected in the labor market. In Fig. 4.2, we present the distribution of Latin American women by labor force status and their percentage among all employed women in Spain between 1999 and 2012. Regarding the share of Latin-Americans among all employed women, an important increase in percentages can be observed over the period, from 2% in 1999 to a peak of 10.6% in 2010. Post-2010, the share of Latin-Americans decreased until it reached 9.2% in 2012 because of upward trends in unemployment rates. It was not until 2009 that the effect of the economic crisis became visible in terms of increased unemployment among this group. In Fig. 4.3, more details on unemployment trends by country of birth are provided. As can be seen, unemployment rates were relatively stable until

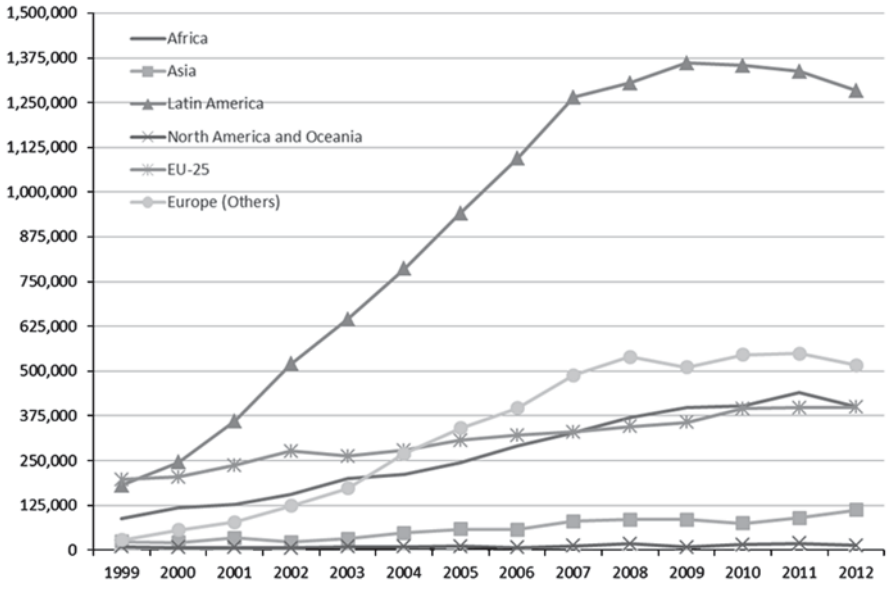

Fig. 4.1 Trends in the number of female immigrants to Spain aged 16–64, by birthplace, in absolute numbers. (Source: Spanish Labor Force Survey, 1999–2012, Spanish National Statistics Institute (INE))

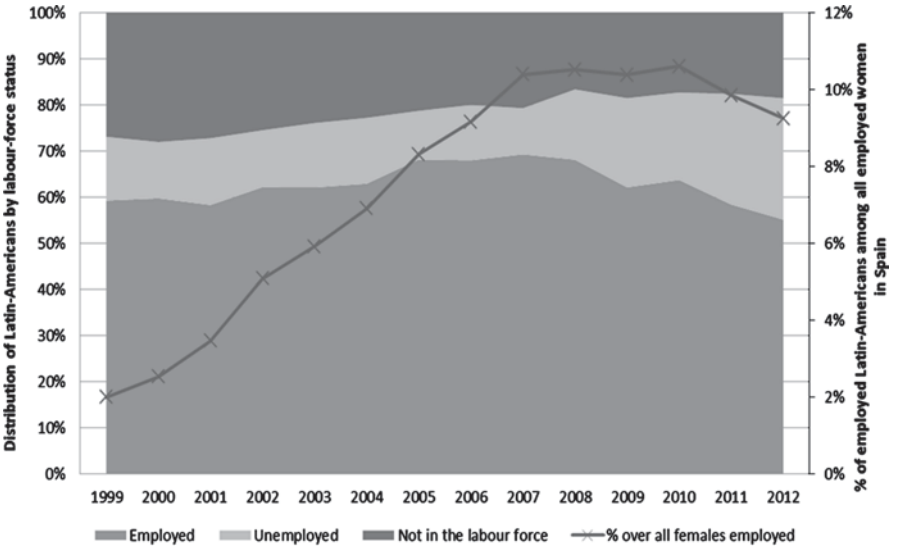

Fig. 4.2 Trends in the distribution of Latin-Americans by labor-force status and their share among all employed women in Spain (population between 16 and 64 years old). (Source: Spanish Labor Force Survey, 1999–2012, Spanish National Statistics Institute (INE))

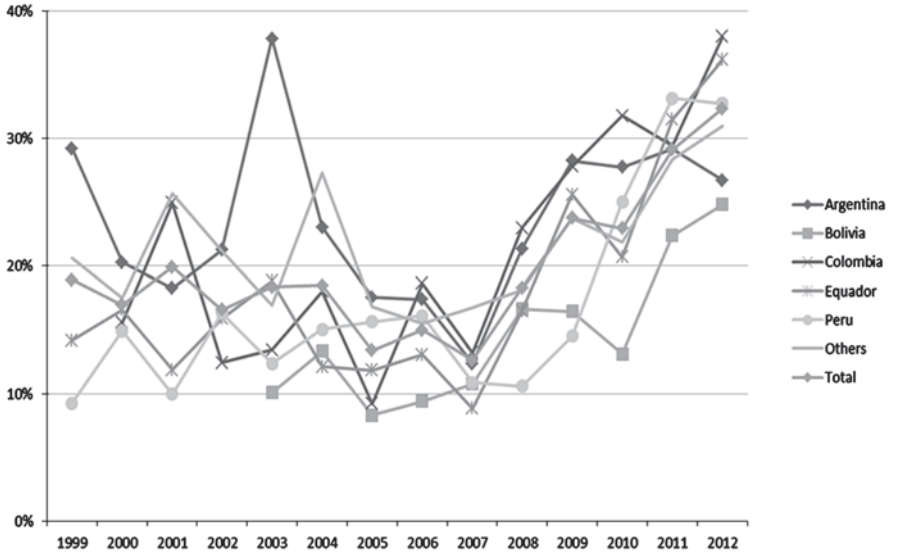

Fig. 4.3 Trends in female unemployment rates by country of birth (population between 16 and 64 years old). (Source: Spanish Labor Force Survey, 1999–2012, Spanish National Statistics Institute (INE)

2007, when the numbers substantially increased, to a greater or lesser extent, among different groups. Ecuadorians and Colombians were the most affected, followed by Peruvians. At the other extreme are Bolivians.

The increase in unemployed Latin-American women in Spain displayed in both figures is not solely attributable to employment losses post-2008. Previous research (Domingo and Vidal-Coso 2012; Vidal-Coso and Gil 2013; Vidal-Coso and Vono 2013) has shown that whereas the burden of job losses during Spain's current economic crisis has fallen on men because they were employed in the industries that were most affected by the financial collapse, particularly construction and related sectors, female occupation was not as strongly affected, at least during the first cycle of the crisis. Moreover, these authors attribute part of the increase in female unemployment to the growth in female immigrant participation in the labor force. This is due to the arrival of new immigration flows, young workers' entrance into the labor market, and strategic entrance into the labor force by many inactive women who have become family economic resources because of their husbands' job losses. This process of increasing female activity is observed for all women, regardless of birthplace. Therefore, the inflows of active Latin women may cause part of the increasing female unemployment described in Figs. 4.2 and 4.3.

In summary, the workforce trends set forth in the previous figures reflect an accelerated presence of Latin-American women in the Spanish market for female employment, a continued process that ended with the 2008 beginning of the economic crisis. Since then, some employed Latin-American women have lost their jobs and some of new Latin-American workers have not found jobs. The result is an increasing unemployment level for these women.

Figure 4.4 displays the occupational distribution of Latin-Americans throughout the period. That figure also shows that Latin-Americans' occupational profile has been characterized, at each of the three moments analyzed, by high concentration indexes in domestic and personal care occupations. In 2000, 41 % of employed Latin American women in Spain worked as domestic assistants and caregivers; in 2006, the figure was approximately the same at 40 %; in 2012, the figure was 44 %. If we add building cleaners, the concentrations increase to 48, 51 and 56 %, respectively. Therefore, the concentration of Latin-Americans in occupations related to private demand continued to be very high regardless of Spain's economic deterioration. In fact, although the share of individuals working in domestic occupations decreased in 2012, this decline is not observed for those employed as caregivers. We also must highlight the decreasing importance of employment in hotels and restaurants in 2012, which is precisely the industry in which most of Latin American women's job losses have been concentrated since the beginning of the economic crisis (Vidal-Coso and Gil 2013).

Trends for Eastern European women are different, reflecting the more recent acceleration of that flow. The contrasting occupational patterns between 2000 and 2006 reflect that the relatively smaller group that had arrived by 2000 was employed in different occupations than those who had arrived more recently. For instance, 22 % of women were concentrated in hotels and restaurants occupations

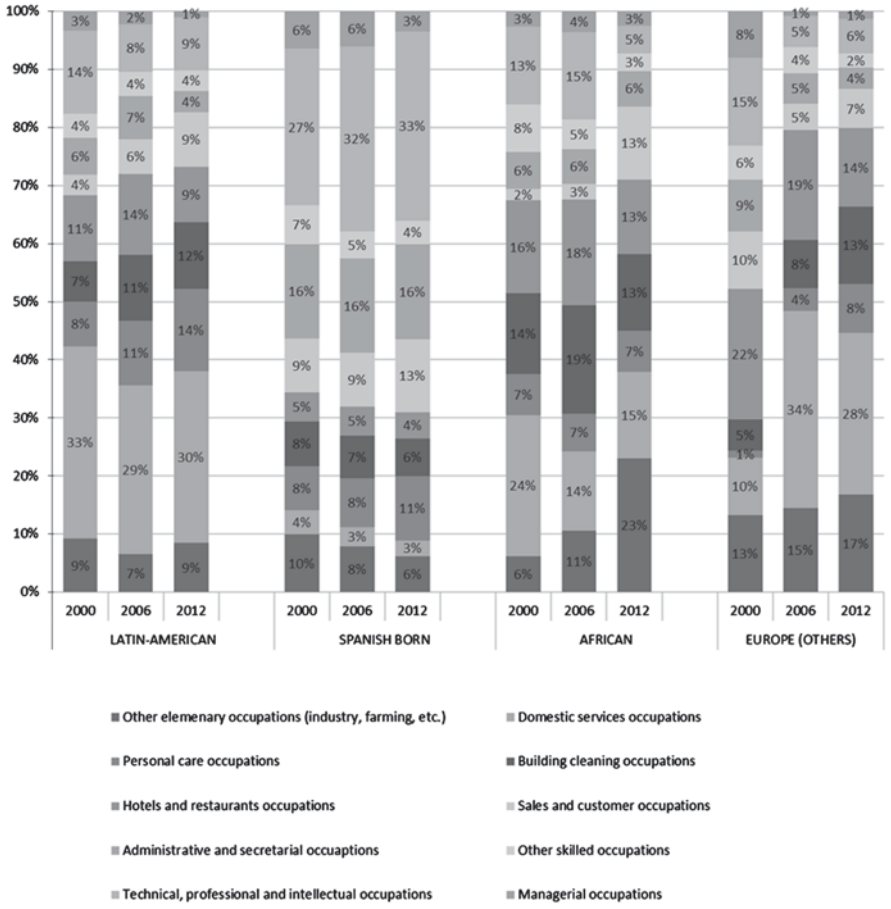

Fig. 4.4 Occupational concentration indexes by birthplace for employed women aged 16–64 in Spain: 2000, 2006 and 2012. (Source: Spanish Labor Force Survey, 1999–2012, Spanish National Statistics Institute (INE))

in 2000 (with only 10% in domestic work and 1% in care work), and a prominent share worked in managerial (8%) or in technical, professional and intellectual occupations (15%). In 2006, the labor insertion of Eastern European women became more similar to the distribution of Latin-American women—i.e., highly concentrated in domestic and care services. African women, on the contrary, have been less clustered in domestic occupations since 2006. This does not mean that their occupational profile improved during the period because they remain highly concentrated at the bottom positions of the occupational structure. Finally, native' occupational profile provides evidence of the complementarity between natives and immigrants within the female occupational structure in Spain. Native women are primarily concentrated in the most skilled occupations with greater human-capital requirements:

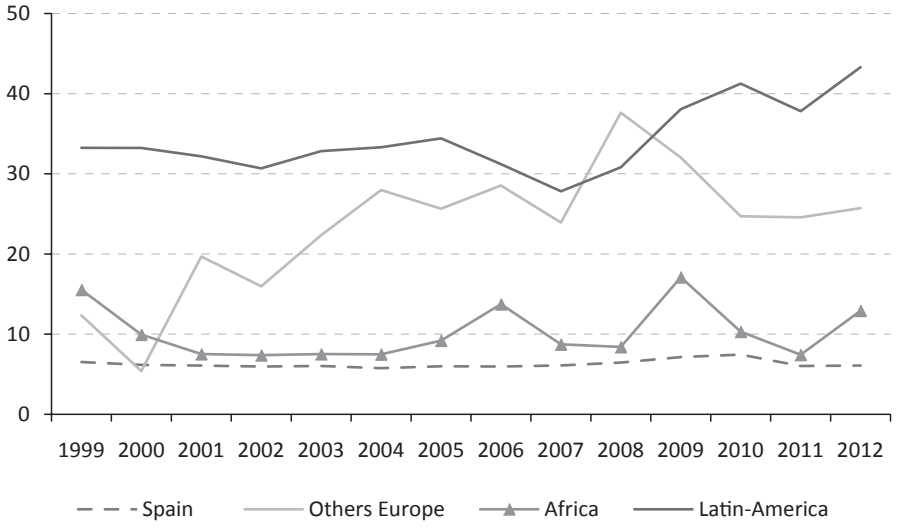

Fig. 4.5 Standardized concentration rate in domestic and care-related occupations, by region of birth, 1999–2012. (Source: Spanish Labor Force Survey, 1999–2012 (3rd semester), Spanish National Statistics Institute (INE)

technical, professional and intellectual occupations; other skilled occupations; administrative and secretarial occupations; and sales and customer service occupations. By 2006, employed native women were slightly more qualified than in 2000, and the economic and labor crisis did not modify the occupational distribution of employed Spanish-born women in 2012.

Finally, we present the distribution of individuals in domestic and care-related occupations as defined in our dependent variable (Fig. 4.5). The values have been standardized using the unweighted average size of the population groups by origin as the standard, transforming the data to comparable scales. It is clear that during the first years of intense migration flows into Spain (1999–2002), the proportion of Latin-Americans working in domestic and care-related activities was substantially higher than those of other immigrant groups and natives. At that point, the majority of Latin-American domestic and care workers had been born in Peru, Ecuador or Colombia. From 2003 to 2008, two new patterns emerged. First, the proportion of Eastern European women working in domestic and care occupations increased rapidly, and their concentration rates were very similar to those of Latin-Americans. With the beginning of the economic crisis, although the proportion of Eastern Europeans in these activities decreased, for Latin-Americans the pattern was the opposite. Between 2011 and 2012, all groups employed in those fields experienced (to varying extents) an employment recovery.

Multivariate Results

Our multivariate analyses examine the probability of moving upward on the CAMSIS scale of prestige from domestic or care-related occupations by at least 5 points from one wave (t-1) to another (t). In Table 4.1, we present the results of our set of models, which aim to test the effect of region of birth and of the economic crisis on the probability of leaving domestic and care-related occupations. In Model 1, the overall effect of country of birth can be observed: no significant effect is found apart from a higher chance of upward mobility among individuals born in Africa compared to Eastern Europeans. Non-significance aside, the size of the coefficients is very small for other regions. Therefore, contrary to our expectations, Latin-American women do not suffer a significant penalty related to their permanence as either house cleaners or caregivers, compared to workers of other origins.

In Model 2, we add the year of the survey. Here, coefficients are large and highly significant, and they confirm the trends already presented in the descriptive Figs. 4.4 and 4.5. Compared to the first years of immigration flows (1999–2004) and regardless of country of birth, women had much higher probabilities of leaving domestic and care-related occupations after 2005, with their chances peaking between 2005 and 2007, which corresponds to the period that immediately succeeded the massive regularizations, confirming our hypothesis. However, with the crisis, although the effect is half as big compared to the previous period, it remains much higher than the reference category. Our interpretation is that during the first years of female migrant inflows, most immigrant females in the labor force were informally working as maids and caregivers without permission, thus hindering their ability to change jobs (Shutes and Chiatti 2012). Afterwards, regularizations enabled access to work permits and increased the ability to move up to better labor positions. This mobility was boosted by the macro-economic context of expansion and growing labor demand. Since the arrival of the economic recession in 2008, growing unemployment rates have affected most industries in the Spanish labor market, and immigrants' opportunities to move to other occupations have been cut off.

Does this period effect disappear when immigrants' length of residence and their educational and age compositions are taken into account? Our third model (Model 3) shows that the period effect barely decreased with the inclusion of these three controls. In other words, Spain's macro-economic context in Spain is still a strong determinant of job mobility among immigrants and the effect of that context is not strongly affected by the previously mentioned variables. With respect to educational attainment, individuals with a secondary education are those who are most likely to leave domestic and care services. Age is non-significant. In terms of length of residence, the effect is what would be normally expected: the longer individuals live in the country of settlement, the better their chances of moving to a better job. Finally, Spanish nationality is a strong determinant of better chances of upward mobility. Here, it is important to mention that the access to Spanish nationality not only implies a higher degree of assimilation but also allows individuals to apply for public-sector jobs.

Table 4.1 Random effects logistic regression on the probability of moving at least 5 points on the CAMSIS scale from domestic or care-related occupations among foreign-born, non-EU women in Spain. (Source: Spanish Labor Force Survey, 1999–2012, Spanish National Statistics Institute (INE))

Variables	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
Country of birth: ref.cat. Eastern Europe								
Africa	0.582**	(0.228)	0.677***	(0.221)	0.629***	(0.226)	0.615***	(0.227)
Latin-America	0.039	(0.121)	0.101	(0.118)	0.076	(0.120)	0.111	(0.120)
Others	−0.060	(0.237)	0.084	(0.232)	−0.056	(0.241)	−0.169	(0.244)
Period: ref.cat. 1999–2004								
2005–2007			1.220***	(0.170)	1.132***	(0.170)	1.088***	(0.169)
2008–2012			0.697***	(0.171)	0.533***	(0.176)	0.510***	(0.175)
Educational level: ref.cat. Compulsory								
Secondary					0.218**	(0.102)	0.184*	(0.101)
University					0.150	(0.163)	0.115	(0.163)
Length of residence in Spain: ref.cat. 0–3 years								
4–6 years					0.358***	(0.114)	0.260**	(0.114)
More than 6 years					0.327**	(0.141)	0.186	(0.143)
Spanish nationality					0.601***	(0.181)	0.308*	(0.187)
Age					−0.270	(0.209)	−0.256	(0.209)
Age squared					0.069	(0.155)	0.056	(0.154)
Marital status: ref.cat. Not in union								
In union							0.269**	(0.105)
Children in the household: ref.cat. No children								
Children							0.318***	(0.105)
Where studies were finished. Ref.cat. Spain								
Country of origin							−0.624***	(0.165)
Constant	3.545***	(0.194)	−4.329***	(0.260)	−4.372***	(0.285)	−3.965***	(0.317)
Number of observations	12,463		12,463		12,463		12,463	
Number of individuals	5,222		5,222		5,222		5,222	

Standard errors in parentheses. *$p<0.1$, **$p<0.05$, ***$p<0.01$

In Model 4, we have additionally included family and other integration-related variables. The period effect slightly decreased but is still large and highly significant. In this sense, we can affirm that women's chances of moving from domestic and care-related occupations to better positions in Spain between 1999 and 2012 were largely determined by the macro-economic context. However, the effect of length of residence in Spain partially lost significance. The variable marital status shows that women who live with a partner (whether cohabiting or married) have better chances of upward mobility than those who do not live with a partner. Additionally, and contrary to our expectations, the presence of children in the household contributes to a higher probability of upward mobility. In this sense, it seems that having family members in Spain contributes to higher occupational attainment. Finally, a strong determinant of our analysis is whether an immigrant has completed studies in Spain, which may indicate that migrant women who obtained their education abroad may have found difficult to take their human capital and transfer it to or validate it in the host labor market.

In addition to the models presented, we tested the effect of partners' characteristics by restricting our sample to women in unions. However, the effects were barely significant and did not substantially affect our results.

We also wanted to test whether the dynamics presented in the analysis of all non-EU immigrants in Spain would vary when restricting the sample to Latin-Americans. As shown in Table 4.2, our results follow the exact same direction as in the first set of models, and the period effect again plays a major role in explaining differences in the probability of moving to a more prestigious occupation. However, some minor differences have been found in other explanatory variables. First, marital status is not significant, although the size of its effect is not small and still positive, indicating a higher probability of leaving domestic and care-related occupations among women living with their partners compared to those who live in different household arrangements, which is the case in the previous set of models (Model 4). Second, the length of residence in Spain remains significant in all categories when controlling for family characteristics (Model 4). Third, our baseline model (Model 1) shows that in comparison to the reference category "born in Argentina", on average all other origins have a lower probability of leaving domestic and care-related occupations. However, differences are significant for those born in Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela in comparison to Argentineans. The size of the effects and their significance decrease when additional controls are included, and our final model shows that differences are only significant among those born in Argentina and Venezuela (Model 4).

Conclusions

In Spain, the insider-outsider model of job relations prevails, which implies a low incidence of intersegmental job mobility in general among the population. Moreover, mechanisms of career progress are substantially different between so-called

Table 4.2. Random effects logistic regression on the probability of moving at least 5 points on the CAMSIS scale from domestic or care-related occupations among Latin-American women in Spain. (Source: Spanish Labor Force Survey, 1999–2012, Spanish National Statistics Institute (INE)

Variables	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
Country of birth: Ref.cat. Argentina								
Bolivia	−0.971***	(0.284)	−0.929***	(0.273)	−0.791***	(0.273)	−0.688**	(0.268)
Brazil	−0.286	(0.351)	−0.220	(0.337)	−0.117	(0.335)	−0.137	(0.329)
Chile	−0.650	(0.483)	−0.524	(0.466)	−0.409	(0.464)	−0.364	(0.455)
Colombia	−0.574**	(0.263)	−0.421*	(0.251)	−0.418*	(0.249)	−0.310	(0.245)
Cuba	−0.233	(0.470)	−0.096	(0.452)	−0.188	(0.450)	−0.066	(0.442)
Ecuador	−0.535**	(0.254)	−0.431*	(0.243)	−0.427*	(0.241)	−0.367	(0.235)
Peru	−0.432	(0.312)	−0.291	(0.300)	−0.299	(0.297)	−0.165	(0.293)
Venezuela	−0.877	(0.597)	−0.823	(0.577)	−0.859	(0.576)	−1.046*	(0.579)
Period: ref.cat. 1999–2004								
2005–2007			1.372***	(0.213)	1.226***	(0.214)	1.189***	(0.213)
2008–2012			0.901***	(0.221)	0.622***	(0.233)	0.589**	(0.232)
Educational level: ref.cat. compulsory								
Secondary					0.274**	(0.121)	0.237**	(0.120)
University					0.171	(0.221)	0.126	(0.219)
Length of residence in Spain: ref.cat. 0–3 years								

Table 4.2. (continued)

Variables	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
4–6 years					0.458***	(0.144)	0.357**	(0.142)
More than 6 years					0.532***	(0.180)	0.373**	(0.179)
Spanish nationality					0.601***	(0.226)	0.369	(0.228)
Age					−0.473*	(0.265)	−0.470*	(0.263)
Age squared					0.142	(0.196)	0.139	(0.195)
Marital status: ref.cat. Not in union								
In union							0.110	(0.126)
Children in the household: ref.cat. No children								
Children							0.411***	(0.129)
Where studies were finished. Ref.cat. Spain								
Country of origin							−0.794***	(0.205)
Constant	−2.675***	(0.283)	−3.654***	(0.353)	−3.705***	(0.370)	−3.136***	(0.413)
Number of observations	7,139		7,139		7,139		7,139	
Number of individuals	3,000		3,000		3,000		3,000	

Standard errors in parentheses. *$p<0.1$, **$p<0.05$, ***$p<0.01$

insiders and outsiders. For the former, who are individuals in stable job positions (typically mid-career employees either in standard employment in the public sector or holding indefinite contracts), human capital and seniority are often mentioned as the strongest elements that influence upward mobility. For the latter (individuals in precarious positions, mostly immigrants, young individuals and women), individual characteristics and labor trajectories seems to be less important: workers tend to occupy similar, precarious, positions over time (MacInnes 2009). Our study contributes new evidence to reinforce this general trend: immigrant women who work in domestic and care-related occupations have low probabilities of leaving those jobs, and the economic cycle, much more than immigrants' characteristics and trajectories in Spain, is the strongest determinant of the likelihood of upward mobility.

In this chapter, we first study the occupational trends of Latin-American workers in Spain during the period 1999–2012. Our descriptive analysis confirmed, on the one hand, a high level of concentration of Latin-Americans in domestic, cleaning and care services. Therefore, we observed during the entire period an occupational distribution closely tied to those highly feminized occupations. Although the percentage of other immigrant groups working as housekeepers, cleaners and caregivers is also relatively high, only the occupational distribution of Eastern Europeans in 2006 is close to the Latin-Americans' profile. On the other hand, the descriptive results also provide evidence that despite the growth of Latin-Americans' participation in the tourism sector, evident in the year in 2006, these better opportunities during the economic expansion did not imply a major dispersion throughout the occupational scale. Higher unemployment rates among Latin-American women from 2008 onwards also had little effect on their occupational distribution. The only change observed is a relative reduction of employment in tourism-related jobs and a return to the concentration levels in domestic and care services observed during the first years of the period analyzed.

Second, our investigation aimed to longitudinally analyze female transitions from domestic, cleaning and care occupations into more prestigious positions. Our results clearly pointed to the influence of economic cycles to explain such movements. Although the strong dependence of female Latin-American employment on the most feminized labor positions was described for the entire period, our models predicted that upward mobility was more likely to occur during economic expansion.

In addition to the economic environment, we found that other factors influenced workers' upward mobility. Women living in Spain with their families enjoyed higher probabilities of upward mobility, which is interpreted as a success in the assimilation process. Multivariate results also reinforced our initial assumptions regarding the importance of the integration process: the time spent in Spain or holding Spanish nationality contributes to a better chance of improving one's job position. Finally, models proved the neoclassical hypothesis regarding the importance of obtaining an education in the host country.

Finally, despite the economic crisis and high unemployment levels among immigrants, data do not show massive outflows of immigrants (Aysa-Lastra and Cachón 2012), and the stock of working-age Latin-American women has only decreased by 6 % from 2009 to 2012. Therefore, because it appears that most Latin

American women have chosen to remain in Spain, they may strategically take refuge in their most secure occupational option, which would also partially explain the small probability of occupational transitions between 2008 and 2012.

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Chapter 5
The Nexus Between Occupational and Residential Segregation

Albert Sabater and Juan Galeano

Introduction

It is generally argued that patterns of employment for immigrants vary according to local labour market conditions (Waldinger 1996; Wright and Ellis 1997) which, in turn, depend on the geographies of residence of immigrant groups (Wright et al. 2010). It can be said, as Glasmeier and Farrigan (2007, p. 221) note, that "the end result is a city made up of labour markets and residential enclaves". However, while most studies of residential segregation traditionally seek to identify the factors that determine spatial patterns of immigrants (Massey 1985; Clark 1992; Wilson and Hammer 2001; Zubrinsky Charles 2001), the study of occupational segregation in conjunction with residential segregation is generally marginalised in some geographical contexts such as Spain. This is, of course, surprising given that in an often cited and reprinted article by Duncan and Duncan (1955a) the degree to which members of different occupational categories are residentially segregated from each other is considered an important aspect with potential implications for policy. As Ovadia (2003, p. 314) notes, "determining whether these two forms of segregation are associated is not only an issue of understanding whether there is an empirical relationship between them. If effective policies for reducing racial inequality are to be developed, then understanding the structural form of its components is necessary".

Therefore, if residential concentration and the institutionalisation of the provision of resources, goods, and services through social networks facilitates ethnic niching in metropolitan labour markets (Wilson 2003,), why do most studies in Spain fail to infuse the intra-urban residential geography into an understanding of the immigrant division of labour? One explanation may be that there is no correlation between the

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two forms of segregation and, therefore, residential and occupational disadvantage in metropolitan areas is multidimensional. However, to the best of our knowledge an examination of whether or not these two forms of segregation are associated has not been undertaken to date. One can speculate that this lack of research is largely due to difficulties in analysing occupational segregation by nativity and gender at sub-national scales, as local labour market data with such detail is unavailable and regional tables are subject to small sample sizes.

The purpose of this chapter is twofold. First, it provides an illustrative example of how to derive larger sample sizes of populations by country of birth and gender for the provinces of Madrid and Barcelona using both provincial and national data from the Spanish Labour Force Survey (LFS). Second, we employ such estimates to quantify the level and direction of occupational segregation for Latin American men and women in the metropolitan provinces of Madrid and Barcelona. In doing so, we also aim to shed further light on the possible correlates (positive, negative, no correlation) between occupational and residential segregation. In addressing these issues, we focus on three specific questions:

1. Over the past decade, how do levels of occupational segregation for Latin American differ by gender?
2. To what extent are there differences nationally and between the metropolitan provinces of Madrid and Barcelona?
3. What is the correlation (positive, negative or none) between occupational and residential segregation and, if so, is this consistent between metropolitan areas and gender?

The remainder of the chapter is organized as follows: the next section gives an overview of the links between immigrant employment and residence; the following section discusses the evidence from the Spanish context; next the data and methods we use are outlined; two sections then present results and a final section briefly summarizes our leading findings and discussion.

Are There Links between Immigrant Employment and Residence?

New immigrants tend to locate where they have social networks through an 'invasion' and 'succession' process so that the urban location of employment opportunities is constantly resurfaced, thus contributing to the creation of ethnic enclaves and niches in the original areas of settlement (Wilson and Portes 1980; Portes and Bach 1985; Portes and Shafer 2007). Kaplan (1998) suggests four ways through which residential concentration supports ethnic enclaves/businesses: (1) proximity to a market of ethnic consumers; (2) the opportunity for exchange of information and economic resources; (3) agglomeration economies; and (4) the ability to maintain cultural cohesion for the community. Of course, this is consistent with the notion that networks play a crucial role in immigrant settlements (Light and Bonacich

1988; Waldinger 1996; Light and Gold 2000), particularly in a context of dual labour markets (Piore 1979): with the primary sector providing good jobs and earning trajectories (mostly for natives) but the secondary market providing peripheral employment, including low prestige, low income, job dissatisfaction, and the absence of return to past human capital investments (Wilson and Portes 1980, p 301). Thus, although immigrant networks might facilitate the entry of immigrants into the labour market upon arrival, they may also constrain occupational opportunities and labour mobility (Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993). If the latter occurs people and families are generally less able to improve residential circumstances and such social immobility does not allow intra-metropolitan movement from immigrants into better areas (Massey et al. 1991). Light (1998) notes, however, that the agglomeration economy in ethnic/immigrant enclaves can also trigger the forces of dispersion when immigrant businesses consider reaching out to a larger and broader clientele. There are also other factors that might lead to immigrant dispersal such as intermarriage or "partnering out" (i.e. partner someone who is not a co-national) which is closely related to the improvement of immigrants' access to labour market institutions (Ellis et al. 2006). For instance Holloway et al. (2005) and Ellis et al. (2012) showed that US mixed-raced households tend to reside in less-segregated areas than single-race households.

In the sociological literature, it is widely acknowledged that residential segregation in metropolitan areas serves as a system of inequality that contributes to unequal access to resources and systematically disadvantages lower-status groups (Massey and Denton 1993). Since immigrants are usually not economically well-off upon their arrival they cannot afford expensive transportation costs and, therefore, tend to live nearby their workplaces in a fairly concentrated and segregation fashion (Massey 1985). This process is clearly rooted in the spatial differentiation of the urban economy, and is reinforced by metropolitan areas which are already segregated to different degrees along the lines of class and gender and the local interplay of supply and demand (Peck 1996; Peck and Theodore 2001). Therefore, it is expected that "residential segregation may thus lead to employment segregation through a group's spatial accessibility to specific clusters of industries and/or by its social accessibility to niche jobs through group networks" (Ellis et al. 2004, p 623).

Therefore the way an immigrant group is spatially incorporated into society is as important to its socioeconomic well-being as the manner in which it is incorporated into the labour force. In other words, if avenues of spatial assimilation are not blocked by prejudice and discrimination, most minority groups or immigrants are able to convert socioeconomic achievements into improved residential circumstances and such social mobility allows them to move into better areas and better jobs (Massey 1985; Massey and Denton 1988; Massey et al. 1991). As a consequence, it is important that levels and trends in residential segregation be documented in conjunction with labour market disadvantage, allowing the analysis of these variables to be fully incorporated into research about the causes of urban poverty.

So far the international evidence on the relationship between residential and occupational segregation has produced mixed results. While there seems to be greater support traditionally for the existence of a positive association between high levels

of residential segregation and occupational disadvantage (Duncan and Duncan 1955a; Duncan and Lieberson 1959; Massey and Denton 1988, 1993), further research has led to inconclusive results. On the one hand, recent sets of evidence (Logan et al. 2002; Parks 2004; Wang 2006) reveal a similar positive association between residential and occupational segregation which is generally stronger for women than men. Although some other studies agree on the direction of the relationship, they differ in signalling that immigrant women are less concentrated than men (Wright and Ellis 2000). On the other hand, some scholars have found a negative association between occupational and residential segregation (Galster and Keeney 1988), and with results that suggest that the spatial patterns of occupational segregation do not vary greatly by gender (Ovadia 2003).

It becomes clear that although there seems to be ample support that increases in residential segregation are generally positively associated with occupational segregation, there is also evidence that groups "work together and live apart" (Ellis et al. 2004, p 634). Thus, the geographies of home and work may be actively shaping actual employment outcomes. However, when they are not positively correlated "we may tentatively conclude that social networks, regardless of their spatiality, trump geographical access and proximity in getting jobs" (Wright et al. 2010, p 1055). In this regard, the importance of spatial versus social accessibility in connecting residential and occupational segregation is largely to be subjected to the strength of a group's social network. While social networks are central to understanding the maintenance of immigrant niches (Light and Bonacich 1988; Waldinger 1996; Light and Gold 2000), it has also been suggested that this element has been affected by the dispersion of jobs across metropolitan areas, which means that workers are more likely to commute beyond the boundaries of their community for employment than before. This "spatial disjuncture between home and work" is seen as a "distinct departure from the intra-metropolitan circulation patterns of earlier generations of migrants" (Zelinsky and Lee 1998, p 288). Gober (2000) believes that the adoption of this new sociospatial behaviour by some immigrant groups gives rise to deterritorised communities, whose glue is more in ethnic churches, social and service clubs, cultural centers and festivals rather than in traditional residential concentrations. Nonetheless, current research also emphasises the importance of characterising immigrant concentrations in order to understand labour market entry as well as employment niching (Ellis et al. 2007; Wright et al. 2010).

Evidence from the Spanish Context

Our chapter builds on two sets of empirical evidence from the Spanish context. First, in the labour market realm, it is widely acknowledged that the existence of regular and irregular avenues of international migration (Cachón 2002; Izquierdo and Martínez 2003; Aja and Arango 2006; Arango and Finotelli 2009; Sabater and Domingo 2012) and a preferential treatment for Latin Americans (Izquierdo et al. 2003; Peixoto 2009; Hierro 2013) acted during the years of the migration boom as a

catalyst for the strong demand for labour-intensive and low-skilled jobs in low-paid occupational sectors. It is worthy of note that the latter is partly explained by the increased labour market participation by native women which resulted in an increased demand for female labour in the domestic service for cleaning, childcare and care of the elderly in Spain (Domingo and Gil-Alonso 2007; Vidal-Coso and Miret 2014; Simón et al. 2014), a situation not so different internationally (Lutz 2008).

As a consequence many migrant workers in Spain, including those from Latin America, largely represent a secondary market of workers (Cachón 2002, 2009) with low levels of skills, worse working conditions, and greater job instability. However, as the impact of the crisis in Spain has deepened, there has been a shift from a policy whose main objective was to recruit workers to meet the demands of the labour market to a policy which aims to improve the "employability" of unemployed resident immigrants (López-Sala 2013).

Second, it is generally recognised that the circumstances of arrival, skills, language, education, class, nativity and gender interact to create a heterogeneity of immigrant employment experience, with expectations that poor labour market outcomes for recent migrants are transitory and improve as immigrants acquire country-specific human and social capital (Schrover et al. 2007). Here, the imperfect transferability of human capital and time of residence appear as the central explanatory factors of migrant disadvantage (Chiswick 1978; Friedberg 2000). Following this classic explanation, it has been documented that immigrants experience a U-shaped pattern during their transition from the labour market in the country of origin to the labour market in the country of destination (Chiswick 1978; Chiswick et al. 2005; Akresh 2006, 2008). However, this has been less evident for immigrants in Spain (Amuedo-Dorantes and De la Rica 2007; Fernández and Ortega 2008; Izquierdo et al. 2009; Bernardi et al. 2011; Vidal-Coso and Miret 2014; Vidal-Coso and Vono-de-Vilhena, this book), thus posing the question of whether or not today's immigrants will actually be able to "catch up" with the native population. Although there seems to be an upward labour mobility for those with pre-settled partners, especially among women (González-Ferrer 2011; Vono-de-Vilhena and Vidal-Coso 2012), immigrants remain to do worse than natives in the labour market even after controlling for similar sociodemographic characteristics (Cebolla and González-Ferrer 2008; Vidal-Coso and Miret 2014), particularly women. Therefore, although some studies reveal that upward mobility among immigrants occurs within the first 5 years of residence, the occupational status never seems to converge with that of natives with comparable skills (Alcobendas and Rodríguez-Planas 2009), a situation that is also observed for the immigrant-native wage gap (Izquierdo et al. 2009).

Third, it has become increasingly clear that the fact that immigrants are not equally distributed across the occupational structure in Spain is also due to a process of polarisation of employment in Spain (Bernardi and Garrido 2008; Stanek and Veira 2012). Generally, people are being employed in either professional and technical occupations or unskilled service work (Vidal-Coso and Miret 2014) and according to Amuedo-Dorantes and de la Rica (2007), such polarisation has made the labour complementarity process between the native and the immigrant population more prominent, and is particularly evident among female migrants. For instance, a study

by Vidal-Coso and Miret (2013) revealed that the increased labour market participation by native women in recent years, which led to the externalisation of domestic tasks and increased demand for domestic and other personal services, resulted in a significant increase of women employed in domestic services and cleaning (64 %), most of whom (81 %) are immigrants. The latter aspect is intrinsically related to the growing representation of migrating women at international level (Massey et al. 2006; Donato 2006; Donato et al. 2011), which is considered the main factor in the feminization of migration flows in Southern Europe as a result of the growing global demand of labour power in the domestic work sector (Anthias and Lazaridis 2000; King et al. 2000).

In the residential realm, although location patterns of immigrants typically follow the spatial-assimilation model in Spain, the twin processes of immigration settlement and spatial integration have combined to produce a diversity of segregation patterns across groups. There are, however, two opposite poles. On the one hand, there is evidence of immigrant enclaves which are clearly associated to the enclave-economy hypothesis (e.g. for Catalonia and Barcelona see Solé and Parella 2005; and Serra 2012; for Andalucia, see Arjona 2007; for Madrid, see Riesco 2008; for specific nationalities, see Beltrán et al. 2006). On the other hand, there is also evidence of growing heterolocal residential behaviour (Sabater et al. 2012) which brings to view a co-existence of different sociospatial behaviours, with Latin American groups being closest perhaps to dispersal immediately after arrival (i.e. heterolocalism) and Asian groups displaying more economic integration but spatial encapsulation. In the middle is also a body of work which highlights the overall importance of the assimilation model, with the clustering of some ethnic groups reflecting the first stages of its process of concentration followed by dispersal. In this regard, studies have focused on immigrant clustering-dispersal in the main metropolitan areas of Madrid and Barcelona (Bayona 2007; Echazarra 2010; Martori and Apparicio 2011; Bayona and Gil-Alonso 2012; Sabater et al. 2012; Galeano et al. 2014; Sabater and Massey, this book). In general, although residential integration have occurred relatively quickly and decreasing residential segregation has been a characteristic of Spanish cities, there has been a renewed interest in research which tries to understand in greater depth the causes and meaning of residential clustering and dispersal for different groups. Whilst the spatial assimilation theory continues to provide a pivotal frame for the analysis of immigrant settlement, further understanding of the spatial behavior of recent immigrants is needed as demonstrated by the formation of enclaves and the existence of heterolocalism. Given the shortcomings of the traditional assimilationist theory, the latter is particularly relevant in a context of ‘a much greater range of location options in terms of residence and also economic and social activity than anything known in the past’ (Zelinksy and Lee 1998, p 285).

Therefore, although research to date suggests an ongoing process of spatial deconcentration is occurring among immigrants, much further understanding is needed to disentangle the main causes and/or mechanisms behind such residential behaviour. For instance, in this paper we argue that the fast dispersal immediately after arrival and the maintenance of the community without spatial agglomeration

constitutes a remarkable feature among Latin American groups in Spain. However, this may be happening at the expense of occupational segregation, particularly among women.

Data and Measures

This paper uses time series data from the Labor Force Survey (LFS) and Municipal Registers from 2000 to 2010 on population by country of birth and gender. The Spanish LFS (Encuesta de Población Activa, EPA) provides the most representative sample of the Spanish workforce during that time period. This survey is conducted every quarter by the National Statistics Institute (aka INE), and includes approximately 60,000 households (more than 200,000 individuals). Data from the Spanish LFS is crucial to investigate the characteristics of the labour force by country of birth and its gender composition. For calculations of occupational segregation, we use the 10-category major classification from the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO): (1) managers; (2) professionals; (3) technicians and associate professionals; (4) clerical support workers; (5) services and sales workers; (6) skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers; (7) craft and related trades workers; (8) plant and machine operators and assemblers; (9) elementary occupations; and (10) armed forces occupations.

Population data for the analysis of residential segregation is derived from the administrative registers where municipality neighbours and in- and out-migrations are processed. This information is known as the Padrón Municipal de Habitantes or Municipal Registers, and is released on a yearly basis by INE. Since racial or ethnic categories are not used in surveys nor in census operations in Spain, our analysis is focused on the Spanish-born (native) population and immigrants (non-natives) who were born in one of the Latin America countries. All our analyses have a gender breakdown as the relationships between Latin American immigrants and natives, particularly in the labour market realm, are expected to be different for men and women (i.e. natives and immigrants are selected into occupations by gender).

While the smallest geography at which population data are published is the Secciones Censales or census tracts, with an average population of 1500 people per unit, data from the Spanish LFS has limited geographical detail and is only released for Autonomous Communities and provinces. In addition to this data limitation, there is a relatively small number of immigrant respondents in the LFS compared to natives for sub-national geographies. In order to prevent the small-unit bias problem that leads to overestimating the segregation level of groups with small samples at provincial level, we have implemented Iterative Proportional Fitting (IPF) to reasonably adjust our values for sub-national units (i.e. provinces) using the national samples for Latin American men and women separately.

The use of IPF ensures that our table by occupation and gender is scaled so that it agrees in its total with row and column totals supplied separately, thus allowing a combination of information from two data sets: the marginal totals from the national

Table 5.1 Counts of Latin American in each ISCO-08 major group by gender before and after IPF in Madrid, 2010. (Source: Own elaboration with data from the Labour Force Survey (INE))

Before Iterative Proportional Fitting (IPF)	*Males*	*Females*	*Total*
1. Managers	6	12	113
2. Professionals	24	22	189
3. Technicians and associate professionals	21	6	192
4. Clerical support workers	14	7	149
5. Services and sales workers	68	36	700
6. Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers	0	2	41
7. Craft and related trades workers	4	34	395
8. Plant and machine operators and assemblers	1	16	186
9. Elementary occupations	108	26	943
10. Armed Forces occupations	0	1	18
Total	1660	1266	2926
After Iterative Proportional Fitting (IPF)			
1. Managers	38	75	113
2. Professionals	99	90	189
3. Technicians and associate professionals	150	42	192
4. Clerical support workers	100	49	149
5. Services and sales workers	459	241	700
6. Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers	0	41	41
7. Craft and related trades workers	42	353	395
8. Plant and machine operators and assemblers	11	175	186
9. Elementary occupations	761	182	943
10. Armed forces occupations	0	18	18
Total	1660	1266	2926

IPF was performed on an automated spreadsheet using Visual Basic (Norman 1999)
Maximum iterations (100); convergence statistic (0.01)

scale and the true cross-tabulated values from the provincial scale. Tables 5.1 and 5.2 contain our initial and estimated population counts across the 10 occupational categories by gender for the provinces of Madrid and Barcelona before and after IPF. The use of IPF allows an adjustment of the initial counts keeping each area's specific gender pattern relative to other areas and bringing consistency with the national totals by occupation and gender.

Tables 5.1 and 5.2 show the initial table amended, in which IPF has performed the weighting process by repeating the one-dimensional scaling first to meet the national total by gender and then to meet the national total by occupation, then again the national total by gender, and so on iteratively. IPF brings the estimates closer and closer until they are consistent with both sets of marginal totals. In doing so, we increase our respective sample sizes while preserving the pattern of the original table (Bishop et al. 1975). Such features of IPF can be assessed by computing

Table 5.2 Counts of Latin American in each ISCO-08 major group by gender before and after IPF in Barcelona, 2010. (Source: Own elaboration with data from the Labour Force Survey (INE))

Before Iterative Proportional Fitting (IPF)	*Males*	*Females*	*Total*
1. Managers	1	4	113
2. Professionals	10	7	189
3. Technicians and associate professionals	5	8	192
4. Clerical support workers	22	6	149
5. Services and sales workers	56	18	700
6. Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers	0	1	41
7. Craft and related trades workers	1	33	395
8. Plant and machine operators and assemblers	4	14	186
9. Elementary occupations	68	25	943
10. Armed forces occupations	0	1	18
Total	1660	1266	2926
After Iterative Proportional Fitting (IPF)			
1. Managers	25	88	113
2. Professionals	117	72	189
3. Technicians and associate professionals	80	112	192
4. Clerical support workers	120	29	149
5. Services and sales workers	546	154	700
6. Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers	0	41	41
7. Craft and related trades workers	13	382	395
8. Plant and machine operators and assemblers	46	140	186
9. Elementary occupations	713	230	943
10. Armed forces occupations	0	18	18
Total	1660	1266	2926

IPF was performed on an automated spreadsheet using Visual Basic (Norman 1999)
Maximum iterations (100); convergence statistic (0.01)

the cross-product ratios. For instance, if we take the four cells in the top left-hand corner of the original data in Table 5.1 for Madrid, and compute the cross-product ratio (i.e. (6)*(22)/(12)*(24)) the result is 0.4583. By applying the equivalent information from the cells of the estimated data using IPF (i.e. (38)*(90)/(75)*(99)), we obtain the same result.

IPF was originally presented by Deming and Stephan (1940) and has been included in standard statistical texts for many decades (Bishop et al. 1975). Versatile routines have been developed to handle any two-dimensional array in Excel (Norman 1999) and to tables of any dimensions applying loglinear procedures in SPSS (Simpson and Tranmer 2003). The use of IPF for census-based applications has been demonstrated by previous research (Birkin and Clarke 1995), and has proved very useful in demographic and geographical studies to make the age and sex structure for small populations consistent with more reliable data (Norman et al. 2008;

Sabater and Simpson 2009). The mathematical definition of IPF in two dimensions follows the set of equations below (Wong 1992):

$$Pij(k+1) = \frac{Pij(k)}{\sum_j Pij(k)} * Qi \tag{5.1}$$

$$Pij(k+2) = \frac{Pij(k+1)}{\sum_i Pij(k+1)} * Qj \tag{5.2}$$

Where Pij (k) is the matrix element in row i, column j, and iteration k. Qi and Qj are the predefined row totals and column totals respectively. The new cell values are obtained by using Eqs. (5.1) and (5.2), which perform iteratively and stop at iteration m when:

$$\sum_j Pij(m) = Qi \quad \text{and} \quad \sum_i Pij(m) = Qj$$

For the calculation of residential segregation, one common measure was used (Duncan and Duncan 1955b), the Dissimilarity Index (D). D remains the preferred measure when the subject of the analysis is the uneven distribution of members of two groups across a set of categories (occupational or spatial). Although there are alternative indices, the use of D is seen as relevant because it maintains continuity and allows straightforward comparisons both nationally and internationally (Massey and Denton 1988). More specifically, D is used as the standard measure to analyse the uneven distribution of members of two groups (native and Latin American) by gender across a set of categories on both occupational and residential segregation. As a result, two analyses are undertaken in this paper, one relating residential segregation to occupational segregation of women, and a second relating residential segregation to occupational segregation of men. In this case, D is interpreted as the relative share of Latin American immigrants, separately for men and women, who would have to exchange occupations or neighbourhoods with Spanish natives in order to achieve even occupational and residential distributions. A common formula for the dissimilarity index is:

$$D = 0.5 * \sum_i \left| \frac{N_{xi}}{N_{x\bullet}} - \frac{N_{gi}}{N_{g\bullet}} \right| * 100 \tag{5.3}$$

Where Nxi refers to the population of the Latin American group x of interest in occupation/neighbourhood i; g is the population of the reference group (Spanish natives); and the summation over an index is represented by the dot symbol. Multiplying by 100 expresses the share as a percentage, such that 0 indicates complete integration and 100 represents total segregation.

Finally, correlation analysis is undertaken using Pearson's correlation (r) to evaluate the relationship between two continuous variables (i.e. segregation scores range from 0 to 100). The calculation of the Pearson Product-Moment Correlation

coefficient (r), which is the magnitude of association between two continuous (interval/ratio) variables, can be expressed as follows:

$$r_{xy} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{n}\left(x_i - \bar{x}\right)\left(y_i - \bar{y}\right)}{ns_x s_y} \tag{5.4}$$

The r value indicates the direction and magnitude of the correlation relationship between x and y, with a value between −1 and +1. Values closer to −91 or 1 indicate a stronger relationship whereas values close to 0 indicate a weaker relationship. A positive r value indicates that a high value in one variable is associated with a high value in the other variable (or a low value in one variable is associated with a low value in the other variable). A negative r value indicates that a high value in one variable is associated with a low value in the other variable.

Results

Occupational Structure

Table 5.3 shows the percentage of total male and female for Latin Americans and Spanish natives in each ISCO-08 major group separately for Spain, Madrid and Barcelona in year 2010. The results of this table highlight that the relative size of the secondary segment of the labour market in Spain (occupations within major groups 5–9) is large for the total population (64.7%) and even larger among Latin American immigrants (77.3%). The results also reveal differences by gender, with a slightly greater proportion of Latin American women in low-status occupations (78%) compared to men (76.6%), a situation which is reversed for Spanish natives, with more men in the secondary segment (59.1%) than women (45.2%).

Examining the greatest percentages in each major occupation by gender (with more than 10% of all employment), we denote how Latin American men are predominantly found among four major groups (27.9% in craft and related trades workers, 19.3% in elementary occupations, 14.1% in services and sales workers and plant, and 12.4% in machine operators and assemblers), whereas their female counterparts are mostly found in two major groups (42.1% in elementary occupations, and 31.4% in service and sales workers). The latter is in line with recent evidence from other studies suggesting that immigrant women experience a more intense occupational downgrading on arrival (Simón et al. 2014; Vidal-Coso and Miret 2014).

The results also illustrate that nearly two-thirds (60.7%) of Latin American men are employed in occupations which require completion of the first stage of secondary education (ISCED-97 Level 2), whereas nearly a quarter (19.3%) only need a minimum general level of education (ISCED-97 Level 1), and less than a quarter (18.8%) are employed in occupations which demand a high-level of vocational

Table 5.3 Percentage of Latin American and Spanish natives in each ISCO-08 major group by gender in Spain, Madrid and Barcelona, 2010. (Source: Own elaboration with data from the Labour Force Survey (INE))

	Latin American		Spanish	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Spain				
1. Managers	4.7	3.3	10.0	6.8
2. Professionals	7.0	6.0	12.0	19.5
3. Technicians and associate professionals	7.1	6.1	12.1	14.7
4. Clerical support workers	3.4	6.4	5.7	13.7
5. Services and sales workers	14.1	31.4	10.6	24.8
6. Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers	2.9	0.2	4.7	1.9
7. Craft and related trades workers	27.9	2.5	21.5	2.0
8. Plant and machine operators and assemblers	12.4	1.7	14.0	2.5
9. Elementary occupations	19.3	42.1	8.2	14.0
10. Armed forces occupations	1.2	0.2	1.0	0.1
N (sample size)	1266	1660	33,010	26,250
Madrid				
1. Managers	5.9	2.3	10.2	6.3
2. Professionals	7.1	6.0	22.2	28.4
3. Technicians and associate professionals	3.3	9.0	18.6	23.6
4. Clerical support workers	3.9	6.0	7.8	14.4
5. Services and sales workers	19.0	27.7	10.9	17.1
6. Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers	3.2	0.0	0.3	0.1
7. Craft and related trades workers	27.9	2.5	14.3	1.1
8. Plant and machine operators and assemblers	13.8	0.7	8.5	0.5
9. Elementary occupations	14.3	45.9	6.3	8.4
10. Armed forces occupations	1.4	0.0	1.0	0.1
N (sample size)	1266	1660	1723	1484
Barcelona				
1. Managers	6.9	1.5	11.2	6.6
2. Professionals	5.7	7.0	13.9	19.5
3. Technicians and associate professionals	8.9	4.8	12.0	11.3
4. Clerical support workers	2.3	7.2	9.8	26.3
5. Services and sales workers	12.2	32.9	8.7	20.1
6. Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers	3.2	0.0	1.1	0.1
7. Craft and related trades workers	30.2	0.8	20.3	1.7
8. Plant and machine operators and assemblers	11.1	2.7	16.4	4.1
9. Elementary occupations	18.2	42.9	6.0	10.1
10. Armed forces occupations	1.4	0.0	0.6	0.1
N (sample size)	1266	1660	1612	1417

qualification (ISCED-97 Level 3), a degree or equivalent qualification (ISCED-97 Level 4), or complex problem-solving, decision-making and creativity (ISCED-97 Levels 3 and 4). Although the picture for Latin American women is also shaped by a presence in occupations (predominantly services and sales workers) that require the first stage of secondary education (42.3%), a significant group (elementary occupations) only need a minimum of general education (42.1%). Indeed, a large percentage of Spanish natives can also be found in low-status occupations, with important gender differences too (21.5% in craft and related trades workers among men, and 24.8% in service and sales workers among women). However, there is clearly a much greater representation of employment across the occupational structure. For instance, more than one-third of all employment among Spanish natives for both men (34.2%) and women (40.9%) usually involve a degree or equivalent qualification, and/or relevant experience.

Although these results appear largely replicated in the metropolitan provinces of Madrid and Barcelona, there are some differences too. As can be observed, the proportion of Latin American workers employed in occupations which correspond to the secondary segment (occupations from 5 to 9) is larger among men in Madrid (78.3%) compared to the national average (76.6%), a situation that is also found among women in Barcelona (79.4%) compared to the national average (78%). Table 5.1 also makes evident that the ranking of occupations in the secondary segment for Latin American men and women in these two metropolitan areas also differs. While the groups of elementary occupations and service sales workers are ranked first and second for Latin American women in Madrid and Barcelona, only the group of craft and related trades workers for Latin American men shares the same (first) position in Madrid and Barcelona.

Of course, these are not the only differences between Madrid and Barcelona as there are also substantial ones in terms of how the occupational structure has evolved over time. Table 5.4 illustrates the occupational change (or mobility) for Latin American and Spanish natives by gender between years 2000 and 2010 in these two metropolitan labour areas and in Spain as a whole. As expected, the results make evident first a general tendency among Latin American men and women towards gaining representation in the low-status occupations while, at the same time, Spanish native men and women experience gains within higher status occupations and losses within low-status ones during this period.

However, we can also observe how there are exceptions to this pattern which clearly differ between the two metropolitan areas. For instance, examining first the changes over this 10 year period among Latin American women, we can denote how in Madrid women increased the proportional share of employment in the group of technicians and associate professionals between 2000 and 2010 by 9% points–from 0 to 9%-, while in Barcelona the same group slightly decreased–from 5.6 to 4.8%. The table also allow us to see how Latin American women in Madrid decreased the proportional share of employment in the group of clerical support workers since year 2000 by 7.7% points–from 13.7 to 6%-, while the same group slightly increased in Barcelona–from 7 to 7.2%. For males, we also observe different patterns

Table 5.4 Percentage change of Latin American and Spanish natives in each occupation by gender. Spain, and Madrid and Barcelona provinces, 2000–2010. (Source: Own elaboration with data from the Labour Force Survey (INE))

	Latin American		Spanish	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Spain				
1. Managers	−5.3	−1.9	1.4	−0.3
2. Professionals	−5.4	−6.6	3.2	3.7
3. Technicians and associate professionals	−5.0	−2.4	3.4	4.5
4. Clerical support workers	−1.1	−2.5	0.0	−0.5
5. Services and sales workers	0.7	4.0	1.3	2.2
6. Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers	1.2	0.2	−1.7	−1.7
7. Craft and related trades workers	9.3	0.3	−3.7	−1.5
8. Plant and machine operators and assemblers	2.7	1.4	−0.6	−2.0
9. Elementary occupations	1.7	7.3	−3.4	−4.5
10. Armed forces occupations	1.2	0.2	0.1	0.0
Madrid				
1. Managers	−1.9	−5.3	2.6	2.3
2. Professionals	−8.3	−3.4	7.1	9.9
3. Technicians and associate professionals	−16.7	9.0	7.3	9.4
4. Clerical support workers	3.9	−7.7	−3.0	−11.1
5. Services and sales workers	6.0	−0.2	0.6	−1.1
6. Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers	2.3	−0.9	−0.2	0.0
7. Craft and related trades workers	7.3	2.5	−9.2	−1.8
8. Plant and machine operators and assemblers	3.9	0.6	−1.4	−0.5
9. Elementary occupations	2.1	5.3	−3.6	−7.0
10. Armed forces occupations	1.4	0.0	−0.2	0.0
Barcelona				
1. Managers	−5.7	−0.9	2.6	−0.1
2. Professionals	−12.7	0.8	2.6	4.7
3. Technicians and associate professionals	−5.9	−0.8	0.6	1.5
4. Clerical support workers	−3.9	0.2	1.0	1.6
5. Services and sales workers	12.1	−8.9	0.2	−2.4
6. Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers	2.1	−0.6	0.2	−0.1
7. Craft and related trades workers	11.4	−1.3	−3.7	−0.9
8. Plant and machine operators and assemblers	1.1	2.7	−0.5	−2.4
9. Elementary occupations	0.1	8.7	−3.4	−1.9
10. Armed forces occupations	1.4	0.0	0.5	0.0

in the two metropolitan areas. For example, in Madrid men increased the proportional share of employment in the group of clerical support workers between 2000 and 2010 by 3.9% points–from 0 to 3.9%-, while in Barcelona the same group decreased its size at the equivalent rate–from 6.2 to 2.3%.

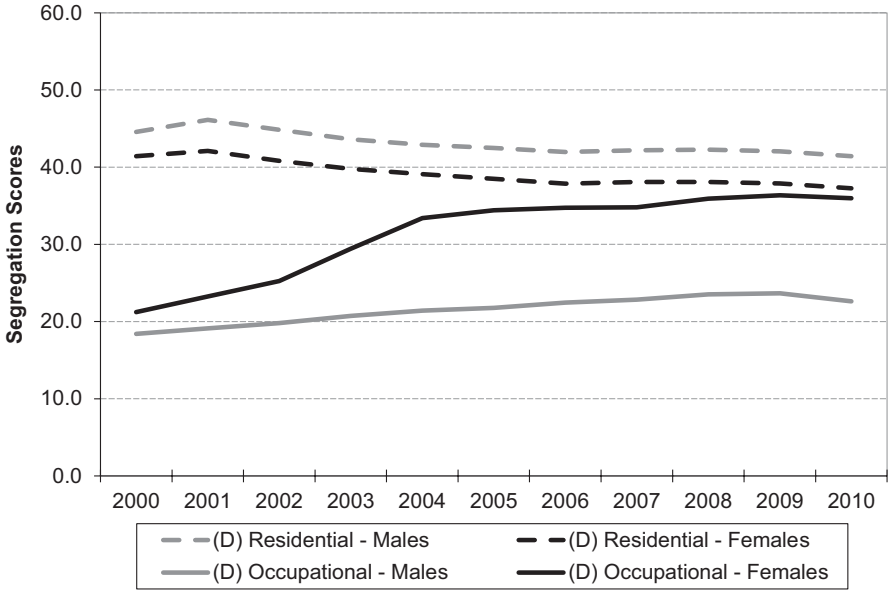

Fig. 5.1 Segregation scores (evenness) for Latin American across the ISCO-08 major group occupational categories and census tracts in Spain, 2000–2010. (Source: Own elaboration with data from the Labour Force Survey and the Population Municipal Register (INE))

Apart from these opposite trends in Madrid and Barcelona, we also denote how the intensity of change varies considerably for those occupations with the largest shares. For instance, although the proportion of Latin American female employment in elementary occupations is higher in Madrid (45.9 %) than Barcelona (42.9 %), the analysis over time indicates that the proportional share has increased at a faster rate in Barcelona (by 8.7 % points) than Madrid (by 5.3 % points). Meanwhile, the proportion of Latin American male employment in the group of trade and related trades workers, which is slightly higher in Barcelona (30.2 %) than Madrid (27.9 %), appears to have increased at a faster rate in Barcelona (by 11.4 % points) than Madrid (by 7.3 % points).

Segregation Trends and Correlations

While taking a snapshot of occupational segregation may be useful to examine the distribution of people across occupations at one point in time, we focus on changes over time in order to assess trends toward integration or segregation. At the same time we evaluate the association between the two forms of segregation, occupational and residential, by computing zero-order correlation coefficients.

Figure 5.1 shows the evolution in occupational and residential segregation for Latin American men and women from 2000 through 2010. For this purpose, the

index of dissimilarity (D) was computed across the 10 major occupational categories in Spain. For this exercise, we also display the values of residential segregation with a gender dimension in order to facilitate the interpretation of occupational segregation in comparison with residential segregation.

The results for D in occupation reveal differential trends in the degree of occupational integration achieved by Latin American men and women over time. On average, Latin American men in Spain experience a low level of occupational segregation, albeit it has slowly increased over time (from 18.4 in 2000 to 22.6 in 2010). In contrast, Latin American women not only experience a higher degree of occupational segregation (at 36); it also showed a sharp increase during the period of observation (going from 21.2 to 36). In other words, in 2010 roughly one-third of Latin American women in the labour force would have had to be reallocated to eliminate their overrepresentation in certain occupations and their underrepresentation in others in order to achieve a level of evenness comparable to their Spanish native counterparts. The results for D in the residential domain illustrate the opposite for Latin American men, who display higher values of dissimilarity than women, although in both cases the high-moderate level of segregation have been slowly declining over time (going from 44.6 in 2000 to 41.4 in 2010 for men; and from 41.4 in 2000 to 37.3 in 2010 for women). Thus, our results suggest that levels of occupational segregation are generally lower than residential segregation at national level for both men and women. However, it is worthy of note that that the levels of occupational and residential segregation for Latin American women are more similar and range within high-moderate levels whereas the values of occupational segregation among Latin American men are low compared to their high-moderate values of residential segregation.

Table 5.5 displays the results from the zero-order correlations and indicates that the basic pattern of association between occupational and residential segregation is similar for both men and women at national level, with a correlation coefficient which is −0.895 for Latin American men and −0.968 for Latin American women. Both correlations are statistically significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed). These results would indicate that there is a relationship between the variables under investigation, and that the strength of such relationship is strong for both Latin American men and women, although the latter group (women) clearly display higher values, thus signalling the strongest relationship of the two. In principle, these results would support the idea that occupational and residential segregation are negatively correlated, thus suggesting that there is an inverse relationship between these two forms of segregation.

Figures 5.2 and 5.3 show trends in occupational and residential segregation for Latin American men and women at metropolitan level in Madrid and Barcelona respectively between 2000 and 2010. The results for Madrid's province clearly display how occupational dissimilarity among Latin American men rose significantly over the decade, going from 14.9 to 39.6. Although the increase among Latin American women was less steep, from 39.1 to 49.6, it is clear that the values of occupational segregation were already much higher, thus highlighting a greater level of unevenness across the occupational categories at the start of the period compared to their

Table 5.5 Zero-order correlations between occupational and residential segregation in Spain, 2000–2010. (Source: Own elaboration with data from the Labour Force Survey and the Population Municipal Register (INE))

		Occupational Segregation	Residential Segregation
Males			
Occupational segregation	Zero-order correlation	1.000	−0.895**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	–	000
	Sum of squares and cross-products	31.552	−23.516
	Covariance	3.155	−2.352
	N	11	11
Residential segregation	Zero-order correlation	−0.895**	1.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	–
	Sum of squares and cross-products	−23.516	21.885
	Covariance	−2.352	2.188
	N	11	11
Females			
Occupational segregation	Zero-order correlation	1.000	−0.968**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	–	0.000
	Sum of squares and cross-products	313.440	−88.283
	Covariance	31.344	−8.828
	N	11	11
Residential segregation	Zero-order correlation	−0.968**	1.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	–
	Sum of squares and cross-products	−88.283	26.518
	Covariance	−8.828	2.652
	N	11	11

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Spanish native counterparts. Interestingly, the rather marked rise in occupational segregation for Latin American men and women took place in a context of slowly increasing residential dissimilarity for Latin American men, from 30.1 to 32.7, and decreasing residential dissimilarity for Latin American women, from 28.7 to 28.

A similar picture is found at metropolitan level in Barcelona, albeit with some differences. First, Latin American men ended up at a similar level of occupational and residential dissimilarity in 2010 after a decade of increasing segregation in the labour market, going from 23.3 to 32.3, and decreasing segregation residentially, going from a peak of 40.6 to 31.8. Second, Latin American women experienced an increase in their level of occupational segregation during the decade, from 31.8 to 44.7, whereas their residential segregation fell steadily, going from a peak of 37.3 in 2000 to end the decade at 28.1 in 2010.

Finally, Table 5.6 and 5.7 show the results from the zero-order correlations at metropolitan level for Madrid and Barcelona. On the one hand, the results for

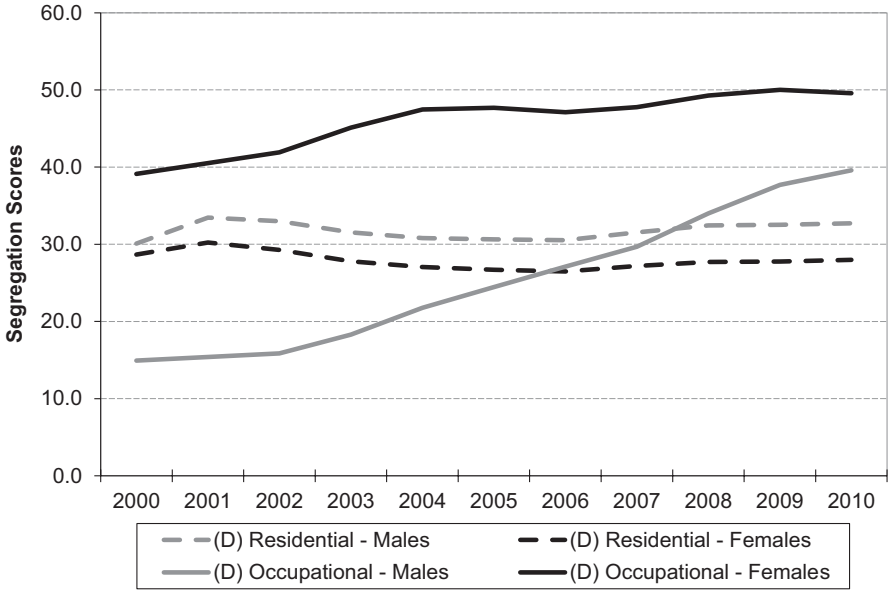

Fig. 5.2 Segregation scores (evenness) for Latin American across the ISCO-08 major group occupational categories and census tracts in the province of Madrid, 2000–2010. (Source: Own elaboration with data from the Labour Force Survey and the Population Municipal Register (INE))

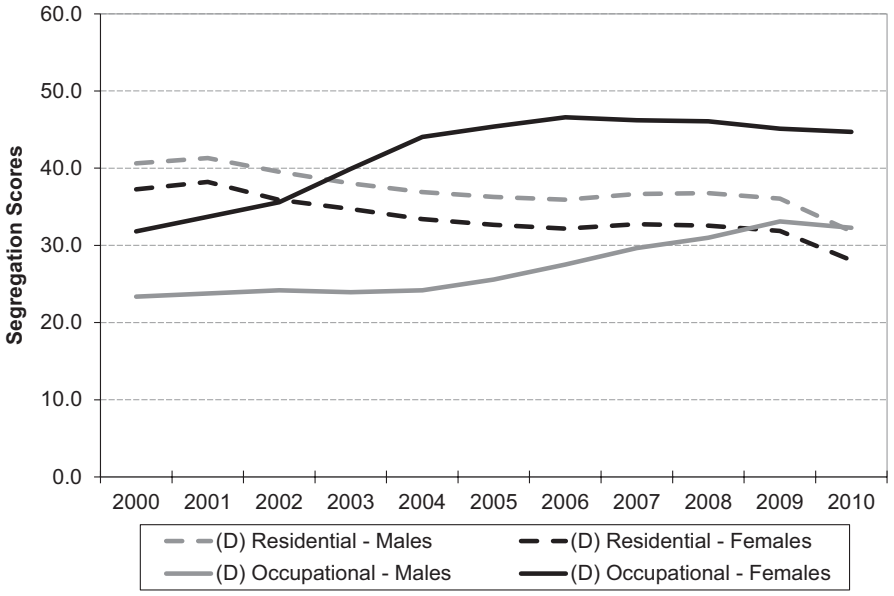

Fig. 5.3 Segregation scores (evenness) for Latin American across the ISCO-08 major group occupational categories and census tracts in the province of Barcelona, 2000–2010. (Source: Own elaboration with data from the Labour Force Survey and the Population Municipal Register (INE))

Table 5.6 Zero-order correlations between occupational and residential segregation in Madrid, 2000–2010. (Source: Own elaboration with data from the Labour Force Survey and the Population Municipal Register (INE))

		Occupational Segregation	Residential Segregation
Males			
Occupational segregation	Zero-order correlation	1.000	0.204
	Sig. (2-tailed)	–	0.548
	Sum of Squares and cross-products	813.414	20.863
	Covariance	81.341	2.086
	N	11	11
Residential segregation	Zero-order correlation	0.204	1.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.548	–
	Sum of squares and cross-products	20.863	12.910
	Covariance	2.086	1.291
	N	11	11
Females			
Occupational segregation	Zero-order correlation	1.000	−0.713*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	–	0.014
	Sum of squares and cross-products	144.000	−30.553
	Covariance	14.400	−3.055
	N	11	11
Residential segregation	Zero-order correlation	−0.713*	1.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.014	
	Sum of squares and cross-products	−30.553	12.745
	Covariance	−3.055	1.274
	N	11	11

*. Correlation is significant at 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Madrid reveal that the basic pattern of association between occupational and residential segregation is not similar for men and women, thus differing from the national picture. While Latin American men in Madrid display a weak correlation between occupational and residential segregation (0.204, and not statistically significant), Latin American women still highlight a strong correlation between the two (−0.713, and statistically significant at the 0.01 level). On the other hand, the results for Barcelona illustrate a pattern of association similar to the national picture, with a correlation coefficient which is −0.741 for Latin American men and −0.841 for Latin American women. Both correlations are statistically significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

For men, the basic pattern of association between occupational and residential segregation is similar at national level and for the metropolitan area of Barcelona, albeit the relationship is always less strong. In sum, this analysis has shown that the zero-order association between two forms of segregation, occupational and

Table 5.7 Zero-order correlations between occupational and residential segregation in Barcelona, 2000–2010. (Source: Own elaboration with data from the Labour Force Survey and the Population Municipal Register (INE))

		Occupational Segregation	Residential Segregation
Males			
Occupational segregation	Zero-order correlation	1.000	−0.741**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	–	0.009
	Sum of squares and cross-products	139.501	−72.265
	Covariance	13.950	−7.226
	N	11	11
Residential segregation	Zero-order correlation	−0.741**	1.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.009	–
	Sum of squares and cross-products	−72.265	68.218
	Covariance	−7.226	6.822
	N	11	11
Females			
Occupational segregation	Zero-order correlation	1.000	−0.841**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		0.001
	Sum of squares and cross-products	305.809	−131.176
	Covariance	30.581	−13.118
	N	11	11
Residential segregation	Zero-order correlation	−0.841**	1.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.001	–
	Sum of squares and cross-products	−131.176	79.636
	Covariance	−13.118	7.964
	N	11	11

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

residential, is negative and significant in most cases, thus highlighting that with a relatively extensive segregation of one form (occupational), the other form (residential) tends to be relatively low. However, it is worthy of note that while these results appear to support the hypothesis that there is an inverse relationship between occupational and residential segregation, it may be the case that after controlling for variables that affect both forms of segregation the correlation may also be nonsignificant or even positive. Therefore, it is important to treat these results with caution and as part of an initial explorative spatial data analysis.

In addition, a critical element in the overall description is to recognise that changes in occupational structure can incur a bias due to compositional effects or quality of immigrants arriving at different points in time (Borjas 1995); the business-cycle effects and correspondent entries and exits (Aslund and Rooth 2007); and the effect of return migration (Constant and Massey 2003; Dustmann and Weiss 2007).

Unfortunately, an investigation of such effects falls outside the scope of this paper. However, given the recency of immigration in Spain and along with major economic restructuring, we can thus speculate that compositional, business-cycle and return migration will not change dramatically the overall description as the demand for 'flexible labour' and the expansion of jobs at the low end of the labour market are likely to continue to increase in the future (Cachón 2009).

Some Conclusions

Our analysis of occupational segregation in conjunction with residential segregation in Spain supports three basic conclusions. First, the degree of occupational segregation by Latin Americans has been shown to differ clearly by gender. While men experienced relatively low levels of occupational segregation, with a slow increase over time (from 18.4 in 2000 to 22.6 in 2010), women showed much higher levels of occupational segregation as well as sharp increase during the period of study (from 21.2 to 36) in Spain as a whole. These results clearly contrast with those from the residential domain in which men display higher values of dissimilarity than women, and overall values of residential segregation indicate a slow decline for both genders (going from 44.6 in 2000 to 41.4 in 2010 for men; and from 41.4 in 2000 to 37.3 in 2010 for women).

Second, despite the ecological differences, the variation in sex composition of occupational categories and the differential occupational structure of the economy between Madrid and Barcelona, the respective patterns and trends in residential and occupational segregation yield similar conclusions for both metropolitan areas: in each case, the level of occupational dissimilarity among Latin American women is considerably greater compared to Latin American men; and residential segregation has tended to decline over time, with the exception of Latin American men in Madrid.

Third, consistent with these broad trends, a correlation analysis at national level supports the idea that, contrarily to the parsimony hypothesis (i.e. positive correlation), occupational and residential segregation are negatively correlated for both men and women, thus suggesting that there is an inverse relationship between these two forms of segregation. While these results are largely replicated in the metropolitan province of Barcelona, they differ slightly in Madrid, where a weak and non-significant correlation between occupational and residential segregation is found among men. Overall, the national picture as well as the results for Madrid and Barcelona would, however, suggest that areas with low levels of female residential segregation tend to have high levels of occupational segregation.

Finally, the findings suggest that the use of IPF is a valid tool to maximise small samples of population by occupation and gender from the Spanish LFS for the provinces of Madrid and Barcelona while keeping each area's original specific pattern. IPF has been extensively used when reliable counts or estimates for a desired cross-classification cannot be obtained directly but counts or estimates of the variables of interest are available at a higher level of aggregation. Although IPF can also be used

to derive populations by occupation and gender for particular immigrant groups, the initial counts for these populations are too small at national level that producing sub-national estimates is not advisable. Nonetheless, further investigation is being carried out to derive estimates for Latin American men and women for smaller areas such as municipalities using the available information from the Spanish LFS at national and provincial level, and the population data with detail of country of birth and gender from Municipal registers.

Discussion

It is widely accepted that different forms of social structures affect economic action of immigrant communities (Wilson 1987; Massey and Denton 1993) and that the actual experience of socio-spatial segregation of a demographic group depends on the characteristics of the local labour market in which the group works (Ellis et al. 2007; Wright et al. 2010). Within this context, the relationship between globalisation and externalisation of reproductive work, a complex way in which gender, race and immigration interact (Calavita 2006), continues to play a crucial role in the social and labour integration, particularly among Latin American women in Spain (Díaz et al. 2012). As Domínguez-Mujica (2014, p 379) notes, "structural factors such as population ageing, the lesser development of social services and patriarchal family values, favour the externalization of reproductive work and contribute to consolidation of this labour niche".

Our findings highlight that Latin Americans, particularly women, clearly suffer extensive occupational discrimination but limited residential segregation. This negative correlation between occupational and residential segregation is probably the worst-case scenario in the policy arena because it suggests that both sets of segregation do not derive from a single underlying system of inequality, and reflect multidimensinal issues which demand specific target policies, particularly in the labour market realm. However, the extensiveness of labour market specialisation of Latin Americans and immigrants in general, and among women in particular, points to institutional practices and public policies that, in fact, both facilitate and, to some degree, create the conditions of occupational segregation. Therefore, although the reduction of residential segregation between Latin Americans and Spanish natives represents 'good news', this should not distract policymakers from dedicating greater efforts to mitigate a triple discrimination in the labour market—based on gender, ethnos and class—that acts as a highly restrictive factor in terms of immigrants' choice (Santamaría 2009).

A large body of research conducted over the past decade (see, among others Cachón 2002, 2009; Domingo and Gil-Alonso 2007; Amuedo-Dorantes and De la Rica 2007; Fernández and Ortega 2008; Izquierdo et al. 2009; Bernardi et al. 2011; Simón et al. 2014; Vidal-Coso and Miret 2014; Vidal-Coso and Vono-de-Vilhena, this book) clearly indicate that increasing polarisation in the Spanish labour market is leading to a complementarity process between Spanish natives and the immigrant

population. Unfortunately, such processes appear to be at the expense of growing occupational disadvantage for the immigrant population, particularly among female migrants. Our findings are in keeping with previous results, and highlight the importance of documenting trends in residential and occupational segregation subnationally over time. If ethnic niching becomes a more permanent issue in Spain, it is likely that this will affect not only the first generation but also subsequent generations and, therefore, there could be a knock-on effect on the current residential de-segregation. In this regard, one can speculate that the immediate spatial dispersal enjoyed by Latin Americans will probably count for very little if their descendants are re-segregated in socioeconomic terms.

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Chapter 6
A Longitudinal Analysis of Reproductive Behavior

Alberto del Rey and Rafael Grande

Introduction

This study aims to analyze the reproductive behavior of Latin American and Caribbean women in Spain, focusing on the birth of the first child after emigrating. The study considers the main determinants influencing women's decision to have a child, such as their culture of origin, family and personal circumstances, and the timing of their migration.

In countries with a very low birth rate, such as Spain, immigration is a key factor in the population's process of rejuvenation or aging. In Spain, the fertility rate among the immigrant population in general, and among Latin Americans in particular, has been slightly higher than among the native population (Roig-Vila and Castro-Martín 2007; Devolder and Treviño 2007; Bueno 2010) and has meant that the country's overall total fertility rate (TFR) has risen from 1.16 children per woman in 1996 to 1.46 in 2008. However, the TFR has decreased due to the impact of the economic crisis (Fig. 6.1). Increased fertility combined with the size of the migrant population, which has increased from half a million in the mid−1990s to over 6.6 million people born outside Spain in 2010 according to data from the Spanish National Institute of Statistics (INE), has meant that the number of births among foreign-born women as a percentage of overall births in the country has grown from 3.3 % in 1996 to 20.6 % in 2010. This situation has slowed the aging process in the Spanish population (Del Rey and Cebrián 2010), emphasizing the importance of understanding the reproductive behavior of the immigrant population, particularly among Latin Americans.

The Latin American community in Spain is diverse in origin, family circumstances upon arrival and personal characteristics. This means that Latin American

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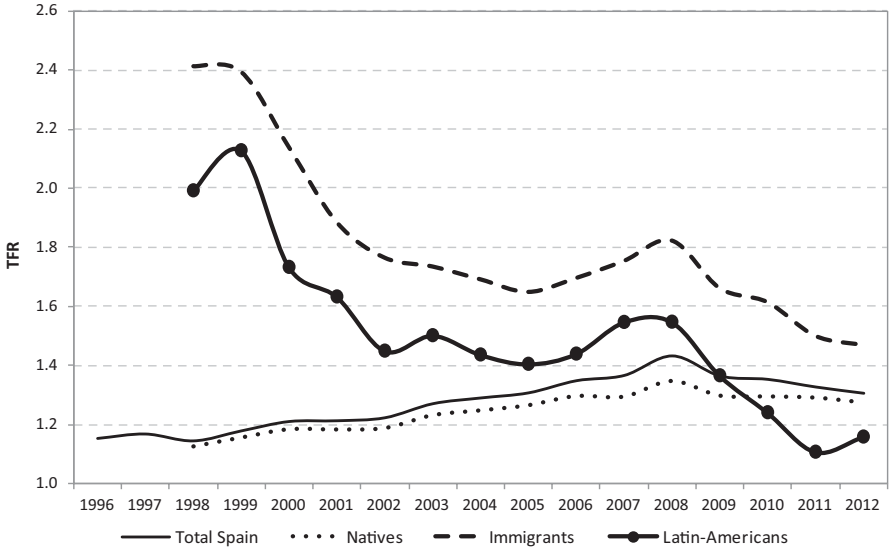

Fig. 6.1 Total fertility rate (TFR) in Spain by nationality, 1996–2012. (Source: Vital Statistics and Municipal Register (*Padrón Municipal*, INE))

women constitute a highly diversified collective from the perspective of fertility and childbearing. They migrate from countries that are at different stages in their demographic transition, and these women therefore have highly diverse family patterns (Bueno and Vono 2009). They arrive with different family circumstances regarding children and partners, and they have different socio-demographic backgrounds in terms of age, education, legal status and reasons for migrating (Grande and Del Rey 2012; Del Rey and Vono 2014). All of these aspects should be considered in the study of their fertility and childbearing behavior in Spain.

When analyzing the fertility of the migrant population in Spain (Fig. 6.1), the first notable detail is the high variability of the TFR since the mid−1990s, despite its relative stability among the native population. In the first years of the migration boom, fertility among the migrant population far outpaced the Spanish nationals' fertility rate, exceeding two children per woman. However, as the number of migrants has steadily increased, the TFR has recorded both a sharp drop and an erratic performance that was particularly pronounced among the Latin American population. In the native population, the increase in the TFR until 2008 and the subsequent decrease are linked to the economic context, but in the migrant population, the economic situation would only explain the decrease in the TFR in recent years. Therefore, a study of the reproductive behavior of the Latin American population in Spain must consider the community's overall evolution, both in volume and composition.

The influx of Latin American migrants to Spain since the mid-1990s has recorded significant variations in both volume and countries of origin (Fig. 6.2). The largest migrant flows were recorded from 2001 to 2004, with the majority of migrants

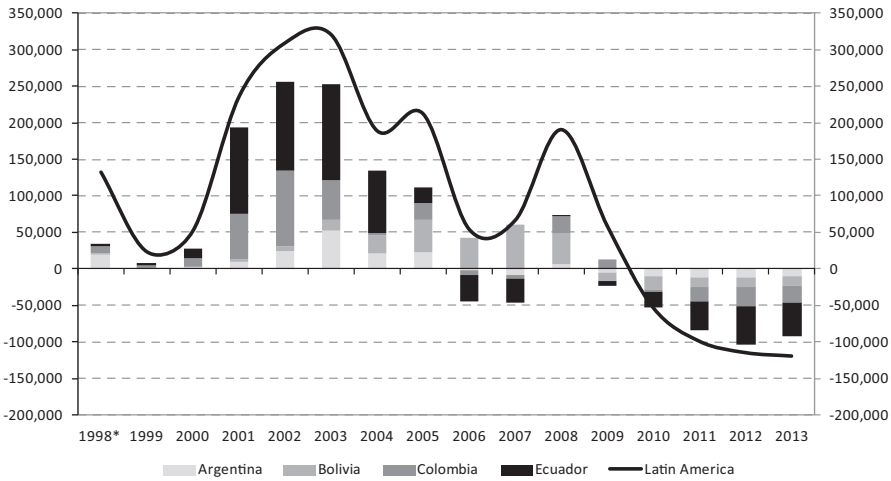

Fig. 6.2 Annual increase in the number of Latin American migrants in Spain and selected countries. (Source: Municipal register (INE) [a]Total numbers of residents in 2008)

originating in Colombia and Ecuador, followed by the 2007–2008 period, in which the main arrivals were Bolivian nationals. The immigration policy followed in Spain, within the framework of the European Union, and the visa requirements for Colombian nationals in 2002, Ecuadoreans in 2003 and Bolivians in 2007 explain these variations in migrant numbers and countries of origin (Arango and Martin 2005; Cebrián 2009). The recent economic downturn explains today's negative immigrant balance and the loss of many Latin American migrants.

It is important to emphasize the diversity of scenarios for demographic transition in Latin America, which involve various family paradigms and a different reproductive culture than Spain. Accordingly, changes in the composition of the migrant population entail major transformations in the reproductive profile of migrant women that should be considered when analyzing the variations in fertility.

Furthermore, it may be deduced that a transformation in the personal and family characteristics of the migrant community has occurred based on shifts in the most common places of origin for migrants. Given the recentness of the migratory phenomenon in Spain, the reproductive trends among migrant women are significantly influenced by the profile of migrant "pioneers" (Bueno and Vono 2009), who typically are women without dependents (Toulemon 2004). Nevertheless, as the migratory process gradually becomes regularized, new profiles of migrant women tend to appear, with some being attracted by the social networks that have been established (Massey et al. 1987; Massey 1990; Curran and Sguy 2001; Curran and Rivero-Fuentes 2003; Cerruti and Massey 2001) or by the family reunification process (DeJong et al. 1986; Kofman 1999). In general, both aspects modify the composition of migrant women populations from a reproductive perspective, given that an opening is provided for the "importation" of dependents of both younger and older women and of women who emigrate for strictly family-related reasons. These "new

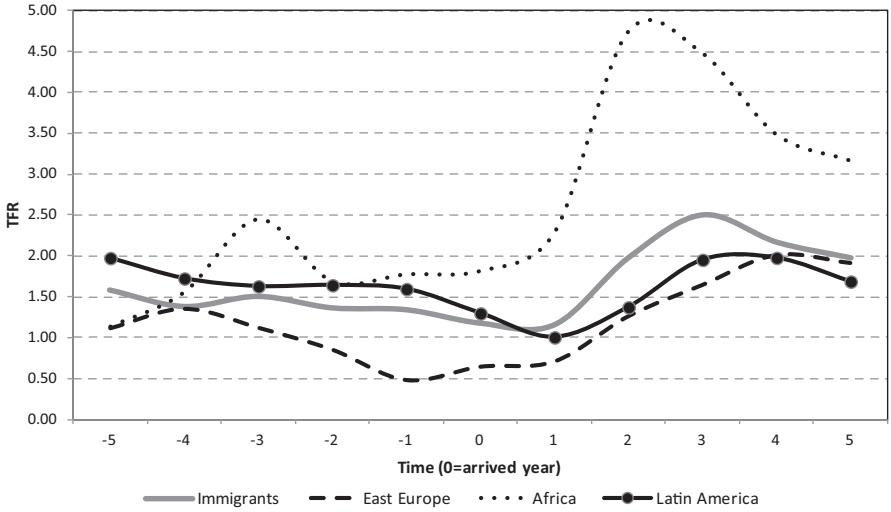

Fig. 6.3 Total fertility rate (TFR) by region of origin according to the year of arrival in Spain. (Source: National Immigration Survey 2007 (INE))

women" generally respond to a different family and reproductive background than the "pioneers", which may condition their fertility in the host country. Therefore, an analysis of the reproductive pattern of the migrant community should consider the different family profiles together with individual characteristics.

A final aspect to be considered regarding childbearing among migrant women is the experience of migrating. Moving from one country to another has numerous implications from a reproductive perspective, potentially including separation from a partner, the absence of a family support network, and the need many women have to find work. These aspects affect the possibility of having a child in the host country, with this situation tending to change for migrants as their length of residence increases.

When we observe the fertility of migrant women in terms of the year of arrival, we find a general pattern with three differentiated phases (Fig. 6.3): a first phase recording a drop in the TFR that precedes the arrival in Spain, a second phase of recovery that begins after the first year of residence, and a third phase involving a drop after the third or fourth years, when the TFR peaks and a return to nearly the fertility rate in the first phase occurs. This pattern, which is similar to that reported by Bueno (2010) for Spain and Devolder and Bueno (2011) for Catalonia, but with major differences in terms of both calendar and intensity, emerges in the three largest migrant groups: Latin Americans, Eastern Europeans and Africans.

This trend observed in the TFR based on the moment of migration suggests the need to adopt a longitudinal perspective to analyze the reproductive pattern. This study therefore considers a person's particular circumstances upon arrival, depending on their region of origin and their personal and family characteristics, to explain their behavior in the host country, using information provided by the 2007 National

Immigration Survey (NIS). Many studies that analyze the fertility or childbearing behavior of the migrant population emphasize socio-demographic characteristics together with the region of origin. By contrast, few studies consider family circumstances, which are vital for the study of general fertility. In the case of fertility among the migrant population, such circumstances have received scant attention due to the lack of data on the situation prior to migration.

The remainder of this study is organized into the following sections. The next section includes a presentation of the theoretical framework and the hypothesis. The following section describes the data and methodology. This is followed by an analysis of reproductive patterns among the migrant population, and the final section presents the study's main conclusions.

Theoretical Framework

For several decades, the fertility and reproductive behavior of migrant populations has been a major topic in demographic studies, particularly in countries with very low fertility rates where the number of migrants and their fertility are key factors in demographic dynamics.

Numerous studies initially address the differences in the fertility rate between migrants and the native population, particularly in Spain (Bledsoe et al. 2007; Roig-Vila and Castro-Martín 2007; Devolder and Treviño 2007). Other papers analyze the variations in reproductive behavior during the time migrants spend in a host country, highlighting different approaches. Some studies refer to a process of assimilation—adaptation whereby migrants gradually adopt the reproductive behavior of the host country (Kahn 1988, 1994; Andersson 2004; Parrado and Morgan 2008). By contrast, other studies report that certain migrant groups tend to maintain their home country's reproductive patterns (Abbasi-Shavazi and McDonald 2002). Additional authors contend that the failure of the migrants' reproductive pattern to adapt to the host country is due to the existence of a selection process among migrants (Goldstein 1973; Abbasi-Shavazi and McDonald 2000; Feliciano 2005; Bledsoe et al. 2007). Some recent studies have suggested the existence of a process of interruption—rupture in the fertility of the migrant population caused by the moment of migration and the separation of spouses (Ford 1990; Stephen and Bean 1992; Carter 2000; Toulemon 2004; Kulu 2005; Lindstrom and Giorguli 2007; Milewski 2007). In other words, migration imposes its own particular form of reproductive behavior, which means that as of the moment of migration, fertility and the reproductive patterns of migrants will be affected by the length of time they spend in the host country.

In addition to these two general conclusions about the fertility of migrant populations, researchers must consider the diversity of the migrant community, which tends to imply a particular type of reproductive behavior due to the different geographical and cultural influences involved, migrants' specific socio-economic and demographic characteristics, and the migrants' previous reproductive behavior.

This last element has received a considerable attention in studies of fertility in general but scant consideration in the case of migrant fertility due to the absence of data prior to migration.

First, different reproductive behaviors of migrant women have traditionally been identified according to their region of origin. Each region or country tends to respond to a specific process of demographic transition and different family-related cultural patterns that entail different levels of fertility (Bongaarts 2003; Anderson 2004; Roig-Vila and Castro-Martín 2007; Sobotka 2008).

Second, the socio-demographic and socio-economic characteristics of migrant women have played a decisive role in their reproductive behavior (Coleman 1994; Kahn 1994; Milewski 2007) in terms of age, level of education and occupation. Age refers to different stages in the life cycle of an individual and their family that are closely linked to a particular reproductive behavior. Level of education is one of the more consistent findings in the literature because of its impact on family backgrounds, particularly childbearing (Hoem 1986; Blossfeld and Jaeninchen 1992; Bongaarts 2003). In general, developed societies record an inverse relationship between level of education and level of fertility. However, today certain post-transitional societies are suggesting a direct relationship exists between education, wellbeing and fertility (Myrskyla et al. 2009).

Concerning the effect that socio-economic conditions have on fertility, Milewski (2007) uses the case of migrants in Germany to highlight the importance work has on reproductive behavior. Other recent studies associate the motives or objectives behind migration with fertility, making specific mention of the greater fertility among women who emigrate for family reasons than those who emigrate for employment reasons (Castro-Martín and Rosero-Bixbi 2011; Mussino and Strozza 2012).

The third issue that is essential to understanding the reproductive behavior of migrant women in host countries is the family and reproductive situation at the moment of arrival. Previous studies that provide an overview of the factors affecting the likelihood of having a child highlight both marital status (Rindfuss et al. 1988; Kiernan 1999; Baizán et al. 2003) and the prior number of children (Frejka and Sardon 2007). The likelihood of having a child is greater among women without children, but that probability falls sharply in step with a greater number of offspring. Moreover, although in recent years the relationship between marital status and the risk of having a child has weakened due to the contraceptive revolution and the spread of cohabitation, marital status continues to play a significant role. In the Spanish case, despite the sharp rise in cohabitation and decrease in marriage (Baizán et al. 2003; Castro-Martín et al. 2008; Domínguez-Folgueras and Castro-Martín 2008), both transitions significantly increase the likelihood of having a child.

Conversely, numerous studies on the reproductive behavior of the migrant population highlight the close relationship between the latter's fertility and the very fact of migrating and their prior marital and family circumstances (Mulder and Wagner 1993; Alders 2000; Cerruti and Massey 2001; Toulemon 2004; Parrado and Flipen 2005; Kulu 2005; Milewsky 2007). Nevertheless, a serious problem facing the analysis of the effect of these issues on the reproductive pattern of the migrant

population in host countries is the lack of longitudinal data on the women's childbearing backgrounds (Alders 2000; Toulemon 2004; Kulu 2005; Roig-Vila and Castro-Martín 2007; Parrado 2011), which explains the lack of studies. This study uses a database that provides information on the marital and reproductive circumstances in the country of origin, allowing us to consider those circumstances in analyzing the reproductive behavior in the host country.

In short, we hypothesize that the reproductive behavior observed among Latin American women in Spain will be conditioned by the migrants' region or culture of origin, their socio-economic characteristics and their childbearing background as well as by the moment of the migration.

Data, Variables and Method

Data and Variables

The database used to analyze the transition to the first child born after the migration is the aforementioned 2007 NIS survey conducted by Spanish National Institute of Statistics. It is the first survey in Spain to provide retrospective information on the social and demographic characteristics of the migrant population (Reher and Requena 2009). The NIS survey provides complete histories of migration and births, thereby enabling us to study the complex interactions between migration and fertility.

This study is a statistically representative survey of the 4.5 million migrants living in Spain in early 2007. It consists of 15,465 records on migrants aged 16 and over who had been living in Spain for at least a year, with 55% women. This study considers only those Latin American women who had arrived in Spain as of 1990 to establish some homogeneity in the profile of the migrant women, which reduces the sample used to 3108 records (Table 6.1). Given that discrete-time longitudinal models are used, each woman's length of residence in Spain has been divided into annual periods until their first child is born or until they have been living in the country for 5 years without having a child (censored cases). The outcome of this transformation is that the database has 12,915 records corresponding to years-woman.

The survey is representative of the overall migrant population and the major feeder regions, which include Latin America and the Caribbean. The community of Latin American migrants has been divided according to their maternal status at the moment of arrival, but we do not have sufficient records to analyze other profiles.

Table 6.1 presents descriptive data on the sample according to the migrants' region of origin within Latin America. Women from Central America and the Caribbean, including Mexico, have been in Spain longer, whereas those from South America are the most recent arrivals. A large concentration of women from Andean countries, who comprise the majority of Latin American women in Spain, arrived from 1996 to 2003.

No great differences were found between the three regions in age on arrival. More than 40% are between 20 and 30 years old, and almost half are over 30. No major differences in level of education according to origin exist either, with two out of three women having secondary schooling or higher and approximately 5% being illiterate.

Work is the main reason for emigrating (49.5%), although women from the three regions reported differences reasons. Work was recorded as the reason for emigrating for 55.9% of women from Andean countries, but this figure is only 32.7% for women from Central America and the Caribbean, where the family is the main reason for emigrating (40.7%). Women from other parts of South America are in an intermediate situation, with work being the main reason for emigration (44%). Twenty percent of the migrants provide other reasons beside work and family, largely involving politics and education.

Most migrants arrive in Spain without Spanish citizenship, although 7.5% of South American women and 5% of Central American and Caribbean women have a Spanish passport, which initially helps them to settle.

Finally, regarding their family circumstances upon arrival, it is worth noting that almost half of Latin American women migrating to Spain had not yet had a child. Although a slight majority of migrant women had already had a child, particularly among Andean women, they are a minority among South American women overall. Regarding marital status upon arrival, more than half are unmarried, and the rest are evenly divided between those who are married and those who migrate after losing their partner through separation or after being widowed.

The dependent variable is the time taken to have the first child after emigrating or until the women have been living in Spain for 5 years without having a child. The observation period has been restricted to the first 5 years of residence so as not to overweight the risk of having a first child among the migrant women arriving at the beginning of the observation period or underweighting women who have arrived more recently.

The following are the explanatory variables considered in the probability of having the first child (Table 6.1):

Region of origin. According to the number of observations and seeking some degree of uniformity, we have grouped the countries in Latin America by geographical area into the following categories: Central America and the Caribbean, plus Mexico; Andean countries (Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia) and the rest of South America.

Age upon arrival. The following age groups have been defined to capture the effect of the life cycle and the socialization process: age 15 or younger, age 16–19; age 20–29; age 30–39; age 40–49; and age 50 and over.

Level of education. The following three categories have been established in response to the composition of the migrant community: less than primary education, primary education completed, and secondary education or more.

The motives or reasons for migrating. The following three categories have been established: work, family and others (studies, politics, etc.).

Table 6.1 Descriptive data on migrant women in Spain, 2007. (Source: National Immigration Survey 2007. INE)

	Central America & Caribbean	Andean America	South America	Total
N	437	1822	849	3108
Period of arrival				
1990–1995	18.8%	4.5%	7.1%	7.2%
1996–2000	27.7%	33.2%	15.8%	27.7%
2001–2003	24.9%	41.9%	42.9%	39.8%
2004–2007	28.6%	20.4%	34.3%	25.4%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Age at arrival				
15 and younger	5.1%	3.4%	2.9%	3.5%
16–19	9.2%	9.6%	6.8%	8.8%
20–29	36.4%	43.0%	41.4%	41.6%
30–39	30.0%	27.6%	26.8%	27.7%
40–49	11.5%	11.9%	12.9%	12.1%
50 and older	7.8%	4.5%	9.2%	6.3%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Education level				
Illiterate	7.3%	4.7%	5.2%	5.2%
Primary	14.4%	19.6%	12.4%	16.9%
Secondary and more	78.3%	75.7%	82.4%	77.9%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Migration reasons				
Family	40.7%	28.3%	29.0%	30.2%
Labor	32.7%	55.9%	44.2%	49.5%
Other	26.5%	15.8%	26.9%	20.3%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Spanish citizenship				
No	66.1%	86.7%	81.7%	82.4%
Yes: Before	5.0%	0.5%	7.5%	3.1%
Yes: After	28.8%	12.8%	10.7%	14.5%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Children before migrating				
No	50.1%	41.9%	54.8%	46.6%
Yes:	49.9%	58.1%	45.2%	53.4%
Yes: 1 child	23.6%	26.6%	20.3%	24.5%
Yes: 2 or more children	26.3%	31.4%	25.0%	29.0%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 6.1 (continued)

	Central America & Caribbean	Andean America	South America	Total
Marital status at arrival				
Single	47.8%	55.4%	51.1%	53.2%
Married	21.7%	23.0%	28.2%	24.2%
Widow/separated	30.4%	21.6%	20.7%	22.6%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Holding Spanish citizenship or not upon arrival. This condition may be an important factor in the settlement process and, therefore, in starting a family.

Reproductive situation or number of children upon arrival. A distinction is made between those migrating before having children and those who have children and, within this latter category, between women with one child and those with two or more.

Marital status upon arrival. A distinction is made between those who migrated while single, with a partner, and following the loss of a partner (separated-divorced or widowed).

Methodology

Longitudinal models have been used to analyze the birth of the first child following migration. The advantage of these models instead of mainstream or cross-sectional models is that they allow assuming the existence of different reproductive patterns due to the different personal and family circumstances in which migrants arrive in the host country as well as the existence of a time effect in the reproductive pattern due the fact of migration itself. In other words, whereas cross-sectional models are used to measure the probability of an event occurring, longitudinal models are used to analyze the duration of the event.

The duration of the transition was calculated by considering the year of arrival and the year the first child was born. Given that this information is available solely in years, discrete-time models have been used, discarding other types of models that required shorter time intervals (the month of arrival is recorded only for those people who arrived after 2004).

The discrete-time logistic regression model is defined as (Eq. 6.1):

$$h(t|x) = 1 - \exp\{-\exp(\beta_{ot} + x'\beta\}, \quad \text{being } x'\beta = \left(x_1\beta_1 + x_2\beta_2 + \ldots + x_n\beta_n\right) \quad (6.1)$$

where $h(t|x)$ is the conditional probability or risk that the first child born following migration will occur as a function of time (t) and of a series of explanatory variables (x), with β being its parameters.

Result: Reproductive Behavior Based on an Analysis of the Birth of the First Child

Two types of results are presented. First, the survival curves for the birth of the first child reveal information about the reproductive calendar of Latin American women, starting from the moment of their arrival in Spain. Although the focus here is on the first 5 years, in the graphs we have extended this period to 10 years of residence to clarify the succession of events over the time of residence. Second, the results of the discrete-time regression models are presented to measure the effect the explanatory variables have on the probability of having the first child in the first 5 years.

The Timing of the First Birth

The survival curves that trace the birth of the first child for the migrant population as a whole reveal a steep downward trend during the first years of residence (Fig. 6.4). After 10 years, nearly 40% of Latin American women have had at least one child in Spain. Nevertheless, the situation presents several particularities depending on the new arrival's region of origin and family circumstances.

The survival curves according to the geographical region of origin reveal differences, although they are not statistically significant because the curves are contained within a 95% confidence interval. Women from the Andean region are the ones who seem to present a greater probability because their curve drops most sharply, whereas the women from Central America and the Caribbean have a very similar curve to the one for the women from the rest of South America. It may therefore be affirmed that no different reproductive behavior is observed based on region of origin.

The survival curves for marital status upon arrival are also very similar for women who were single, married or without a partner (Fig. 6.5). Nevertheless, an observation of the likelihood of a first child according to motherhood status upon arrival reveals significant differences. Women who arrive before they have had any children have a much higher probability of having a child in Spain during the 10 years analyzed than the women who have already become mothers before emigrating. Almost 50% of the women who arrive before they have a child have their first child in Spain during that time, whereas only 25% of those who already have children have a child in Spain. Because the survival curves are significantly different depending on motherhood status upon arrival, each of these profiles must be analyzed separately in the explanatory models. In other words, the probability of having the first child in Spain is different in each profile for the women depending on their motherhood status, regardless of all other explanatory variables.

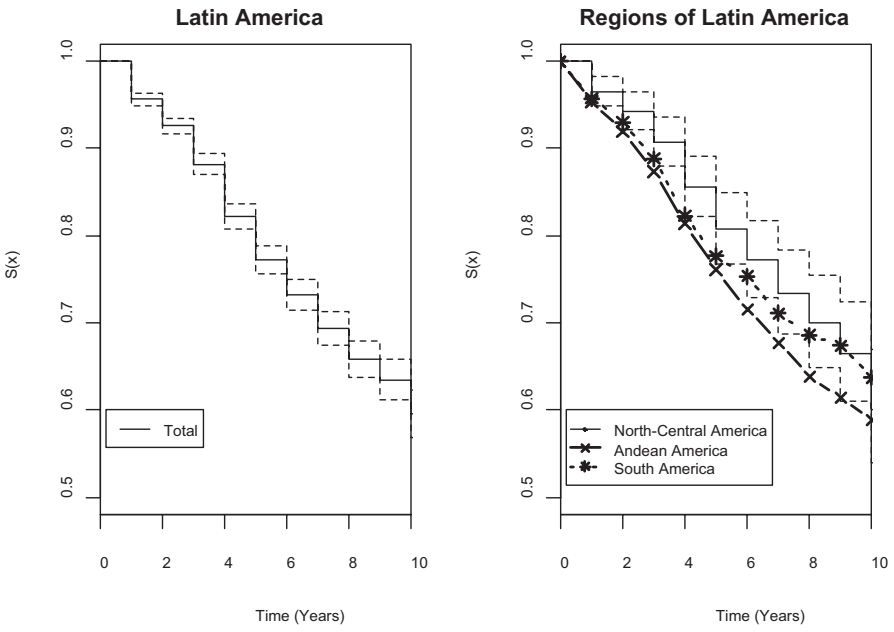

Fig. 6.4. Survival curve for the birth of the first child for all Latin American women and according to the region (women arriving between 1990 and 2007). (Source: National Immigration Survey 2007 (INE))

Determinants of the First Birth in the Host Country

An analysis of the determinants in the probability of having the first child after migrating reveals major differences between the general model that groups the cohort of Latin American women arriving in Spain between 1990 and 2007 and the differentiating models based on the presence of children upon arrival.

In terms of explanatory variables, the first model includes the women's socioeconomic and socio- demographic characteristics (Table 6.2). They are all statistically significant, except for nationality.

Age upon arrival is highly significant. Compared to women who arrive before age 15, the probability of having the first child in Spain increases significantly for those arriving aged between 15 and 29, and to a lesser extent for those aged between 30 and 39. As of the age of 40, this probability drops significantly. In other words, and as is to be expected, the higher probability is concentrated in the middle years of the women's reproductive life and decreases at older ages.

Level of education also has a significant impact on the probability of having the first child during the first 5 years in Spain the direction expected and consistent with other studies in Spain (Acevedo 2008). With the reference category being migrant women with no schooling, the probability diminishes by 22 % for those who arrive

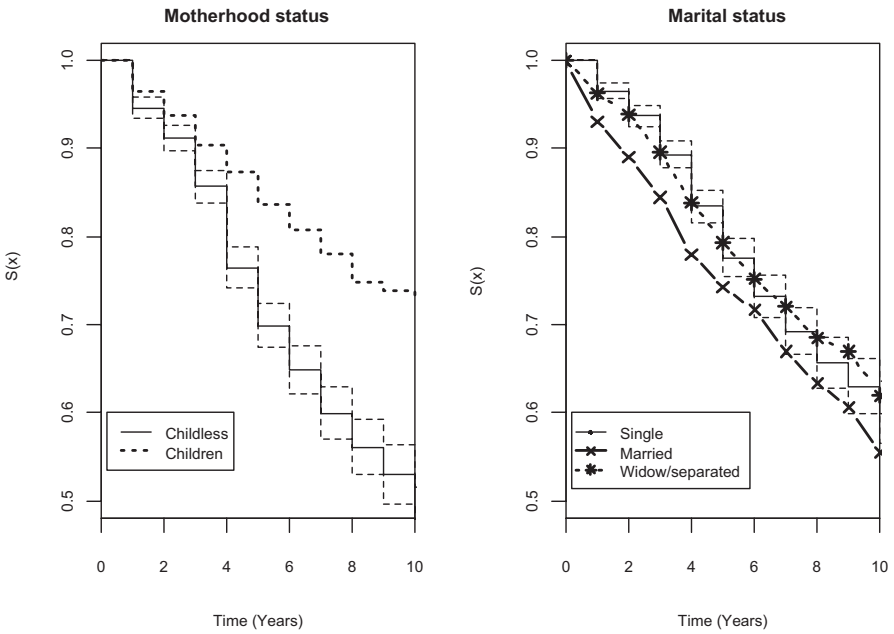

Fig. 6.5 Survival curve for the birth of the first child according to motherhood status and marital status upon arrival (women arriving between 1990 and 2007). (Source: National Immigration Survey 2007 (INE))

with primary studies and by 37% for women with secondary studies or higher. In other words, the higher the level of education, the lower the probability of having the first child during the first 5 years of residence.

The motives for migrating similarly constitute a highly significant statistical factor for having the first child, in the same direction as reported in other studies (Castro-Martín and Rosero-Bixbi 2011). With the reference category being work-related reasons, the probability increases considerably among those women who emigrated for family reasons (34%), with no difference recorded between work-related reasons and other motives apart from family-related ones. In other words, it may be argued that having the first child was less of a priority for women who emigrated with a clear economic purpose than for those whose main reason for migrating was family-related.

Finally, holding Spanish citizenship upon arrival may help the women to settle in Spain (Del Rey and Vono 2014) but is devoid of statistical significance regarding the probability of having the first child, at least during the first 5 years of residence. Legally, one might expect that the easier it is to settle, the better the conditions will be for starting a family. However, some studies have indicated that having a child may constitute a strategy for earning the right to stay in the host country for migrants whose immigration papers are not in order (Bledsoe et al. 2007; Bueno and

Table 6.2 Relative risk of having the first child after emigrating (women arriving between 1990 and 2007). (Source: National Immigration Survey 2007. INE)

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	Var. socio-demographics			+ Origen—Culture			+ Family situation		
	Exp(B)	S.E.	Sig.	Exp(B)	S.E.	Sig.	Exp(B)	S.E.	Sig.
Const.	10.54	0.532	***	12.41	0.537	***	0.02	0.499	***
Age									
Younger than 15	*1*			1			*1*		
15–19	2.67	0.147	***	2.63	0.148	***	2.43	0.149	***
20–29	2.97	0.139	***	3.00	0.139	***	3.13	0.143	***
30–39	1.29	0.142	$	1.29	0.143	$	1.68	0.150	***
40–49	0.03	0.335	***	0.03	0.336	***	0.04	0.343	***
50 and older	0.01	0.721	***	0.01	0.721	***	0.02	0.724	***
Education level									
Less than primary	1			1			1		
Primary	0.78	0.138	$	1.24	0.139		1.20	0.142	
Secondary and more	0.63	0.126	***	0.62	0.127	***	0.79	0.130	$
Reasons									
Labor reasons	1			1			1		
Family reasons	1.34	0.058	***	1.39	0.059	***	1.21	0.061	**
Other reasons	1.02	0.056		1.01	0.057		0.87	0.060	*
Citizenship									
Without citizenship	1			1			1		
With citizenship	0.83	0.140		1.01	0.144		0.92	0.147	
Region of origin									
Central-Caribbean				1			1		
Andean				0.97	0.067		1.13	0.070	$
South				0.62	0.077	***	0.64	0.079	***
Motherhood status									
Without children							1		
1 Child							0.61	0.061	***
2 or more children							0.26	0.078	***

Table 6.2 (continued)

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	Var. socio-demographics			+ Origen—Culture			+ Family situation		
	Exp(B)	S.E.	Sig.	Exp(B)	S.E.	Sig.	Exp(B)	S.E.	Sig.
Marital status									
Single							1		
Married							1.58	0.065	***
Separated/ widow							2.03	0.064	***

Sig. codes: ***0.001; **0.01; *0.05; $0.1
SE standard error

Vono 2009). Therefore, the potentially opposing effects of "legal status" on the risk of having a child may lack statistical significance.

The second model includes region of origin as an explanatory variable because it is another factor deemed crucial in reproductive behavior due to its close relationship with the different stages of demographic transition. This variable is significant and does not modify the significance of any other variable (Table 6.2). With the category of reference being women from Central America and the Caribbean and regarding the probability of having the first child in Spain, no significant differences are observed for women from the Andean region, but the probability decreases very significantly among women from the rest of South America. In other words, whereas the probability is statistically similar among women from Central America, the Caribbean and the Andean region, it is 38% lower among women from the rest of South America.

The third model includes family circumstances prior to arrival, such as marital status and number of children. Both variables are statistically highly significant and barely modify the significance of all the other variables in the previous model (Table 6.2). Nevertheless, the inclusion of family circumstances leads to a loss of statistical significance for level of education, thereby indicating the existence of a close relationship between level of education and family circumstances. As noted earlier, education is generally closely linked to the number of children, so the inclusion of both variables means that one of them ceases to be significant.

The variables for family circumstances upon arrival have differing effects. Women who have had a child before emigrating are 39% less likely to have a child in Spain than those women who arrive without having had children, and women who have had two or more children are 74% less likely to have a child. However, regarding marital status, with "single" being the category of reference, the probability of having a child increases by 58% for women who are married when they migrate and is doubled for those who emigrate after separating from or losing their partner (possibly through a desire to start a new family). This third model reveals the importance of the marital and reproductive status of women upon arrival as a factor that conditions their reproductive behavior during their first years in the host country.

The next two models analyze women who have had children before emigrating and women who arrived without having had children, according to the results obtained in the baseline survival curves. The models' results have certain similarities and major differences in the significance of the explanatory variables (Table 6.3).

Model 5 presents the results for the women who arrived before they had had children. The parameters for age are similar to the general models, in the sense that the probability of having the first child increases considerably in the middle groups and decreases at age 40. However, that same variable for women who have already had children before emigrating, Model 6, has a different effect. With the reference category being women under age 20, the probability diminishes steadily in all older age groups. In other words, the middle age groups record the opposite effect from the general model and the model of migrant women without children. It seems reasonable to contend that women who have not become mothers in their own country and who want to have children will want to have them sooner the older they are. It is also highly likely that many of them have been delaying starting a family due to their migration, which explains the higher probability if childbirth after emigrating. Nevertheless, age has the opposite effect on women who are already mothers when they emigrate. In general, this profile reveals that the older the women are, the lower their probability of having a child after emigrating. Because they were already mothers before emigrating, the likelihood of having more children diminishes after migrating.

Level of education has a similar effect in the general model for both profiles: the higher the level of education, the lower the probability of having the first child in the first 5 years. Differences exist in the reasons for emigrating. For women without children, the probability of becoming a mother is the same for all those who emigrated for work- or family-related reasons, being significant and lower only for those women who specify other reasons. Emphasis should be placed on the considerable weighting of those women who attribute the reason to studies. For women who have already become mothers, a very different effect is observed in their reasons: the probability of having a child in Spain is doubled if the migration is due to family reasons compared to women who emigrated for work-related reasons.

Another influential variable is legal status or citizenship upon arrival. It is not a significant variable for women without children, but it is of great significance for women with children. Holding Spanish citizenship increases the chances of having another child after migrating. We may therefore contend that insofar as the legal status of these women favors their settlement in the country, it also increases their probability of having more children.

Regarding the region of origin, different results also emerge for women with or without children compared to the general model. In the model for women without children, the effect is similar to the general model—a similar probability exists for women from Central America, the Caribbean and Andean region and a lower probability for women from the rest of South America. In the case of women who arrive with children, the probability of having another child in Spain during the first 5 years is much higher for Andean women and similar for all others.

Finally, marital status also has a different effect for women with and without children. For women without children, having a partner upon arrival or having previously had a partner implies a probability of having a child in the first 5 years

Table 6.3 Relative risk of having the first child after migrating based on the number of previous children (women arriving between 1990 and 2007). (Source: National Immigration Survey 2007. INE.)

	Model 5			Model 6		
	Without children			With children		
	Exp(B)	S.E.	Sig.	Exp(B)	S.E.	Sig.
Const.	23.49	0.772	***	34.42	0.766	***
Age						
Younger than 15	*1*			[a]		
15–19	2.25	0.152	***	1		
20–29	2.62	0.151	***	0.54	0.254	*
30–39	1.97	0.162	***	0.20	0.257	***
40–49	0.07	0.407	***	0.00	0.632	***
50 and older	[b]			[b]		
Education level						
Less than primary	1			1		
Primary	0.69	0.217	$	0.61	0.201	*
Secondary and more	0.67	0.195	*	0.46	0.187	***
Reasons						
Labor reasons	1			1		
Family reasons	0.95	0.077		2.07	0.103	***
Other reasons	0.82	0.078	**	0.94	0.101	
Citizenship						
Without citizenship	1			1		
With citizenship	0.75	0.164	$	2.74	0.376	**
Region of origin						
North-Central	1			1		
Andean	0.94	0.089		1.99	0.133	***
South	0.58	0.096	***	0.83	0.160	
Marital status						
Single	1			1		
Married	2.33	0.096	***	0.80	0.089	*
Separated/widow	3.68	0.088	***	0.83	0.099	$

Sig. codes: ***0.001; **0.01; *0.05; $0.1;
SE standard error
[a] Data are insufficient to analyze women under the age of 15 who emigrate having had children. In these cases, the reference category is those under age 20
[b] Data for estimating the coefficient of this category are insufficient, and they have been regrouped into the preceding category: those age 40 and older

that is 2.3 and 3.7 times higher, respectively. However, for those women who have already had children prior to arrival, marital status has the opposite effect. For both married women and those separated or widowed, the probability of having another child diminishes by approximately 20% compared to those who are single. In other words, among the women without children, those who are single have a lower

probability of having children, and among those who arrive having had children, single women are the ones with the highest probability of having their first child after migrating. In the first case, married women without children may be better positioned to have children sooner, given that they already have a partner, whereas those who are separated or widowed may have a greater "urgency or desire" to start and consolidate a new family and they also have experience. The higher probability that single migrant mothers will have children may be due to the greater "urgency or need" to form a family to address the family responsibilities they have brought with them from their country of origin.

In sum, the models that separately analyze the reproductive situation of women before they emigrate highlights the unequal effect of certain variables, such as age, motives for migrating, nationality, region and marital status, and the consistency of other variables, such as level of education.

Conclusions

First, analysis of the birth of the first child after emigrating presents a highly complex and heterogeneous view of the reproductive patterns of Latin American women in Spain. The differences in their socio-demographic and economic characteristics, the reproductive culture in their places of origin, and their prior family-related circumstances result in different risks regarding having their first child in Spain.

The first model reveals the importance of age upon arrival, which refers to the moment in the life cycle that signals the start of the migratory experience, the level of education and the family-related reasons for the migration. The effect of these variables is as expected following the theoretical framework described here and in previous studies.

The region of origin model reveals that women from South America outside the Andean countries are less likely to have children compared to all other groups. This finding confirms the importance of the culture in the place of origin and most likely also suggests differences in the nature of the migratory project across the various groups in terms of reproductive behavior (Grande and del Rey 2012).

The inclusion of the variables on family circumstances upon arrival confirms that already having had children and marital status upon arrival are both determinants of the probability of having the first child in Spain. Having had children removes the incentive to have children after migrating, and having or having had a partner increases the probability of having a child soon after arriving in Spain.

The two profiles of migrant women based on family circumstances upon arrival confirm the importance that having had children before emigrating has for reproductive behavior in the host country. Each profile entails different relationships with the explanatory variables. Thus, the effect of age, the reasons for emigrating, legal status, the region of origin and marital status all influence the probability of having the first child differently, depending on whether the women have already had a child. For those women who arrive without having had children, the probability

increases with age and depending on whether they are married or do not have a partner, whereas the opposite is true for women who have already had children. For women who arrive without having had children, the probability is similar between those who emigrated for work- and family-related reasons. Conversely, for women who have already had children, the probability is greater for those who emigrated for family reasons. As for the region of origin, it is noteworthy that among women without children, those from other parts of South America are less likely to have their first child, and among women with children, those from Andean countries are most likely to have an additional child. Citizenship is significant only for women who are already mothers. Finally, level of education has a similar effect for all the women, regardless of whether they had children before migrating.

These results only analyze factors with that influence the probability migrant women will have their first child during the initial 5 years of residence. Incorporating a longer observation time in future studies may alter some results presented here. Moreover, we have analyzed regions rather than countries due to a lack of data, which partially restricts the ability to assess the effect that culture of origin has on reproductive behavior because these regions are not uniform entities.

Finally, and consistent with the appearance of new data, the way the migrant community consolidates and stabilizes its reproductive behavior will require attention. The impact of the major economic crisis that has affected Spain since 2008 on the fertility of migrant women will also be an important topic for future research. The decrease in new arrivals, the incipient return flows, the change in the profile of migrants and the disappearance of the arrival effect will have major ramifications for the demographic dynamics in host countries, particularly with regard to the aging process and the shrinking population.

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Chapter 7
Living Arrangements, the Crisis and Mother's Participation in the Labour Market

Helga de Valk and Xiana Bueno

Introduction

Contrary to research documenting overall lower levels of labour force participation of immigrants in general and women in particular across Europe (Eurostat 2011; Heath and Cheung 2007; OECD 2009), Latin-American female migrants in Spain, are an exception. They are reported to have high levels of labor force participation not only compared to other migrant origins but also compared to majority group women (Rubin et al. 2008). At the same time little is known about the relationship between work and living arrangements of these women in Spain. Living arrangements, reflected in different types of household structures and composition, might help to balance work and family roles in particular in times of economic crisis. It is therefore important to study how living arrangements are related to participation in the labor market among Latin American women of diverse origin as this can shed light on the main factors for participation among these women.

Previous studies have shown that having a child has a negative impact on labour force participation (Gustafsson et al. 1996) and this is reported for both majority group women as well as those of migrant origin (Andersson and Scott 2005; Holland and de Valk 2014; Lundström and Andersson 2012). Women with minor children, are given the age of their children in need of childcare and at the same time also often have ageing parents. Although there is a broad literature on intergenerational economic and time transfers and the importance of grandparents in caring for grandchildren in-and-out households especially in terms of later life outcomes of these children (Albertini et al. 2007; Dimova and Wolff 2011), less is known on how

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co-residing multigenerational family structures are related to mothers' labor-market participation (Ogawa and Ermisch 1996), and even fewer studies have addressed this question for immigrant women (Dimova and Wolff 2008).

In this chapter we therefore focus on Latin American immigrant mothers who have minor children and we are particularly interested in the role of multigenerational and extended households for these women's participation. We do so by taking a multi-comparative perspective and first of all contrast households of different Latin American origins identified by the country of birth of the mother in the nucleus. Second, we explore the individual characteristics of these mothers and finally, we compare across different types of household and pay special attention to household origin by comparing those Latin American mothers who are living with a Spanish national in the households (intermarried) with those whose households are composed by other Latin American household members (uni-nationally married) only. Paying attention to different dimensions of labour force participation (having a job, occupational sector, number of hours worked etc.) allows us to identify different labor market strategies and their relation with living arrangements during a period of economic crisis. We use pooled data from the Spanish Labor Force Survey 2005–2012 and apply descriptive and multivariate analysis including detailed information on the mother, her children and other household members. This allows us to identify different labor market strategies and their relation with living arrangements during a period of economic crisis in Spain.

Living arrangements of migrants are found to differ from those of the majority group. Multigenerational households for example are reported to be more frequent among certain ethnic groups in the US and on the increase in recent periods (e.g. Taylor et al. 2010). Recent work has confirmed the same for some Latin American origin groups in Spain (Bueno and De Valk in press). On the one hand living in a multigenerational household may be a source of support for these women (for example by supplying child care) and result in higher levels of participation. On the other hand having other (elderly) household members to care for may result in lower levels of participation. At the same time it is reported that in particular women from various Latin American origins have high levels of participation in the Spanish labor market (Aysa and Cachón 2012). The extent to which living in a multigenerational household supports women to participate on the labor market more than is the case for those in two-generational households is so far, however, unexplored for Latin-Americans in Spain.

Latin American migration to Spain has a long history and according to official Population Register data Latin Americans represent 37% of the total foreign-born population in 2012. Beside the fact that Latin American migrants are a numerically large group in Spain it is also the fact that women play an important pioneer role in Latin American migration that makes them an interesting case to study. Compared to other immigrant groups this specific gendered feature (about 56% of the migrants from Latin America in 2012 are female) make that a more specific family migration strategy is potentially relevant. In this context intergenerational ties and support from the family network may become even more important when facing an economic crisis.

Using data from the Spanish Labor Force Survey (LFS) between 2005 and 2012, allows us to get a dynamic perspective on the relation between labor market participation and living arrangements. We will be able to cover the starting point of the economic crisis, its development and potential impact. Multivariate analysis will be applied to answer our research questions by covering information on the individual and household. We focus on different types of household structures including multigenerational (three-generations co-residing) and complex households (all other extended and multiple compositions) and compare them to other households with minor children (couples and single mothers).

Multi-generational households for the Latin Americans in our case include both those who have become grandparents while being in Spain and also those who were reunited with their children, even though family reunification flows have been reduced substantially since the start of the economic crisis. Nevertheless the increase of multi-generational households of Latin Americans did not stop during the last years. Furthermore, support within the household can be provided not only by grandparents but also by other extended household members (i.e. uncles and aunts, nephews and nieces, cousins, or close friends). For this reason, we pay also special attention in our analysis to those complex households that do not have a multigenerational structure. Complex households with diverse members of different generations could still support in domestic and care tasks which may facilitate women's labor force participation. These analyses covering the 2005–2012 period will generate new and more detailed knowledge on the interplay between living arrangements, household composition and labour force participation of Latin American mothers in Spain in times of economic crisis.

Following this introduction, the next section of the chapter provides a short theoretical background and overview of the state of the art on the topic. In the third section we describe the data and methods we used for the analyses. The presentation of the results is divided in two parts. First we present descriptive findings followed by the outcomes of the different multivariate analyses. Finally, we present the main conclusions of our work and discuss the findings with respect to the research aims and its implications for future studies on the topic.

Background

Intergenerational relations are reported to be important for lives of both parents and children across the life course. Parents often provide assistance to their children not only during youth but also later in life for example by helping out with grandchildren (Rossi and Rossi 1990; Pagani and Marenzi 2008). In particular mothers are known to be involved in providing help and support to their adult children and grandchildren (Goodman and Silverstein 2002). Women in this sense are often perceived to be the kin keepers which implies also daughters often take care of ageing parents (Ettner 1995; Hank and Buber 2009). Earlier studies exploring the relationship between extended living arrangements and female labor market participation

in the US, indicated that single mother households are more likely to contain one or more adult non-nuclear members than those in which both spouses are present (Tienda and Angel 1982; Tienda and Salazar 1982). A subsequent study suggested that the presence of nonnuclear household members directly facilitated the labor force participation of these women with children (Tienda and Glass 1985). Similar results were found for Mexico in households where there was a "substitute mother", defined as any other co-residing woman besides the mother (Wong and Levine 1992), although kinship relationships were not explored in this paper. Specifically on multigenerational households, several studies have shown the higher likelihood of labor-force participation of mothers thanks to grandparents' help with childcare (Ermisch and Ogawa 1996; Sasaki 2002; Dimova and Wolff 2011). Few studies have however looked into this for migrant populations. An exception is the study on migrants in France by Dimova and Wolff (2008) who found a positive impact of grandparents' help on female's labour supply, but also reported wide variation across different migrant origins and religious backgrounds.

At the same time it has been suggested that living arrangements differ because of cultural preferences. It has been brought up that this could explain the variation across Europe as well as for the differences between migrant and natives in different European countries and the US (Giuliano 2006; Reher 1998). Stronger intergenerational family ties and cultural norms of support are suggested to be the motor behind larger households and shared living arrangements of parents and children in some regions and by some migrant origins (Vitali and Arpino 2013). This latter point is supposedly also relevant for Latin-American migrants.

Also in the migration literature the relevance of (family) networks in providing e.g. housing for newly arrived immigrants (Haug 2008; Palloni et al. 2001) has often been emphasized. Assisting newly arrived migrants would reduce the cost of migration and sharing households would be economically advantageous for the household members. Furthermore studies in the US and northern Europe have shown that living arrangements of migrants differ by origin (Burr and Mutchler 2003; Giuliano 2006; Zorlu and Mulder 2011). It has been reported that migrants of diverse origin are more likely to share households. On a similar note earlier studies have found that living arrangements of migrants differ compared to non-migrants in which the economy of scale has been suggested as one of the explanatory factors (Glick and Van Hook 2002; Goldscheider and Goldscheider 1989; Leach 2014). Changing economic conditions with more job insecurity and higher unemployment was, in line with this, shown to result in remaining in the parental home longer (Gauthier 2007). Establishing a separate household would involve higher costs being also one of the reasons why young adults of migrant origin would remain in the parental home (and thus be part of a multigenerational household) longer than their majority group compatriots (De Valk and Billari 2007; Zorlu and Mulder 2011).

Migration from Latin-America to Spain has also been widely studied with regard to union formation, living arrangements, and labour force participation. Previous studies have shown how Latin-American female-dominated migration inflows, since the beginning of the 2000's, were closely associated to a specific labor and family strategy that has resulted in a high likelihood of these women

living in complex households and without a nucleus (Domingo and Esteve 2010). This prevalence of female immigration to Spain has been linked to a labor-market demand in specific occupational sectors such as domestic work and care in a context where Spanish couples became more and more both active on the labor-market (Domingo and Martínez 2005; Vidal et al. 2009).

Regarding the consequences of the economic recessions on households and migrants' lives, previous research in the US has highlighted a decline in formation of new households (Painter 2010), as well as, a tendency for households to become more complex among migrant groups and especially also a return of the multigenerational family households (Taylor et al 2010). A recent study on Spain showed very similar patterns for migrant groups residing in the country during the recent great recession in Spain (Bueno and De Valk in press). Additionally, an important implication of the economic crisis for migrant population's labor supply is their higher vulnerability in the labor-market compared to natives (Papademetriou et al. 2010). Indeed, Aysa and Cachón (2012) have shown this for Latin-Americans in Spain, whose unemployment rates have increased from 11.6% in 2007 to 28% in 2011 compared to 8.5–21.3% for the total population. In addition, the higher unemployment rates are in particular found among men while occupational sectors for women have suffered much less under the crisis, suggesting resilience of Latin-American women on the Spanish labor-market (Vidal-Coso and Vono 2014).

Despite these studies on the different dimensions (household structure, labour market participation and the crisis) so far none of these studies has explicitly taken the intersection between these into account. It is in particular the combination of these domains for migrants that have been largely understudied for both single countries as well as in a comparative perspective across Europe.

The aim of this chapter is to fill this gap in our knowledge. Based on the existing literature we focus on two contrasting hypotheses on the inter-linkage between household structures and labour force participation of Latin American mothers with minor children in Spain. On the one hand one can expect that in a context in which strong (intergenerational) relations prevail and in which economic possibilities are important for living arrangements, women in multigenerational households will participate more than those in other living arrangements. On the other hand we may expect that women in multigenerational households have more care obligations towards ageing family members and would thus participate less on the labour market. Furthermore, we expect that the economic crisis will affect labour force participation of women with minor children and will result in lower levels of activity.

Data and Methods

Data come from the Spanish Labor Force Survey (LFS) from 2005 to 2012. The LFS is the unique Spanish data source which allows the study of living arrangements and labor force activity over a longer period of time and between the 10 year

census periods. This is particular relevant when we want to assess the importance of the recent economic crisis for balancing work and family as reflected in labor force participation and living arrangements. Since we have yearly observations, the advantage is that the data allow for identifying changes over time especially in the context of the recent economic recession in Spain. The design of the survey implies that a sixth of the sample is renewed every six trimesters. In order to avoid having the same individuals in the sample repeatedly we have selected one trimester out of every six, starting on the 1st trimester from 2005 until 3rd trimester from 2012. The data for the whole covered period were pooled into one dataset.

For our analysis we have identified those households where at least one adult member was born in a Latin-American country. Given our research objective and since not all household members might be born in the same country, each household origin is coded according to the country of birth of the Latin-American mother in the nucleus. Moreover, for the aggregated origin composition of the household we distinguished two types of households considering the country of birth of all its adult members (since children might have been born already in Spain): Latin-American Households (when all adults were born in a Latin-American country) and Mixed Households (when at least one adult in the household was born in Spain in addition to the Latin American mother in the household). These latter households primarily consist of interethnic unions: in 91 % of the mixed households these refer to the Latin-American mother being in a union with a Spanish man. Obviously these mixed households may, in addition to the intermarriage partners, also include relatives (in-law) or adult children from stepfamilies.

At the household level, we have selected only those households with at least one child below the age of 16 years. Among them, four types of household with minor children have been distinguished: (1) multigenerational households, composed by extended and multiple households where three generations from the same family live together; (2) complex households, which include other extended and multiple households in which members don't belong to the same family; (3) a couple with children with no other relatives; and (4) single mothers, where a mother lives only with her child(ren). Given the focus of our study only women with minor children have been selected for the analyses (thus excluding one person households, households without nucleus, couples without children and single father households).

In our analyses we focus on immigrants only. A comparison with native Spanish households is not useful given the very different living conditions, family and social networks of support among those of the majority group compared to those with a migrant origin. We do, however, decompose the group of mothers of Latin American origin as much as the sample size allows us in order to explore specific country of origin characteristics. Given the sample size limitations we selected the top five Latin-American countries of origin for this chapter covering (in decreasing order of size): Ecuador, Colombia, Argentina, Venezuela and Bolivia. These five countries represent almost 70 % of the total Latin-American mothers in the LFS.

Our sample (after applying the outlined selections) covers 6,703 households where: (1) at least one household member is under 16 years of age; (2) where at least one adult was born in a Latin-American country and (3) there is at least one

nucleus, either a couple or mother-child. In total 44,785 individuals live in these selected households, out of which 17,308 are adult women (between 16 and 64), 15,151 are adult men and the remainder are minor children.

Households where all its adult members were born in Latin America represent 58% of the total. In 39% of the cases one or more Latin-American adults are living with one or more Spanish adult members in the households. In only 3% of the cases, households consist of Latin-American and other immigrant origins. Given the very small share of these mixed immigrant households the latter have been excluded from our final sample.

Descriptive and multivariable analyses are applied on the pooled LFS 2005–2012 data. The descriptive analyses cover both units of measurement: households and individuals. At the descriptive level we will show, first, characteristics of households in terms of type of living arrangements, age structure and Latin American origin, as well as evolution of household types/living arrangements over time. Second, we explore the characteristics of the labor-market incorporation of Latin-American women of diverse origins in the different household types in terms of their labor force status, occupational sector, and working hours. In the multivariable analysis we then focus on the individual women, their labor market position and living arrangement. Logistic regression models are applied to explore the link between labor market incorporation of Latin-American mothers and her socio-demographic, family and household characteristics in order to assess the likelihood of being a working mother (not working is the reference category in our analyses). Four sets of independent variables are included: individual characteristics of the woman (age, education); household characteristics (type of living arrangement, origin composition, age of the youngest child and number of children); migration characteristics (country of birth and years of residence) and the economic context (year of observation). Stepwise models introducing these different blocks of covariates were analyzed but only the full models (final step) are reported in the chapter. The analyses furthermore covered two phases; first we ran a pooled model covering all households. In the second phase we ran specific models distinguishing origin composition of the household (comparing full Latin American and mixed households with a Spanish household member).

Latin American Households with Children in Spain

We start by giving an overview of the households of Latin-American women with children in Spain by sketching their living arrangements according to the type of household and the country of origin of mothers in nucleus' households. As shown in Fig. 7.1 during the observed period, 2005–2012, there was an overall increase in the absolute number of households that include a Latin-American member. This is an obvious outcome of the conversion of Spain into an immigration country since the beginning of the 2000's. Immigration from Latin American countries became more numerous since those years and resulted in an increase in the absolute number of

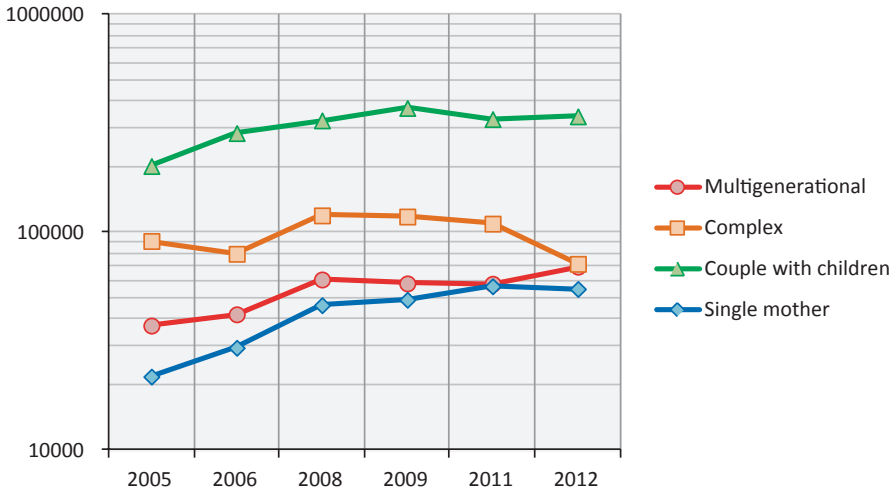

Fig. 7.1 Evolution of households with at least one Latin-American adult and at least one minor child, by household type, Spain 2005–2012. (Source: Spanish Labor Force Survey (LFS), 2005–2012)

Latin American households. Most of these households are, as can be seen in Fig. 7.1, couples with children. Looking at the evolution of households by composition, we first of all find the number of households composed by couples with children is most numerous across the whole period and their number increased until 2009 after which it has remained relatively stable. Secondly, it is worthy to highlight that complex and multigenerational households showed a parallel increase until 2008. After that moment—which marks the starting point of the economic crisis—complex households decreased progressively while multigenerational households continued to increase and even became the second most common living arrangement together with complex structures at the last observation year (2012).

In relative terms we find that couples with children represent around 60 % of all households with a Latin American member across the whole period for our study population. At the same time the share of complex households has decreased from 26 % in 2005 to 13 % in 2012, while for multigenerational households this proportion has slightly increased from 10 to 13 % during the same time-span. Finally, the number of single mother households among Latin-Americans grew continuously since 2005 (from 6 to 10 %). It is important to acknowledge that "single motherhood", strictu sensu, is a combination of very different situations. It includes separated, divorced and widowed women, but also pioneer female migrants with children whose partner remained in the origin country, or even migrant women whose migrant partner has returned or re-migrated because of the economic constraints in Spain.

So far we have taken all Latin-American households together and studied them as if they were one homogeneous category. This broader category may, however, hide important variation between countries of origin with for example different migration histories to Spain. In the next step we thus study households of Latin

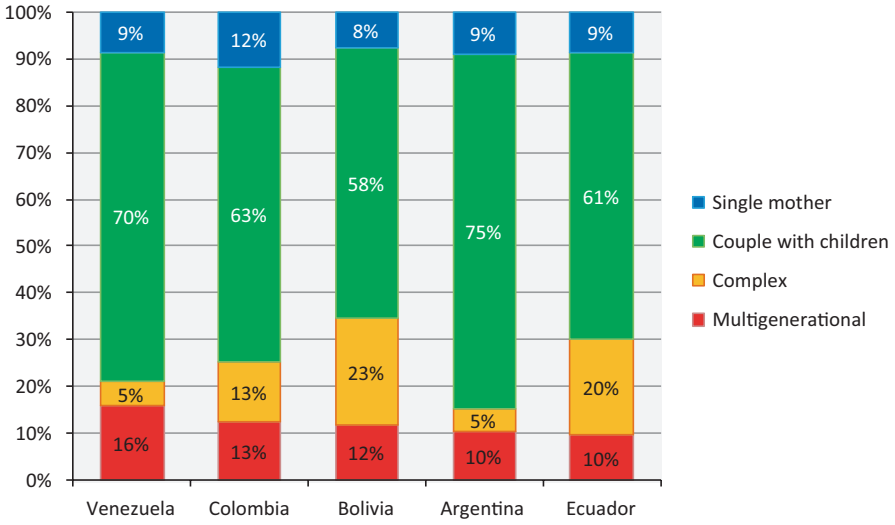

Fig. 7.2 Type of household for women (nucleus) with at least one minor child, by Latin American country of origin, Spain, 2005–2012. (Source: Spanish Labor Force Survey (LFS), 2005–2012)

American origin distinguishing between the countries of origin (Fig. 7.2). It is immediately clear that different patterns are found. The percentage of multigenerational households where the Latin-American mother was born in Venezuela (16%), is significantly higher than is the case in any of the other countries of origin (overall 10%). Other complex household structures are especially well represented among Bolivians, where one out of four women with minor children lives in this type of household. The latter is also very common among Ecuadorians (20%), whereas it is only a minority (5% or less) of Argentineans and Venezuelans who are living in this type of household.

It is remarkable to find that although women from Ecuador or Bolivia live relatively less often than the other groups with grandparents in the household (relatively few intergenerational households) while at the same time these groups are the ones who live more often in extended and multiple households. One explanation is that their occupational sectors may have suffered from the economic crisis more than is the case for the other origin groups. This might have resulted in the establishment of more extended households with those who have lost their jobs rather than translated into multigenerational households. Families who lived as a couple with their child(-ren) may now thus have become complex households. Due to the cross-sectional nature of our data we cannot draw any conclusions on this here. As mentioned before, couples with children are the most common household composition and this also holds for all origin countries as our more detailed analyses show. Nevertheless there is some variation between origin after coiuntries the percentages of mothers living in a couple with children ranges between 70% for, again, Argentineans and Venezuelans; to around 60% for Bolivians and Ecuadorians. Finally, we find that

the proportion of single mother households is quite the same (9–12%) for women of all origins.

As mentioned in the introduction we are not only interested in the diversity of household composition by country of origin but also between those households where all its adult members were born in Latin-America or those households that are composed of mixed origins i.e. where also Spanish adults are co-residing (not in Figure). Our analyses show that in around a third of households where there is a Latin-American mother with a minor child, there is also an adult born in Spain. Further analyses in which we excluded single mothers (whose households by definition can not be mixed as there is no other adult person) indicate that in almost 40% of the multigenerational households and in 36% of households composed by a couple with children, there is a Spanish adult present. In the case of complex households this is true for only 18% of the cases. These results show how the social network of support seems to be more important among Latin-American households especially in time of crisis, while intermarried couples are in a more stable situation in terms of affording to remain in family arrangements without others beside the parents and child(-ren).

As mentioned before one of the main characteristics of the Latin-American immigration to Spain is the large share of women among those who arrived. We find this reflected in our data where there are more female adult members (56%) in Latin-American households with children than men (not in Figure). This is true for all Latin-American countries in the sample, but its distribution ranges between an almost balanced sex ratio among Argentineans (51%), to a share of 60% women among Colombians (one should bear in mind that we only consider the top 5 countries of origin in all the analyses of this chapter). If we focus on the older persons in these household (those 65 and above thus, a priori, inactive on the labor market)—potentially grandparents providing help—we see that these are in 68% of the cases women (thus grandmothers). The sex ratio of household members older than 65 is even more extreme for Bolivia (83%) or Ecuador and Colombia (79%) where by far the majority are older women in the household.

Although we selected only mothers with minor children in our sample, this still covers quite a variety in ages of both mothers and children. If we look at the mean ages of adult Latin-American women living in households with children by type of household (Table 7.1 and Fig. 7.3), we find on the one hand, that multigenerational households have the youngest mothers, with a mean age of 31.6 years. At the same time there is much variability by origin: Ecuadorian and Bolivian women are 29 years of age whereas Argentineans or Venezuelans are 37 years on average. This clearly relates to the migration history to Spain as well as the different family formation stages women from these groups are in.

Despite the fact that in our sample all children are below the age of 16, this age range (0–16) still covers rather different caring requirements. In line with the assumption that grandparents may play an important role as caregivers we find in multigenerational households the youngest mean age of children below 16-years-old (on average 6.3-years-old). It is in particular young children that need most care and supervision and thus grandparents may be needed in particular in this stage of

Table 7.1 Age structure of Latin-American households with minor children by type of households for top 5 Latin American origin countries, Spain 2005–2012. (Source: Spanish Labor Force Survey (LFS), 2005–2012, authors' calculations)

Mean ages				
		Mothers 16–64	Children < 16	Adults > 65
Multigenerational	Ecuador	29,0	6,3	73,5
	Colombia	30,9	5,6	74,2
	Argentina	36,9	7,9	74,4
	Venezuela	37,0	7,2	76,8
	Bolivia	28,9	6,3	73,4
	Total	31,59	6,41	74,8
Complex	Ecuador	33,1	6,9	
	Colombia	35,5	7,6	
	Argentina	36,8	7,0	
	Venezuela	36,3	7,7	
	Bolivia	30,9	6,2	
	Total	33,57	6,96	
Couple with children	Ecuador	34,5	8,1	
	Colombia	36,1	7,8	
	Argentina	37,7	7,4	
	Venezuela	38,5	8,0	
	Bolivia	33,1	7,0	
	Total	35,78	7,78	
Single mother	Ecuador	37,3	9,1	
	Colombia	38,0	9,5	
	Argentina	39,2	9,6	
	Venezuela	38,9	9,5	
	Bolivia	35,4	8,0	
	Total	37,76	9,21	
Total	Mean	35,1	7,6	74,8
	Standard dev	7,4	4,7	7,1

life to provide support. We find further support for this line of reasoning almost half of all children living in multigenerational households (48 %) are between the ages of 0–3 years. The percentages for complex households, couples with children and single mothers are 41, 36 and 18 % respectively. Looking again at the country level differences we find older mothers, children and grandparents among Argentineans and Venezuelans; and younger ages for all among Ecuadorians and Bolivians.

Finally, the analyses reveal that women in single mother households are overall older than women in other household types from the same origin. In addition, these single mothers have the oldest children (mean age 9-years-old) compared to the

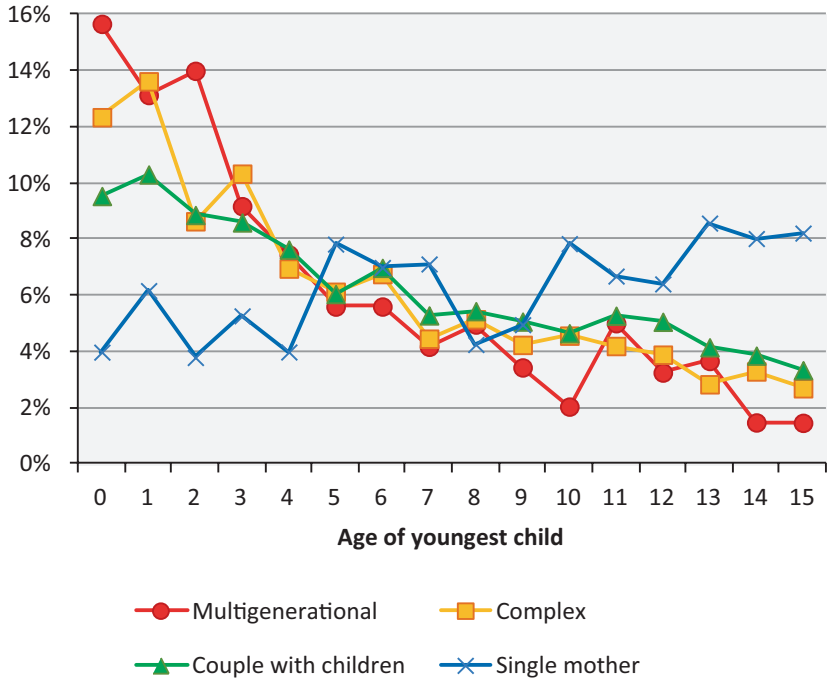

Fig. 7.3 Age of youngest child in Latin-American households with minor children by type of households for top 5 Latin American origin countries, Spain 2005–2012. (Source: Spanish Labor Force Survey (LFS), 2005–2012, authors' calculations)

other types of households. This indicates a clear life course effect since this group of women captures different patterns to single motherhood including separation, divorce and widowhood. These latter life events generally occur only slightly later in life (and clearly after the transition to adulthood).

Labor-Market Characteristics of Latin-American Mothers

The aim of this chapter is to study how living arrangements (i.e. household composition) are related to participation on the labour market. After sketching the household structures of Latin American women with minor children in Spain we now turn to the labor force participation of these mothers and link these two dimensions in a descriptive way here (further multivariate analyses can be found in the next section). In line with previous studies, our analyses show that overall labor force participation of women of Latin American origin is high. The descriptive findings reveal some slight differences in labor force status by household type (Fig. 7.4). Although the majority of Latin-American mothers in the sample is working (62 %),

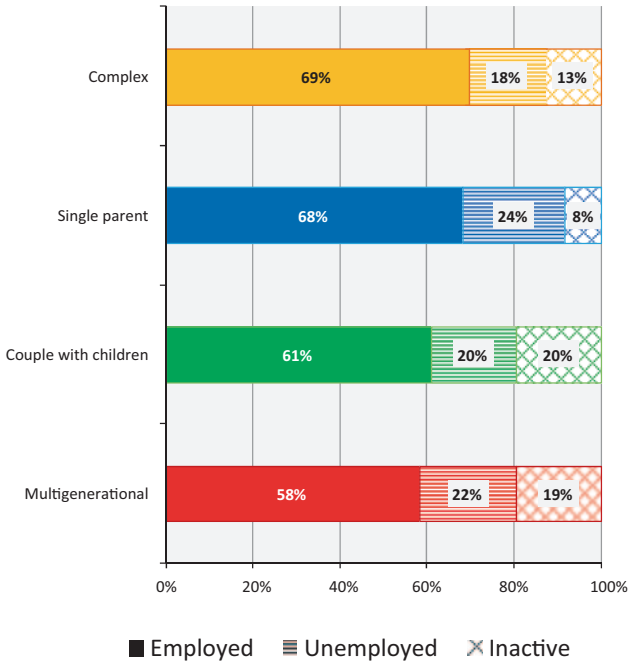

Fig. 7.4 Labor force status of Latin-American mothers (16–64) living in households a minor with minor child by type of household, Spain, 2005–2012. (Source: Spanish Labor Force Survey (LFS), 2005–2012, authors' calculations)

this share is 10 points higher for single mothers and mothers in complex household structures (almost 70 %) compared to those in couples and multigenerational households (around 60 %). This suggests that mothers can rely on a broader financial support network (e.g. partner but also grandparents who might be still active on the labour market) in case they are in a couple or multigenerational household than those in complex household structures. The fact that mothers in a three-generation household work less often may also suggest that grandparents may not only present a 'resource' of care (for grandchildren) but may just as well be a 'burden' of care for women as has been documented in the literature. At the other end we see that for single mothers the choice of not working is much harder since they have nobody else in the household who they can fall back on in terms of financial support. This is reflected in higher participation rates among this group.

Latin-American women who moved to Spain, mainly moved because of economic labor related reasons. Therefore, the reported high activity rates do not come as a surprise. At the same time not all Latin-American women may be equally active. Looking at the diversity in participation by country of origin (and household structure; Table 7.2) we find remarkable diversity. Mothers from two of the Andean countries—Ecuador and Bolivia—have the highest employment rates irrespective of their living arrangements (69 % work on average). This contrasts with the situation

among Venezuelan mothers who have the lowest labor force participation (55%), followed by Argentinean (58.6%) and Colombian mothers (59.3%). The fact that we find the highest levels of non-working mothers (either inactive or unemployed) among mothers from these latter three origins can be explained by their higher likelihood of being in a household with a Spaniard. It is in particular among these groups that we find highest levels of intermarriage as mentioned before. Earlier studies have pointed out higher rates of intermarriage with Spanish men among Colombian, Argentinean and Venezuelan women compared to Ecuadorians or Bolivians (Cortina et al. 2009). Indeed, while for Ecuador and Bolivia only a 7–9% of mothers live in mixed households, for Argentineans and Colombians this proportion rises to 19–22% and of the Venezuelans mothers even more than half (53%) of those in our sample live in mixed-Spanish household.

The distinction between these two patterns for the different countries of origin persist when looking at the distribution of Latin-American mothers by occupational sector (Fig. 7.5). Ecuador and Bolivia represent the two countries with the highest proportions of non-qualified working mothers. This holds especially for Bolivia where this applies to almost 60% and where the share of qualified working mothers is by far the lowest (almost nonexistent) of all five main Latin American origin countries studied here. The young age structure and more recent nature of moves among the Bolivian migrants in Spain can potentially explain their position in the job market in these less qualified jobs: they may simply not have had the time yet to establish themselves on the job market. At the same time the fact that we do find a similar pattern for Ecuadorians (with longer periods of residence in Spain), shows that it is not just a matter of time.

A contrasting situation is found for the mothers from Argentina and Venezuela of whom slightly more than 10% are in non-qualified jobs and where around 20% are employed in qualified positions. Part of these differences may again relate to migration history and age structure but previous studies have also shown that Latin-American women in a union with a Spanish man are more inactive and in case they are employed, they have higher skilled positions compared with Latin-American women in endogamous union (Domingo et al. 2014). Since intermarriages are in particular common among Argentinean and Venezuelan women this may explain the found patterns also for our study. In the next section we will study this in more detail.

Additional analyses on the occupational sector of the women by the type of household she is living in (not shown), shows an overall equal distribution across households with only two remarkable exceptions. Higher percentages of women working in qualified jobs (8%) are found among single mothers and women living in a couple. Although we can not make causal claims with our cross-sectional data, this seems to suggest that a better job position allows these women to establish their own non-extended household whereas those in more precarious labor market situations end up in the necessity of support from the family network (and thus more complex household structures). In line with this reasoning we indeed find that most mothers in complex households have not qualified jobs in the caregiving sector (the latter being 10% points higher for this than for any of the other three household types). Moreover, it is also known that more recent migrants with a less settled labor

Table 7.2 Labor force participation of Latin-American mothers (16–64) living in households with a minor child by type of household and country of birth, Spain, 2005–2012. (Source: Spanish Labor Force Survey (LFS), 2005–2012, authors' calculations)

		Employed (%)	Unemployed or inactive (%)
Multigenerational	Ecuador	60	40
	Colombia	52	48
	Argentina	63	37
	Venezuela	60	40
	Bolivia	64	36
Complex	Ecuador	71	29
	Colombia	64	36
	Argentina	63	37
	Venezuela	59	41
	Bolivia	77	23
Couple with children	Ecuador	71	29
	Colombia	59	41
	Argentina	57	43
	Venezuela	54	46
	Bolivia	63	37
Single parent	Ecuador	75	25
	Colombia	69	31
	Argentina	75	25
	Venezuela	55	45
	Bolivia	70	30

position are more likely to live in extended and multiple households, especially during the period of the economic crisis (Bueno and De Valk, in press).

In the next step we studied the number of hours women work since participation on the labour market can either refer to a full-time or a part-time job. However, we did not find major differences between mothers working full-time or part-time and the type of household they are living in. Overall around a third of all mothers in our analyses work part-time (ranging between 30% for single mothers and 36% for mothers living in a couple). If looking at working hours by origin we only find a different pattern for women from Venezuela and Bolivia. The first are less likely to work part-time (only a quarter of working mothers have part-time jobs), whereas for the latter it refers to almost half of the women who have a part-time job.

Since labour market participation is also largely dependent on the local labour market context and situation, we performed additional analyses on the region of settlement. We compared the labor-force participation of Latin American women living in the different Spanish regions. Again no big differences were found between the identified Autonomous Communities except for the fact that the levels of Latin-American women's labor-force participation has the same pattern as the overall participation rates in the respective regions. More women are unemployed

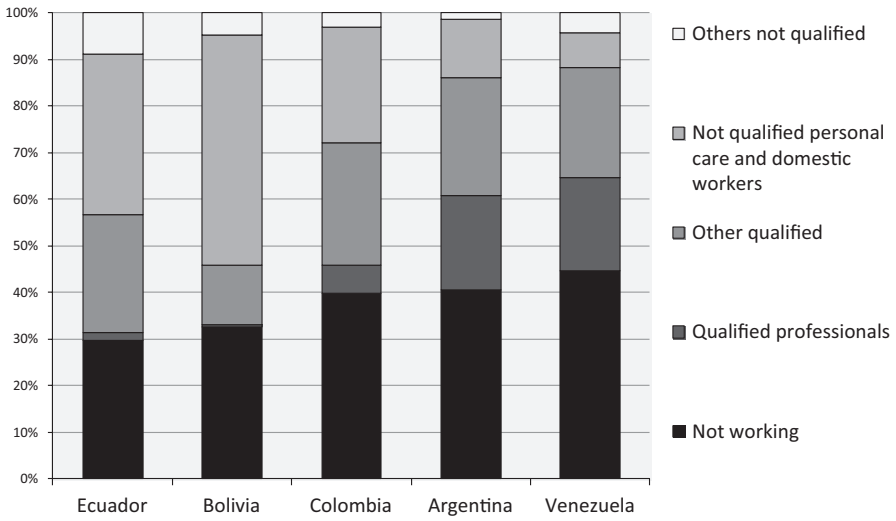

Fig. 7.5 Employment by occupational sector of Latin-American mothers (16–64) living in households with a minor child by Latin American country of birth, Spain, 2005–2012. (Source: Spanish Labor Force Survey (LFS), 2005–2012)

in those regions where overall unemployment rates are higher (e.g. Extremadura, Castilla La-Mancha, Castilla León) and more are employed in regions with lower unemployment rates (Cantabria, Murcia, Baleares). In a next step we linked the regional distribution of the Latin American women to the level of concentration of the origin group in the region of settlement. Once more we found no clear relationship between female labor-force participation by origin and the share of migrants from the same origin at the regional level. For example, although the majority of Venezuelans in Spain are living on the Canary Islands (28%) and in Galicia (17%), Venezuelan mothers in these regions do not present different working patterns despite the potentially larger social support networks in these areas due to the concentration of the same origin group. Of course these findings should only be taken as indicative. It goes without saying that more detailed (spatial) analysis on smaller local areas and individual networks is needed to properly link participation and the role of social networks. This is however beyond the scope of this chapter.

The Role of Individual, Migration and Household Characteristics for Labor-Market Participation

The previous two sections provided a detailed descriptive picture of household composition and labour market participation of Latin American mothers in Spain. In the following we will link these two and look at the mechanism behind these processes. Using multivariate analyses we shed further light on this and explore the

role of a range of individual, household and migration characteristics for the labour force participation of Latin American mothers with minor children. Furthermore in this analysis we also pay attention to changes in participation over time as a result of the economic context in Spain. In a first step we present findings from a pooled logistic regression model for all households to link type of household, as well as, other factors to labour force participation. In the second step we present separate models for two types of households: those with only Latin-American members and those where there is a Spanish adult member in the household.

All models control for a range of individual characteristics (age, education); migration characteristics (country of birth, years of residence); household characteristics (living arrangements, number of children, age of youngest child); and the economic context measured through the year of observation. Given our research question we are primarily interested in household characteristics and the effect of the economic crisis.

Starting from the individual socio-demographic characteristics the results from the pooled model (Table 7.3) show that women are more likely to participate when they are higher educated, and when they have been in Spain longer. Having more than one child decreases the likelihood of working, but the older the children are, the higher the likelihood the woman is active.

Contrary to our expectations results suggest that after controlling for the above-mentioned factors, the type of household (multigenerational, complex, couple with children or single mother) is not statistically significant. At the same time although the coefficients do not reach significance the pattern that is found is in line with the bivariate findings in which higher levels of participation are found for mothers in complex households as well as among single mothers. Whereas type of household thus seems not so relevant, it is in particular the origin composition of the household that is found to be strongly related to labor force participation. Latin American mothers who are in union with a Spaniard (91% of mixed households include intermarried couples) are significantly less likely to be employed that those in mixed Latin American households. This finding confirms what descriptive analysis already suggested. Indeed, we observe that for women from countries with higher intermarriage rates—Colombia, Argentina and Venezuela—the likelihood of being employed is significantly lower than for Ecuador and Bolivia, confirming again the previously shown results.

The economic context has also its influence on the chances of being an employed mother. Latin American migrant women appeared to be more likely to work during the first years of the observed period (until 2008). After that we find lower levels of participation which seems to indicate the economic turning point as it was during this second time period of our analyses when the economic crisis in Spain started and became more wide-spread. After this moment Latin American mothers are less likely to be employed and this is especially the case for 2012.

Given the fact that we find such clear differences in participation between those in a household with and without a Spanish member, we added an additional second step to our analyses where we conducted separate logistic regression analyses by origin composition of the household. The results from these analyses shown

Table 7.3 Odds ratio of the likelihood of being a working mother, all households, Spain, 2005–2012. (Source: Spanish Labor Force Survey (LFS), 2005–2012 authors calculations)

		N	%	Working/Not working mother
				All households
				Exp(B)
Individual characteristics	*Age*			1,21***
	Age²			1,00***
	Education			
	(Primary or less)	645	17	Ref.
	Secondary	2601	67	1,18
	Tertiary	648	17	1,74***
Migration characteristics	*Country of birth*			
	(Ecuador)	1508	39	Ref.
	Colombia	1022	26	0,69***
	Argentina	561	14	0,77*
	Venezuela	392	10	0,71*
	Bolivia	411	11	1,17
	Years of residence			
	(Recent migrant (0–1 years))	153	4	Ref.
	2–4 years	737	19	2,26***
	Five or more years	2789	72	2,82***
	Unknown	215	6	2,37***
Household characteristics	*Number of children*			
	(1)	1698	44	Ref.
	2	1468	38	0,80**
	3 or more	728	19	0,88
	Age of youngest child			
	(0–3)	1438	37	Ref.
	6–12	1998	51	1,77***
	13–15	458	12	1,95***
	Type of household			
	(Multigenerational)	435	11	Ref.
	Complex	655	17	1,30
	Couples with children	2443	63	0,96
	Single parent	361	9	1,17
	Origin composition			
	(LAT household)	2966	76	Ref.
	LAT-SPN household	928	24	0,68***

Table 7.3 (continued)

		N	%	Working/Not working mother
				All households
				Exp(B)
Economic context	*Year of observation*			
	(2005)	421	11	Ref.
	2006	557	14	1,22
	2008	723	19	1,35*
	2009	758	19	0,89
	2011	737	19	0,76
	2012	698	18	0,69**
	Constant			0,02
		3.894		

Note: *p<.05; **p<.01; *p<.001

in Table 7.4 reveal how for women in a mixed Spanish household, individual and migration characteristics are not related to labour force participation and neither is education for mothers in endogamous households.

Again household structure doesn't seem to matter irrespective of origin composition of the household with only one exception. We find that only for women in a mixed origin household (second pane in Table 7.4) household structure matters: mothers in complex households with a Spaniard are up to 4 times more likely to work than those in a multigenerational household (reference category). This result is hard to interpret given the fact that complex households cover a highly heterogeneous group of households, especially when more than one nucleus or families live together and it also includes a Spanish member. There are two potential explanations for the pattern we find. First, the fact of being a mixed household might imply a better socio-economic situation meaning also the presence of domestic service co-residing in the household. In this case the Latin-American mother is supposed to have also a high educational level and be active in the labor-market. Second, it could be expect that these are households where there is a non-kin member present to provide care to parents and/or children that allow the women in these families to participate on the labour market.

Finally we have to pay attention to the diverse relation between the economic context and participation for women in the households with and without a Spaniard. These separate models clearly suggest that the 'up and down' effect described for the pooled model mainly holds for mothers living in all-immigrant households but is less/not relevant for the participation of women in intermarried households. This is in line with the more socioeconomic stability assumed for Latin-American women in a union with Spanish men that were brought up in previous studies (Domingo et al. 2014).

Table 7.4 Odds ratio of the likelihood of being a working mother, Latin-American households and mixed households, Spain, 2005–2012. (Source: Spanish Labor Force Survey (LFS), 2005–2012 authors calculations)

		Working/Not working mother	
		Latin-American households	Mixed households
		Exp(B)	Exp(B)
Individual characteristics	*Age*	1,20***	1,17
	Age²	1,00**	1,00
	Education		
	(Primary or less)	Ref.	Ref.
	Secondary	1,12	0,94
	Tertiary	1,28	1,82
Migration characteristics	*Country of birth*		
	(Ecuador)	Ref.	Ref.
	Colombia	0,66***	0,62
	Argentina	0,77	1,17
	Venezuela	0,80	0,73
	Bolivia	1,15	0,50
	Years of residence		
	(Recent migrant (0–1 years))	Ref.	Ref.
	2–4 years	2,14**	1,22
	Five or more years	2,72***	1,46
	Unknown	1,60	1,89
Household characteristics	*Number of children*		
	(1)	Ref.	Ref.
	2	0,79*	0,82
	3 or more	0,88	0,71
	Age of youngest child		
	(0–3)	Ref.	ref.
	6–12	1,30*	1,19
	13–15	1,22	2,88**
	Type of household		
	(Multigenerational)	Ref.	Ref.
	Complex	1,08	3,95**
	Couple with children	0,95	1,13
	Single parent	1,08	1,32

Table 7.4 (continued)

		Working/Not working mother	
		Latin-American households	Mixed households
Economic context	*Year of observation*		
	(2005)	Ref.	Ref.
	2006	2,15***	1,09
	2008	1,86**	1,48
	2009	0,74	0,99
	2011	0,58**	0,77
	2012	0,54**	0,63
	Constant	0,04	0,11
		2.608	709

Note: *p<.05; **p<.01; *p<.001

Characteristics of Latin-American Multigenerational Households in Spain Explored

One of the initial premises of this paper was to test the hypothesis that grandparents in a multigenerational family context may either provide support as caregivers or, may need care themselves. Both situations would influence the labor-force participation of mothers (the first situation resulting in higher the second in lower participation rates). Descriptive results so far, have shown a slightly lower labor-force participation of mothers in multigenerational households compared to other household types. However, multivariate analysis on multigenerational households only were tested but the limited sample sizes made it impossible to get to robust findings and draw far-reaching conclusions. Given this limitation but at the same time acknowledging the potential importance of intergenerational ties we at least wanted to explore the characteristics of grandparents living in three-generation households with Latin American mothers. This might give some first indications on why Latin-American women living with elderly and children are less likely to work which can be further explored in future research.

Table 7.5 gives a summary of a range of grandparental characteristics by origin of the household. This exploratory analyses suggests that grandparents living in immigrant households and those in mixed households do not have the same profile. The main differences are that grandparents belonging to intermarried families are older (10 years older on average) than those in Latin-American immigrant households. Furthermore the former have a higher proportion of elderly members over 70-years-old (43 % versus 11 %), and are most often parents in-law (of the Latin-American mother) than is the case for immigrant households, where in 3 out of 4 cases the grandparents are the own parents of the migrant woman. We do however not find differences in either gender of the co-residing grandparent (more than

Table 7.5 Characteristics of grandparents living in multigenerational households with at least one Latin-American member in Spain, 2005–2012. (Source: Spanish Labor Force Survey (LFS), 2005–2012)

	LAT household	LAT-SPN household
GP mean age	55,9	66,0
GP over 70 years old		
Yes	11%	43%
No	89%	57%
GP relationship to woman		
Own parents	75%	53%
In-law & Mixed	18%	34%
Unknown	6%	13%
GP activity		
GP working	51%	47%
At least 1 works	26%	30%
GP not working	23%	23%
GP sex		
Only grandmother	54%	51%
Both	36%	38%
Only grandfather	9%	11%

GP grandparents, *LAT* Latin-American, *LAT-SPN* Latin-American and Spanish

half of co-resident grandparents are grandmothers in both types of households), nor in grandparents' labor-force participation (only in a quarter of households are both inactive). Two explanations might apply here. On the one hand, the fact that a relatively high proportion of grandparents work (and thus economically support the household) could be the reason why these mothers work less compared with those in other living arrangements. On the other hand, the older mean age and higher proportion of elderly members among mixed households, may explain that these mothers are the caregivers for their parents in-law, which will also partially explain their lower labor-force participation.

Discussion

This chapter addressed the question to what extent labour force participation and household structures are related. We were particularly interested in this relation in times of economic crisis in which resources might have to be pooled in households and in which family might take center stage. Building on the existing literature we started from the hypothesis that in particular multigenerational households can be either supportive for female labour force participation but may also constitute a barrier for their participation. We studied this for Latin American women in Spain

in the period 2005–2012, covering both the economic growth and decline of the Spanish economy.

The descriptive findings reveal only very limited differences in labor force status by household type for Latin American women with minor children. Even though we studied several dimensions of participation, no relations were found for either being employed nor the number of hours worked. Only for the sector in which the women work, we found some differences between those in multigenerational households and those living in complex households or with a partner and children.

Looking at the link between living in a multigenerational household and labour force participation we started from two contrasting hypotheses. On the one hand the presence of grandparents in these households can be a resource (they could be caregivers and for example take care of the grandchildren) resulting in higher female employment levels. At the other hand presence of grandparents in the household could also imply a demand for care, and thus related to lower levels of participation of the Latin American mothers in our study. Our results overall seem to support more the second than the first reasoning as female mothers in multigenerational households are less active than those living in one of the other three household types. At the same time this is not the whole picture. Our analyses clearly also point to the active and still employed grandparent in the multigenerational households. It might in fact be the grandparents that provide the financial resources for the household which allows the mothers of minor children not to work and care for her children rather than the grandparents looking after the grandchildren.

Furthermore our analyses point also clearly to the importance of looking at diversity within households. First of all we observed some clear differences by origin of the women from the five main Latin American countries studied here. We find two very different patterns that relate to the two different regional origin groups: (1) women from Ecuador and Bolivia, who live less in multigenerational households but more often in complex household compositions, and who are more likely to work; and (2) women from Argentina and Venezuela, and to a lesser extent Colombia, who are more often in a multigenerational household, to a fewer extent part of complex household structures and are more often inactive mothers. Moreover, the longstanding historical links that Argentina and Venezuela have with Spain, might explain the better socioeconomic position of women from these countries in the occupational ladder. This can also be related to better educational attainment of women from these countries where Andean women have less education on average and hold less skilled jobs compared to Argentineans and Venezuelans. Furthermore, the recent nature of the immigration flow and the young age structure of migrants (mainly the case for Bolivia) might explain in part the differences in labour force position of these women compared to the more established migration from Argentina for example. Recent migrants are more likely to live in complex households and their position in the labor-market is often less stable than is the case for longer residing migrants. At the same time this seems to be only part of the story as also those from Ecuador hold a less favorable position and this immigration flow to Spain has been ongoing for a much longer period of time already.

The reasons behind these two very different patterns in the ways in which households and labour force are related, also link to other aspects of diversity in households and origins. First, we observed profound differences between those women living in all immigrant households and those in households with a Spanish adult member. This difference coincides with diverse intermarriage patterns across the origin groups we studied. Women from Argentina, Venezuela and especially Colombia have much higher intermarriage rates. Previous research has documented that the marriage matches (with the Spanish partner) of these women results in a less economically active position and a more extensive native network (Domingo et al. 2014). The effect of the economic crisis furthermore doesn't seem to have the same effect on all groups. Our analyses indicate that the economic downturn may increase extended and multiple households for those whose occupational sectors were more affected (Ecuador and Bolivia) by the crisis. Since in particular the occupational sector where men from these two origins work (i.e. construction) were more affected by the economy recession than those in which females tend to work (i.e. personal care, domestic work), may have resulted in keeping these mothers active in the labor market in order to provide the necessary economic means for the family.

All in all, our analyses show the complex interplay between labour force participation and household demands and structure that women of Latin American origin in Spain face. The diverse ways in which they navigate and negotiate both work and living arrangements, as well as, relationships with children, partners and other household members in times of economic constraints could only be partially studied with the data we have at hand here. At the same time our work shows that it is crucial to pay attention to this diversity across origin groups, household structures and types of relationships in order to get a better grasp on the labour market participation choices made by immigrant women.

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Chapter 8
Spain: A New Gravity Centre for Latin American Migration

Joaquín Recaño, Marta Roig and Verónica de Miguel

Introduction

Spain, a country of emigration for decades, rapidly became a country of immigration during the 1990s and turned into Europe's main country of destination in 2004. The inflow of migrants reached a peak in the first quarter of 2007, with close to 267,820 entries recorded for the first 3 months, and started to decline afterwards.[1] A majority of those international migrants who arrived during this recent wave came from Latin America (Izquierdo 1996; Pérez 2004): the share of migrants born in South and Central American countries increased from 25 % of the migrant stock in 2000 to 41 % in 2007. As this wave ended and trends changed, starting in the second half of 2007, the number of migrants from Latin America, and even their proportion in Spain's total migrant stock, declined since 2010.

The economic crisis that has notably affected Spain since 2008 has involved a drop in the entries that, even though it has affected all origins of the immigration, has been especially intense for the inflows from Latin-America (Domingo and Recaño 2010). The number of Latin-American inflows has decreased from 336,646, measured in 2007, to just 108,525 in 2012. Similarly, the Latin-American exodus from Spain emerges as a new process that has kept approximately the same net

[1] Data based on the population register ("Estadística de Variaciones Residenciales (EVR)"). Microdata available at: http://www.ine.es/prodyser/micro_varires.htm.

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values since 2008, with outflows above 125,000 movements per year. Within this context of immigration contraction and emigration expansion (López de Lera 2010; Mejía and Castro 2012; Domingo and Sabater 2013b; Parella and Petroff 2014), a negative net external migration of Latin-Americans in Spain is registered for first time in 2012.

The general understanding is that return to the country of birth is the dominant form of external emigration after an economic crisis (King 1986; Borjas and Bratberg 1996; Reagan and Olsen 2000; Cassarino 2004; Bastia 2011; Boccagni and Lagomarsino 2011). Return movements tend to be inflated in times of crisis. As the inflows halt, it is assumed that immigrants will go back to their countries of origin in a massive way. However, other movements to third countries should not be ignored (Domingo and Sabater 2013a; Larramona 2013; Schrammm 2011). This latter aspect gains relevance in the Latin-American case, after a decade where a great proportion of the Latin-American population has obtained the Spanish citizenship or a permanent residence permit (Reher and Requena 2009). According to what has been observed for other international migratory circuits, before going back immediately to their country of origin due to the loss of their jobs, migrants will search for other jobs in different sectors within the same local market, in other regional markets within the same country of destination (Gil et al 2013), or even in other third countries, because the economic and personal costs associated to return mobility are high. Nonetheless, the question is: Why should immigrants go back to their country of origin given that the economic crisis has affected many economies in the developed and developing countries? In this setting, many immigrants consider, given that the situation is bad in the country of destination (Spain), that it can be worse in the country of origin. The fact of returning is easier when the migrant's nuclear family remains in the country of origin. On the contrary, if the family was reunified and lives in Spain, there are many logistic constraints (for instance, access to the health and educational systems), that influence the considerations about the comparative advantages of returning home.

In a short period of time, the emigration from Spain has become a real option for many Latin-American immigrants living in Spain, triggered by the economic crisis. This new situation poses many questions that will be discussed in this chapter. The first of the questions that will be raised is of a methodological nature, but not less important: how do peculiarities of the Spanish sources of information influence the quantification and characterization of the outflows? However, the most important questions in this work will focus on different general aspects of the external emigration, and other particular aspects about the return migration and the re-emigration or transnational migration from Spain to third countries. In sum, has external emigration registered the same intensity for all countries that make up the Latin-American group in Spain? Which has been the evolution trough time? Which demographic features does external emigration show? To what extent has return migration been relevant? Has this been a massive process? Which has been the impact of the crisis on the volume and intensity of this kind of out-migrations at a regional level? Finally, the Latin-Americans leaving Spain might return to their countries of origin or choose third countries. Which is the relative composition

and intensity of this kind of exits according to the country of birth? How does the fact of having the Spanish citizenship influence the emigration patterns to third countries? These latter questions are completed by a brief geographical view of the main destinations of Latin-Americans if they do not return.

The chapter is divided in seven sections. The first one is the introduction. Main sources of information and used methods for the calculations of the indicators are introduced in the second section. The relationship between migration and economic crisis is tackled in the third section. Age composition is analysed in the fourth section. The fifth section is devoted to the effects of the crisis on the external migration at a regional level. Next section gets into the differences between return mobility and new emigration. Conclusions are presented in the second to last section. Finally, we provide the bibliographic references.

Data Sources and Measurement Issues

The present analysis is based mainly on microdata from the Spanish Population Register (Estadística de Variaciones Residenciales) and the Padrón Continuo. The limitations intrinsic to most international migration statistics, namely those imposed by data quality and availability, are particularly relevant when it comes to emigration (Jasso and Rosenzweig 1982; Poulain 1993; Reagan and Olsen, 2000; Van Hook et al 2006; Schwabish 2011). In general, migrants leaving a country have few incentives to inform authorities of their move (Thierry et al 2005).

In order to improve the measurement of migration outflows, starting in 2002, Spanish citizens who registered in Spanish Consulates abroad were removed from the municipal register of their previous place of residence and were therefore counted as emigrants. That is, registers allowed for an assessment of outflows of Spanish citizens only.

The second of the reforms that were carried out was initiated in the year 2004, when withdrawals due to improper inclusions (BII in Spanish nomenclature) of foreign citizens in the Statistics of Residential Variations started to be computed. These were derived from the administrative withdrawal procedure that local administration processed. Within the population register mechanism, these were withdrawals because of residential changes to other countries, whose specific destinations were unknown and were the result of the initiative of the local entities to depurate their own population registers. Since 2006, foreigners from non-EU countries who do not hold a permanent residence permit must renew their registration in the municipal register every 2 years. Failure to renew such registration is counted as an international move. This last procedure is called expiry withdrawals (BCC in Spanish nomenclature). In the Table 8.1 the distribution of the withdrawals to other countries by type of register is shown for the period 2002–2012.

These two changes have significantly improved the measurement of outmigration from Spain, even though there are still important limitations (Gil 2010). Namely, the timing of the moves cannot be assessed accurately, given that a new

Table 8.1 Information characteristics of outmigration registers of Latin Americans in Spain, by country of birth, 2002–2012. (Source: Own calculations based on microdata from the population register (EVR) for 2002–2012. Microdata available at: http://www.ine.es/prodyser/micro_varires.htm)

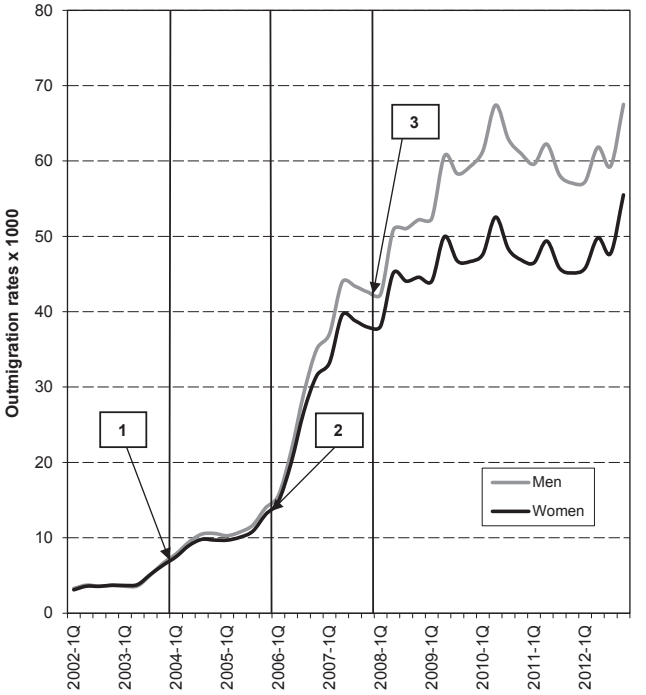
Country of birth	Known destination (%)	Expiry withdrawals (BCC) (%)	Unknown destination (BII) (%)	Total
Ecuador	22.9	57.7	19.4	126,459
Bolivia	16.8	64.1	19.1	111,022
Colombia	19.9	62.1	18.0	95,342
Argentina	23.3	54.2	22.5	94,200
Brazil	14.1	68.8	17.1	93,489
Peru	19.2	60.2	20.7	50,990
Paraguay	13.8	69.3	16.9	43,511
Venezuela	36.2	49.6	14.2	39,556
Chile	21.0	59.8	19.2	32,466
Dominican Republic	22.2	54.0	23.8	27,900
Mexico	17.3	67.9	14.8	26,215
Uruguay	23.8	56.1	20.1	25,862
Cuba	32.5	51.8	15.7	19,903
Honduras	16.4	52.1	31.5	11,425
Nicaragua	21.9	47.5	30.6	4,491
Guatemala	25.9	60.2	13.9	3,046
El Salvador	17.9	61.7	20.5	2,913
Panamá	28.7	58.6	12.8	2,146
Costa Rica	20.5	63.7	15.7	1,721
Rest of Latin America	23.7	49.4	26.9	646
Latin America	20.6	60.3	19.1	813,303

registration is required once every 2 years only (Fig. 8.1). In addition, the destination of a majority of out-migrants is not known. For Latin American foreign born leaving Spain, destination is known in just 20% of the cases (Table 8.1).[2] Therefore, although these limitations are made explicit through the chapter, data should be interpreted with caution.

The indicators needed for the demographic analysis of the Latin-American emigration are the different types of estimated rates for different time referents: quarterly emigration rates[3], age-specific migration rates and, finally, an indicator

[2] Own estimation based on microdata from Spain's Population Register 2002–2012. Available at: http://www.ine.es/prodyser/micro_varires.htm.

[3] In order to get these rates we have carried out a quarterly estimation of the Latin-American population by country of birth from the population figures by the Continuous Register (*Padrón*



(1) Beginning of the withdrawals due to improper inclusions (BII -"*Bajas por inclusion indebida*" in Spanish nomenclature) of foreigners comparable to external out-migrations.
(2) Introduction of the expiry withdrawal procedure (BCC -"*Bajas por caducidad*" in Spanish nomenclature) for non-EU population who do not hold a permanent residence permit
(3) Beginning of the economic crisis in Spain

Fig. 8.1 Improvement of the measures on migration outflows and outmigration rates by quarter. Latin American born population, 2002–2012. (Source: Own calculations based on microdata from the population register (EVR) for 2002–2012. Microdata available at: http://www.ine.es/prodyser/micro_varires.htm and Padrón Continuo, 2002–2013. Mobile mean of 5 quarters)

synthesizing the mean intensity of emigration. In order to build them, we need to calculate emigration rates by age in fulfilled years. The outmigration rate, $O^{t,t+n}_{x,x+n}$, for the age group x, x+n between time points t and t+n, is defined as the outflows by Latin-Americans (the concept of Latin-American for this paper means people born in Latin-America) conducted by the population of a certain age and from a certain country of birth with regards to the same mean population at that age. In the following equation, $O^{t,t+n}_{x,x+n}$ are the outmigration counts between ages x and x+n, n is the number of years in the considered time interval, and thus the number of years in the particular age group, and Px, x+n represents the averaged Latin-American population for that age group by country of birth.

Continuo), from which annual data are available with the reference date of January the 1st for each year during the period 2002–2031. Data on flows have been directly provided by the Statistics on Residential Variations (Estadísticas de Variaciones Residenciales—EVR).

$$o_{x,x+n}^{t,t+n} = \frac{O_{x,x+n}^{t,t+n}}{P_{x,x+n}}$$

It is possible, from the age-specific emigration rates, to build a total rate, similarly to those for other renewable phenomena, such as fertility, that takes into account the influence of the age structure. It is the Gross Migraproduction Rate (GMR) defined by the sum of age-specific emigration rates (Rogers and Willekens 1986), similar to the total fertility rate. Biases due to the population structure are thus deleted in the measurement of the migratory indicators.

$$GMR = \sum_{x=0}^{\omega} o_{x,x+n}^{t,t+n}$$

Since migration is a renewable phenomenon, a person might experience several external emigrations across his/her life, so the total addition of the specific rates can be higher than one. This result becomes more noticeable for phenomena with a high concentration within a short time period, such as the Latin-American external emigration between the years 2006 and 2012.

The used denominators have been derived from the microdata files of the Spanish Continuous Register (Padrón Continuo). The intensive process of naturalization of the Latin-American population advise us the use of the variable on the country of birth for the denominator (which does not change through the study period of time), instead of citizenship, that registers a dramatic reduction from the year 2009, thus significantly increasing the emigration rates (Fig. 8.2 and 8.5).

On the other hand, the concept of return that has been applied in this chapter is related to the emigration to the country of birth, whereas re-emigration or transnational migration is the movement from Spain to a country other than the individual's country of birth.

Migration Flows and the Economic Crisis

The Spanish economy enjoyed a long period of growth from the early 1990s to 2008. While some European countries entered the recession in early 2008, Spain was able to maintain positive economic growth until the third quarter of 2008. Unemployment started to grow before that, in early 2008, with the number of persons unemployed increasing from 2.2 million in the first quarter of 2008 to 3.4 million in the fourth quarter of 2008, and peaking at 5 million – 22% of the labour force- in the first quarter of 2013.

Immigration grew rapidly during the years of prosperity and Spain became the main European country of destination in 2004.[4] The inflow of migrants reached a peak in 2007, with close to 1 million entries recorded in the population register for the full year—including a record inflow of 200,000 migrants from Romania, over

[4] Eurostat Statistics Database, available at http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/eurostat/home. Accessed on February 1st 2011.

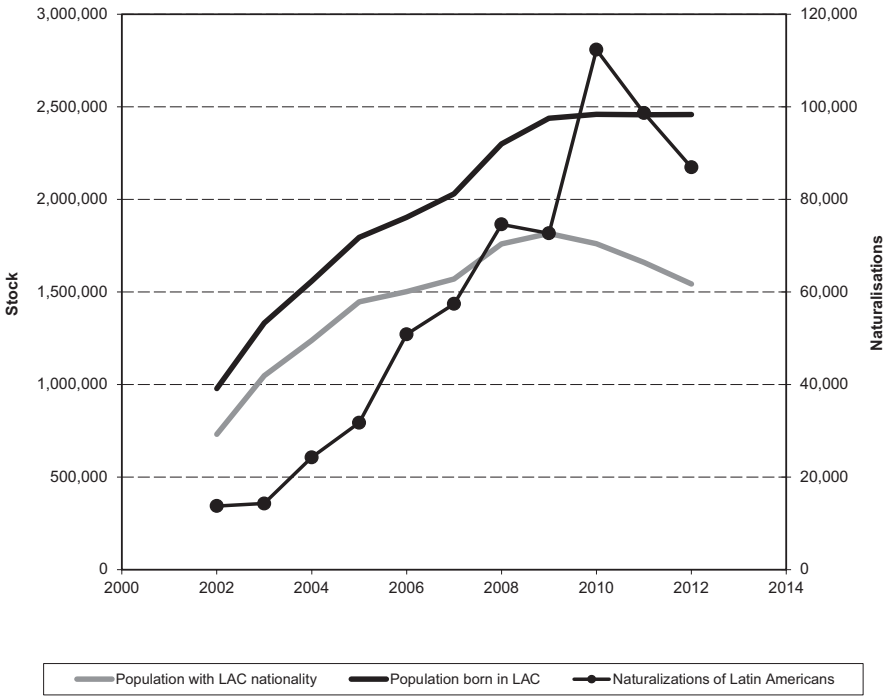


Fig. 8.2 Stock of Latin American population by nationality, birth of country and naturalisation. Spain (2002–2012). (Source: *Padrón Continuo* and *Eurostat*)

52,000 migrants from Bolivia and 43,000 from Colombia. As shown in Fig. 8.3 the inflow of Latin American migrants has been declining since the first quarter of 2007. The growing outflow exceeded their inflow in 2012, for the first time in decades. As a result of these trends, the number of migrants born in Latin America grew rapidly, passing from 977,599 in 2002 to 1,794,433 in 2005 and reaching 2,459,089 in 2010, and has not grown since then.

Immigration and emigration trends differ by group. As shown in Fig. 8.4, the inflow of migrants born in Bolivia peaked strongly in the first quarter of 2007 and declined rapidly after that as did, to a lesser extent, the inflow of Brazilians. Immigration from Colombia increased until the last quarter of 2007 and inflows from Ecuador continued growing until mid-2008, while inflows from Argentina had started declining in the early 2000s. Emigration flows started to increase in the early 2000s, as the stock of migrants grew, and generally peaked between 2009 and 2010. Therefore, in several cases, the observed decline in immigration and increase in emigration of migrants born in Latin America preceded the onset of the economic crisis.

Migration trends and the composition of migration flows are greatly influenced by the migration policy framework. Namely, based on Spain's first Immigration Law (Ley de Extranjería), approved in 1985, nationals of Latin America did not require a visa to enter the Schengen Area. However, starting in 1999, the European Union established the need for a Schengen visa for nationals of Cuba, Peru and the

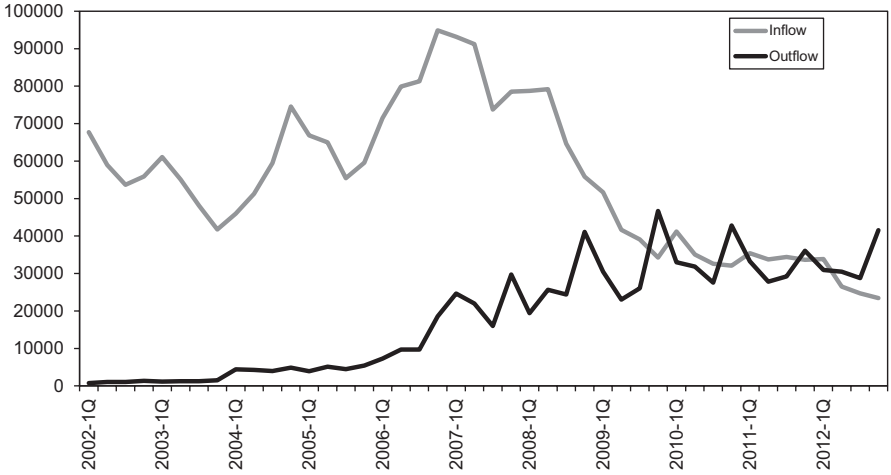


Fig. 8.3 Inflows and outflows of migrants born in Latin America, 2002–2012. (Source: Own calculations based on microdata from the population register (EVR) for 2002–2012. Microdata available at: http://www.ine.es/prodyser/micro_varires.htm)

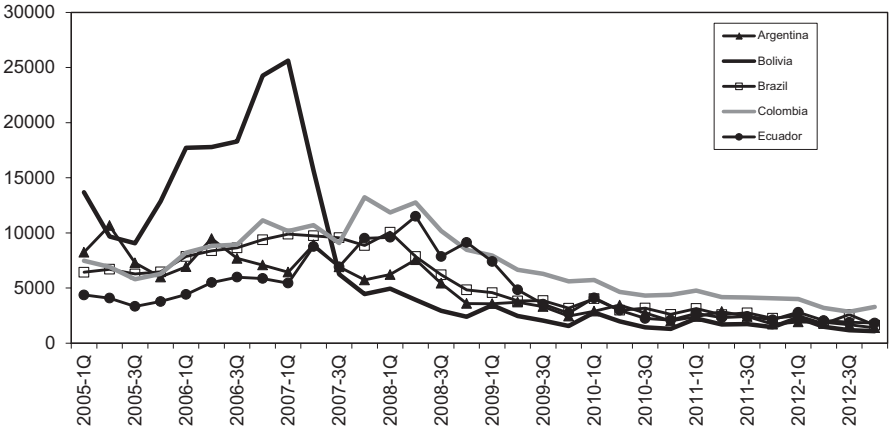


Fig. 8.4 Inflow of migrants born in selected Latin American countries, 2005–2012. (Source: Own calculations based on microdata from the population register (EVR) for 2002–2012. Microdata available at: http://www.ine.es/prodyser/micro_varires.htm)

Dominican Republic; later on, it required a Schengen visa for nationals of Colombia (since January 2002), Ecuador (August 2003) and Bolivia (April 2007).[5] Each of these changes caused a significant increase in migration flows from the countries affected in the months prior to the visa requirement coming into effect and a decline

[5] Ministerio Nacional de Asuntos Exteriores y Cooperación. Information available from http://www.maec.es/es/MenuPpal/Consulares/ServiciosConsulares/InformacionaExtranjeros/Visados/Documents/AnejoI_DIC09.pdf.

in the number of entries afterwards—as shown in Fig. 8.4, migration from Bolivia peaked in the first quarter of 2007 and declined sharply after that.

The chronology of the emigration process by the immigrant population in Spain is affected by the ways exits abroad are measured. For comparative purposes, it is only possible to study this evolution properly from the year 2006, when all modifications in the departure registers were initiated and, thus, homogeneous series are available since then. In Fig. 8.5 we have displayed the evolution of the quarterly external emigration rates for the 12 most representative countries of the Latin-American population. These rates have been smoothed through the moving average of five terms in order to estimate the trend line. The time evolution of these rates represents the impact of the economic crisis, although the response by country of birth is quite dissimilar (Fig. 8.5). Immigrants from Bolivia, Brazil and Paraguay make up the national groups for which a higher increase in the emigration rates is observed after the beginning of the crisis, with an outstanding acceleration from the second semester of 2008 that mainly affects men. These graphs suggest the interpretation that the crisis is predominantly a male issue and that the crisis affects more intensely those countries with a more recent immigration history in Spain. The rhythm of rate growth for the other groups is slower, though they also increase during the period of the crisis.

In sum, an unequal outmigration response in terms of intensity and tempo during the crisis is observed, where men and, especially, people from the countries with a lower duration of residence in Spain are more likely to leave Spain. In the next section we will confirm this hierarchy in emigration intensity with more refined indicators and age profiles.

Age Structure of Migrants: Has the Crisis had an Impact on Who Leaves?

Migration trends by age often follow common patterns (Castro and Rogers 1982). Namely, mobility is often strongest among young adult males aged 20–39, who move due to employment prospects or family formation (Rogers and Willekens 1986). In some cases, mobility grows again around retirement age. This post-retirement migration peak is most visible among those who emigrate and to return to their place of origin.

Recent outflows of Latin American citizens from Spain follow this common pattern, although differences by group are strong: emigration rates show a bimodal distribution among individuals migrating to Argentina, Brazil, Peru and Uruguay, while emigration to Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador or the Dominican Republic is strongest after age 60. The crisis has resulted in an increase of emigration rates at all ages.

As it can be seen in Fig. 8.6, outmigration rates by sex and age for the Latin-American population show relevant differences across the seven considered countries. Age profiles for the set of exits from Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, Peru and Uruguay respond roughly to the general characteristics reviewed in the preceding paragraph,

Fig. 8.5 Outmigration rates by quarter and sex of Latin American born population, 2006–2012. (Source: Own calculations based on microdata from the population register (EVR) for 2006–2012. Microdata available at: http://www.ine.es/prodyser/micro_varires.htm and Padrón Continuo (2006–2013))

though adjusted for some little variations. However, the most important differences in the external emigration calendar are found in countries such as Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador and the Dominican Republic, among which the maximum mobility experienced by young adults is much lower and the highest rates are found after age 60. Within this group, Bolivia and Colombia are further characterised, in the period

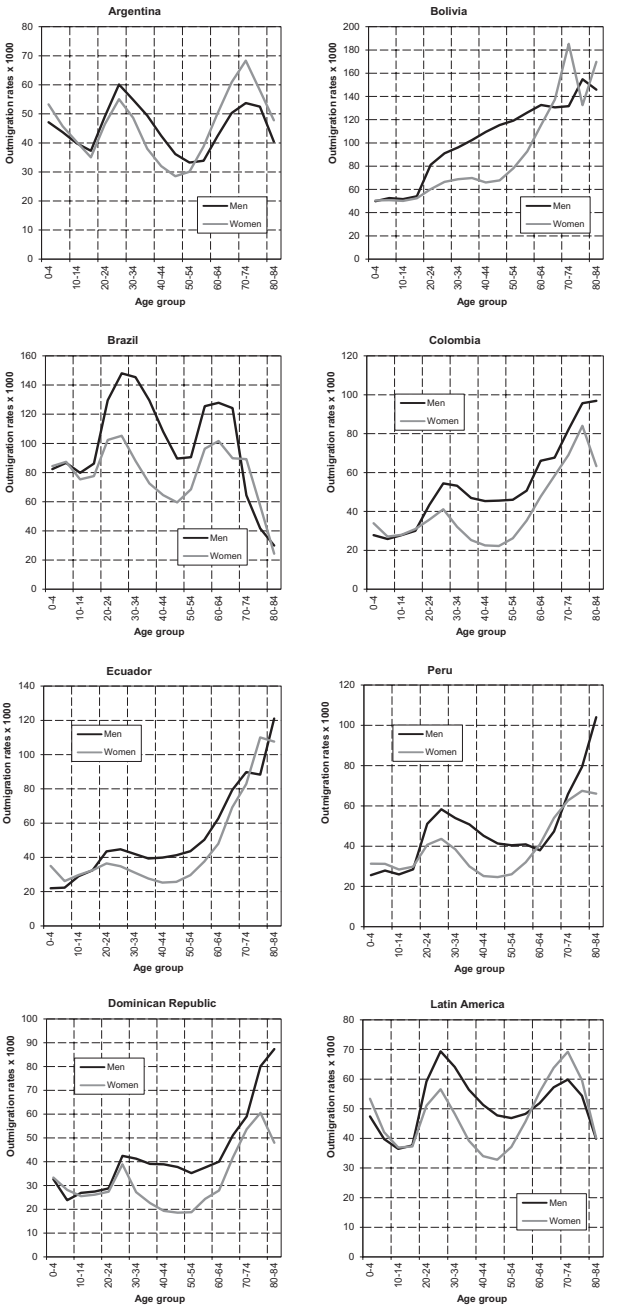


Fig. 8.6 Age-specific outmigration rates, 2006–2012. (Source: Own calculations based on microdata from the population register (EVR) for 2006–2012. Microdata available at: http://www.ine.es/prodyser/micro_varires.htm and *Padrón Continuo* (2006–2013))

Table 8.2 Impact of the crisis on emigration abroad by age. (Source: Own calculations based on microdata from the population register (EVR) for 2006–2012. Microdata available at: http://www.ine.es/prodyser/micro_varires.htm and *Padrón Continuo* (2006–2013))

	Outmigration rates		
Age	2006–2008	2009–2012	Relative increase (%)
Total Latin America			
0–14	28.4	47.3	167
20–59	27.4	36.2	132
60+	49.3	56.5	115
Argentina			
0–14	33.3	52.7	158
20–59	37.2	48.8	131
60+	47.2	50.9	108
Colombia			
0–14	21.9	33.3	152
20–59	31.6	41.0	130
60+	61.4	61.5	100
Ecuador			
0–14	21.2	35.0	165
20–59	30.2	39.8	132
60+	77.4	59.9	77

2009–2012, by the expansion of the high external male emigration intensities to an increased number of groups centred at ages of maximum labour activity (Fig. 8.6).

Even though emigration by age differs significantly by country, the impact of the crisis on age-specific emigration rates has been similar across the board: emigration has risen somewhat faster among children and adolescents under age 15 than among adults of working age or older persons between the years preceding the crisis (2006–2008) and those of the crisis and its aftermath (2009–2012). This unusual pattern indicates that working families have responded to the economic turmoil by reducing the dependency burden and leaving only family members of productive age in Spain. The faster increase in emigration rates of children is observable across the three major Latin American communities, namely Argentina, Colombia and Ecuador (Table 8.2).

The Gross Migraproduction Rates[6] presented in Table 8.3 show a high number of outmigration movements in the different countries. These results confirm the exceptional conditions that Spain has experienced throughout the period 2006–2012. The crisis has increased the relative intensity of external emigration but this rise

[6] The interpretation of the Gross Migraproduction Rates is the following: if the outmigration rates by age for the analysed period is reproduced for a fictitious generation throughout their lives, the age rate accumulated propensity would represent the potential number of emigrations that this generation would experience.

Table 8.3 Gross Migraproduction Rates (GMR) for outflows from Spain by country of birth, sex and period (2006–2012). (Source: Own calculations based on microdata from the population register (EVR) for 2002–2012. Microdata available at: http://www.ine.es/prodyser/micro_varires.htm and Padrón Continuo (2006–2013))

Country of birth	Men		Change in %	Women		Change in %	Sex ratio	
	2006–2008	2009–2012		2006–2008	2009–2012		2006–2008	2009–2012
Argentina	3.24	4.33	34	3.41	4.34	27	95.0	99.7
Bolivia	6.72	10.45	55	7.11	8.13	14	94.6	128.5
Brazil	5.71	10.45	83	4.72	8.11	72	121.0	128.9
Colombia	3.98	4.87	22	3.11	3.64	17	128.1	133.6
Costa Rica	4.94	6.16	25	3.15	6.07	93	156.6	101.5
Cuba	2.02	2.60	29	2.03	2.50	23	99.8	104.1
Chile	4.59	6.54	43	4.51	5.94	32	101.7	110.1
Ecuador	4.33	4.59	6	4.27	3.90	−9	101.3	117.6
El Salvador	4.05	4.96	23	3.17	3.80	20	127.7	130.6
Guatemala	5.12	6.17	20	3.74	3.90	4	137.1	158.2
Honduras	6.10	7.67	26	5.55	5.89	6	109.9	130.3
Mexico	4.59	5.90	29	4.36	5.41	24	105.2	109.0
Nicaragua	3.60	4.75	32	3.57	4.50	26	101.0	105.5
Panama	3.44	6.28	83	3.39	5.52	63	101.6	113.8
Paraguay	5.02	12.27	144	5.88	9.15	56	85.4	134.2
Peru	3.24	4.66	44	3.02	3.58	18	107.3	130.2
Dominican Republic	3.44	3.78	10	2.62	2.80	7	131.1	135.3
Uruguay	3.13	4.73	51	3.21	4.74	48	97.5	99.7
Venezuela	3.44	4.85	41	3.26	4.57	40	105.5	106.2
Latin America	3.56	5.02	41	3.48	4.54	30	102.3	110.6

differs in net values according to the considered country (Table 8.3). In the period 2006–2008, the Latin-American population showed a Gross Migraproduction Rate of 3.56 emigrations for men and 3.48 for women. These indicators grow up to 41 and 31 %, respectively, during the crisis, resulting in 5.02 movements for men and 4.54 for women. Nonetheless, these overall figures contrast with the high dispersion revealed by the 19 studied countries. Thus, emigration by males and females from Bolivia, Paraguay, Brazil and Honduras are on top of the outmigration intensity ranking for both periods, with indexes that duplicate the Latin-American mean values for both sexes. Furthermore, the ranking for the countries is in general the same before and after the crisis relative to male emigration. These mentioned countries are also those that register the highest increments relative to the Gross Migraproduction Rates. At the other side, people from Ecuador and Colombia, two Latin-American national groups with a high average duration in Spain, experience very low increases in their trend to emigrate abroad in times of crisis. In the case of

Ecuadorian females this involves a decrease of 9% and, in the case of Colombian females, the relative growth is just 17%, quite below the registered behaviour for the total of Latin-American origins.

Another aspect worth highlighting is the existence of remarkable contrasts in sex ratios for the net indicators. With the exception of Argentineans and Uruguayans, the Latin-American emigration portrait that is drawn from the Spanish crisis is prominently masculine.

Why this masculine predominance? There are two plausible arguments. First one would refer to the early protagonist role of both sexes in the initial phases of the process of emigration to Spain, where the effect of distinct outmigration cultures by country of origin is far from negligible (Bilsborrow 1993; Hugo 1993; Singelmann 1993; United Nations 1993). Immigrant groups characterised by a pioneer group greatly composed by female emigrants, such as the Dominican Republic, would promote better and more stable ties among women within the local economy in the period of crisis and, so, a higher residential stability in time of crisis. The second argument points out that these cultural differences that have been transferred to Spain from the analysed countries of origin might be reinforced through other economic conditions related to the role immigrant men and women play in the Spanish labour markets. Whereas Latin-American women have performed an important role in varied segments of the service sector, enduring lower total unemployment rates during the crisis, male immigrants from some Latin-American countries have been linked, on the contrary, to economic sectors demanding low qualifications, such as agriculture and construction. These sectors have been strongly afflicted by the crisis, with higher unemployment rates and, thus, leading to a higher propensity of external emigration.

Impact of the Crisis on the Regional Patterns of Emigration Abroad

Overall, migration inflows and outflows are largest in the regions containing Spain's main metropolitan areas, namely Catalonia (Barcelona) and Madrid. These two immigrant gateways saw 56% of all exits abroad in 2006–2008 and 50% of the total in 2009–2012[7]. They also record the highest emigration rates, as shown in Table 8.4. To a certain extent, emigration from these two areas abroad may be overestimated due to the fact that, as the main entry gates into the country, Barcelona and Madrid hold a high proportion of first enrolments into the municipal registers. Some of the migrants moving to other regions after arrival may not have duly informed local administrations of such moves through de-registration and registration in their new place of residence. Failure to renew their registration or to register in other regions may have resulted in these migrants being counted as having left the country. However, since 2008, there has also been a significant amount of internal

[7] Own calculations based on microdata from the population register (EVR) for 2006–2012. Microdata available at: http://www.ine.es/prodyser/micro_varires.htm.

Table 8.4 Emigration rates of Latin American migrants by region and sex. (Source: Own calculations based on microdata from the population register (EVR) for 2006–2012. Microdata available at: http://www.ine.es/prodyser/micro_varires.htm and *Padrón Continuo* (2006–2013))

Region	Males		Change in % (2)/(1)	Females		Change in % (2)/(1)
	(1)	(2)		(1)	(2)	
	2006–2008	2009–2012		2006–2008	2009–2012	
Andalucía	38.1	57.2	50.3	31.7	44.3	40.0
Aragón	18.5	37.2	101.8	17.6	27.3	55.5
Asturias	35.2	41.1	16.9	31.6	32.7	3.4
Baleares	37.8	49.3	30.4	37.3	40.5	8.4
Canarias	13.7	27.6	101.8	11.5	23.5	104.5
Cantabria	30.7	53.9	75.6	27.1	36.7	35.3
Castilla -La Mancha	38.3	57.5	50.2	31.8	42.6	33.7
Castilla-León	35.5	58.8	65.8	29.5	40.9	38.8
Cataluña	56.7	77.1	36.0	52.8	64.0	21.3
Comunidad Valenciana	34.1	65.3	91.6	29.4	51.8	76.5
Extremadura	23.2	52.7	126.9	23.5	42.3	80.3
Galicia	25.8	38.7	49.7	25.0	34.7	39.0
Madrid	47.2	61.8	31.0	41.2	47.9	16.3
Murcia	26.2	59.2	125.7	20.2	42.4	109.6
Navarra	28.1	47.8	70.5	25.2	37.7	49.7
País Vasco	42.4	63.8	50.4	37.1	49.2	32.5
La Rioja	31.9	58.8	84.1	29.3	47.0	60.4
Ceuta	8.0	16.4	105.1	15.9	9.3	−41.6
Melilla	70.7	35.9	−49.3	30.4	29.7	−2.2
Spain	40.5	59.9	47.8	36.2	47.5	31.2

migration from those regions most affected by the crisis—including Valencia and Murcia- to Madrid and Barcelona, which remain economically more dynamic and offer better employment opportunities (Domingo and Recaño 2010; Gil et al 2013). These internal moves may have preceded a subsequent migration out of the country.

While Catalonia and Madrid still record the highest rates of emigration abroad, the crisis had a significant impact on the regional distribution of departures of Latin Americans abroad. Namely, emigration has increased the most in primarily rural regions such as Extremadura, Murcia and Aragon as well as in Valencia, where the crisis caused the collapse of a large construction sector, and in the Canary Islands, where tourism constitutes the main source of income.

Emigration rates are consistently higher among men than among women in all regions and the crisis has intensified differences in the propensity to emigrate by sex. These trends may be explained by the stronger impact of the jobs' crisis on men. As shown in Fig. 8.7, unemployment has risen faster among Latin American men than among women since the start of the crisis. Male unemployment surpassed

Fig. 8.7 Unemployment rates of Latin American migrants in Spain by sex, 2002–2013. (Source: Own calculations based on microdata from the Labour Force Surveys ("Encuesta de Población Activa (EPA)") for 2002–2013. Microdata available at: http://www.ine.es/prodyser/micro_epa.htm. Note: "Employment data are available by nationality only")

female unemployment starting in the second quarter of 2008 and has remained higher ever since, reaching a high of 48 % in the first quarter of 2013. Latin American men were more often employed in those sectors most affected by the crisis: in early 2008, 44 % of all employed men were working in the construction sector, while 92 % of women worked in the services sector, mostly in the care sector, which was less affected by the crisis[8].

Return or New Migration?

The OECD estimates that, on the overall, a significant proportion of the immigrants return or re-emigrate to third countries during the first year of residence in the destination country (OECD 2008). Since the beginning of the intense immigra-

[8] Labour Force Surveys -"Encuesta de Población Activa"- 2008. Data available at: http://www.ine.es/jaxiT3/Tabla.htm?t=4133.

Table 8.5 Distribution of Latin American migrants leaving Spain by country of destination and by citizenship. (Source: Own calculations based on microdata from the population register (EVR) for 2002–2012. Microdata available at: http://www.ine.es/prodyser/micro_varires.htm)

	2002–2007		2008–2012	
	Citizenship		Citizenship	
	Spanish (%)	Foreign (%)	Spanish (%)	Foreign (%)
Country of birth (Return)	62.1	89.9	70.7	91.7
United Kingdom	7.4	0.7	7.5	0.6
EU 15[a]	12.1	5.8	10.3	4.6
United States	11.8	1.5	6.2	0.9
Other	6.6	2.0	5.3	2.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

a Also includes Iceland, Norway and Switzerland. Data from "Estadisticas de Variaciones Residenciales (EVR)" provide information on international moves for only one in every five international moves. The distribution shown in Table 8.5 is based on information on this 20 % sample.

tion process at the end of the twentieth-century, the exits from Spain were a fact. But it was the impossibility of obtaining an accurate measure of those out-migrations before the introduction, in 2006, of the expiry withdrawal procedure (BCC), that provided the distort image of almost inexistent outflows. Immigrants may choose between two possible migratory strategies in their exit from Spain: return to the country of origin, which has been considered here basically as the return to the country of birth since there is no information regarding previous destinations of the migrant before the arrival in Spain, and the emigration to third countries, referred here as transnational emigration or new emigration. This latter kind of exits would use Spain as a migratory platform to other destinations. In this section, we will make some considerations about the comparative dimension of both kinds of emigration from the population registers that provide information on the known destination for just 20 % of the total out-migrations registered for Latin-Americans. We will start by describing the general characteristics of this kind of movements.

Many migrants from Latin American countries have become Spanish nationals through naturalization since 2000. In 2012, 30 % of all migrants born in Latin American countries were Spanish citizens and a high proportion of migrants had residence permits[9]. The acquisition of citizenship or a legal residence in Spain open options for emigration and expand destination choices—namely, they allow migrants to move to other European countries with better labour-market conditions. Return to the country of origin is no longer the only legal option, even though it still constitutes the main choice for the groups observed.

As Table 8.5 shows, the main destination for Latin American migrants leaving Spain is their country of birth, both before and after the crisis and for both Spanish citizens and foreigners, even though the percentage of returns is lower among

[9] http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=migr_reslong&lang=en.

Table 8.6 Distribution of Latin American migrants leaving Spain by age, destination and citizenship. (Source: Own calculations based on microdata from the population register (EVR) for 2006–2012. Microdata available at: http://www.ine.es/prodyser/micro_varires.htm)

Destination	Age	2002–2007		2008–2012	
		Citizenship		Citizenship	
		Spanish (%)	Foreign (%)	Spanish (%)	Foreign (%)
Country of birth (Return)	0–14	19.3	17.2	21.9	15.4
	15–59	68.5	74.8	66.8	78.2
	60+	12.2	8.0	11.3	6.4
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Other destinations	0–14	10.3	15.7	12.9	18.6
	15–59	83.0	79.4	82.6	75.0
	60+	6.7	4.9	4.5	6.4
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Spanish nationals, whose moves are spread across a broader set of destinations. Overall, 91% of Latin American citizens of the 12 main migrant groups returned to their countries of birth between 2002 and 2012, while only 68% of Spanish nationals did. Aside from their country of origin, the main countries of destination for Latin American migrants are the United States and the United Kingdom. These two destinations account for 15% of all moves of Spanish citizens born in Latin America—but for only 2% of all moves by Latin American citizens.

The crisis has resulted in an increase in the number and proportion of migrants – Spanish citizens and foreigners- returning to their countries of birth. The percentage of returns has increased faster among Spanish citizens (from 62% in 2002–2007 to 71% in 2008–2012) than among foreigners (from 90 to 92%), although differences vary by group. Even though destination preferences are highly influenced by historical factors, networks and the subsequence presence of migrants from the same group in the country of choice, some trends are visible across groups. Namely, the United States and European countries other than the United Kingdom became less-desirable destinations in the aftermath of the crisis.

Regarding the age structure of outflows, the proportion of dependents (children and persons close or above retirement age) is generally larger among returnees than among those who undertake a new migration. As observed earlier, emigration has grown faster among children and adolescents than among other age groups as a result of the crisis. The proportion of children leaving has grown the most among foreigners moving to Europe and the United States who, given the weak employment prospects in Spain, may be moving more often with their families. In contrast, the proportion of children and older persons has declined among foreigners returning to their countries of birth. That is, return has become more frequent among foreign individuals of working age as a result of the crisis (Table 8.6).

Eighty-five of every 100 out-migrations of Latin-Americans from Spain to an identified destination were return emigrations to the country of birth. This share remains stable for the two analysed periods (Table 8.7). Cubans are the people with

Table 8.7 Return migration and new migration by country of birth from Spain during the crisis, 2006–2012. (Source: Own calculations based on microdata from the population register (EVR) for 2006–2012. Microdata available at: http://www.ine.es/prodyser/micro_varires.htm)

Country of birth	2006–2008						2009–2012					
	Return type 1 (%)	Return type 2 (%)	Return (1+2) (%)	% Spanish nationality in return	New migration (%)	Flows to known destination	Return type 1 (%)	Return type 2 (%)	Return (1+2) (%)	% Spanish nationality in return (%)	New migration (%)	Flows to known destination
Argentina	47.6	38.5	86.1	40.4	13.9	6,360	41.0	43.4	84.3	47.6	15.7	11,283
Bolivia	95.2	1.6	96.7	2.1	3.3	7,027	91.1	4.3	95.4	6.1	4.6	9,984
Brazil	80.5	8.0	88.5	10.6	11.5	4,553	70.6	15.3	86.0	20.4	14.0	7,299
Colombia	67.7	12.5	80.2	20.7	19.8	4,098	65.9	11.3	77.2	27.4	22.8	11,742
Costa Rica	53.1	18.4	71.4	38.5	28.6	98	47.9	22.7	70.6	42.0	29.4	211
Cuba	28.3	25.9	54.3	58.6	45.7	1,651	28.9	37.0	65.8	61.9	34.2	3,929
Chile	70.7	16.9	87.6	22.0	12.4	1,964	65.1	21.8	86.9	27.6	13.1	3,729
Ecuador	76.2	8.1	84.2	13.3	15.8	3,784	52.8	36.4	89.2	44.3	10.8	20,287
El Salvador	71.5	11.9	83.4	20.7	16.6	151	63.9	12.6	76.5	26.2	23.5	302
Guatemala	61.3	16.2	77.5	32.9	22.5	253	60.3	13.1	73.4	33.6	26.6	428
Honduras	92.8	1.3	94.1	4.7	5.9	640	89.9	3.6	93.5	7.1	6.5	1,111
Mexico	58.9	18.4	77.3	31.6	22.7	1.096	45.8	29.2	75.0	46.4	25.0	2,457
Nicaragua	78.2	6.7	84.9	16.0	15.1	285	79.1	11.0	90.1	17.4	9.9	637
Panama	27.8	60.9	88.7	69.5	11.3	151	39.3	46.0	85.3	57.7	14.7	346
Paraguay	92.8	1.5	94.3	2.3	5.7	2,097	92.3	2.3	94.7	3.1	5.3	3,616
Peru	62.9	11.2	74.1	24.1	25.9	2,148	61.3	18.3	79.5	30.9	20.5	6,282
Dominican Republic	44.6	30.5	75.2	43.5	24.8	1,526	35.6	37.1	72.7	57.5	27.3	3,683
Uruguay	56.1	30.3	86.5	32.1	13.5	1,628	52.8	33.7	86.5	36.7	13.5	3,630
Venezuela	44.9	35.4	80.3	49.7	19.7	3,722	26.9	51.5	78.5	68.1	21.5	8,346
Total	67.7	17.2	84.9	23.6	15.1	43,232	57.3	26.9	84.1	36.4	15.9	99,302

Return type 1: return of nationals to country of birth
Return type 2: return of non-nationals to country of birth

a lower return share before (54.3%) and after the crisis (65.8%). At the other end, we find Bolivians, with proportions of 95% for both periods. Significant changes are not perceived in the proportional distribution of the total returns between 2006–2008, and 2009–2012. Nonetheless, figures for the return to the country of birth with a different citizenship to that of the country of birth experience a general increase of almost 10% during the crisis (included citizenships other than the Spanish one). This runs in parallel to the increase of the Spanish nationals in the share of return movements by Latin-American born population, passing from 23.6% in the period just before the crisis to 36.4% between 2009 and 2012. The Venezuelans make up the group that shows a higher proportion of Spanish citizens among returnees in time of crisis (2009–2012). On the contrary, the national groups with shorter duration of residence in Spain show very low percentages of Spanish citizens, namely Bolivia and Paraguay. In sum, despite national differences, return is the most intense exit movement among the known destinations according to the Spanish data sources. Its role remains stable in a context of generalized out-migration growth, where Latin-Americans returning to their country of birth, after having acquired the Spanish nationality, become more and more important.

In Table 8.7, exits to third countries are also shown. 15 out of every 100 Latin-Americans experience a new migration. These values remain stable between 2006 and 2012 for the total population, although there is high variation in the situations according to the country of birth. People born in Cuba are, by far, the Latin-American national group with the highest proportion of transnational emigrations or emigrations to third countries, consequently with their less prominent relative role in return migrations. Among the groups with higher presence in Spain, just Colombians show values above the averages for both periods, whilst the shares of out-migrations to third countries for Ecuadorians and Bolivians declines because the increase of return movements in these groups is, in absolute terms, much higher than the increase of their transnational outflows.

In Table 8.8, other indicators for the discussion about the influence of the availability of the Spanish citizenship on the new migrations by country of birth are shown. The Latin-American transnational flows grew considerably between the period before the crisis (2006–2008) and the subsequent years (2009–2012). The annual values involve an increase of 144.5% for males and close to 6% for females. These results are coherent with those from previous sections about the masculinization of the Latin-American exits during the period 2009–2012. In eight of the analysed countries, the growth of the transnational out-migrations is above the Latin-American average. Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador and Paraguay are some of the countries which lie significantly above that mean value. The case of Ecuador is paradigmatic since this kind of male exits were multiplied by six during the crisis, whereas the female increments for that country were much modest. On the contrary, in the case of four nationalities, Brazil, Guatemala, Panama and Paraguay, the transnational female emigration registered even negative variations. Another aspect to be highlighted is the protagonist role of Latin-American emigrants with a Spanish citizenship among the transnational destinations for men. Between 2006 and 2008, 52 out of every hundred Latin-Americans heading to a third country other than the country

Table 8.8. New migration by sex, period and % of Spanish nationality. Latin American born population aged 20–49, Spain 2006–2012. (Source: Own calculations based on microdata from the population register (EVR) for 2006–2012. Microdata available at: http://www.ine.es/prodyser/micro_varires.htm)

Country of birth	Men				Women			
	(1) 2006–2008	(2) 2009–2012	(2)–(1)	Change in %(2)/(1)	(1) 2006–2008	(2) 2009–2012	(2)–(1)	Change in %(2)/(1)
Argentina	56.3%	67.2%	10.9%	74.4	51.9%	58.2%	6.4%	9.5
Bolivia	16.1%	47.6%	31.5%	264.3	21.3%	20.5%	−0.8%	35.0
Brazil	38.3%	46.6%	8.3%	54.7	54.7%	32.9%	−21.8%	−10.9
Colombia	44.5%	74.0%	29.4%	335.7	41.2%	42.6%	1.3%	23.3
Costa Rica	75.0%	83.3%	8.3%	−16.7	33.3%	50.0%	16.7%	87.5
Cuba	66.1%	66.1%	0.1%	46.4	58.3%	57.7%	−0.6%	11.3
Chile	47.2%	57.2%	10.0%	91.9	65.4%	56.6%	−8.8%	3.7
Ecuador	32.2%	75.7%	43.6%	616.0	27.0%	44.2%	17.2%	89.1
El Salvador	20.0%	52.6%	32.6%	650.0	44.4%	50.0%	5.6%	12.5
Guatemala	66.7%	81.8%	15.2%	68.8	84.6%	68.4%	−16.2%	−11.4
Honduras	40.0%	63.6%	23.6%	162.5	71.4%	64.3%	−7.1%	35.0
Mexico	63.5%	72.5%	9.1%	177.5	64.9%	56.5%	−8.4%	9.4
Nicaragua	44.4%	56.5%	12.1%	143.8	66.7%	66.7%	0.0%	75.0
Panama	83.3%	70.0%	−13.3%	110.0	62.5%	80.0%	17.5%	−40.0
Paraguay	9.7%	25.5%	15.8%	225.0	31.3%	10.5%	−20.7%	−10.0
Peru	49.5%	67.2%	17.8%	123.4	48.4%	57.4%	8.9%	2.8
Dominican Republic	49.4%	71.8%	22.4%	267.7	68.4%	58.9%	−9.5%	−8.9
Uruguay	59.3%	62.9%	3.6%	55.6	71.9%	62.7%	−9.2%	−23.2
Venezuela	79.1%	83.2%	4.1%	86.9	83.6%	76.7%	−6.8%	−11.1
Latin America	52.2%	69.4%	17.2%	144.5	54.4%	52.2%	−2.2%	6.0

of birth possessed the Spanish citizenship. This proportion increases in 17.2% during the years of the crisis. The obtained results confirm the hypothesis that the availability of the Spanish nationality makes the transnational emigration easier.

As stated above, the naturalization and regularization processes of the Latin-American population in Spain have been quite intense from the beginning of the first decade of the twenty-first century. In 2012, according to the Continuous Register data, 30% of the Latin-American born population had the Spanish citizenship and a very high percentage enjoyed a residence permit. These changes in the legal status indirectly modify the conditions of the departure from Spain. If the

first option for the Latin-Americans was the return migration to their countries of origin, the acquisition of the nationality or the legal residence in Spain allow them now, with the help of fellow-citizen transnational networks, to broaden the scope of destinations to other countries within the European Union and/or to third countries with better conditions in the labour market.

In this last section we intend to provide responses to some unknowns introduced by the present economic situation through the following questions: where do Latin-Americans go as they leave Spain? Which has been the impact of the economic crisis on the selection of the destination countries? Does the acquisition of the Spanish citizenship have an influence on the preference for a particular destination?

Table 8.8 is based on the information about the known destinations (20 %). The distribution of the first five emigration destinations are displayed for 15 Latin-American countries before and during the crisis, and the effect of having (or not) the Spanish citizenship is checked for them. These five destinations gather around 90 % of the total out-migrations for each country of origin.

In most of the considered countries, the first destination for the outflows is the country of birth. This situation stands for 12 out of the 15 countries for which information is collected in Table 8.9. Thus, among the Latin-Americans with no Spanish citizenship, return mobility concentrates over 85 % of the registered flows in most cases. Now, the possession of the Spanish citizenship does not affect the choice of the first location. The three remaining countries, Ecuador, Cuba and Nicaragua show slight variations and different primary destinations according to the availability of the Spanish nationality. United Kingdom was the preferred country of destination for Ecuadorians with the Spanish citizenship before the crisis and United States was the first option for the people from Nicaragua. However, these destinations shift during the crisis in both countries to their own country of origin. Among Cubans, the fact of having the Spanish citizenship does not have a significant effect because the main destination before and after the crisis is the United States.

The main effect of having the Spanish nationality is the widening of the range of potential destinations and, consequently, the increase of the geographical scattering of the countries where the Latin-Americans with this characteristic emigrate.

Perhaps the most novel aspect is found in the secondary destinations. Latin-American emigrants show high diversity with regards to this. Nonetheless, among all countries there are two of them which are especially outstanding for most of the Latin-Americans: United States and the United Kingdom, both summing 42 % of the exits to non-Latin American countries. Furthermore, the importance of both remains similar during the years 2006–2012. Before the crisis, United States was the first secondary destination, but during the crisis it is the United Kingdom that takes the first position.

Another important characteristic of the evolution of the outflows is the change in the role played by other secondary destinations, attributable to the differential effects of the crisis in Europe. In this sense, there is a significant increase of the Latin-American emigration from Spain to Germany, France, Switzerland and The Netherlands, to the detriment of Italy. However, Italy continues to be a preferential destination for Argentinians and Uruguayans, groups where the availability of the

Table 8.9 Country of destination for Latin American outflows from Spain by country of birth and nationality, 2002–2012. (Source: Own calculations based on microdata from the population register (EVR) for 2002–2012. Microdata available at: http://www.ine.es/prodyser/micro_varires.htm)

Country of birth	Nationality	Period	Destination					% First destination	% five destination	Total
			1	2	3	4	5			
Ecuador	Spanish	2002–2007	UK	Ecuador	EEUU	Switzerland	Italy	39.1	90.8	207
		2008–2012	Ecuador	UK	EEUU	Germany	Switzerland	77.5	95.0	6,144
	Foreigner	2002–2007	Ecuador	Italy	UK	EEUU	France	91.3	96.9	4,586
		2008–2012	Ecuador	Italy	France	Germany	UK	94.2	97.2	8,864
Colombia	Spanish	2002–2007	Colombia	UK	EEUU	Germany	France	46.5	82.6	536
		2008–2012	Colombia	UK	EEUU	Germany	France	32.7	80.0	2,311
	Foreigner	2002–2007	Colombia	Germany	Italy	France	UK	87.1	93.4	3,008
		2008–2012	Colombia	UK	Italy	France	Germany	89.7	94.5	6,697
Argentina	Spanish	2002–2007	Argentina	UK	France	Germany	EEUU	72.8	86.4	1,887
		2008–2012	Argentina	UK	France	Germany	EEUU	74.9	87.6	3,993
	Foreigner	2002–2007	Argentina	Italy	Germany	France	Andorra	86.9	94.9	3,168
		2008–2012	Argentina	Italy	Germany	UK	France	88.1	94.6	4,598
Bolivia	Spanish	2002–2007	Bolivia	UK	EEUU	Germany	Andorra	61.5	89.7	78
		2008–2012	Bolivia	UK	Switzerland	EEUU	France	59.8	85.5	413
	Foreigner	2002–2007	Bolivia	Argentina	Italy	France	Colombia	96.2	98.6	4,053
		2008–2012	Bolivia	Argentina	Ecuador	Germany	Switzerland	97.6	98.8	9,856
Peru	Spanish	2002–2007	EEUU	UK	Peru	Germany	Switzerland	18.8	69.4	405
		2008–2012	Peru	UK	Germany	EEUU	France	46.7	79.6	1,465
	Foreigner	2002–2007	Peru	Italy	Germany	EEUU	UK	77.5	91.1	1,395
		2008–2012	Peru	Italy	Germany	France	UK	89.1	95.2	3,471

Table 8.9 (continued)

Country of birth	Nationality	Period	Destination					% First destination	% five destination	Total
			1	2	3	4	5			
Venezuela	Spanish	2002–2007	Venezuela	EEUU	UK	Germany	France	59.7	85.5	1,488
		2008–2012	Venezuela	UK	EEUU	Germany	France	69.8	86.3	4,305
	Foreigner	2002–2007	Venezuela	Italy	EEUU	Germany	UK	89.2	94.7	1,446
		2008–2012	Venezuela	EEUU	Portugal	Italy	UK	86.6	93.0	2,202
Brazil	Spanish	2002–2007	Brazil	UK	Portugal	EEUU	France	55.6	81.5	480
		2008–2012	Brazil	UK	France	Switzerland	Germany	60.5	81.5	1,124
	Foreigner	2002–2007	Brazil	Portugal	Italy	France	UK	90.0	97.0	2,569
		2008–2012	Brazil	Portugal	Italy	France	Germany	90.9	97.2	6,084
Dominican Rep	Spanish	2002–2007	Dominican Rep	EEUU	UK	Germany	Italy	64.2	91.8	597
		2008–2012	Dominican Rep	EEUU	UK	Germany	Switzerland	53.9	84.9	1,443
	Foreigner	2002–2007	Dominican Rep	EEUU	Italy	Germany	Netherlands	78.4	93.6	658
		2008–2012	Dominican Rep	Netherlands	Italy	EEUU	Germany	81.1	93.4	1,325
Cuba	Spanish	2002–2007	EEUU	Cuba	UK	Italy	Germany	70.5	88.5	383
		2008–2012	EEUU	Cuba	UK	Germany	France	41.0	85.6	1,099
	Foreigner	2002–2007	Cuba	EEUU	Italy	Germany	France	52.6	86.7	502
		2008–2012	Cuba	EEUU	Italy	Germany	France	62.7	88.4	905
Uruguay	Spanish	2002–2007	Uruguay	EEUU	UK	Andorra	Argentina	60.2	79.8	337
		2008–2012	Uruguay	UK	EEUU	Germany	France	75.6	86.3	903
	Foreigner	2002–2007	Uruguay	Italy	Argentina	France	UK	88.3	94.9	708
		2008–2012	Uruguay	Italy	Argentina	France	Germany	89.8	95.1	1,591

Table 8.9 (continued)

Country of birth	Nationality	Period	Destination					% First destination	% five destination	Total
			1	2	3	4	5			
Chile	Spanish	2002–2007	Chile	UK	Germany	EEUU	France	61.5	82.9	299
		2008–2012	Chile	UK	Germany	France	EEUU	70.2	86.8	645
	Foreigner	2002–2007	Chile	France	Sweden	UK	Germany	91.1	95.4	1,220
		2008–2012	Chile	Sweden	Argentina	France	Norway	91.9	95.4	2,004
Paraguay	Spanish	2002–2007	Paraguay	UK	Germany	Belgium	Argentina	36.4	81.8	22
		2008–2012	Paraguay	UK	France	Canada	Guinea Ec.	49.3	69.9	73
	Foreigner	2002–2007	Paraguay	Argentina	Portugal	France	Italy	94.9	98.3	1,185
		2008–2012	Paraguay	Argentina	Brazil	Germany	Portugal	95.9	98.8	3,449
Mexico	Spanish	2002–2007	México	EEUU	UK	Germany	France	51.1	77.7	309
		2008–2012	México	UK	EEUU	France	Germany	49.3	76.0	680
	Foreigner	2002–2007	México	EEUU	Germany	UK	France	88.0	94.9	855
		2008–2012	México	EEUU	Germany	France	UK	86.0	93.3	1,226
Honduras	Spanish	2002–2007	Honduras	EEUU	Switzerland	UK	Argentina	42.9	95.2	21
		2008–2012	Honduras	EEUU	UK	Germany	Dominican Rep	32.7	85.5	55
	Foreigner	2002–2007	Honduras	EEUU	France	Portugal	UK	97.8	100.0	319
		2008–2012	Honduras	EEUU	Ecuador	France	Italy	96.9	98.3	1,036
Nicaragua	Spanish	2002–2007	EEUU	Nicaragua	UK	France	Germany	25.9	81.5	27
		2008–2012	Nicaragua	EEUU	UK	Sweden	Germany	35.4	64.6	48
	Foreigner	2002–2007	Nicaragua	Germany	Bolivia	Costa Rica	EEUU	92.4	95.4	131
		2008–2012	Nicaragua	Costa Rica	EEUU	France	Peru	95.6	98.2	545

double Italian citizenship allows them to move geographically to Italy or any other country belonging to the European Union.

To sum up, the availability of the Spanish nationality favours the spread of potential destinations during the crisis. The influence of this variable on the selection of the country of re-emigration is thus confirmed. On the other hand, even if the countries where the Latin-American emigrants from Spain are headed are partly affected by a complex network of migratory circuits with deep historical roots, it is the United Kingdom the country that emerges after the economic crisis as the main secondary destination for the Latin-Americans from Spain. Other destinations with a high economic dynamism such as Germany, France, Switzerland and The Netherlands also grow at this juncture, whereas the United States, despite keeping the second position, losses importance, together with Italy, during the most acute phase of the crisis.

Conclusions

In this chapter, a view of the outmigration of the Latin-American population from Spain has been provided from different perspectives. In the following paragraphs, we intend to summarize the main conclusions stemmed from the variety of topics that have been approached.

The statistical measurement tools for the research on external emigration have improved considerably since the year 2002. Since 2006, the introduction of an administrative procedure based on expiry departures represents the consolidation of a pioneer measurement system of external emigration incomparable to any other surrounding country. However, time comparisons are limited by the different improvements in the data collection that have been applied in diverse time points. At present, we can assert that only since 2006, it is possible to guarantee the study of the external emigration of the Latin-American population, when all modifications to the departure registers were implemented, thus enabling homogeneous time series. There is still one critical aspect to be enhanced. Despite all the above mentioned improvements there is still a constraint aspect in this source: the lack of awareness about the country of destination for most of the departures abroad.

The Latin-American migratory response to the economic crisis in Spain has been quite unbalanced from the demographic perspective and the geographical origin of the people affected by it. Men and, especially, citizens from countries with a shorter duration of residence in Spain are more likely to leave Spain. Conversely, collectives with the greatest numbers of individuals show a milder response during the shift in the economic cycle, with a lower increase of the emigration rates. Latin-American women are a different case, since their protagonist role in the departures has been less dramatic and they have experienced a much lower modification in their rates.

The external emigration rate profiles of the Latin-American population present relevant differences across the countries analysed in this chapter. In contrast to the general model, showing maximum scores at young ages and a local prominent peak at retirement ages, countries such as Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador and Dominican

Republic are characterised by a mobility maximum less visible among young adults, whereas a noticeable increase of the tendency to emigrate after 60 years old is observed. The intensity of the male rates by age is generally higher than the female ones for all groups, in line with what has been argued above. The predominantly masculine pattern of departures abroad at all ages would point out one of the most characteristic features of Latin-American departures in times of economic crisis.

Throughout the economic crisis, the Latin-American immigrant households have come to an optimization process of the labour force demographic structure within the families, thus lessening the burden of the dependent age groups (children and elderly).

Return is the most intense re-emigration movement. Its role remains stable in a context of generalized increase of the departures abroad, where Latin-Americans that emigrate to their country of birth with the Spanish citizenship are more and more important. In this sense, results presented in this chapter confirm the hypothesis that the fact of enjoying the Spanish nationality enables to some extent the transnational emigration to all destinations.

Latin-American transnational flows or re-emigrations to third countries grew substantially during the last years, although at a slower pace than return movements. In this case, having the Spanish citizenship means for immigrants a broader range of potential destinations for the transnational emigration and, therefore, an increase in the geographical dispersion of the countries to which Latin-Americans with this characteristic are heading. The influence of this variable on the selection of the destination country is also confirmed. Regarding transnational emigration, United Kingdom emerges as the main secondary destination from Spain after the economic crisis. Other destinations with a higher economic dynamism, such as Germany, France, Switzerland and The Netherlands, also increase, while United States, despite keeping the second position, together with Italy, losses some of its influence during the most acute phase of the crisis.

The territorial model for the Latin-American out-migrations does not show divergences between sexes, but it shows differences according to the emigratory intensity. The crisis has changed the geographical map of the external emigration of Latin-Americans. The growth of male rates has been quite intense and focused on the Mediterranean coast and some rural inner areas in Spain as a response to the economic crisis, while the female external emigration rates have experienced a more timid increase, with less territorial contrasts.

Finally, we can argue that, in case economic conditions in Spain improve in the near future, it is likely that the arrival of Latin-Americans to the country is reactivated and many of those who left come back again. We presume that this will be due to the strong migratory networks that have been knitted after more than a decade of migratory exchanges. Furthermore, we should not forget the fact that having the citizenship would ease the return migration to Spain at any time.

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