

Applied Demography Series 5

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

Applied Demography Series

Volume 5

Series Editor: David A. Swanson

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ISSN 2352-376X

Applied Demography Series

ISBN 978-3-319-12360-8

DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-12361-5

ISSN 2352-3778 (electronic)

ISBN 978-3-319-12361-5 (eBook)

Library of Congress Control Number: 2014955701

Springer Cham Heidelberg New York Dordrecht London

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Printed on acid-free paper

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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 prolonged 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.

Andreu Domingo
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