



EU and US approaches to the management of immigration

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The Migration Policy Group (MPG) is an independent organisation committed to policy development on mobility, migration, diversity, equality and anti-discrimination by facilitating the exchange between stakeholders from all sectors of society, with the aim of contributing to innovative and effective responses to the challenges posed by migration and diversity.

This report is part of a series of 18 country reports prepared in the framework of the project *EU and US approaches to the management of immigration*, which was carried out by MPG with the support of the German Marshall Fund of the United States and in co-operation with partners in the European Migration Dialogue. Countries included in the project are Austria, Belgium, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland, and the UK.

Reports on these countries are available from MPG's website individually or jointly, together with EU-US comparative perspectives and European comparative perspectives. See Jan Niessen and Yongmi Schibel, *EU and US approaches to the management of immigration – comparative perspectives*, MPG/Brussels, May 2003.

All papers were presented and discussed at a transatlantic dialogue meeting preceding the official launch of the European Migration Policy Dialogue attended by Commissioner António Vitorino (Brussels May 2003).

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Preface

The European Union and the United States are areas of immigration, and both are entities of multi-level governance facing the task of managing international migration. However, unlike the United States most European states do not consider immigration as a matter of national interest.

In the US a regulated immigration system aims to enhance the benefits and minimise the drawbacks of immigration. The country's bi-partisan immigration policy receives strong support from a wide variety of stakeholders.

In Europe the emphasis is on immigration restriction and prevention, reflecting the position of most stakeholders that the costs of immigration outweigh its benefits. Immigration is a sensitive and sometimes controversial issue, as is demonstrated in recent elections in a number of European countries.

On both sides of the Atlantic migration ranked high on the agenda throughout the nineties. Changes in the size and direction of migratory movements as a result of global developments, EU enlargement and NAFTA received a great deal of attention. The ways in which migration policies are designed and implemented were reviewed and underwent some important changes.

In 1997, the US Commission on Immigration Reform presented its final report to Congress, proposing important changes in US immigration policies and management.

In Europe the 1997 Amsterdam Treaty empowered the European Union's institutions to act on migration, changing intergovernmental co-operation among member states into the development of joint policies on immigration and immigrant integration. A new debate emerged on the role of immigration to address economic and demographic imbalances.

The events of September 11 did not in themselves have an impact on the foundations of immigration policies' governance structures, or lead to changes in them, other than those already proposed. The events added, however, a range of other issues to the overall policy agenda (issues related to the fight against terrorism became a top priority) and the immigration agenda (where security issues became a priority). This resulted in a stagnation of the further development of immigration policies (the best example probably being the US- Mexico migration agreement) and in a refocusing of attention on countering the victimisation of immigrants and the straining of community relations.

It is against this backdrop that MPG launched the project *EU and US approaches to the management of immigration* in an attempt to identify the main drivers of immigration management in EU and US systems of multi-level governance. Building on an understanding of how migration needs are assessed and translated into policy on the national or state level, the project focused on the way in which national or state governments promote their immigration related interests within the federation (in the case of the United States) and the Union (in the case of the European Union). How successful are the different entities in shaping common policies according to their needs? Do they consider centralisation (which the extension of EU powers suggests), or decentralisation (as the campaigns of some states for a greater say in immigration matters suggest) more useful for realising their immigration-related goals?

The reports on fourteen EU Member States, three candidate countries and one associated state each have four chapters:

- The first chapter reviews the (emerging) debates on migration and pays particular attention to the terms of the debate. It examines whether migration is debated in terms of control, security and restriction, or rather in terms of migration management and the assessment of migration needs. It asks whether the terms of the debate are different for different types of migrants, for instance irregular migrants vs. highly qualified migrants. The chapter analyses whether immigration has been linked with and embedded in larger discussions about social and economic policies for the future. In particular, it looks at the debates around the labour market and demography and considers whether and how immigration has been considered as an option for meeting emerging challenges in these areas.
- The second chapter provides an inventory of stakeholders and an analysis of their activities. It gives a detailed account of who is responsible for which area of migration management in the different government departments. It also covers the activities of the various non-governmental organisations active in this field. The central question is which groups (within government, employers, trade unions, NGOs, academics and other experts) assess national migration needs, which instruments and mechanisms they use to make these assessments, and how they assert influence in the political decision-making process to translate these assessments into policies.
- The third chapter provides an analysis of migration management in the areas covered by three of the most important Directives proposed by the European Commission (on admission for employment, family reunification¹, and long-term residents). Rapporteurs compare the national legal framework with the proposed European measures, and assess the degree of convergence between the two. The chapter addresses each of the substantive points dealt with in the Commission's proposals and sets out the corresponding national provisions, if such provisions exist under the current system. Recent and impending changes of national law are also examined, with a view to assessing whether immigration management rules are moving closer to or further away from the proposed European legislation.
- The fourth chapter offers concluding remarks and evaluations by the rapporteurs. It addresses the Commission proposal for an Open Method of Co-ordination and considers whether such a mechanism would fit well with existing policy-making structures. Where appropriate, the chapter looks more closely at the proposed Guidelines and evaluates the degree to which they are already tackled in national policy. The impact of the European Employment Strategy on immigration management is also assessed. The fourth chapter also gives the rapporteurs an opportunity to make recommendations and to suggest alternative benchmarks for future debates and policy developments.

¹ Reports were drafted before the definition of a common approach to family reunification, which Member States agreed to at the Justice and Home Affairs Council of 27/28 February 2003. Rapporteurs base their comments on the text of draft Directive COM (2002) 225, published on 2 May 2002.

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Chapter 1: The terms of the policy debates

1.1. Spain's "discovery" of immigration

In the second half of the 1980's and in the 1990's the presence of immigrants in Spain stirred great interest, but only among relatively limited circles (academia, government, associations) that realised that Spain was undergoing a demographic transformation from being a "country of emigration" to being a "country of immigration". Now in the early 2000's, another qualitative change in this migratory dynamic is underway, making it clear that the issue is no longer just a technical and administrative concern, and political parties and the society in general have begun to think about the matter seriously and take positions. Immigration is now on the political and social agenda, is present in the collective consciousness, and is a recurrent theme in opinion polls. Both Law 4/2000 and Law 8/2000, its almost immediate revision, have contributed to a politicisation of the issue of immigration, creating a climate very different from that surrounding the first 'Alien Law' in 1985, passed in connection with Spain's entry into the EC in 1986.

The turn of the century may be seen as the threshold between a period when the government could handle immigration with unprecedented arbitrariness and discretion and a new era *marked by a process of definition of an institutional framework to manage the issue of immigration*. Specifically, at the beginning of this period, we find ourselves at a stage of identification of the problems linked with immigration. Since 2000, the issue of immigration has become a concern for the state (*Raison d'État*).

The main objective of this report is to map the principal elements that have shaped the management of immigration in Spain since 2000. This mapping will consist of four chapters. In the *first chapter*, we will introduce the principal dimensions of the policy debates. In the *second chapter*, we will present the issues that are of most concern to the principal stakeholders, the institutional structures that have been created for the management of immigration, and the programme that guides government policy. In the *third chapter*, we will deal with reforms in Spain in the context of the European Union proposals, and in the *fourth and final chapter*, we will offer a general summary focusing on the basic areas of the debate that might be placed on the EU agenda.

The 1990's began with a process of regularisation that brought to light the presence in Spain of more immigrants than had been detected by the means at the disposal of the central government. This marked the beginning of a process of broadening the range of public policy tools available to the central government for dealing with the phenomenon of immigration. The first half of the decade saw the adoption of measures contained in a Congress of Deputies resolution regarding the situation of foreigners in Spain passed on April 9, 1991. Most of these measures concerned the social integration of immigrants. While the implementation of Law 7/1985 was reformed, the law itself remained unchanged throughout the decade. The emergence of immigration on the European agenda also had consequences for Spain: Spain's participation in the Schengen accord and the subsequent incorporation of the same into the EU's *acquis* produced growing pressure for a harmonisation of immigration policies.

The year 2000 can, justifiably, be called the “year of immigration”. During that year, the Spanish government also reorganised or created the majority of administrative structures designed to deal with issues of migration. The March 2000 general elections were preceded and followed by significant legislative changes: Organic Law 4/2000 on Rights and Freedoms of Foreigners in Spain and Their Social Integration, and Organic Law 8/2000 revising Organic Law 4/2000. The changes made in 2000 were of greater magnitude than any carried out in the fifteen preceding years. There were also four special regularisation processes: two came as the result of Law 4/2000 (Royal Decree (RD) 239/2000, dated February 18) and Law 8/2000 (Royal Decree 142/2001, dated February 16), another implementing an agreement between Spain and Ecuador; and finally, a still not concluded regularisation process based on “roots”, implementing article 31.4 of the combined texts of Laws 4/2000 and 8/2000.

Beyond the legal, political and institutional considerations, the year 2000 was marked by the events that took place in El Ejido (February). It involved almost all the major issues defining the situation in Spain: immigration as a problem of culture, human rights, socio-economics, law (the irregular situation of immigrant workers), and control of flows. Immigration has started becoming politicised with a debate on immigrants' rights, but also with the criminalisation of immigration, and a debate on identity and law and order that has generated a great deal of populist, xenophobic rhetoric.

To sum up, it is difficult to find positive perceptions of immigration. On the one hand, the government is at the origin of the criminalisation of immigration, and the picture of the immigrant as someone coming from “patera” and other illegal means. Its main aim is to build the justifications needed to legitimate restrictive policies, using the European Union as its main source of legitimacy. On the other hand, most of the civil society representatives have serious difficulties in transmitting positive arguments to the overall society. We can note, however, that the only actors who reach the society with a positive picture of immigrants are employers, who tirelessly notify the government that they need migrants workers.

In order to be comprehensive, we will examine the terms of the policy debates from three angles: the demographic debate, the labour market debate, and the social terms of the policy debates.

1.2. The demographic policy debate

Before starting to underline the terms of the demographic policy debate, we need to examine some data in order to define the demographic tendencies characterising Spain.

Resident immigrants make up 2.7% of the Spanish population. Between 1995 and 2001 the number of immigrants with legal resident status increased by 609,287. There were two major turning points in the curves describing migratory flows: in 1998 immigration increased by 18.01%, and in 2001 by 23.82%.

Table 1. Immigrants resident in Spain

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
Total	499,773	538,984	609,813	719,647	801,329	895,720	1,109,060

Based on the Statistical Yearbook on Immigration. Home Affairs Ministry. Various years.

It is important to distinguish between immigrants from within the European Union and those from outside since they present different sets of problems and are governed by different laws.

Table 2. Resident Immigrants from EU and Non-EU Countries

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
EU	249,206 (46.23%)	260,599 (42.73%)	295,259 (41.02%)	312,203 (38.9%)	306,203 (34.18%)	325,511 (29.35%)
Non-EU	288,872 (53.59%)	348,258 (57.10%)	423,693 (58.89%)	488,427 (60.95%)	588,500 (65.70%)	782,454 (70.55%)
Stateless	906 (0.18%)	956 (0.15%)	695 (0.09%)	699 (0.08%)	1,017 (0.11%)	1,095 (0.09%)
Total	538,984	609,813	719,647	801,329	895,720	1,109,060

Based on the Statistical Yearbook on Immigration. Home Affairs Ministry. Various years.

One should note that immigration from European Union countries makes up an ever-smaller proportion of foreigners resident in Spain. The relative decline was 9.6% from 1999 to 2001. At the same time, non-EU immigrants residing in Spain have been on the increase.

Another important demographic indicator is obtained by dividing the immigrant population into categories according to the Human Development Index (HDI) of their country of origin in 2002.

Table 3. Resident Immigrants by 2002 HDI of Country of Origin

	1999	2000	2001
Developed Countries	385,885 (48.15%)	378,026 (42.20%)	409,886 (36.95%)
Developing Countries	414,745 (51.75%)	516,677 (57.68%)	699,174 (63.04%)
Stateless	699 (0.08%)	1,017 (0.11%)	1,092 (0.09%)
Total	801,329	895,720	1,109,060

Based on the Statistical Yearbook on Immigration. Home Affairs Ministry. Various years.

We observe that there is more immigration coming from developing countries than from developed ones, and that this preponderance is ever more pronounced.

Finally, we observe that Morocco is the principal source of immigration, and that, according to the data for 2001, 50% of the total number of immigrants come from six countries (Morocco, Ecuador, Great Britain, Germany, Colombia and France). Of these six countries, three belong to the European Union. Public perception and the media coverage obsessed with the "problem" of a supposed "invasion" of immigrants from poor countries

are clearly not based on this data. If we now examine non-EU immigrants, we observe that the Spanish colonial ties are still alive. In 2001, of the six main groups of non-EU immigrants (Morocco, Ecuador, Colombia, China, Peru, Dominican Republic), only China had no historical ties with Spain.

Table 4. Immigrants by Country of Origin

Country of origin	2000	2001
Morocco	199,782	234,937
Great Britain	73,983	80,183
Germany	60,575	62,506
Portugal	41,997	42,634
France	42,316	44,798
Italy	30,862	35,647
Peru	27,888	33,758
Dominican Republic	26,481	29,314
China	28,693	36,143
Netherlands	16,711	17,488
Cuba	19,165	21,467
Argentina	16,610	20,412
United States of America	13,714	13,743
Philippines	13,160	14,716
Colombia	24,702	48,710
Belgium	12,968	13,541
Ecuador	30,878	84,699
Algeria	13,847	15,240
Senegal	11,051	11,553
Rumania	10,983	24,856
Poland		11,342
Pakistan		14,322
Brazil	10,034	10,910
Total	726,400	922,919
Other countries	169.320	186,141
% principal countries	81.10%	83.21%
TOTAL	895.720	1.109.060

Based on the Statistical Yearbook on Immigration. Home Affairs Ministry. Various years.

If we compare the data for 2000 and 2001, we observe an increase of over 100% in the number of immigrants coming from Ecuador, Colombia and Rumania. This increase is closely related to the government's quota policy. This year, immigrants from non-EU countries have continued to make up about 80% of the total number of immigrants arriving in Spain.

Taking into account this data and the above-mentioned tendencies, the demographic argument is used in policy debate in very different ways.

It is used positively mainly in two ways: on the one hand, the arrival of immigrants is seen as necessary to counter-balance one of the lowest birth-rates in Europe; on the other hand, and in conjunction with the previous statement, it is argued that the more immigrants

there are, the more possibilities to maintain the Spanish welfare state in general, and the pension system in particular.

From a negative point of view, the arrival of immigrants is considered to increase competitiveness on the labour market, mainly among lower classes. The demographic argument is used here as an explanatory factor for the decrease in wages. In the same terms, the policy debate is increasingly focusing on the importance to regulate in some way the concentration of immigrants, both in towns (mainly capitals) and districts (mainly in areas originally occupied by lower classes), on the labour market (some sectors are occupied by immigrants), and in education (most public schools have a high percentage of immigrants). To sum up, it can be stated that the use of the demographic argument is ambivalent in Spain. It is used both positively and negatively for evaluating one objective fact and tendency: the unstoppable increase of immigrants coming from developing countries. The use and abuse of the demographic argument in the policy debates, either to support or to criticise immigration, shows that it belongs to the utilitarian discourse since both uses have one common core: the view of immigration as a commodity for the Spanish society.

1.3. The labour market policy debate

With regard to the employment issue, in January 2002, 627,795 immigrants in Spain had work permits, of whom 166,793 were from countries of the European Union and the European Economic Area while 461,302, or 73.5% of the total, were from other countries. Workers from Africa (178,284) and Latin America (176,921) were the largest groups. Foreigners registered with the Social Security also increased substantially in 2000 and 2001, 20.67% and 39.50% respectively, compared with the increase of 9.99% in 1999. The figures show that over 275,000 foreigners signed up with the Social Security in two years.

Immigrant workers are concentrated in the service, agricultural and construction sectors. The complete integration of these workers into the labour market is a complex process, as is shown by the fact that in 2001, the number of foreigners registered with the National Employment Institute was 87,363 and the unemployment rate among the immigrant population was 14.2%, a rate higher than that of Spain's working population in general. On the other hand, some segments of the labour market operate without any regulation and employ a high proportion of foreigners. This is the case with domestic service, home care not covered by public social services (care of the elderly, ill and children) and to a lesser extent, certain agricultural sectors. The presence of undocumented foreigners in these areas has become structural.

One should note that the revision of Law 4/2000 changed the terms of access to the job market for immigrants living in Spain irregularly. In a memorandum sent to the offices administering residence and work permits in the various regions, the central government ordered that "as of January 14, 2002, all work and residence permits not falling under the quota procedure [were] to be denied". This regulation meant denying all applications for residence and work permits not coming under quota procedures. As result, there is a large

number of undocumented workers living in Spain without any prospects of obtaining employment contracts while the jobs for which they are competing are given to immigrant workers who arrive in Spain with employment contracts signed in their country of origin.

This situation, which provoked huge headlines and a major response within the society, is one of the main terms of the policy debates. Moreover, it coincided with the beginning of the regularisation process of Ecuadorians resident in Spain, who had to return to their country of origin and regularise their situation from there before coming back to Spain with an employment contract. At the same time, employers' associations and trade unions were criticising the complexity and slowness of the quota system and the difficulty to offer jobs to foreigners without work permits already living in Spain.

As a consequence of these discussions, there are other core terms leading the policy debate.

- From the point of view of the trade unions, the problem is essentially the situation of irregular migrant workers. Some even begin to consider that the permanent existence of this supply of migrant workers should be considered as a structural reality of our society. The problem is not so much the irregularity in itself but its permanence.
- There are no documents related to the labour market that do not point the need to guarantee a European Union focus of the work and residence permits. This is mainly due to the argument that the free movement of migrant workers within the Union must be guaranteed. This problem, however, is not only European but also domestic, since the territorial and sectorial mobility of migrant workers is restricted during the first year.
- Another permanent issue belonging to the policy debate is the need to make the administrative process more flexible, and the search for legal solutions to regularise migrant workers.
- Employers mainly introduce in the policy debates the asymmetrical situation that exists in the contracting process for migrant workers entering in the Spanish labour system from the general regime (the process can take almost one year) and the contingent system (the contracting process can only take two months). However, time plays a vital role in this field.
- In spite of the advantages of the contingent system, there are some problems, mainly due to its recent implementation. The proposed governmental contingent does not reflect the overall needs on the labour market.

Finally, we can underline that the main terms of the Spanish policy debates are not new ones, but old and permanent ones. The only new term may be the European focus, whereas old claims at the origin of the debates include all aspects of the contingent system and labour contracting.

1.4. The social policy debate

The social construction of immigration in Spain evolved during the 1990's. While 44.2% of the people surveyed for the Centro de Investigación *Barómetro* (CIS - monthly

governmental opinion poll) in June 2002 said they had no contact with immigrants, the study showed an exaggerated perception of the number of foreigners, something the media is largely responsible for. Currently, with an annual rate of increase of 23.8% and ever-wider distribution throughout the country, immigration has become one of the main social concerns. Since 2000, immigration has entered everyday social consciousness.

But this perception is not only a product of statistics. The increased awareness of immigration is, above all, the result of a set of images and concepts conveyed to the people of Spain. The constant flow of clandestine arrivals across the Strait of Gibraltar, the racist incidents at Ca n'Anglada (in the Province of Barcelona) in June 1999, and in El Ejido (in the Province of Almeria) in February 2000, protests against mosques by nearby residents, the traffic accident that killed 20 irregular Ecuadorian workers, the sit-ins of immigrants deprived of their rights in Barcelona churches in January and February 2001, and various regularisation processes of foreigners in irregular situations, are episodes now engraved in the collective memory of the Spanish public opinion.

There is no doubt that one of the principal elements that shaped the development of the social perception of the presence of immigrants was the establishment of a legislative and political framework. Since 1985, the formulation and implementation of various legal texts and the debates that followed have marked various phases in the recognition of this presence.

In the following table we display chronologically the events of greatest social and political impact. While the table is not exhaustive, we can say that these events have generated movements and actions that go far beyond the momentary context, involving a whole network of actors that do not normally get involved at this level. We can say that these events have contributed to the definition of *Spain's immigration problem*. We have highlighted the principal structural factors that have shaped the interpretation of the conflicts. These structural elements are the controversial reform of Law 4/2000 in 8/2000, the series of regularisation processes, and national and regional elections.

Chart 1. Chronology of socially significant events and main structural factors

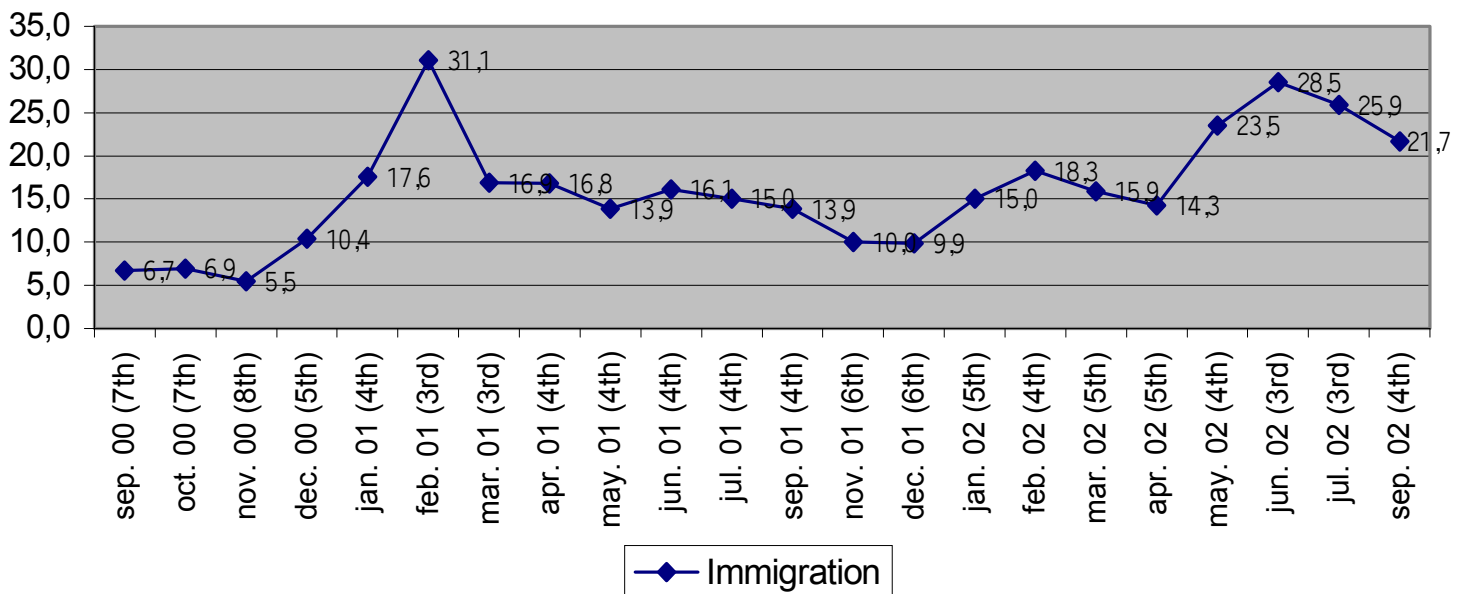
Date	Place	Event	Context	Principal issues
7/85			Organic Law on the Rights and Liberties of Foreigners	
11/92	Madrid	Murder by skinheads of Lucrecia Pérez, a Dominican.	One of the first racially motivated murders. The society as a whole, and politicians in particular, begins to become aware of immigration. Vulnerability of immigrants, particularly women.	- Racism and xenophobia - Protection and defence of specific groups
6/99	Madrid		Regional Elections	
7/99	Terrassa (Province of Barcelona, - Catalonia)	Five people injured in two incidents in Ca n'Anglada.	Five Moroccans injured in two clashes with young people in the Ca n'Anglada neighbourhood. A group of residents patrols the neighbourhood at night intimidating Moroccans and destroying their houses and shops. Hundreds of associations and thousands of individuals demonstrate against racism.	- Segregation. Social exclusion - Socio-economic inequality - Racism and xenophobia - Crime, law and order - Peaceful coexistence - Distrust
11/99	Catalonia		Regional Elections	
1/00			Organic Law on the Rights and Liberties of Foreigners (Law 4/2000).	
2/00			Beginning of a temporary process of regularisation involving the persons who can demonstrate their presence in Spain since June 1, 1999.	
2/00	El Ejido (Almería - Andalusia)	Incidents ensuing after the murder of Encarnación López.	A group of residents attacks undocumented Moroccan immigrants, who are, in a large measure, their own employees. These events produce a reaction witnessed around the world. There are other demonstrations of solidarity with undocumented immigrants in the areas of living and working conditions. Society becomes aware of clandestine markets for undocumented immigrant workers.	- Racism and Xenophobia - Human Rights - The undocumented - Exploitation of workers - Socio-economic inequality - Social exclusion - Crime - Peaceful coexistence - Distrust - Segregation
3/00			General Elections	
3/00	Andalusia		Regional Elections	
8/00	Lorca (Murcia)	Molotov cocktails thrown at immigrant hostel in Lorca.	Hundreds of undocumented immigrants, mostly Ecuadorians, have migrated to this area to work in the hundreds of hectares under intensive cultivation in the Lorca area under conditions no one else would accept. This concentration causes the kind of distrust also met in El Ejido. Racially motivated attacks.	- Racism and Xenophobia - Human Rights - The undocumented - Exploitation of workers - Socio-economic inequality - Social exclusion - Crime - Peaceful coexistence - Distrust - Segregation
12/00			End of process of regularisation of immigrants	

1/01	Lorca (Murcia)	Bus accident in Lorca killing 12 irregular agricultural workers.	Situation of undocumented workers (safety standards, lack of job security, vulnerability). Existence of illegal networks transporting undocumented workers to the fields, and presence of minors working irregularly. Spanish government proposes undocumented Ecuadorians return to their country voluntarily and apply for visas to work in Spain. Beginning of talks on accord between Spain and Ecuador.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Human rights - Undocumented workers - Exploitation of workers - Socio-economic inequality
1/01	Barcelona (Catalonia)	Three hundred undocumented immigrants stage sit-in at a church in Barcelona.	Passage of new Law on Alien Affairs is met with massive social and political protests, most importantly a sit-in and hunger strike by immigrants at the Pi Church in Barcelona, leading to similar actions around the country. Protests supported by a significant portion of the society (demonstrations, petitions). Institutions begin to negotiate with the mediation of the regional Ombudsman, who later withdraws from process. The national government's local representative calls the sit-in "blackmail". Another regularisation process is finally accepted.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Human rights (undocumented immigrants) - Solidarity - Social exclusion
1/01	Law 8/2000 on Alien Affairs comes into force.			
2/01	Royal decree sets requirements for regularisation of foreigners able to establish presence in Spain prior to January 1, 2001			
2/01	Catalonia	Marta Ferrusola, wife of Jordi Pujol, Catalonia's head of government, widely criticised for comments hostile to immigrants.	Racist statements. Ferrusola states there is risk of an invasion by immigrants, particularly Moroccans who she refers to "moros". "If we aren't careful, they will destroy us. We have to defend our country the way we did 20 years ago against Spain." Her unofficial comments are met by a wave of criticism with repercussions for the Catalan government.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Racism and Xenophobia - Distrust - Peaceful coexistence - Crime - Defence and Protection of Groups
3/01	Catalonia	Statements by Heribert Barrera, former leader of ERC, a political party.	Xenophobic positions contained in his biography: "Catalonia will disappear if immigration continues". Surprise among Spanish public opinion. Evidence of a reactionary element within Catalan nationalism.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Racism and xenophobia - Distrust - Coexistence - Collective defence
6/01	Another temporary regularisation process based on Article 31.4 of Law 8/2000 begins.			
7/01	Regulations governing the implementation of the Law on Alien Affairs 8/2000 come into force.			
8/01	Barcelona (Catalonia)	Municipal police remove immigrants from Plaça Catalunya, Barcelona's main square.	The police carry out raid and arrest sub-Saharan immigrants living in Barcelona's Catalunya Sq. Many of those arrested are taken to the Verneda Internment Centre, others to Murcia. For various reasons (cost, inability to determine country of origin) many are not expelled, but remain in Spain without any legal rights. Some receive assistance from social service programmes organised by government agencies, associations, and trade unions.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Racism and Xenophobia - Human Rights (the undocumented) - Social exclusion - Segregation - Crime, law and order
8/01	End of temporary regularisation process			
06/02	Huelva and Seville	Hundreds of irregular immigrant workers stage set-in at Olavide University in Seville to demand regularisation of their status.	Workers brought under a system of national quotas, from eastern Europe mainly, replace undocumented workers. Increased awareness of large number of undocumented workers living in Spain.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Undocumented Human Rights - Solidarity - Social exclusion

As indicated above, the CIS carries out monthly surveys designed to gauge opinions among the Spanish general public regarding various issues. Since 1991, several CIS studies have focused on Spanish attitudes toward the immigrant population. Surveys on attitudes toward immigrants from Morocco (January 1998) and Poland (January 2000) are examples of the increased attention to immigration issues.

Since February 2000, questions related to migration issues are included in the survey on a monthly basis. Immigration appears as an unsolicited response to the question, “What are, in your opinion, the three biggest problems currently faced by Spain?” Secondly, a survey that gives closer attention to the issue of migration by including a battery of questions regarding Spanish attitudes on a broad range of issues is carried out once a year. The questions deal with the right of a person to live in another country; the friendliness of feelings toward nationals of various countries; the level of concern about mixed marriages; the education of immigrant minors; the fact of living or working in proximity to immigrants. These surveys also assess opinions regarding the number of immigrants, as well as attitudes towards the laws on foreigners, the rights of immigrants resident in Spain, their social integration, and acts of violence against the foreign population. Similar questions, with the important addition of a question on the development of a European migratory policy, were also included in the February 2001 and June 2002 surveys.

Graph 1. Trends in Spanish concerns about immigration. Answers to the question: “What, in your opinion, are the three main problems in Spain today?” (%)
Based on data from CIS *Barómetro* (September 2000-December 2002).



Firstly, we note that in 2000 and 2001, immigration is always among the top eight responses (the actual position is shown in brackets after the month of the survey). Secondly, in February 2001, there was a clear rise in concerns about immigration, due to a number of factors, e.g. changes in the legislation from Law 4/2000 to 8/2000 and

the Royal Decree establishing requirements for the regularisation of foreigners able to demonstrate that they were in Spain before 1 January, 2001. Other factors included hunger strikes and sit-ins by immigrants in various regions of the country in order to obtain the regularisation of their situation, before the change in the law (a direct consequence of the legislative change); the bus accident in Lorca, which killed 12 undocumented immigrant labourers, and the alarmist tone adopted by public figures such as Marta Ferrusola or Heribert Barrera. Indeed, according to the CIPIE Foundation data, there was a 40% increase in the number of news items related to immigration appearing in the press in the first quarter of 2001. This had an enormous impact on public opinion and strengthened the perception of immigration as one of the main issues at the time.

In May 2002, 34.5% of those responding to a battery of questions related to the elections in France felt that the immigration issue explained the growth of extreme-right-wing parties in Europe. In the December 2002 *Barómetro*, 53.5% of the people interviewed declared that the Spanish population was quite tolerant or not at all tolerant (43.4% and 10.1%, respectively) towards foreigners or towards customs of other ethnic groups, compared with 39.7% who said that the Spanish population was very tolerant or fairly tolerant (4% and 35.7% respectively).

Chapter 2: The stakeholders

Given that the legal and executive initiative in the area of immigration is in the hands of the institutions of the Spanish central government, we will focus our attention on the stakeholders, structures and programmes at this level. One might note that the regions (particularly Andalusia and Catalonia) and the localities have taken on ever more important roles, a phenomenon one will need to keep an eye on. As social services are ever further shifted to the local level and the regions take over health care, housing, education and, in some cases, public safety, they assume an important role in the design of public policies, which can lead to clashes with the central government. Even though efforts aimed at the integration of immigrants are co-ordinated to a large extent by municipal and regional bodies, there is still no intergovernmental vision of immigration for the main stakeholders.

In this chapter we describe how, in 2000, the Spanish government reorganised and created the majority of administrative structures designed to deal with migration issues. This reform increased the responsibilities of the Minister of the Interior in this field. Additionally, the government's role as the principal stakeholder in policy-making was reinforced, and the fact that it held the majority of seats in Parliament gave it a monopoly on decision-making. The national Ombudsman handles complains from citizens and administrative problems related to the political and social management of immigration. NGOs fight the rhetoric that links immigration with crime and protest against the violations of the rights of immigrants. Trade unions and employers' organisations have criticised immigration laws, as the introduction of the quota system made it more difficult to hire immigrant workers.

2.1. The network of stakeholders

To facilitate an understanding of the principal stakeholders involved in the debate, we will follow the usual typology.

Chart 2. Typology of stakeholders

Type 1	NGOs and associations	Associations and NGOs which work directly to help immigrants settle in and/or to channel political demands
Type 2	Political parties	Parties with representation in the parliament in Madrid
Type 3	Lobbying and pressure groups	Trade unions, religious federations, foundations, and independent bodies
Type 4	Government	Various administrative bodies

If we look at the number of stakeholders participating in policy development, we obtain the following percentages: the largest group is made up of representatives of government (36.21%), the second consists of representatives of immigrant associations and NGOs (32.76%). Trailing far behind are representatives of political parties with 20.69% (explicable by the fact that they have parliamentary representation), and interest groups with 10.34%.

Among the stakeholders in Group 1, who come directly from civil society, we may distinguish between NGOs that support immigrants either on arrival, or later in the areas of employment, non-discrimination, fight against racism, and immigrant

associations that normally work on specific issues (agricultural workers, women, etc.) or work on particular groups (Moroccans, Dominicans, immigrants in Murcia, etc.)

Since the autumn of 1999, when the government's position became clearer, there have been ever more signs of discrepancies between the government's ever more restrictive line of thought and that of most stakeholders in the civil society. The relation has become one of constant confrontation. The signs of discontent vary widely: demonstrations, sit-ins, petitions against governmental proposals, publication of statements, editorials, interviews in the media, and appeals made with public institutions (especially the Ombudsman). In contrast, there have been no demonstrations of support for the government.

NGOs and immigrant associations have repeatedly criticised the lack of a forum for participation in governmental institutions. In response to the disagreements arising in the *Forum for the Social Integration of Immigrants*, the government adopted the strategy of changing the composition of the Forum until a majority of its members were government representatives. The Forum has now entirely lost its cohesion, as most of the major stakeholders have left it. The government's change of its composition in 2000 significantly increased the responsibilities of the Minister of the Interior with regard to migration issues, something various groups have sharply criticised. In Spain, efforts aimed at the integration of immigrants are co-ordinated in a large measure by municipal and regional bodies. Many of these institutions, however, lack the necessary financing and infrastructure, which makes policy implementation difficult.

NGOs are engaged in a constant struggle against the rhetoric that links immigration with crime. Several have protested against the violations of the rights of immigrants, for example, in the case of immigrants detained at the old airport facilities on Fuerteventura, and undocumented minors in Ceuta and Melilla.

The principal *political parties* differ in their approach towards immigration and the priority they give to the issue. These differences first became manifest in the autumn of 1999, when immigration became the subject of parliamentary debates, both in committees and in plenary sessions, where issues draw public attention. Most of the parties feel pressure from two sides: from the citizens and from the immigrants themselves. While most of them call for consensus and broad agreements, even given the centre-right *Partido Popular's* absolute majority, the ruling party clearly has the advantage over the opposition *PSOE*. The attitude of *Izquierda Unida* (United Left) has been critical of the government's point of view, especially of the violations of rights and the constitution in its handling of immigration.

The problems regarding political dialogue became manifest in the passage of the two alien affairs laws in 2000. The formulation of the new law was one of the issues most hotly debated during the sixth legislative term of parliament. The process produced the text of Organic Law 4/2000. The government's intention was to modify certain aspects of the Law, which had been introduced by its own parliamentary caucus, by introducing amendments in the Senate. The rejection of these amendments by the opposition resulted in the approval of Law 4/2000, which came into effect on 1 February, 2000. The PP, however, stated its intention of modifying the law should it win an absolute majority in the March 2000 elections, which is what happened. The party of the government passed Law 8/2000 – a significant revision of Law 4/2000 – over the votes of all opposition groups, as part of a clearly confrontational strategy.

Together with NGOs and immigrants associations, various religious groups, trade unions and employers' organisations have, to some extent, criticised the immigration laws, particularly 8/2000. The trade unions and employers' organisations have focused much of their criticism on the quota system established by the new regulations because they make it more difficult to hire immigrant workers.

If we concentrate on the strictly political sphere and take as our principal point of reference the main issues discussed in the Chamber of Deputies, we observe that the main points of discussion are related to stability (safety and law and order), cohesion and non-discrimination. Other issues are conflict resolution, bilateral accords and efficiency (financial and political resources for managing immigration). In the following table, we offer by way of example the principal issues debated during two appearances of the Government's Representative for Immigration, E. Fernández-Miranda, before the Parliament in 2001.

Chart 3. Principal issues debated during appearances of the Government's Representative on Immigration in 2001

<p>February 27, 2001. Number 167/session 18</p>	<p>Relevant issues</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social assistance, health care, education, and culture. • Fight against clandestine immigration, organised crime and exploitation of workers. • Reforms of the Law on the Status of Foreigner. • Prevention of networks of clandestine immigrant workers. • Political management of the social conflicts in <i>El Ejido</i>. • Political management of undocumented Ecuadorian immigrants in Lorca. • Overall program to regulate and co-ordinate the policy on foreigners and immigration. • Ways of repatriating the undocumented. • Status of negotiations with the Ecuadorian Government concerning a bilateral agreement, possible negotiations with other countries. • Accords with Morocco • Regularisation process: main criteria, issue of uniform application around the country. • The future of the "Forum on Immigration" (<i>Foro inmigración</i>) • Backlogs at Barcelona immigration office. • Procedures for legal assistance at time of arrival. • Immigrants' right to assemble and demonstrate. • Right of undocumented immigrants to register domicile.
<p>June 5, 2001. Number 254, session 28</p>	<p>Principal issues</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Administrative solution for regularising undocumented immigrants who have been offered work. • Reaction to events in Lorca: Voluntary return programme for Ecuadorian immigrants, programme funding. • Culture, religion, language as criteria for setting immigration quotas. • GRECO (Government Program for the Integration of Immigrants) budget • Government measures to combat violence and street crime • Explanation of repression of certain demonstrations by security forces.

Other issues raised included immigration's role in crime and the increase in the number of immigrants in prisons (April 24, 2002, No. 157, Session 151) and Spanish society's capacity to integrate immigrants (July 15, 2002, No. 179, Session 173). Agreements with third countries on repatriation, the dire conditions of immigrants held on Fuerteventura (Canary Islands) and the situation of immigrant minors (February 18, 2002, No. 236), working conditions for immigrant workers, the quota system and the decrease in asylum applications (September 30, 2002, No. 563, Session 69) were also discussion topics.

The national Ombudsman handles complaints from citizens and administrative problems related to the political and social management of immigration. We can see that most of the issues are linked with legal and security issues.

Chart 4

ISSUES	1999	2000	2001
Minors			
Withdrawal of passports			
Visas and medical certificates			
Asylum			
Regularisation (employment and residence visas)			
Family reunification			
Detention centres			
Fuerteventura detention centre			
African immigration to Canary Islands			
Ceuta and Melilla			
Airports			
Boat People			
Stowaways			
Expulsions			
Temporary Housing for Immigrants			
Immigration Offices			
Consular Offices			
Racism and xenophobia			

The legislation on immigrants is analysed in reports, from various points of view focusing on integration, the recognition of rights, human trafficking, and complaints about the tightening of the legislation. This is an indicator of the importance of the debate raised by the changes and tightening of the legislation and violations of the regulations themselves over the last three years. There are five major structural issues: minors on the streets, detention centres, stowaways, expulsions, and immigration offices. We can see that the issues that raise most complaints are linked with legal issues, admission and regularisation. Other issues related to security, such as detention centres and hunger strikes, are often the products of the legal framework, or of its violation.

2.2. Structures for the management of immigration

The following table shows the main structures that have been created for the management of migration:

Chart 5. Principal Structures for the Management of Immigration

Year of creation	Administrative Unit	Ministry
1992	Interministerial Commission on Alien Affairs	Home Affairs
1994	Permanent Immigration Research Group (<i>OPI</i>)	Home Affairs
1995	Forum on the Social Integration of Immigrants (<i>FISI</i>)	Home Affairs
1997	Migration and Social Service Institute (<i>IMSERSO</i>)	Labour and Social Security
2000	Office of the Government's Representative for Alien Affairs and Immigration	Home Affairs
2001	Superior Council on Immigration Policy	Home Affairs

In 2000, there were a number of changes in governmental structures, including the creation of new units and changes in existing ones. These changes showed two trends: firstly, the strengthening of the government's role as the principal stakeholder in the process of formulating policy, giving it a monopoly on decision-making power in light of its broad majority in Parliament. Secondly, the central role of the Home Affairs Ministry, which establishes the central government's immigration policy.

The following is a list of the various bodies and their salient characteristic.

Chart 6. Salient Characteristics of Central Government Entities Involved in Immigration Issues

Transversality: co-ordination among government bodies at the same level	Interministerial Commission on Alien Affairs. Interior. (1992)
Intergovernmental Relations (RIG): co-ordination among agencies.	Superior Council on Immigration Policy. (2001)
Participation: institutional network for participation by stakeholders	Forum on the Social Integration of Immigrants. (1995)
Central bodies: management and co-ordination of strategic actions and policies.	Office of the Government's Representative for Alien Affairs and Immigration. Interior. (2000)
Oversight committees and research institutes: consulting, information to guide public managers, various stakeholders, investigation	Permanent Immigration Research Group. Interior. (1994)
	Migration and Social Service Institute. (1997)

Below, we examine each body individually:

Chart 7

Body	Permanent Immigration Research Group (OPI)
Date of creation	Cabinet agreement of 2 December, 1994.
Place in organisational chart	In accordance with RD 435/2001, (dated April 4) part of the Home Affairs Ministry, directly under the Office of the Government's Representative for Alien Affairs and Immigration.

Area of competence and functions	RD 435/2001 defines this as a joint body responsible for data collection, qualitative and quantitative analysis of immigration, distribution of information received from the ministries, regional and local governments as well as from international organisations, public and private entities, and organisations and associations with links to the issue of immigration, with competence in the areas of the status of foreigners, immigration and asylum.
Composition	According to RD 435/2001, the <i>OPI</i> is presided by the Government's Representative on Alien Affairs and Immigration, to be made up of sixteen members: four representing the ministries making up the Interministerial Committee on Alien Affairs (experts in the quantitative and qualitative analysis of immigration to be named by the Interministerial Committee on Alien Affairs); one representing the National Employment Institute; one representing the CIS; two experts in the qualitative and quantitative analysis of immigration to be proposed by the General Directorate of Police and the General Directorate of the Civil Guard: four to represent the regions and the cities of Ceuta and Melilla, to be designated by the Superior Council on Immigration Policy; two to represent local governments, named by the predominant association of local entities; two from the academic community, named by the Government's Representative on Alien Affairs and Immigration.
Observations	Created under the Plan for the Social Integration of Immigrants in 1994. In R.D. 140/1997, dated January 31 its management is assigned to <i>IMSERSO</i> .

Chart 8

Body	Forum on the Social Integration of Immigrants
Date of creation	4 April, 1995 (RD 490/1995)
Position on organisational chart	Came under <i>IMSERSO</i> until 4 April, 2001. Since promulgation of RD 367/2001, has come under the Home Affairs Ministry, directly under the Office of the Government's Representative on Alien Affairs and Immigration
Area of competence and functions	In accordance with RD 367/2001, the functions of the Forum are: a) formulating proposals and recommendations designed to promote the integration of immigrants and refugees into Spanish society; b) receiving information regarding programmes and activities undertaken by the central, regional, and local governments in the area of the social integration of immigrants; collecting and channelling proposals from organisations active in the area of immigration for the purpose of promoting complete harmony between immigrants and the host society; e) formulating reports on proposals, plans and programmes that might affect the social integration of immigrants as required by the relevant bodies in the central government; f) any other actions considered necessary in connection with the integration of legally resident foreigners into Spanish society.

Composition	Its composition has undergone various changes. The current composition (pursuant to RD 367/2001) is as follows: " The Forum on the Social Integration of Immigrants is made up of the following members: the President, two Vice-Presidents, to be named from among the members, a Secretary, and 24 members as follows: eight representing government entities, eight representing immigrants and refugees through their legally constituted associations; eight representing support organisations including the most representative trade unions and employers' associations with an interest and experience in the issue of immigration."
Observations	<p>Modified by RD 2816/1998, dated 23 December, and RD 367/2001, dated 4 April. It is one of the only bodies whose existence is recognised by an organic law. Article 68 of Law 8/2000 provides for this body with consultative, informational and advisory functions in the area of the social integration of immigrants.</p> <p>In late November 2001, the Government's Representative for Alien Affairs and Immigration, Enrique Fernández-Miranda, announced a restructuring of the Forum, involving a reform of the mechanism for electing the Forum's NGO representation, and the appointment of Mikel Azurmendi as President of the institution. The changes increased the representation of the central government and of NGOs with the best financing and widest range of activities, many linked directly or indirectly to the Catholic Church, at the expense of smaller NGOs with a smaller range of action. NGOs excluded shortly thereafter announced their intention to create an alternative forum and accused the official Forum of being unrepresentative and incapable of criticising the Government's immigration policy. The appointment of Azurmendi as President also clouded the Forum's image as a participatory body. His repeated criticisms of NGOs' efforts in taking in and integrating immigrants and his dismissal of the suits brought against the Law on Alien Affairs' constitutionality provoked sharp criticism of the government. He was called to appear before the Congress (Justice and Interior Committee, February 26, 2002, No. 427/Session 49) as well as the Senate (Special Committee on Immigration and Alien Affairs, February 18, 2002, No. 236). Azurmendi's statements, the media coverage, and partisan infighting have fed a controversy whose main impact has been on the work, activities and credibility of the Forum on the Integration of Immigrants itself.</p>

Chart 9

Body	Office of the Government's Representative for Alien Affairs and Immigration
Date of creation	11 May, 2000 (R.D. 683/2000)
Position on organisational chart	Home Affairs Ministry. In accordance with RD 683/2000, the Representative has the rank of Secretary of State and reports directly to the Minister.
Area of competence and characteristics	In accordance with RD 683/2000, " The Government's Representative for Alien Affairs and Immigration is responsible for formulating the government's policy on foreigners, immigration and the right to asylum, and for co-ordinating and promoting all activities undertaken in this area."

Observations	<p>The creation of the Office of the Government's Representative for Foreigners and Immigration was a step towards the achievement of one of the goals outlined in the PP's campaign platform. The creation of this Office represents not only the first and most important organisational change in the area of immigration in this legislative term, but also the most important one in the organisational chart of the Home Affairs Ministry given that it is a high level policy-making body within the Ministry.</p> <p>The functions associated with this post show the importance given to the Representative, who has the rank of Secretary of State and reports directly to the Minister. The Office is a strictly governmental body responsible for formulating governmental policy on alien affairs, immigration and the right to asylum, as well as co-ordinating and promoting all actions carried out in these areas, i.e. it is an exclusive function. It has the following specific responsibilities: study and analysis of immigration, formulation of proposals to deal with it, management of police action in this area, co-ordination with other entities and stakeholders, representation abroad.</p> <p>The extraordinary importance given to the position does not, however, mean that it has a cohesive organisational apparatus at its service. The General Directorate on Foreigners and Immigration is sole responsible for the execution and implementation of measures adopted by the Office of the Government's Representative on Alien Affairs and Immigration. The <i>OPI</i> and the <i>FISI</i> are also subordinated to the Representative.</p>
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Chart 10

Body	Superior Council on Immigration Policy
Date of creation	4 November, 2001 (R.D. 344/2001)
Position on organisational chart	Attached to the Home Affairs Ministry.
Area of competence and functions	According to R.D. 344/2001: " The Superior Council on Immigration Policy is created for the purpose of co-ordinating the actions of government agencies with competence in or influence on policy regarding the integration of immigrants (...) It is a joint body that provides for co-ordination and co-operation among the central government, the regional governments, and local entities".
Composition	Three levels of government: central, regional and local. "The Council, presided over by the Government's Representative on Alien Affairs and Immigration, will be composed of 46 members, as follows: a) the central government will be represented by 17 members, with a minimum rank of Director General, from the following ministries: the Executive Office, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Justice, Defence, Treasury, Interior, Education, Labour and Social Affairs, the Prime Minister's Office, Public Administration, Health and Consumer Affairs, Economics; b) one representative from each region and from the cities of Ceuta and Melilla; c) ten representatives of local entities, to be appointed by the most widely established association of local entities."

Observations	<p>The Superior Council on Immigration Policy is something unprecedented in the history of Spanish immigration policy. It is a joint body, which principal task is the co-ordination of actions undertaken by governmental bodies with jurisdiction over or influence on the integration of immigrations. Provisions were made for its existence in Law 4/2000, Article 61, which were reaffirmed and slightly expanded in Article 68 of Law 8/2000, though they did not in fact come into being until the following year.</p> <p>Attached to the Home Affairs Ministry and presided over by the Government's Representative on Alien Affairs and Immigration, it includes 46 members representing three levels of government: central, regional and local.</p> <p>Given its composition, it would be the ideal body for working out a "state" immigration policy. It focuses on the social integration of immigrants, so it may be seen as the public counterpart of the Forum on the Social Integration of Immigrants. Its lack of jurisdiction over issues related to immigration policy, such as the control of flows and co-operation for development, is noteworthy. This situation is indicative of the government's limited availability for dialogue on issues where it feels it has unique jurisdiction, a situation that reinforces the centralisation of decision-making, and, given the absence of members from outside the government, institutional impermeability.</p>
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Chart 11

Body	Interministerial Council on Alien Affairs
Date of creation	14 May, 1992 (R.D. 511/1992)
Position on organisational chart	An Interministerial body, attached to the Home Affairs Ministry (RD 1946/2000, dated 1 December).
Area of competence and functions	"It has the function of debating on, and contributing with information to the proposals and actions of the ministries that influence the treatment of foreigners, immigration and asylum, and of gathering information on the agreements adopted by, and the development of actions undertaken by the European Union as well as international bodies, and of evaluating their effect on, and application in the country." (RD 1946/2000)
Composition	The commission is presided over by the Government's Representative on Alien Affairs and Immigration and is made up of the Assistant Secretaries of Foreign Affairs, Justice, Treasury, Education, Culture and Sports, Labour and Social Affairs, the Executive Office, Public Administration, Health and Consumer Affairs, and Economics.

<p>Observations</p>	<p>This body, designed to co-ordinate bodies of the central government, is not a new creation, and has been operating for over a decade. On 9 April, 1991, the Full Session of the Congress of Deputies passed a resolution regarding the situation of foreigners in Spain, calling for the reform and modernisation of the administrative structures responsible for managing the policy on alien affairs through an Interministerial Commission on Alien Affairs. In accordance with the provisions of this resolution, RD 511/1992 dated 14 May was issued, creating the Commission. This royal decree was modified by RD 2489/1994, dated 23 December, and RD 2490/1996 dated 5 December. RD 1946/2000, dated 1 December, regulates the composition and functioning of the Commission.</p> <p>The need to exchange ideas among the various government agencies arose in the early 1990's, with the increase in the range of tools available to the central government for dealing with this issue. The government that resulted from the March 2000 elections changed the Commission's composition and presidency (RD 1946/2000, dated 1 December). The principal innovation regarding its composition was that the Executive Office was brought in, while the number of ministries represented was expanded to include: Treasury, Education, Culture and Sports, the Prime Minister's Office, Public Administration, Health and Consumer Affairs, and Economics. The number of ministry representatives was increased considerably to 27, including the Commission President.</p> <p>The Interministerial Commission on Alien Affairs was conceived as the principal resource for the Government's Representative to formulate the central government's immigration policy. The increase in size gives broader representation to the various bodies within the central government in areas of competence related to immigration. The Commission's growth, however, may also slow down its decision-making process, since initially only five points of view had to be reconciled, as opposed to the current ten. While strong leadership on the part of the President may be able to counteract this tendency, the increase in size will require more work in the sub-commissions, which are made up of at least one representative from each of the ministries represented in the Commission itself.</p>
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2.3. The immigration programme

The current government's overall immigration policy statement is the *Overall Programme for the Regulation and Co-ordination of Alien Affairs and Immigration in Spain* (generally abbreviated as GRECO)². This programme was presented to the Congress of Deputies by the Government's Representative for Alien Affairs and Immigration on 10 September, 2000, and approved by the Chamber on 29 December, 2000, with the votes of the Popular Party. Cabinet approval did not come until 30 March, 2001³.

The GRECO Program (2000-2004) covers several years and responds to the necessity for an overall framework for a *needed, positive* handling of immigration over the coming

² The only precedent may be found in the Government's Report to the Congress of Deputies dated December 1990: *On the Situation of Foreigners in Spain: Basic Policy Guidelines on Alien Affairs*.

³ Resolution of 17 April, 2001 by the Government's Representative for Foreigners and Immigration to publish the Cabinet Agreement of 30 March, 2001, approving the Overall Policy for the Regulation and Co-ordination of Alien Affairs and Immigration.

years. Responsibility for co-ordinating the Programme's formulation, promotion, and implementation is assigned to the Government's Representative on Alien Affairs and Immigration, who is to present an annual assessment to the Interministerial Council on Alien Affairs.

The formulation of the Programme involved the participation of seven ministries dealing with immigration: Foreign Affairs, Justice, Interior, Education, Culture and Sports, Labour and Social Affairs, Public Administration, and Health and Consumer Affairs. The Programme includes four basic lines of action: a) a co-ordinated overall framework for immigration as a phenomenon that is desirable for Spain within the context of the European Union; b) the integration of resident foreigners and their families, who contribute actively to the country's growth; c) the regulation of migratory flows with the goal of guaranteeing peaceful coexistence in the Spanish society; d) the maintenance of a system of protection for refugees and displaced persons. These four basic goals (the first two relating to control and regulation, and the latter two to protection and integration) are to be achieved through 23 actions, structured around 72 concrete measures.

The Home Affairs Ministry has the main role in all four areas of intervention (particularly in terms of the packages of measures outlined for the lines of action a) and c) above, followed by the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs. The Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Public Administration, Justice, Health and Consumer Affairs, Education, and Culture and Sports are assigned far fewer tasks.

The Programme does not include any measurable goal for government action, does not specify the human and financial resources allocated to carry it out, and does not indicate time frames to carry out the actions or reach the goals established. It sets out a broad scheme for central government action in the area of alien affairs but does not indicate the government's priorities, and is of no utility in tracking government action as a whole.

Chapter 3: European legislative proposals

3.1. The effects of European citizenship on Spanish citizenship

Article 8 of the Treaty on the European Union (the Maastricht Treaty of 1992), institutionalising European citizenship, had an immediate impact on most Member States' constitutions and legislation. In Spain, as in most EU countries, national sovereignty resides in Spanish nationals (Article 1.2 EC). A first interpretation of this article indicates that the granting of political rights to non-nationals directly contradicts this provision of the Constitution. This would be the case, however, only with regard to the right to vote in elections concerning bodies whose powers are provided for in the Constitution or in the autonomy statutes, i.e. bodies in which political power is a direct expression of national sovereignty. Shortly after the Maastricht Treaty came into effect, the Spanish Constitutional Court adopted this second interpretation in granting resident foreigners from EU Member States the right to vote in European and municipal elections.

In terms of granting of the right to vote in European Parliament elections to European citizens (Council Directive 93/109/EC), implementation was almost automatic. The minor legislative changes needed were adopted in December 1993. In order to allow the voter to choose between voting in his country of origin or his country of residence (in this case, Spain), the resident is not included automatically on the electoral roll. The voter must make an explicit request for registration to the locality where he resides. (RD 2118/93 dated December 3). In accordance with Article 8.B.2 of the Maastricht Treaty, a similar change was made in Spain's electoral laws in March 1994 (Organic Law 13/94, dated 30 March) in order to accommodate the number of Spanish Members of Parliament.

With regard to municipal elections, Spain has already given constitutional recognition to the right of foreigners to vote on the basis of reciprocity (Article 13.2 EC). While this right is limited to the right to vote, there is no explicit mention of the right to be elected, which is, hence, not directly excluded. The only constitutional change has been the addition of the word "passive" to Article 13.2. The mention of reciprocity required no special stipulations since Article 8B of the Maastricht Treaty has been interpreted in a generic sense to include all Member States.

3.2. Legislative reform and counter-reform

In a situation where immigration is taking importance as a local issue, the debate on and passage of a new immigration law (Organic Law 4/2000 dated 11 January, on the rights and freedoms of foreigners and their social integration) has strengthened the role of the regional and local governments. The major qualitative developments expressed in the name and the contents of the law are made specific with the incorporation of a second objective. The social integration of immigrants is given equal importance with the objective stated in previous laws (control of entry, residence and management of migratory flows). This new legal text confirms the de facto situation and grants a stronger role to the political institutions while promoting decentralised action in this area. However, the counter reform of Law 4/2000 passed by the Popular Party government modifies some of the tools given to local governments to improve their

political action and make it more effective⁴.

The new text reduces, but does not eliminate the differences between the rights granted to foreigners resident in Spain and those granted to Spanish nationals, and paves the way for the recognition of almost all social rights. In the area of political rights, it is more restrained. The following table shows the rights recognised and the modifications of the reform proposed by the government.

Chart 12. The legislative counter-reform

Rights	Art.	Requirement in Law 4/2000	Reform Law (8/2000)
<i>Right to travel</i>	5	Residence permit	Limits on mobility in exceptional cases
<i>Right to vote in municipal elections</i>	6.1	Registration of domicile and residence permit	Emphasis on reciprocity
<i>Election of representatives to participate in municipal debates and decisions</i>	6.2	Registration of domicile and residence permit	The authorities may consider requests by foreigners
<i>Freedom to assemble and demonstrate</i>	7	Presence in Spain	Residence permit
<i>Freedom to assemble and demonstrate</i>	8	Presence in Spain	Residence permit
<i>Creation and management of associations</i>	8	Residence permit	No
<i>Education (including financial aid)</i>	9	Presence in Spain (minor under 18)	Guarantee of access to compulsory education, residence permit required for access to non-compulsory education.
<i>Creation and management of educational centres</i>	9.3	Residence permit	(No mention)
<i>Right to join trade unions and to strike</i>	11	Presence in Spain	Residence permit
<i>Full medical care</i>	12	Registration of domicile	Registration of domicile
<i>Emergency medical assistance</i>	12.2	Presence in Spain	Presence in Spain
<i>Access to housing assistance</i>	13	Registration of domicile and residence permit	Residence permit only
<i>Basic and specialised social services</i>	14	Residence permit	Residence permit
<i>Basic social services</i>	14.3	Presence in Spain	Presence in Spain
<i>Right to free legal counsel</i>	22	Registration of domicile or residence permit	Lack of financial means

Regional and local governments have one noteworthy responsibility in connection with all these rights and freedoms. The introduction of the principle of registration of domicile by Law 4/2000 is quite important as it gives recognition to a mechanism that cannot only guide regional and local action, but also promote a gradual regularisation of those with irregular legal status. The reform introduced by the Spanish government, however, shows its reticence about allowing this regularisation process to go from being a temporary process to becoming a permanent one. The text of Article 29.3 of Law 4/2000, which provides for the complementary nature of registration of domicile with demonstration of having lived in Spain uninterruptedly for two years, is significantly revised. Registration disappears and the length of the required stay is increased from

⁴ The reform of Law 4/2000 was, while not the first, one of the first political decisions adopted by the Popular Party government after obtaining an absolute majority in Parliament. Defended as an electoral promise, the Executive sent a draft to the Parliament that rectified articles of a text that had been approved during the last parliamentary session of 1999 in spite of PP opposition and without the support of the nationalist parties.

two to five years with the addition of a requirement of showing proof of a livelihood. Registration is stripped of its legal force despite clearly being a way of integrating and rooting people at the local level.

Another aspect of the new legal text unchanged by the reform is the participation of regional and local governments in the formulation of immigration policy. The Superior Council on Immigration Policy is created for the purpose of bringing together representatives of central, state and local governments to establish principals and criteria for overall policy on the integration of immigrants into the society and the labour market (Article 61.1). The law recognises their contribution to the formulation of public policy, which includes not only problems of integration but also the setting of quotas, previously considered the sole responsibility of the central government. The main purpose of the Superior Council is to provide the needed co-ordination among the various levels of government. Whereas the different government bodies had previously not worked out how to co-ordinate their efforts, the new law would appear to provide an opportunity to improve and expand inter-regional relationships in dealing with common concerns.

3.3. The degree of convergence between Spanish and European legislations

To determine the degree to which Spanish legislation has been brought in line with European Union legislation on immigration, we will compare the EU Directives proposals with Organic Law 8/2000 on the rights and freedoms of foreigners. Three basic areas are taken into account: admission for economic reasons, family reunification, and long-term residence right.

3.3.1. Admission for economic reasons

Chart 13. Comparison of European regulations and Spanish legislation

	Proposal in Council Directive COM(2001) 386 final	Organic Law 8/2000
Single national application procedure	Art. 2 d) and 2 e) To replace the dual system (independent residence and work permits) it is proposed to create a “combined title” authorising both residence and employment/self-employed work with one administrative act. The permit is issued by the authorities of a Member State allowing a third-country national to enter and reside on its territory and to exercise activities as an employed or self-employed person.	Art. 36.1 Residence permits and work permits are independent: in order to exercise any lucrative, labour or professional activity, foreigners over 16 obtain, in addition to the residence permission, an administrative authorisation to work.
Economic needs test	Art. 6 When an application is submitted, it must be demonstrated that the job vacancy cannot be filled in the short term by any of the categories mentioned. These categories include EU citizens, third-country nationals who are relatives of EU citizens, third-country nationals who are legal residents, or third-country nationals who have been employed.	Art. 38.1 “For the initial granting of a work permit, the national employment situation will be taken into account.”

Further detailed information for comparative purposes re. Article 36.1:

a. Who is entitled to work/residence permits?

There are three types of residence permits:

- For stays of less than 90 days: traditional tourist residence permits.
- Temporary residence permits, for more than 90 days and less than five years, are granted to people who can support themselves and their family, who have a work permit, who have been living in Spain for at least five years, or for humanitarian reasons. In order to receive temporary permits, foreigners should not have a criminal record.
- Permanent residence permits are granted to foreigners who have had temporary permits for a minimum of five consecutive years.

b. Who may apply for a work permit?

Generally speaking, a work permit constitutes an authorisation to work in Spain given to foreigners over 16 years of age.

c. How long is a permit valid for?

The duration of a work permit must be less than five years. Work permits are renewable and become permanent after 5 years of residence in the country.

d. Do the same rules apply to workers and self-employed persons?

Under Law 8/2000, there is no difference in treatment between workers and self-employed persons, although there is a different denomination: self-employed persons need an administrative authorisation to work instead of a work permit.

Detailed information of Article 38.1:

Law 8/2000 and its development in the Royal Decree 864/2001 state that before a work permit is granted to a foreign worker, specific conditions must be met:

- Lack of workers (Spanish nationals, EU nationals and foreign residents allowed to work) compared to labour needs.
- Labour needs cannot be fulfilled by the National Employment System (INEM)
- Conditions of reciprocity with the applicant's country of origin

In the case of self-employed persons, the following criteria apply:

- Incidence of the activity on the creation of employment, development of capital, new technologies or improvement of conditions of production
- Sufficient investment to develop the activity
- Professional qualifications of the applicant
- Conditions of reciprocity with the applicant's country of origin
- Other considerations (family members of foreign residents)

When comparing European regulations and Spanish legislation, it appears that the draft Directive puts more emphasis on the mechanisms of admission of foreigners for economic reasons than Spanish legislation does, as the latter is generally aimed at regulating the presence of immigrants in Spain. On the other hand, EU regulations

advocate the creation of a single administrative document, i.e. a residence and work permit, while Spanish legislation continues to separate residence permits and work permits.

3.3.2. Right to family reunification

Chart 14. Comparison of European regulations and Spanish legislation

	Modified proposal of Council Directive COM (2002) 225 Final	Organic Law 8/2000
Definition of family members eligible for reunification	Art. 4 The following persons are eligible for reunification: spouse; minor, unmarried (biological and adopted) children of the applicant and his/her spouse; (biological and adopted) children of applicant and his/her spouse if applicant has custody of children. Any direct forebears of applicant or spouse dependent on the couple, and adult, unmarried disabled children. The same conditions apply to the applicant's partner if a long-term relationship can be demonstrated.	Art. 17 A resident foreigner has as right to reunification with his/her spouse; unmarried minor children (biological or adopted) of the applicant or spouse or both; minors (under 18) or disabled persons for whom the applicant is the legal representative, and direct forebears of the resident or spouse who are dependent on them.
Requirements for family reunification	Articles 7 and 8 Member States may ask the applicant to show evidence that s/he has housing, health insurance for him/herself and his/her family members and financial resources at or above the level at which welfare assistance is granted. Member States may require that the applicant has had legal residence for a period not exceeding two years before applying for family reunification.	Art. 18 (new) Foreigners may exercise this right if they have resided legally in Spain for 1 year and have authorisation for at least one further year. They must show proof of adequate housing and sufficient resources for subsistence
Waiting period	Article 8 Exceptionally, when national legislation gives consideration to the country's ability to receive immigrants, it may establish a waiting period not exceeding 3 years for submitting an application for family reunification.	Not specified
Period of validity and conditions for residency permits of relatives under reunification	Articles 13 and 14 The residency permit of family members will be valid for the same period as that of the applicant. If the applicant has been granted long-term residence, the relatives' permits will be valid for at least one year and renewable. The rights covered are access to education, paid employment or self-employment, orientation, professional training, and further education.	Art. 18.3 (new) When an application for family reunification is approved, the residence permits of family members will be valid for the same period as that of the applicant.

Individual residence permit	<p>Art. 15 Spouses and children who reach adult age have the right to their own residence permits after no more than 5 years, if family ties continue to exist.</p>	<p>Art. 19 A spouse may obtain his/her own individual residence permit if s/he finds employment or can provide proof of having lived with the spouse for at least two years, children may obtain it when reaching adult age or obtaining authorisation to work.</p>
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With regard to the right to family reunification, some elements of the Spanish legislative revision are more restrictive than Community regulations. Organic Law 8/2000 is more restrictive as to relatives covered under reunification than Organic Law 4/2000, in that it eliminates the possibility of requesting reunification for any relative for humanitarian reasons and defines more precisely procedures for family reunification, adding for the first time minimum requirements for application. Community regulations, in contrast to Spanish legislation, make reference to the non-spouse partners of applicants for family reunification. Spanish legislation does not contemplate unmarried partners for the purposes of family reunification. Community norms also provide for the authority of the Member State to consider whether a minor under 12 years of age fulfils an integration criterion before authorising his/her entry and residence. (Article 4.1 c).

Finally, we can examine for comparative purposes the rights covered by the residence permits of family members. Under Spanish legislation, there are not specific conditions related to family reunification. The family members of a foreign resident enjoy all the rights that the Law grants to foreign residents. This means that all foreigners under 18 have a right to education under the same conditions as Spanish nationals. Resident foreigners have the same rights as Spanish nationals to non-compulsory education, and all foreign workers have access to the Social Security system.

3.3.3. Long-term residence

Chart 15. Comparison between European regulations and Spanish legislation

	Proposed Council Directive COM (2001) 127 Final	Organic Law 8/2000
Guarantee of permanent residence	<p>Art. 5 Long-term resident status is granted to third-country nationals who have legally resided in a Member State continuously for five years.</p>	<p>Art. 32 The right to permanent residence is granted to persons who have had temporary residence continuously for five years regardless of temporary absences from the country for vacations or other specific reasons.</p>

Guarantees against expulsion	Art. 13 A long-term resident can only be expelled if his/her conduct represents a serious danger for public order or internal security. Factors such as age, consequences, or duration will be taken into account and emergency expulsion procedures may not be taken against long-term residents.	Art. 57.5 Expulsion cannot be carried out against foreigners granted long-term residence except for infractions that involve activities contrary to the external security of the state, activities against public order of a serious nature, or for an infraction that is a repetition within a year of an infraction punishable by expulsion.
Equality of treatment	Art. 12 Long-term residents enjoy equality of treatment re. employment, education and professional training, social protection, social assistance, tax and social benefits, access to goods and services, freedom of association, and freedom of movement within the Member State.	Art. 30.1 Permanent residence is the authorisation to reside in Spain indefinitely and to work under conditions equal to those of Spanish nationals.
Right of residence in another Member State	Chap. III Long-term residents can exercise their right of residence in other Member States than the one granting them such status for a period of more than three months if they engage in economic activity, studies or dispose of sufficient resources.	Not specified
Withdrawal of status	Member States shall withdraw long-term resident status in some cases: absence from the territory for a period of two consecutive years; detection of fraudulent acquisition of long-term resident status; acquisition of long-term resident status in another Member State or adoption of an expulsion measure.	Not specified in Law 8/2000 but in the Royal Decree 864/2001. Spanish authorities shall withdraw long-term resident status in case of exceptional circumstances (state of siege or emergency), detection of substantial inaccuracies or fraudulent acquisition of permanent status, adoption of an expulsion measure, or in case of absence from the Spanish territory for more than 6 months in a year.

Some final remarks need to be made to have a full picture for comparison: Concerning the **criteria regarding resources and sickness insurance** in Spanish legislation, there are not specific comments on this item in Law 8/2000. All foreign residents in Spain have a right to Social Security, which includes unemployment benefits. All foreigners have a right to emergency medical services. Maybe the most distinctive characteristic is that, independently of their legal status, all foreigners registered in the local census and under 18 have a right to medical care in the same conditions as Spanish nationals. **Access to non-compulsory education and specialised social services** is restricted to "foreign residents", which means, according to Article 29.3, those who have a temporary or permanent residence permit. Regarding **equal access to social benefits**, the main differences concern foreign residents and undocumented foreigners. Basic social services are granted to all immigrants. Social benefits within the Social Security system, access to housing benefits, non-compulsory education, are granted to foreign residents (i.e. temporary and permanent residents). Finally, in the case of work requiring **special qualifications**, foreign workers and foreign self-employed persons need recognition of their qualifications. (Article 36.1, Law 8/2000). This aspect is mentioned but not developed.

Chapter 4: Recommendations and open method of co-ordination

Since 2000, Spain belongs to the "club" of European countries affected by the constant increase in migratory flows. According to *Eurostat* (2001), Spain is one of the European countries that have received the most immigrants. Of all migrants coming to the European Union, 24% have settled in Spain. Despite the 2001 legal reforms explicitly aimed at "discouraging" the arrival of immigrants at our borders, 2001 is precisely the year which marked the largest annual increase (23.82% over 2000, see Table 2, p. 4). Although the proportion of immigrants from non-EU countries used to exceed that from EU countries, the situation is now reversed and the gap has been widening since 2000. We also observe that immigration from developing countries makes up a greater proportion of immigrants and is increasing. Looking at immigrants by country of origin, we note that while those from EU countries are among the largest groups, since 2000 there has been a substantial shift and the groups showing the greatest increase come from developing countries.

Spain's legal framework has not only failed in preventing the entry of immigrants, but has also been one of the main factors in the generation of "undocumented" labour supply. This is partly due to the fact that immigrants must have an employment contract to enter Spain legally for employment purposes. The combination of markets that attract ever more immigrants and policies that do not offer them legal statuses has been one of the main sources of growth in the numbers of undocumented workers, who do not have a legal space in which to subsist. It is estimated that there are currently 200,000 undocumented immigrants in Spain. This would explain the increase in the number of those in irregular situations who end up in prison. Currently, 20% of all the people incarcerated in Spain are undocumented immigrants. The increased use of automatic expulsion against immigrants committing even minor offences has recently led organisations such as SOS Racism to accuse the government of demagoguery and populism, manipulation of public opinion, and exploitation of the complex issue of immigration to get votes. The politicisation of immigration, while still limited in the Spanish debate, appears ever more likely.

The emergence of immigration onto the political and social agenda since 2000 has occurred in a climate of constant tension and confrontation between the principal social and economic stakeholders and those from government, who, to electoral ends, have linked immigration with crime. This linkage is not unrelated to the rise of populist parties in Europe that employ a racist rhetoric based on the assumption of an essential difference between the cultural identity of immigrants and that of European citizens. It is debatable whether the best strategy to get votes for the governing parties and those with aspirations to govern, is the adoption of a rhetoric that turns immigrants into criminals. It is noteworthy that, in contrast to the central government level, the political parties participating in municipal elections have agreed not to exploit immigration as an electoral issue, in the interest of avoiding a politicisation of the immigration issue and of facilitating the social integration of immigrants.

In the context of its policy of combating crime, the government has directly linked its penal reforms with the control of immigration. In late 2002 and January 2003, the central government formulated a reform of the Penal Code, which was approved by the Cabinet on January 17. This first draft of an organic law affects mainly issues of public safety and immigrants' rights. Among other provisions, it includes repetition of an

offence and aggravating circumstance.

The reform makes a number of changes with regard to immigrants' rights. The penalty for human trafficking, currently a misdemeanour punishable by up to three years of prison, is raised to 10 years, and trafficking in minors is an aggravating circumstance. Undocumented immigrants sentenced to less than six years of prison can be expelled from Spain with no right to return for 10 years. Title III of the Penal Code covering physical injury will be modified in order to make female genital mutilation a crime. The Civil Code will be changed to allow the application of Spanish laws on separation and divorce to be invoked by immigrants who cannot do so in their country of origin, and the application of Spanish marriage laws rather than those of the country of origin.

Chart 16. Principal Reforms of the Penal Code related to Alien Affairs

Previous to revision	After revision
Undocumented foreigners sentenced for offences punishable by imprisonment	
Expulsion may be substituted for terms of imprisonment of less than six years	Expulsion will be ordered except in exceptional cases
Terms of imprisonment exceeding six years: Expulsion may be ordered when three quarters of term have been served	Expulsion will be ordered when the prisoner has become eligible for temporary release or has served three quarters of the term
Undocumented foreigners convicted of offences punishable by expulsion	
Possibility of expulsion	Expulsion will be ordered except in exceptional cases
Prohibition of return to Spain	
Three to ten years	Ten years following expulsion
Female Genital Mutilation	
Not specifically considered as a crime	Classified as a crime. Imprisonment for up to 12 years
Separation and divorce	
Regulated by the laws of the spouses' country of origin	Regulated by Spanish legislation
Trafficking and clandestine immigration	
6 months to 3 years of imprisonment	4-8 years of imprisonment
Trafficking in persons for the purposes of illegally exploiting them	
2-4 years of imprisonment	5-10 years of imprisonment

Source: *El País*. January 18, 2003

There has been a lack of clarity and openness in the EU debate on immigration. Despite the lack of progress by the European Union in this area, which has been observed by the European Parliament itself, the various governments make reference to a supposed European policy to justify their decisions. Most social actors active in promoting the integration of immigrants tend to see the European Union as a way for the governing party to legitimate its restrictive policies. This is in part because the EU is often cited by the PP to justify its immigration policy. The revision of the Alien Affairs Law in 2001 was presented as forming a part of the measures required by the Tampere agreement. It is clear that the EU agenda's influence on the Spanish agenda is excessively focused on limiting entry and on the concept of "Fortress Europe". As indicated in the conclusions of the Seville summit, there is a major interaction between the Spanish government and the European Council. It means that, through statement policies rather than policies containing decisions with real impact, it has produced a shift in the focus of the debate from immigration to "illegal" immigration. For this reason, the Seville summit was a major turning point in the Spanish political agenda.

It would be desirable to see a shift from the prevailing language of law and order to a language of cohesion. Regarding the four foundations of any immigration policy: regulation of flows, integration of resident immigrants, co-development, and training for European citizenship, the priorities of the Spanish government match those of the European Union in emphasising the control of flows while pushing the other three into the background. Except for the celebration of 1996 as the European Year against Racism and Xenophobia, the European Union has taken no positive action regarding the integration of immigrants and their relations with other citizens. This has deprived countries like Spain, with a limited tradition as a host country, of knowledge transfers regarding experiences in neighbouring countries, their public policies or the results of these policies.

Social actors will only be able to use the EU as an argument to support their demands and participate in the drafting of integration policies and campaigns aimed at raising citizen awareness and promoting co-development with pro-active policies, if the European Union changes direction.

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