

# SOCIAL EUROPE

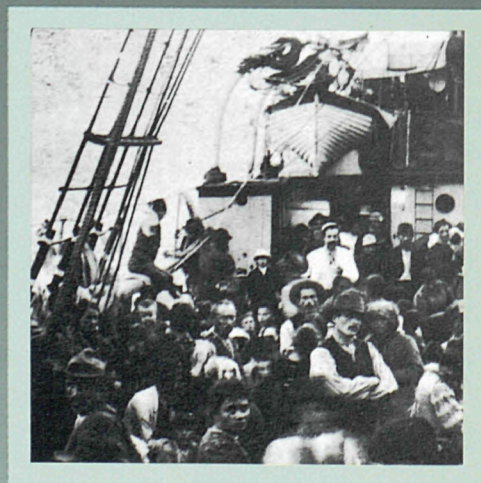


Immigration of citizens  
from third countries  
into the southern  
Member States of the  
European Community



COMMISSION OF  
THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES

DIRECTORATE-GENERAL FOR  
EMPLOYMENT, INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS  
AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS



SUPPLEMENT 1/91

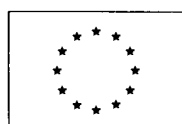


# **SOCIAL EUROPE**

## **Immigration of citizens from third countries into the southern Member States of the European Community**

**A comparative survey of the situation in Greece, Italy, Spain and Portugal**

### **SUPPLEMENT 1/91**



The present summary (available in English, French and German) was based on individual national monographs dating from June 1989. Therefore this study could not take into account the changes made since the updating (e.g. Italy) of pertinent legislation, or the movements taking place in Central and Eastern Europe.

**COMMISSION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES**

**DIRECTORATE-GENERAL FOR EMPLOYMENT, INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS  
AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS**

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Commission of the European Communities

## **IMMIGRATION OF CITIZENS FROM THIRD COUNTRIES INTO THE SOUTHERN MEMBER STATES OF THE EEC**

**A COMPARATIVE SURVEY OF THE SITUATION  
IN GREECE, ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL**

by

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(country report: Portugal)  
(country report: Greece)  
(summary)  
(country report: Spain)  
(country report: Italy)  
(summary)

**isoplan**

Institute for Development Research, Economic and  
Social Planning  
Saarbrücken, November 1989

This document has been prepared for use within the Commission. It does not necessarily represent the Commission's official position.

## P R E F A C E

The herewith summary report on dimensions and effects of the immigration from non-European countries to Greece, Italy, Spain, and Portugal was ordered at the beginning of 1989 by the General Directorate V of the Commission of the European Communities and awarded to the ISOPLAN-Institute (Saarbrücken).

The summary is based on four country reports which were elaborated on behalf of the institute in the countries involved.

The persons responsible for the elaboration of the country reports, which will be published separate from this summary, are:

- > Portugal:  
Dr. Maria de Ceu Esteves  
(IED, Instituto de Estudos para o Desenvolvimento, Lisbon)
- > Spain:  
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- > Italy:  
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- > Greece:  
Prof. Dr. Rossetos Fakiolas  
(Technical University of Athens)

The country reports observe conform Terms of Reference which include all substantial aspects of the immigration problem in the respective countries (statistical assessment and demographic effects, social situation and employment situation of the immigrants, economic effects, legal aspects, public opinion), and at the same time represent the analytical frame of the presented summary.

I should like to sincerely thank my colleagues of the research group and the numerous institutions and experts who cooperated in establishing this study and who gave us consulting support.

Our special thanks are dedicated to those experts, who gave their critical contributions during the conferences organized within the framework of the study.

Saarbrücken - Bonn,  
November 1989

Dr. M. Werth  
project coordinator





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**PART A:****INTRODUCTION**

## 1. Background Information and Objective of the Study

- (1) The short-term or long-term migration of foreign workers and their families from South European and Mediterranean labour-exporting countries and the migration of refugees, students, and other groups also from Third World countries (especially from Asia) mainly to the northern member countries of the European Community, present a phenomenon that has been in existence for a long time and has been scientifically analyzed in detail and intensively discussed in politics.

At present main emphasis of the discussion of migrants in the receiving countries - in particular in the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Great Britain, the Netherlands, and Belgium (and recently also the added attention paid to the development of the immigration flows from Eastern Europe) - is mainly on the problem of how to integrate the immigrant groups, which consist in some cases of significant numbers, into the economic and social systems. As far as the numbers are concerned, this may (still) be justified. Yet it leads to a distorted view of a new phenomenon of the "alien problem" within the EEC which, hardly noticed, has recently gained importance: namely the fact of the increasing immigration of foreigners from non-EUROPEAN countries into the southern member countries of the EEC, in particular into Italy but also into Spain, Portugal, and Greece. 1)

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1) First references to this problem can be found e.g. in: The European Community and the Mediterranean Region. European Documentation - Journal 3 - 4/1985, p. 66 ff.

More than before, these countries are proving to be the new and wide-open "entrances" into the Community for migrant flows of different origins, whereas the previous receiving countries have since the middle of the seventies closed their doors on regular migration.

- (2) There is a series of good reasons for the Community to deal intensively with the problem of the new "south migration":
- a) first, the quantitative dimension and quantitative dynamic of the "south immigration" phenomenon have been greatly underestimated, as this report will prove;
  - b) also, the "social impact" of migrants from non-EUROPEAN countries - as one of the authors of this report describes it - takes the southern member countries by surprise in many respects, and
  - c) finally, considering the conditions under which a single market is to be achieved in 1992, this is not a problem which can be restricted to the national powers of the southern member countries, which play the role of an "entrance hall" to the European House, but which, de facto serve only as a "waiting room" for many immigrants before the journey they intended to make all along - to Northern EEC countries
- (3) This report does not claim to analyze the abovementioned phenomenon in all its elements. The generally limited amount of data available and the virtually inexplicable problem of growing irregular immigration would require the collection of much more preliminary data. Yet, the aim is to sketch an overall picture of the structural pattern of the immigration from non-EUROPEAN countries to the southern member countries on the basis of secondary documents, which are already available, and to outline the effects on the economy and society of these countries.

(4) Beyond the analysis of the present situation in Greece, Italy, Portugal, and Spain, and despite all the differences in the situations in these four countries, the following aspects of the future will have to be included in the study:

- a) the consequences of the achievement of "open borders" by the single market after 1992 for migration within the Community and between the Community and non-European countries; and the question of which scenarios of future development appear in this respect conceivable and realistic; and
- b) the requirements (besides the control of the external borders of the EEC) needed of a joint migration policy, which on the one hand should serve to improve the social security of migrant workers and the fight against racism and xenophobia; and which on the other hand must also be considered as a measure to keep the labour market of the EEC properly functioning, as a component part of a future-orientated labour market and of the economic policy of the Community.

(5) The structure of this summary is based on the following principal lines.

After a brief discussion of the Terms of Reference (in A.2) and the problem concerning the availability (or non-availability) of data in the individual countries (A.3), an attempt is made in part B to describe the general development of regular and irregular immigration from non-EUROPEAN countries into the southern member countries of the EEC; and to elaborate the substantial structural pattern of these migration flows, their differences and common structures. As far as the problem

of irregular immigration is concerned, the statistical data is based on qualified estimates by the research group.

Part C of the report consists of a comparative analysis of the general conditions and effects of immigration from non-EUROPEAN countries into the southern member countries of the EEC. Thus, it outlines the range of problems, the potential fields of conflict, and the lack of action, or rather the increasing necessity for decisions and actions on the national level due to the growing immigration flow into the southern member countries of the EEC. This will be discussed against the background that all four countries involved in this study consider themselves as countries of immigration but their administrations are hardly prepared to react adequately to the new phenomenon of immigration.

Considering the complex interdependence of international migration flows, a concluding judgement on which scenarios of the development of the south migration are realistic beyond 1992, is hardly possible. However, on the basis of the observed "structural patterns" of south migration, plausible hypothesis can be formulated.

In the authors' opinion, the aim of such hypothesis and scenarios is not to predict the quantitative dimension of the problem, but rather to point out that the immigration into each county cannot be seen in isolation; for the resulting problems can only be solved in the context of a joint migration strategy on immigration from non-European countries. First approaches towards such a "regional south-migration policy" will be discussed in the concluding part D of this summary.

## 2. TERMS OF REFERENCE

- (6) The study the Commission ordered in March 1989 from the isoplan-Institute contained the following Terms of Reference:
- > Four country studies are to be prepared on the statistical, legal, economic, social and demographic effects of the immigration of foreigners from non-EUROPEAN countries into the EEC member states Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain.
  - > An analytical summary of the respective country studies, in the form of a comparative presentation of the development and present state of both migration and its derived aspects, should be the basis for the discussion of a joint policy on migration from non-European countries.
- (7) According to the agreement, the study was at first to be based on the analysis of the existing secondary documents and studies in the respective countries. Preliminary inquiries (experts' meetings) into the particular problem of irregular migration would have been desirable and necessary. But they were not taken into account during this phase of the study. Besides numerous individual studies in the relevant countries and by the authors involved, reference was also made in particular fields to studies already conducted by the Commission of similar problems relating to immigration into member states. Particular attention was paid to:
- a) the country reports on Greece (P. C. Panagopoulos), Italy (C. Collicetti, G. Papperini), Portugal (J. Arroiteia), and Spain (IOE/Madrid) in the framework of the so-called "Hannover-Study" of the Commission (draft version 1989); and

- b) the comparative summary of the existing conditions and procedures in the member countries of the EEC concerning the introduction and access to employment of manpower from non-EUROPEAN countries (Doc. V/510/4/78-DE/1984). These results will be updated in the framework of the presented country studies.
- (8) After a preparatory phase (literature research etc.) and bilateral contacts with experts instructed by isoplan in the individual countries (Fakiolas/Greece); Sgroi/Italy, Pereda/Spain and Esteves/Portugal), the Terms of Reference for the preparation of the country reports were defined during a first meeting of the research team in Perugia. According to these specifications, the country reports should concentrate on the following topics:
1. Analysis of the migration flows
    - 1.1 Development of the migration of foreigners as a whole
    - 1.2 Development and significance of irregular immigration
    - 1.3 Regional distribution of regular and irregular immigration
    - 1.4 Demographic and social characteristics of immigrants from non-EUROPEAN countries
    - 1.5 Demographic development and effects of the immigration from non-EUROPEAN countries
  2. Social situation and social integration of the immigrants from non-EUROPEAN countries
    - 2.1 Family situation
    - 2.2 Education and vocational training
    - 2.3 Vocational qualification
    - 2.4 Housing situation
    - 2.5 Social and cultural integration



3. Employment situation and economic aspects of employment of immigrants from non-EUROPEAN countries
  - 3.1 Employment and labour conditions
  - 3.2 Micro-economic and sectoral effects
  - 3.3 Labour market effects
  - 3.4 Significance for the national economy of the employment of immigrants from non-EUROPEAN countries: Brain Drain and underground economy
  
- 4 Legal aspects: state and practice of the law
  - 4.1 Immigration conditions, rights of residence and regulations on family reunification
  - 4.2 Regulations concerning the employment of manpower from non-member states and measures on work permits
  - 4.3 Social law and social security
  - 4.4 Naturalization law and practice on naturalization
  - 4.5 (Political) asylum law and practice
  - 4.6 Planned measures concerning the law on aliens
  - 4.7 Measures for the recognition of the status of irregular immigrants
  
5. Aliens' policy and public opinion
  - 5.1 National aliens policy
  - 5.2 Measures to promote the integration of foreigners
  - 5.3 Opinions of relevant social groups
  - 5.4 Public opinion of the various groups of foreigners
  
6. Future aspects of the immigration of foreigners

Every point was not only put in its proper context (the problem of irregular migration!), but was also arranged into extensive and binding tables. These contained statistics from all the country reports, thereby facilitating in a second phase of the study, a comparison of the results.

- (9) The draft versions of the country reports (including extensive statistical data) were presented at a second experts' meeting in July 1989 in Brindisi/Italy and discussed in detail with the representatives of the Commission.

Because of differences between each country's problems and available data, the final versions of the individual studies deviate partially from the above-mentioned Terms of Reference. Nevertheless, they give a concise survey of all essential aspects of the immigration problem in the Southern member countries of the Community and offer an abundance of so far unpublished data which, compared to the already available statistics (EUROSTAT, SOPEMI), cast a new light on the dimension and quality of this problem, the significance of which has undoubtedly been underestimated up to now.

- (10) The following comparative summary has been discussed at a third experts' conference in November/December 1989.

### 3. Types of Migration and Available Data

(11) The task of painting as complete and realistic a picture as possible of the immigration problem in the Southern member countries of the EEC, entails at first two general questions:

- a) the question of which types of migration are meant and which are relevant; for the collective term "immigration" covers a wide variety of different forms of regional mobility; furthermore,
- b) the question of which data - whether in the form of official statistics or scientific studies - are available as regards the flow, the structure, the dimension and the effects of immigration in the respective countries.

(12) The question of which typology of the different migration forms will be the basis for the analysis is not only a pragmatic question. It has a direct effect on the results of the actual analysis. For, although valuative categorizations (e.g. migrants = discriminated subclass) and also classification according to the reasons for migration (labour migration, migration due to poverty, migration of refugees) might be useful for sociological and detailed analysis, they are of little help for a differentiated and neutral valuation of the social reality; because

- a) they are always linked to hypotheses which are not empirically verifiable (e.g. the allegation that migration is a typical problem of underprivileged classes and therefore they bear characteristics which lead them to be discriminated against) 1), or

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1) see e.g. HOFFMANN-NOWOTNY, H.-J., A Sociological Approach toward a general Theory of Migration, in: M.M. KRITZ et al. (eds.): Global Trends in Migration, New York 1981, p. 64 ff.

- b) they are linked with value judgements (e.g. who can differentiate between the politically persecuted seeking asylum who have to live and work in the receiving country, and a "normal" labour migrant who is an "economic refugee", or again;
- c) they have a pejorative meaning. The simple distinction between "legal" and "illegal" migration does not take into account the different forms of border-crossing with the result that some forms, which deviate from the category of "legal migration" (itself often poorly defined), might be interpreted as a drift into the grey area of supposed criminality.

A similarly distorted and incomplete picture of reality would result if the analysis were merely limited to the so-called "documented migration". Even when the refugee movement is included, "officially registered migration" constitutes a minor element in the total immigration from non-EUROPEAN countries (particularly as far as the southern member countries of the Community are concerned). 1) If the main emphasis of the analysis was on this element only, it would disregard the politically more important point that a great part of the immigration is not officially registered - and this is the cause of many specific problems arising out of migration from non-EUROPEAN countries.

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1) see SIMON, G., Migration in Southern Europe: An Overview, in: OECD: The Future of Migration, Paris 1987, p. 258 ff. esp. p. 284 ff.; see also MOULIER-BOUTANG, Yann, GARSON, Jean-Pierre, SILBERMANN, Roxane, Economie politique des migrations clandestines de main d'oeuvre. Comparaisons internationales et exemples français, Paris 1986, p. 53 ff.

The most differentiated typology of international migration so far, which does not limit itself to any kind of qualities or characteristics of the migrants, but is based instead on formal categories, was presented in 1983 by R. BÖHNING (ILO). 1) It provides the terminological structure on which this analysis is based.

BÖHNING'S suggested differentiation of three main types, namely

- > regular migration
- > irregular migration
- > refugees

is intentionally founded on the administrative status of the migrants.

"The terms 'migration' or 'migrants'", says BÖHNING, "are used in a generic sense to describe non-nationals who are admitted or present, irrespective of their subjective motivations or the intentions of policy-makers as regards the purpose or duration of their stay. None of the terms used, except 'refugees', is meant to coincide with a definition given in any national or international law."

According to this typology, regular migrants are understood as "non-nationals who possess the authorisations of the State in whose territory they reside that are required by law in respect of entry, stay or work (if they are economically active) and who fulfil the conditions to which their entry, stay or work are subject." 2)

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1) see BÖHNING, R., International Migration: a suggested typology, in: International Labour Review, Vol. 123, N° 5, Sept. - Oct. 1983, p. 641 ff. (see ANNEX); see also: idem: Studies in International Labour Migration, London 1984, p. 47 ff.

2) BÖHNING, International Migration, p. 643.

The range of irregular migration is far wider. It can be the tourist who decides to stay in the country longer than permitted, or a student who accepts a job without having a work permit, or the Tunisian season worker in agriculture in Southern Italy, or the Moroccan peddler in Spain, the illegally-employed African construction labourer in Portugal, the Asian domestic in Greece, or even the refugee whose request for asylum was refused and who still remains in the country.

In various cases the problem (from which arise questions of registration and control) is not how the relevant foreigners have entered the country, but rather their status as regards residence and work permits after they have entered, and approved or unauthorized changes in their status during their stay.

With regard to this problem, BÖHNING suggests that distinctions should be drawn between

"firstly institutionally derived irregularities which obtain where countries' policies or practices enable irregular situations to exist; secondly, statutory irregularities where non-nationals break restrictions placed upon them that contravene customary international law; and thirdly, proper irregularity where migrants violate national laws or regulations that are in conformity with principles of basic human rights."

In the end, however, this status-oriented categorization gains a "moral value": by the human rights aspect. In view of the fact that the relevant countries and the Community pursue a differentiated and human rights-based policy towards migration and aliens, these distinctions, in our opinion, are suitable for the problem and will be adopted, as far as possible, for the purposes of this study.

- (13) The reference to the variety and different relevance of various types of immigration forms also the basis of evaluation of the assessment of nationally and internationally available data and information on this topic.

Three principle statements can be made:

- a) the statistics of international organizations (namely EUROSTAT and SOPEMI) which were calculated on the basis of national data, are - as regards the range of problems of immigrants from non-EUROPEAN countries to the countries of the Community - hardly differentiated, incomplete and usually out-of-date. Data on irregular migration movements either do not exist at all or consist of cautious estimates.
- b) The validity, topicality and differentiation of the national statistics of the former emigration countries, which are included in this analysis, are (to the extent that immigration data is available at all) extremely limited compared to the statistics on emigration, which are usually very differentiated.
- c) To a varying extent, the phenomenon of immigration has been discovered as a topic for scientific studies and research work in the individual countries. In particular in Italy, a variety of investigations and regional case studies have recently been carried out; whereas only sporadic, largely unrepresentative studies exist on the situation in Portugal, Spain, and Greece.

- (14) Undoubtedly, the problem of immigration into Italy has been documented and analyzed best 1), with the reservation that even in this case the amount of data available is patchy and undifferentiated to any significant extent (CENSIS - Ministry for Domestic Affairs). According to SGROI, an aggravating factor has been the unwillingness of the Italian public bodies to be open, or to pass on or publish their statistics. Finally, it must also be borne in mind that the main element of actual clandestine immigration - that is, the "status modification" of tourists or students who have entered legally - escapes statistical registration, as well as only attempted "statutory regulation" by national authorities. 2)

Therefore the estimates by CENSIS, CASACCHIA, ISESP, NATALE and other institutes vary between approx. 100,000 (Inst. F. SANTI) and nearly 1 million (CENSIS) for the "irregular" presence of foreigners in Italy. If one takes into account that nearly 645,000 residence permits were issued to foreigners in 1988 and that approximately 10,500 refugees were recognized, then estimates of the total number of foreigners in Italy range between 750,00 and 1.65 million.

Despite the unreliable statistical base, the consequences of the immigration of foreigners into Italy are being lively discussed by a variety of scientists, in particular at the universities of Ancona, Bari, Bologna, Milano, Pisa, Rome, Turin,

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- 1) see ANCONA, G., The Economic Consequences deriving from the Presence of Foreigners in Italy, in: Journal of Regional Policy, Vol. 9, 1/89, p. 115 ff.; also BARSOTTI, G., LECCHINI, L.: Chances in Europe's International Migrant Flows, Vol. 8, 3/88, p. 399 ff.  
 2) see BARSOTTI, G., LECCHINI L.; p. 413 ff.



Udine and Palermo. Over the last three years, three conferences have taken place in Bari, which focussed on this topic. 1)

- (15) In comparison with the data on immigration in Italy, which is still relatively good, reservations must be made in regard to Spain.

Besides various punctual regional or sectoral studies of divergent quality on immigration and on the situation of the immigrants, only one study on a national level was initiated and carried out by the Spanish Caritas (such as the country report on the presented project elaborated by IOE/Madrid). 2) It estimates the total number of foreigners in Spain at about 778,000, of which approx. 38% or roughly 300,000 are irregular immigrants.

The official statistics on foreigners in Spain are lower:

- > The annual report published now for a few years by the General Commission for Documentation of the General Department of Police in the Ministry for Domestic Affairs estimates the total number of foreigners at 360,000, but excludes a series of groups (persons without personal residence permits, minors, students, stateless persons, persons asking for asylum and refugees, migrants from Ceuta and Melilla).

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1) see ANCONA, G., p. 115

"The Presence of Foreigners in Italy", organized by CRATE (Centro Regionale Assistenza Tutela Emigrante) - Province authorities of Bari, November 22, 1986; "The Presence of Foreigners in Italy - a multy-disciplinary starting-point, University for Studies of Mediterranean Cultures at the University of Bari, April 6, 1987; and finally "First National Conference by the Interregional Bureau for Coordination of Emigration", Bari, 3rd - 5th June 1988.

2) Colectivo IOE (ed.), Efectos sociales y económicos de la inmigración en los estados meridionales de la C.E., Madrid 1989

- > The statistics of the Ministry for Labour and Social Security do not include unemployed foreigners; the Ministry registers only issued or renewed work permits, not the number of employed foreigners.
- > The publications of the National Statistics Institute (census/registration office) give no information about the legal status of foreigners registered as residents in Spain.

Moreover, besides the above-mentioned reservations the basic Spanish statistics (employment, schooling, and vocational training) do not differentiate either between Spaniards and foreigners or according to nationality.

- (16) Reservations must also be made as regards the data on the Portuguese situation - yet, these reservations do not apply to all migrant groups.

In the first place, it must be pointed out that the existing studies on immigration are more than scant. The statistical sources are sparse and in many respects contain insufficient information. In order to prepare this study, the Instituto de Estudos para o Desenvolvimento (IED) was forced in many cases to work on estimates and to "cross-link" information from various sources.

- > Therefore, the analysis of the foreign population in the period from 1960 to 1988 must be based on different sources which on the whole are not absolutely comparable: on the one hand the census, and on the other hand the updated statistics of the Ministries of Domestic Affairs and of the Instituto Nacional de Estatística. On the basis of the data of the INE for 1988, the total number of legally residing foreigners in Portugal must be assumed to be 95,000.

- > The limited comparability of the data from the census and from the Office for Statistics can be illustrated by a comparison of the 1981 census and the statistics of the same year, issued by the Office for Aliens in the Ministry for Domestic Affairs. In particular in respect of the former Portuguese colonies in Africa (Guinea and S. Tome, Angola and Mozambique), the analysis of these figures shows striking discrepancies over the number of persons registered as foreigners. The reason might be a divergence in the appreciation of their membership to the Portuguese community.
  
- > As regards irregular migration, calculations and studies of the total numbers involved, their geographical distribution and their countries of origin cannot even be approximate. Therefore, for the purposes of this study, the IED has estimated that the total number lies between 60,000 and 70,000. This estimate is based on a comparison of the statistics of the Instituto Nacional de Estatistica, of the Ministry for Domestic Affairs and of the publication of consulates of various countries. Furthermore, employees of the communal and regional administrations and of social organizations, as well as heads of emigrants' organizations have been approached for information.

(17) The standard of the data available and the level of scientific research are, comparatively, the lowest for Greece.

The statistical publications of the NSSG (National Statistical Survey of Greece) include just a small amount of barely differentiated data on foreign labourers holding a work permit; any data concerning

the dimension, development and structure of immigration and the employment of foreigners rest on relatively unreliable estimates, which are scarcely verifiable (total number of foreigners in 1989 ca. 230,000, of which 30,000 are illegal; comp. Country Report FAKIOLAS).

Systematic and scientific studies on the dimension and effects of the immigration flow as a whole do not exist at all - except for 'tentative' comments on partial aspects of the problem.

- (18) It must be emphasized that the lack (or simply "non-existence") of data, outlined above, in the countries involved has a direct effect on the significance of this summarizing report. It also confirms the initial statement that the phenomenon of rapidly increasing immigration flows into the former "labour exporting countries" is one for which administrations and, to a certain extent, also research facilities are quite unprepared. Moreover, the lack of data highlights the need for action not only at national levels but also at the Community level - particularly as regards the regulations on freedom of movement in the future common single market of the European Communities.

## PART B

THE IMMIGRATION OF FOREIGNERS INTO THE SOUTHERN MEMBER  
COUNTRIES OF THE EEC: STRUCTURAL PATTERNS AND STRUCTURAL  
CHANGE

1. PHASES, CAUSES AND TRENDS OF MIGRATION

- (19) As already stated, the present observable changes in the structure of migration within Europe are not a generally new process. In the course of time, migration has always been subject to changes, whether in its direction or even its characteristics. Since the beginning of labour migration in the 19th century, various phases of migration 1) can be distinguished which will, in what follows, be characterized in brief.

The first phase of European migration, which developed during the 19th century and extended to World War I, was the "classical" transoceanic migration. In this period, most European countries - in particular England, Ireland, Germany and Italy - were characterized by a growing emigration mainly to North and South America, Australia and New Zealand. This emigration concentrated at first on the colonization of the United States, and later, after 1880, also on the labour market of its industrial sectors. Thus, about 43 million people (gross) emigrated overseas between 1846 and 1915. 2)

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- 1) see Salt, Z., International Labor Migration in Western Europe. A geographical Review, in: Kritz, M. et al. (eds), p. 133 ff; see also Barsotti, O., Lecchini, C., p. 393 ff.  
2) Woytinsky, W. S., Woytinsky, E. S., World Population and Production. Trends and Outlook, New York 1955, p. 75 f.

Besides this movement, there was also a continental migration, especially from East Europe and Italy to Belgium, Germany and France. Between 1871 and 1914, approximately 3 million people found employment 1) mainly in French and East German agriculture, but also in the mining industries of Belgium, France and West Germany.

The second phase of European migration began immediately after World War II, when parallel to refugee migration, the previously prevailing migration patterns reappeared. In particular transoceanic migration mainly from the South-European labour exporting countries revived. And even continental migration, above all of Italians to France, Switzerland and Germany, started up again.

In contrast to the second phase, the third phase bore drastic changes. In the period between the middle of the fifties and the sixties, the rapid economic growth in North-West European countries led to an opening of these labour markets to "guest workers" who were regularly recruited from South European and North African countries as well as from Turkey. This fact resulted in a shifting of the migration from Southern Europe to the "countries of economic growth" in the North West of Europe, and to a considerable decrease in the transoceanic migration from Southern Europe.

During this phase of European labour migration, about 730,000 Greeks, 3.8 million Italians, 1 million Yugoslavs 2), 1 million Portuguese, and ca. 2 million

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1) Woytinsky, W. S., Woytinsky, E.S., p. 75 f.

2) Calculated according to UN-Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Trends and Characteristics of International Migration since 1950, New York 1979 and OECD - Directorate for Social Affairs, Manpower and Education, Continuous Reporting System on Migration, SOPEMI, Paris 1974 ff.

Spaniards emigrated between 1955 and 1974 to the North West of Europe in order to find employment mainly in service sectors and manufacturing industries. As a consequence of this migration wave, which peaked during the boom of the mid-sixties, Europe experienced a separation that is still deeply rooted in our consciousness, namely the division into typical labour exporting countries such as Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain and Turkey, and typical receiving countries such as Germany, France, Switzerland, Belgium the Netherlands and Austria.

- (20) The fourth phase of European migration began in the mid-seventies with immigration restrictions ("Ban on Recruitment") imposed by the North West European receiving countries due to the "OPEC Embargo" in 1972/3 and the resulting economic crisis. However, the percentage of foreigners in the North West European population did not decrease in this period. Whereas the number of foreign workers in the main receiving countries remained constant between 1974 and 1980 (about 6 million) the foreign resident population, however, increased from approximately 11 million to 13 million. 1) The reason for this was that, though the number of new immigrants stabilized, the existing labour migrants were steadily joined by their family.

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1) Calculated according to Maillat, D., Long-term Aspects of International Migration Flows - The Experience of European Receiving Countries, in OECD, The Future of Migration, p. 38 ff.; v. Delhaas-Guenter, D., Situation und Reaktion von Remigranten in den Entsendeländern, in: Körner, H., Mehrländer, U. (eds.), Die "neue" Ausländerpolitik in Europa, Bonn 1986, p. 139 ff.; Werner, H., König, Z., Ausländerbeschäftigung und Ausländerpolitik in einigen westeuropäischen Industriestaaten, Nürnberg 1984. see Venturini, A., An Interpretation of Mediterranean Migration, in: Labour - Vol. 2, No. 2, Autumn 1988, p. 125 ff.

Four phenomena characterize this phase:

- a) The decrease in potential migration from Southern EEC countries (especially from Greece and Italy) due to increased economic growth and decreased population growth. 1)
- b) Family reunification decisively changes the age structure and proportion of sexes within the foreign population of the respective receiving countries - this in turn makes it less able to be flexible on the labour market, thereby reducing its activity there.
- c) The number of foreigners in the receiving countries is drastically increasing, as a result of a considerably higher birth rate especially in the conurbations of these countries. The requirements for the social integration of foreign workers and their families have grown; especially as far as schools, vocational training and professions for the adolescents of the second generation are concerned.2)
- d) Partly sponsored by promotional programmes of the former receiving countries, an intensive return-migration of foreign workers to their home countries has begun.

In particular the return migration 3) has presented new problems for Italy, Greece, Portugal and Spain. These traditional labour-exporting countries have only falteringly acknowledged and inadequately handled these problems because they have, until now, understood migration policy exclusively in terms of emigration.

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1) see Simon, G., esp. p. 260 ff.

2) Mehrländer, U., Ausländerforschung 1965 - 1980, Fragestellungen, theoretische Ansätze, empirische Ergebnisse, Bonn 1987



- (21) To talk of a fifth phase in terms of the new migration back to the former labour-exporting countries may be premature as regards its quantitative aspects. As to its structural aspects, however, the migration has undoubtedly gained a new dimension at the end of the eighties which has brought new problems.

There are many indications that the "model of regular labour migration" in phases 3 and 4 has been substituted by more complex migration processes. Should the observable trend continue, the eighties will have to be considered the decade of "international poverty immigration" to the rich industrialized countries, which is contrasted to a far smaller, but more important, "immigration of experts" between their industrialized countries.

The new phase is mainly characterized by:

- a) the immigration 1) from non-European countries and the East European countries, which consist of the migration of refugees and of persons seeking asylum,
  - b) the virtually unrestricted and uncontrollable increase of irregular migration especially from the developing countries of South Asia, the Near East and the North African countries.
- 
- 3) from p. 22: Körner, H., Werth, M. (eds.), Rückwanderung und Reintegration von ausländischen Arbeitnehmern in Europa, isoplan-Schriften 1, Saarbrücken - Fort Lauderdale 1981  
see Entzinger, H., Return Migration from Western European to Mediterranean countries, Geneva, BIT, 1978; World Employment Programme working paper; restricted  
see Ardittis, S., Migration de Retour en Europe du Sud, WEP Working Paper, Geneva 1988.
  - 1) Rogers, R., Western Europe in the 1980s: The End of Immigration? In: R. Rogers (ed.): Guests come to stay, Boulder, London 1985, p. 285 ff.

The subject on irregular, illegal, clandestine migration will later be dealt with in detail.

Even this phenomenon is, as stated before, not principally new. New, however, is its dimension; and new is the role which above all the Southern member countries of the EEC take, being more than ever the destination not only of the migration of refugees, but also of regular and irregular immigration of foreigners from underdeveloped Third World countries.

- (22) No matter how the respective migration phases are delimited, recently not only the regional shifting of the migration flows but also the reasons for this shifting have decisively changed.

The migration movements of the 19th century were substantially influenced by economic factors. The migrants sought better working and earning prospects than their home countries could offer. The so-called "receiving countries" needed the foreign manpower in order to maintain their economic growth, and partly also their demographic structure. Even the phase of "family migration" during the seventies and early eighties was in the end a consequence of such motivations.

However, the links between both sides of the equation (both the push-factors and the pull-factors, which might generally be adequate to explain the present expected migration dynamic) are becoming far more complex.

- > The underlying economic and political conditions in the industrialized as well as in the developing countries have crucially changed; and
- > new technological developments on the one hand lead to a quite different demand for manpower, and on the other hand immeasurably increase the potential for mobility by virtue of worldwide information and traffic networks.

(23) The Push-Factors

in the potential emigration regions - mainly in the poor and underdeveloped countries of the Third World - have drastically increased:

- > the growing poverty and unemployment and an uncurbed boom in population increase the pressure for emigration from developing countries;
- > political, religious and ethnic conflicts have led to an international increase in migration and refugees.

However, the actual reason for the growing mobilization of the migration potential and the "internationalization" of the migration flows is not likely to be found in the above-mentioned factors. The more likely and significant factor is that the technical preconditions have improved in favour of potential migrants. Today, it is possible to transmit information on earnings prospects (whether legal or illegal), on conditions of asylum, on entry requirements, etc. via media or personal communication networks to the most remote regions of the Third World. Thus, the "better life", always a relative concept, is known by and in the reach of those living in poverty and suffering oppression.

(24) The Pull-Factors

in the immigration countries were at first the demand for manpower which resulted from a rapidly expanding industry. This picture has profoundly changed. Increasing unemployment and the decline of traditional industry prompted most of the industrialized countries to close their frontiers to labour migrants.

Yet, the presumption that the need and actual demand for foreign workers has decreased in the Western industrialized countries is misleading, if not wrong.

For the structural change of Western economic systems to a "high-tech economy", and the change of the social systems into a "services sector and leisure society" led to a qualitative polarization of the demand for manpower, and thus also to new "pull-factors" which caused quite new migration patterns and which will continue to cause them to an increasing extent. 1)

- a) Therefore, it is probable that the increasing demand for highly qualified manpower in the field of new technologies will create a new elite of migrants ("expert migration"). (The number of "project-tied workers" will probably increase too, due to the intensified competition or the enforced cooperation within the European single market).
- b) As against that, the quantitatively and socio-politically more relevant fact is that the Western leisure societies produce an increasing demand for unqualified work, casual work and "underground" activities.

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1) Sassen, S., The Mobility of Labor and Capital. A study in international investment and labor flow, Cambridge, New York 1988

This development does not primarily cater to the need for seasonal workers in agriculture. It caters to the so-called "informal sector": services of all kinds in the private sector, and finally also the demand for manpower in a growing underground economy. The vital role it apparently plays in modern society is, however, not to be found in any official statistics. This statement is not only true for the Southern countries of the EEC, such as Portugal, where the contribution of the underground economy to the GNP is estimated at about 10 - 15%, it is also true for highly organized countries, such as France and the FRG. 1)

- (25) The dangers arising from this development are foreseeable. The pull-effect towards other countries encourages the inflow of irregular immigrants. The underground economy recruits its workers from where they are cheapest and least demanding. And, moreover, the acceptance of low wages and low standards of social security by the irregular migrants is at the same time both welcomed by some of the population, and the source of a growing xenophobia on the part of those who - being on the lowest step of the social hierarchy - feel that their own interests are being threatened.

## 2. DIMENSION AND STRUCTURE OF REGULAR IMMIGRATION OF FOREIGNERS FROM NON-EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

- (26) According to EUROSTAT data, at the end of the eighties apparently a total of 13 million persons were registered as "foreigners" living with an official regular residence permit in the member countries of the European Community.

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1) Moulrier-Boutang, Y., Garson, J.-P., Silbermann, R., *Economie politique des migrations clandestines de main d'oeuvre. Comparaisons internationales et exemple français*, p. 168 ff.

- > In roughly 40% of the cases, they are nationals of other EEC member countries (approx. 5.3 million),
- > in about 60% of the cases, they are immigrants from non-European countries, non-members of the Community (approx. 7.3 million).

(27) The often extremely animated discussion on aliens policy, above all in the Northern member countries of the Community, contradicts the sober statistical fact that the official, or rather, regular "foreigners' rate" of the EEC amounts on average to 4.0% of the overall population (322 million).

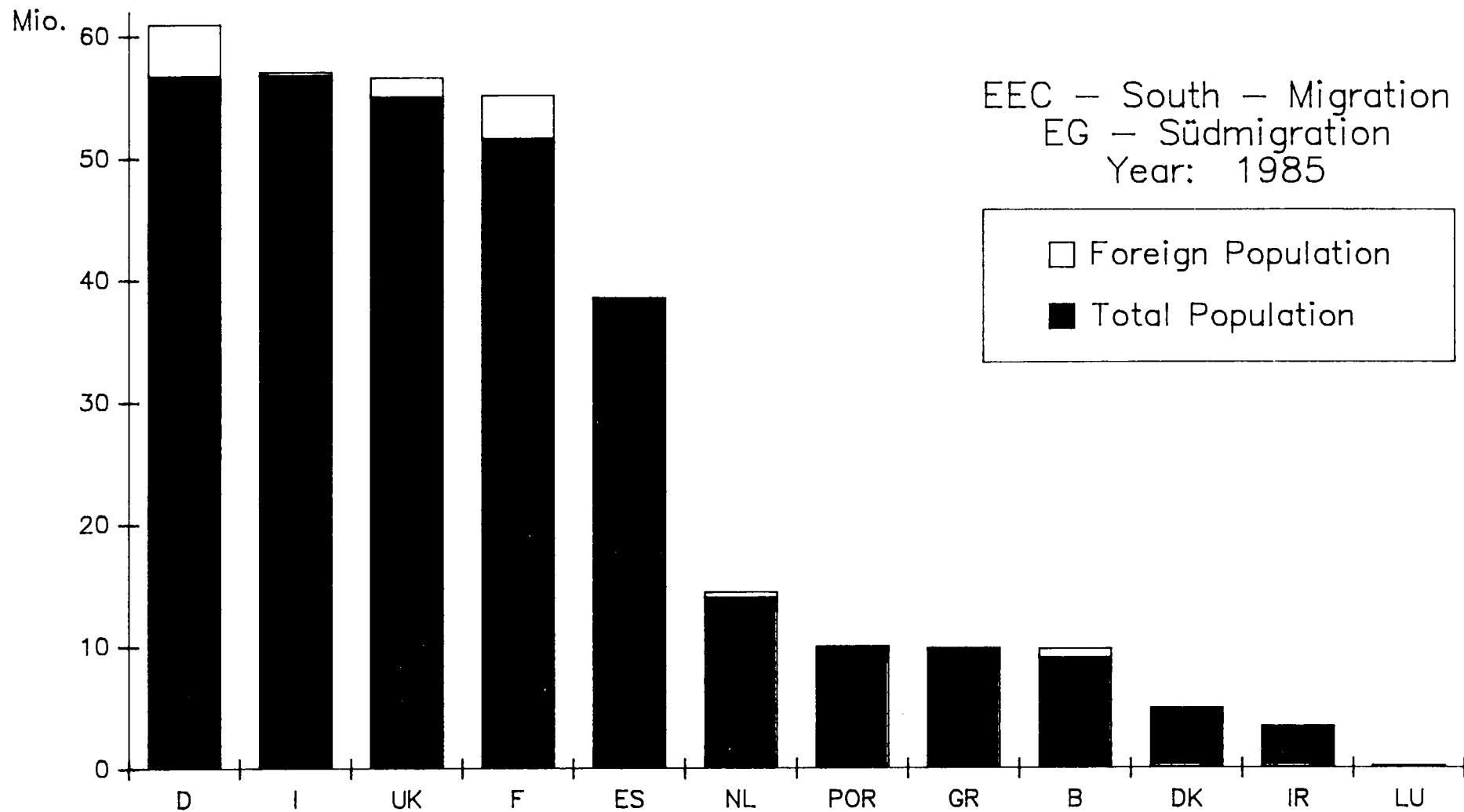
At present, in the light of the statistical averages of officially available data these developments seem to be less dramatic. Excluding the migration flows of foreigners between the EEC countries, the average number of regular foreigners resident in the EEC from non-European countries decreases to 2.3% altogether.

Thus, the number is so low that many problems mentioned in the discussions on aliens policy appear overstated.

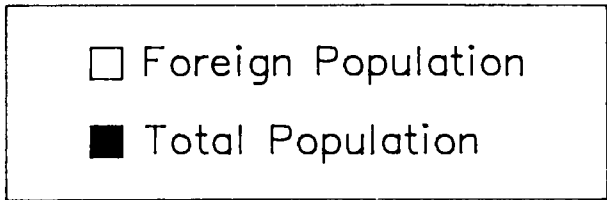
Of course account must be taken of the fact that this is only the "visible" part of the immigration, and that there are considerable differences of foreigner density (FRG: 7.2%; E: 0.5%) between the individual member countries of the Community.

There is also no doubt that an abundance of problems exists concerning the employment of foreigners and the social integration of foreigners, mainly in the conurbation areas of large receiving countries, such as France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Great Britain, even Belgium. Regional concentration, repressive fears, cultural heterogeneity and many other factors sharpen the public's awareness of the "aliens problem".

Grafik 1



EEC – South – Migration  
EG – Südmigration  
Year: 1985



(c) isoplan Saarbrücken/Bonn

Source: EUROSTAT

**Table N° 1**

Estimate of the number of non-nationals who are documented or regularly residing in EEC member States, 1985 - 87

Country		Population of Non-Nationals	% of Total population	Nationals of EEC countries	Percentage of EEC nationals
Belgium	1987	898,000	9.0	518,000	57.7
Denmark	1985	108,000	2.3	25,000	23.1
France	1985	3.680,000	6.8	1,578,000	42.9
Germany Fed. Rep.	1987	4.630,000	7.6	1,380,000	29.8
Greece	1985	87,000	0.8	27,000	31.0
Ireland	1985	88,000	2.5	67,000	76.1
Italy	1987	541,000	0.9	150,000	27.7
Luxembourg	1985	96,000	26.3	92,700	96.6
Netherlands	1985	559,000	3.9	173,000	30.9
Portugal	1985	80,000	0.7	21,000	26.3
Spain	1987	335,000	0.6	195,000	58.2
United Kingdom	1985	1.700,000	3.8	729,000	42.9
		12.802,000		4,955,700	38.7

Source: Migrations Société, Vol. 1, No. 1 (février), p. 26



Focussing on this problem overlooks the fact that migration within Europe has been subject to drastic structural changes over the last few years; as regards both the stabilization of foreign residents in the traditional receiving countries and also the dimension and direction of the migration flows, the structure of the predominant migrant groups, their origin and motives. Therefore, it is the qualitative changes and differentiations of the migration structures rather than the quantitative aspects of the migration movements which must be the main point of future reflections on migration policy. 1)

- (28) Two aspects of migration, which are new as far as their significance is concerned, will have to be considered more than before:
- a) the question of how immigration from non-European countries will develop in a future single market; and with respect to this problem, what joint policy can be produced and/or must be developed; and
  - b) the fact that above all the Southern member countries of the Community have recently been confronted with an increasing immigration, which produces a great number of legal, social and economic problems in their countries.

Specific difficulties arise from irregular immigration, and as will be shown later on, from the problem of regional concentration in conurbation areas whose infrastructure are greatly overstrained.

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1) SOPEMI 1988, p. 1

- (29) The Southern member countries of the EEC of Greece, Italy, Spain and Portugal (in the past, traditional labour exporting countries) have on average not yet reached the above-mentioned "aliens' rate" of the EEC countries (4 % vs. 2.3%). According to estimates of the ISOPLAN expert group, these countries have an overall population of approx. 117 million, of which at present around 1.434 million are foreigners with a permanent or temporary regular residence status. 1)

Due to inaccuracies in definition and different schedules of registration, the official statistics vary considerably. Despite the fact that errors can arise from these sources it can be expected that in the Southern member countries at present;

- > the regular aliens' rate - that is, the relation between foreigners and the overall population - amounts to around 1.2% (in comparison with the average EEC rate of 4%)
- > the non-European rate - which is the rate of immigrants from non-European countries compared to the overall foreign population - amounts to approx. 54% (in comparison with the average EEC rate of 60%)

- (30) In explaining these figures, four aspects are noteworthy:

- a) The total rate of immigration to the Southern member countries has grown immensely over the past years (see diagram).

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1) EUROSTAT 1985: 0.998 mio.; isoplan 1987: 1.33 mio.

- b) Simultaneously, the dimension of regular migration, in particular in countries with booming populations (Italy/Spain), has recently shifted in favour of a higher rate of foreigners from other EEC countries; which means that, despite an overall increase in immigration from Third World countries, the non-European rate is decreasing.
- c) In view of the dramatic irregular immigration, changes in the dimension and structure of regular immigration alone shed little light on the situation in the relevant countries.
- d) Bearing in mind the above-mentioned figures, the problem of the immigration of refugees and persons seeking asylum seems to be of little importance. Compared to the situation in the Northern member countries, the number of officially registered political refugees in the countries involved is still negligible. Only in Spain (with 20,000 refugees) and Italy (10,557) does the problem manifest itself in a new and significant way.

**Table 2**  
 Rounded out total of foreigners (regular migrants) 1988/89  
 in the Southern member countries of the EEC  
 - Comparison of sources -

Source country	EUROSTAT (1985)	SOPEMI (1986)	ILO 1) (1987/88)	National statistics	isoplan- country reports (1988/89)
Italy	423,000	450,000	541,000	645,000	655,000 2)
Spain	211,000	293,000	335,000	360,000	484,000 3)
Portugal	80,000	80,000	80,000	-	95,000
Greece	284,000 4)	85,000	87,000	-	200,000 5)
total					1,434,000

- 1) Source: Migrations Société, Vol. 1, No 1 (février 1989), p. 26  
 2) state in 1989 incl. 10,500 refugees; 1987: 572,000  
 3) incl. 13,950 refugees with recognised resident status  
 4) including 200,000 Greeks of foreign citizenship  
 5) estime for 1989; 1988: 184,000

**Table 3**

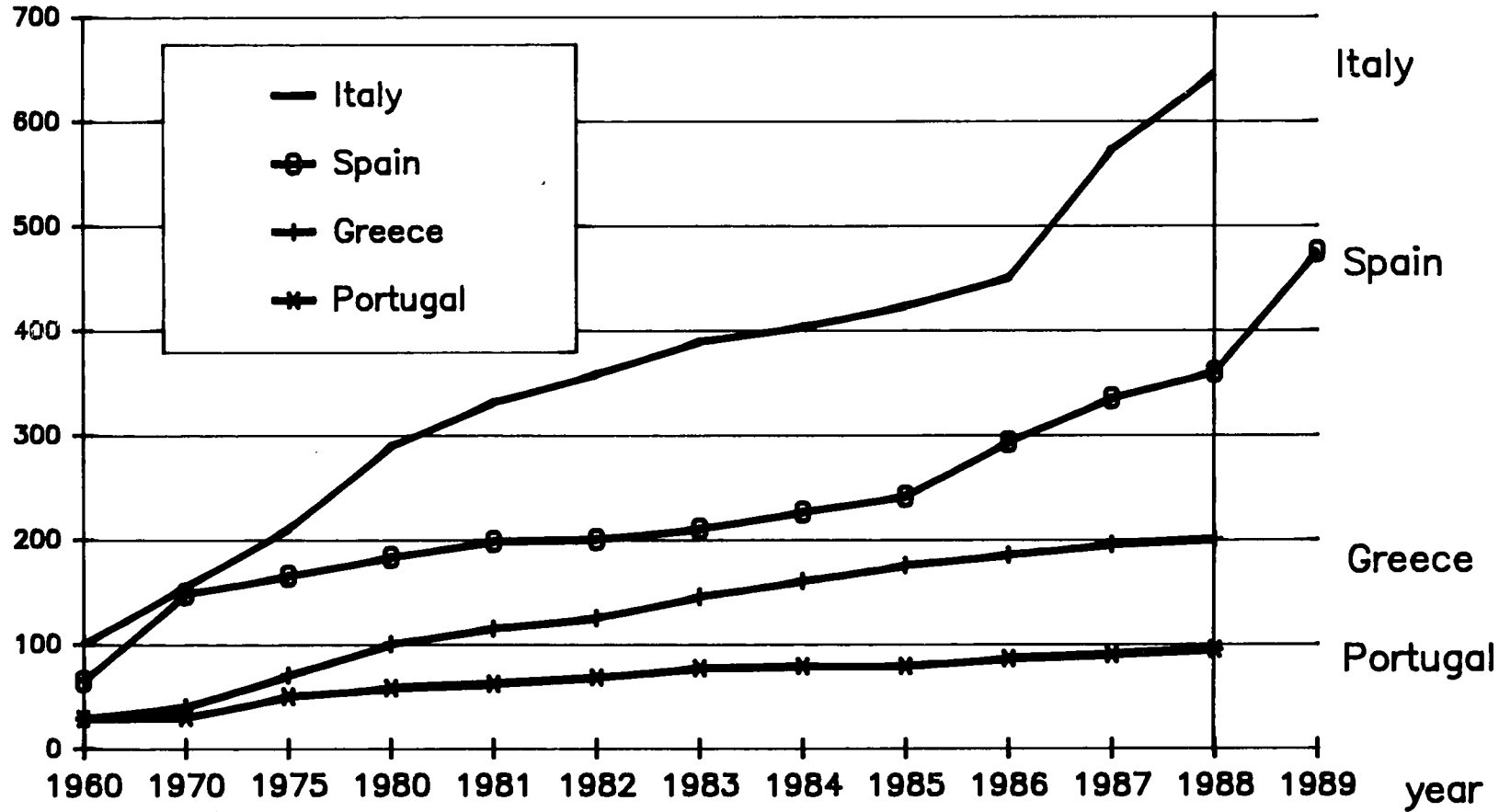
Total of foreigners from Third World countries (regular migrants and refugees)  
in the Southern member countries of the EEC 1988/89  
(estimate isoplan in 1,000)

country	population	total of regular foreigners	% of population	foreigners from Third World countries 1) abs.	EEC- Third World rate in % of pop.	EEC- foreigners	Third World rate in %
Italy	57,412	665	1.1	352	0.6	303	53.7
Spain	38,996	484	1.2	232	0.6	252	48.0
Portugal	10,310	95	0.9	69	0.7	26	72.6
Greece	9,934	200	2.1	122	1.2	78	61.0
Total	116,652	1,434	1.2	775	0.67	659	54.0

Source: isoplan Country Reports 1989

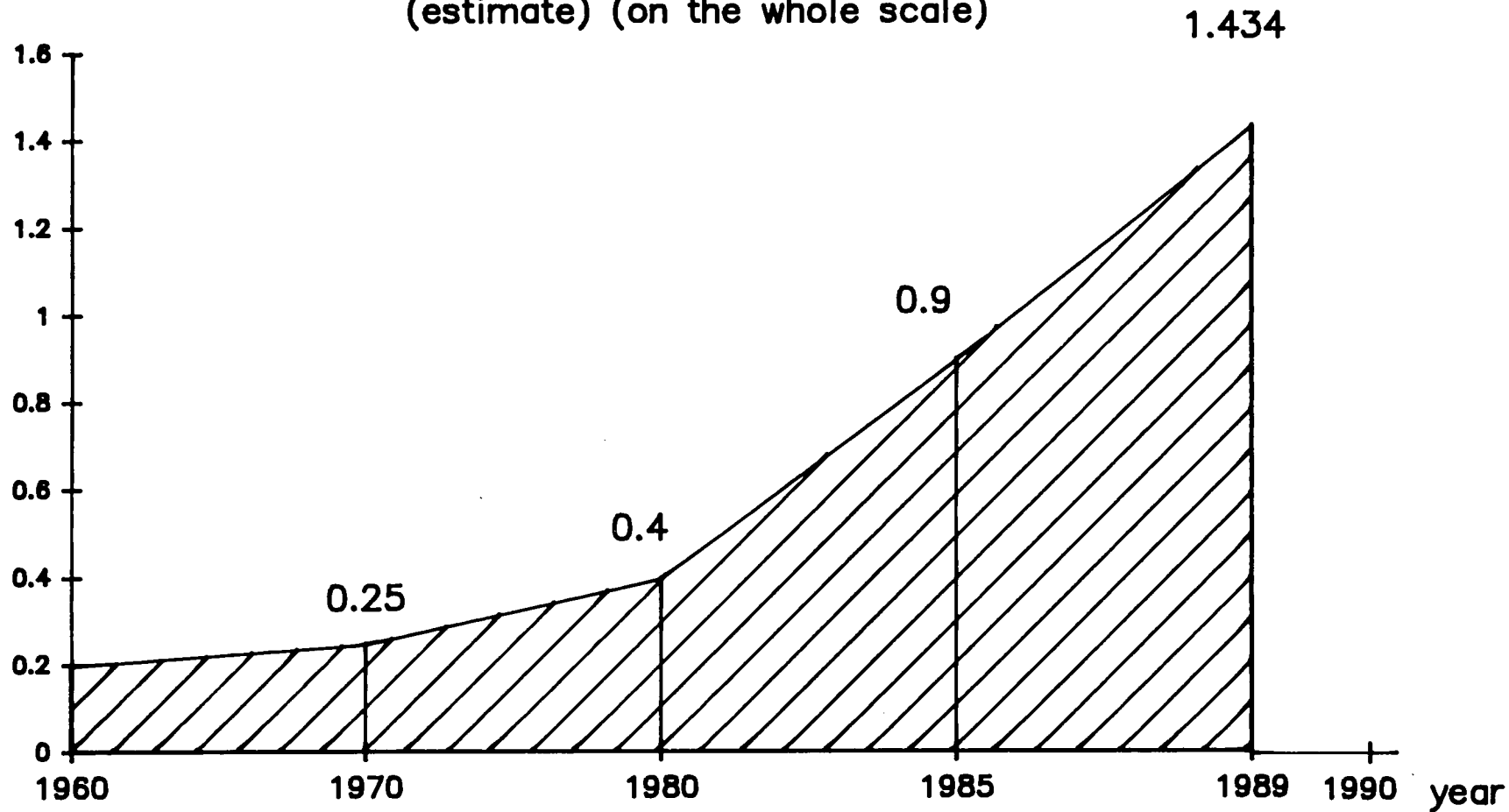
1) incl. immigrants without nationality

Graphic 2 Periodical development of regular imigration to the Southern member of the EEC (rounded)



(c) isoplan Saarbrücken/Bonn 1989

Graphic 3 Periodical development of total regular immigration to the Southern member countries of the EEC (estimate) (on the whole scale)



(c) isoplan Saarbrücken/Bonn 1989

### 3. IRREGULAR IMMIGRATION: DIMENSION, CAUSES AND EFFECTS

(31) Throughout history, a certain degree of illegal migration has existed within Europe as a phenomenon accompanying that of regular labour migration. 1) According to the results of the country studies prepared in the framework of this project, what is new about this phenomenon is, however, the dimension and dynamic of the problem, in particular in the Southern member countries of the Community.

The quantitative dimension of irregular immigration from non-European countries to the nations of the Community can only be roughly estimated. The existing information is in general based on local "case studies", statements of social workers and other experts, or on information that was gained in connection with "amnesties" and "acknowledgements" of illegal persons (e.g. in France, Italy, and Spain). 2)

Today it is beyond dispute that the "invisible" part of the foreign population in the Southern countries of the EEC is quantitatively higher than the "visible" part.

Simon 3) estimates the total number of foreigners living in Italy, Spain, Greece and Portugal in 1987 at around 2 million, and he estimates that of these only 650,000 are legally residing in the relevant host country.

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- 1) Houdaille, J., Sauvy, A., L'immigration clandestine dans le monde, 1974, Population 29, 4 - 5, p. 725 - 741 ff
  - 2) see de Grazia, R., Le travail clandestin: situation dans les pays industrialisés à économie de marché, Geneva, International Labour Office, 1983
  - 3) Simon, G., p. 284 ff.



Table 4

Estimate of the overall foreign population in 1987

	total	irregular
Italy	1,000,000	700,000
to	1,100,000	
Spain	650,000	450,000
Greece	100,000	40,000
Portugal	100,000	50,000
total	1,850,000	1,240,000

Source: Simon, G., p. 284 ff

According to the information prepared by the research group of ISOPLAN, the estimates of Mr Simon must be - even if carefully interpreted - substantially modified upwards.

- > As shown above, the number of regular migrants (EEC and non-EEC members) amounts to around 1.43 million for 1988/89 (of which approx. 54% come from non-European countries)
- > According to the estimates of the research group, the number of irregular migrants, mainly from non-European countries, amounts to a minimum of 1.3 to 1.5 million.

**Table 5**

Foreigners in Southern Europe  
Estimate 1988/89

Filiation 7/89

Group of Migrants	Foreign Population in 1000				sum Foreign Population
	GREECE	ITALY	SPAIN	PORTUGAL	
TOTAL POPULATION	9,934	57,412	38,996	10,310	116,652
A. REGULAR	200	645	475	94	1,414
% of tot.pop.	2.0	1.1	1.2	0.9	1.2
B. IRREGULAR	70	850	294	60	1,274
% of tot.pop.	0.7	1.5	0.8	0.6	1.1
C. REFUGEES	5	10	9	1	25
SUM	275	1,505	778	115	2,713
% of tot.pop.	2.8	2.6	2.0	1.5	2.3

c) isoplan Saarbrücken/Bonn

- > In other words, the total population of foreigners living in the Southern countries of the EEC amounts at least to 2.7 million, if not to 3 million persons. This is indeed only 2.25 % of the overall population of 116 million inhabitants, but in practice it constitutes a considerable increase in comparison with all previous estimates. More important, however, is the fact that nearly 50 % of the foreigners are irregular migrants whose origin and permanent residence, social and professional situation, social security and further "migration plans" can only be presumed.
- > In particular Italy (approx. 1.5 million) and Spain (0.8 million) have become the centres of attraction, not only for regular but also for irregular immigrants from various countries of the Third World. And even Portugal and Greece are becoming attractive as countries of destination or of transition for regular and irregular immigration.

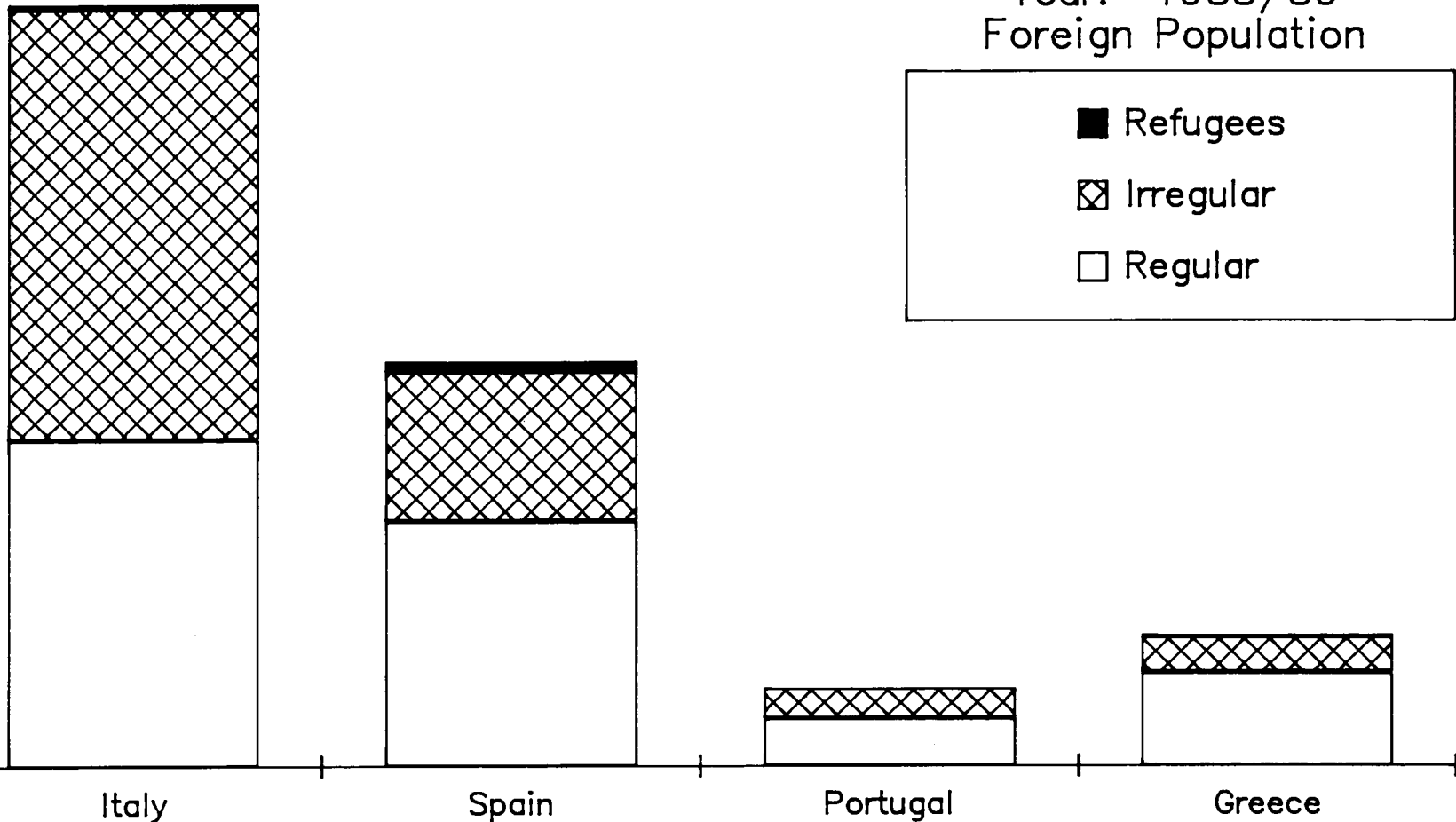
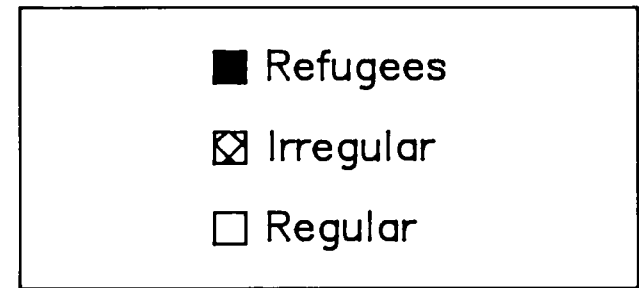
Graphic 4

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### EEC – South – Migration

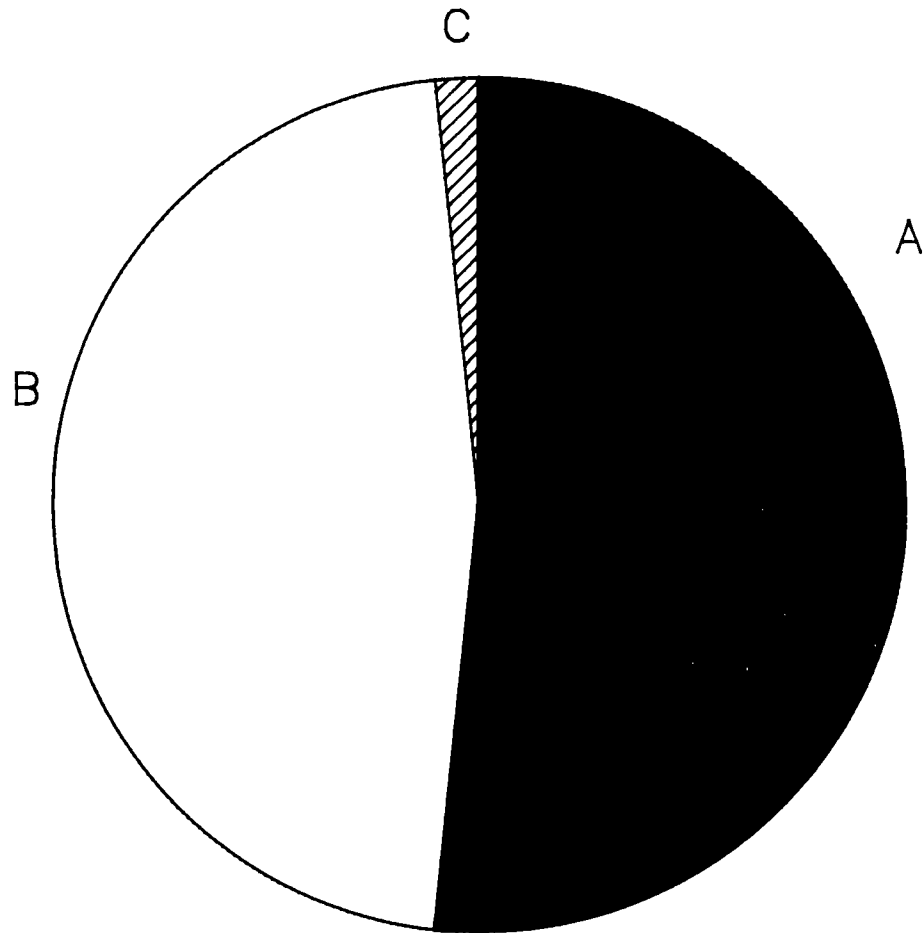
Year: 1988/89  
Foreign Population



(c) isoplan Saarbrücken/Bonn

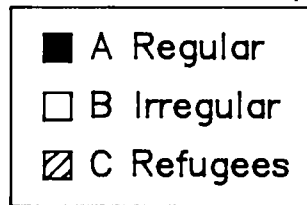
Source: isoplan '89

Graphic 5



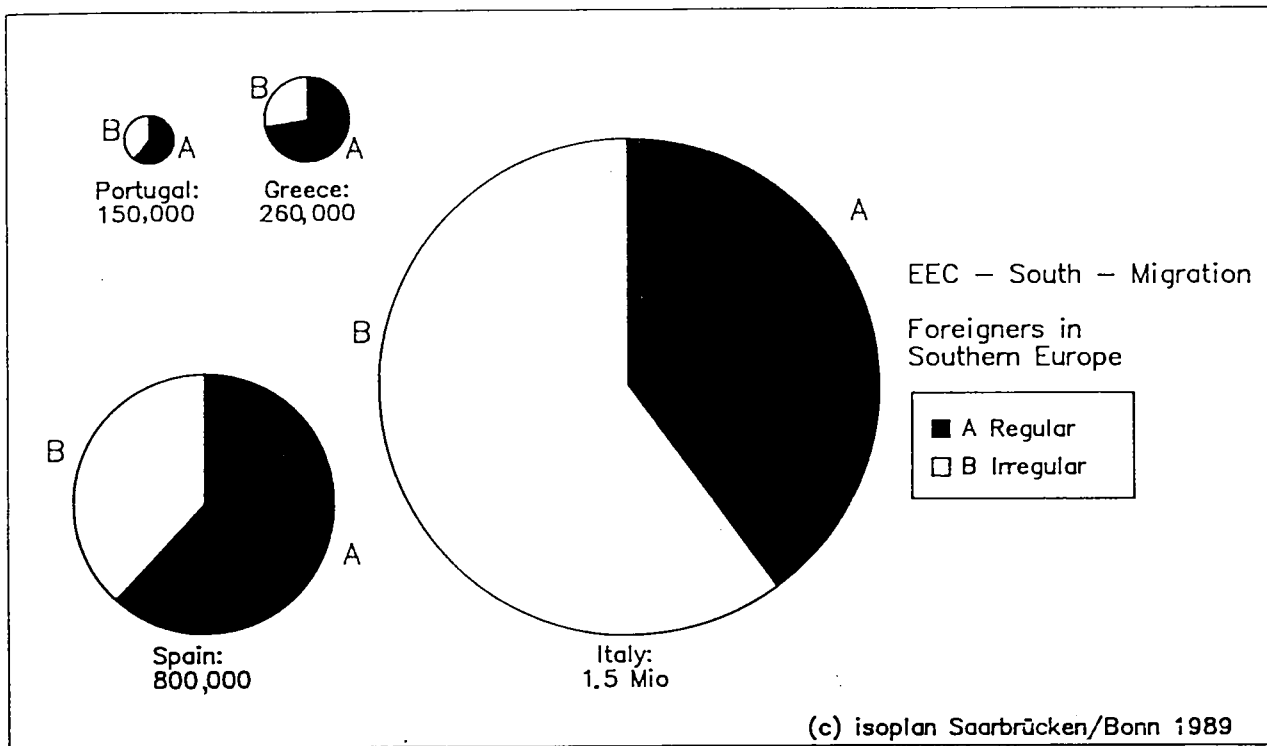
EEC – South – Migration

Foreigners in  
Southern Europe



(c) isoplan Saarbrücken/Bonn 1989

Graphic 6



(32) The causes of an increase of immigration and above all of irregular immigration to the Southern EEC countries are multifarious.

Besides the general structural changes of the underlying economical, political and social conditions in the labour exporting countries (push-factors) and in the receiving countries (pull-factors) 1) there are in particular three factors of importance:

- a) The secondary effects of restrictive measures in the Northern EEC countries

Traditionally Spain and Italy were countries of transition for clandestine migration from the Southern and Eastern Mediterranean countries.

1) see Chapter B/1

After France, Switzerland and the Federal Republic of Germany had closed their frontiers for foreign workers in 1973, Spain and Italy were converted into de facto receiving countries with a remarkable concentration of "waiting foreigners" (e.g. Moroccans in the region of Barcelona or Tunesians in the region of Genoa).

- b) The rapidly expanded "new underground economy" in the booming Southern EEC countries obtained additional manpower, of generally inferior quality, from the potential of illegal immigration.
  - c) The inaccuracies and loop-holes in the laws and controls of the Southern EEC countries result partly from unrestricted tourism and partly also from their geographic location: and because these countries used to think of themselves as countries of emigration, they failed to enforce the border controls and to set strict regulations for the immigration and employment conditions of foreigners early enough.
- (33) The effects of growing immigration on the economy and social system of the respective countries will be dealt with in detail in Chapter C of this report.

In general, it can be stated - particularly with respect to countries such as Italy - that despite high unemployment rates, the foreign immigrants - even the irregular migrants - fulfil an important compensatory function on the national labour markets. 1) It would be wise, however, not to simplify here; as has already been proved, nearly 50 % of the foreigners in the Southern member countries

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1) Ancona, G., The Economic Consequences deriving from the Presence of Foreigners in Italy, in: Journal of Regional Poliy, Vol. 9 (1989), p. 115 ff.

of the EEC come from other countries with higher income levels than the receiving countries: USA, Canada, Switzerland etc. (see also the following section B/4). Their economic role and social position is totally different from that of the (often irregular) immigration flows from countries of the so-called "Third World".

The dual structure of the immigration flows to the Southern member countries will certainly intensify in its trend towards polarization:

- > Highly-qualified immigrants, who are managers, technicians, scientists etc. will meet to an increasing extent the unsatisfied demand for manpower in a growingly specialized economy.
- > The 'inferior' element of foreign immigrants will take up jobs at the bottom of the social ladder. There is a strong demand for these jobs, yet they have become unacceptable for national workers due to low wages, bad working conditions, lack of social security etc.: marginal services, and also jobs in the booming underground economy.

From the economic point of view, the productive system of the receiving countries benefits from both types of immigration: with respect to its specialization due to the transfer of the know-how of the highly-qualified workers, and with respect to its flexibility due to the presence of foreigners, whether regular or irregular immigrants, who are willing to work in conditions far below the standard of the relevant country.

Needless to say, a purely economic point of view of the problem would constitute, from a social point of view, an irresponsibly narrow view of the whole issue.

As Ancona 1) explains in a recently published work, economic and social aims can indeed lead to a contradiction difficult of solution: "For many years our country has been (and, in some respects, still is a country of emigration and it is, therefore, understandable and right that Italy offers the same example of justice and dignified treatment in favour of foreign immigrants, as has been so often offered to Italian emigrants. Thus, many good reasons exist for a revision of the regulations, but one must not forget that every provision which attempts 'safeguarding' equal rights, also involves the partial loss of the benefit of flexibility which is made possible by the irregular presence of foreigners, while every provision which restricts their presence, can have little or no effect on the overall employment of Italians without a job."

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1) see Ancona, G., p. 120  
Böhning, W. R., Les conséquences économiques de l'emploi des travailleurs étrangers, concernant en particulier les marchés du travail des pays d l'Europe occidentale, in: OECD, Les effets de l'emploi des travailleurs étrangers, Paris, 1974, p. 65 ff.



4. MAIN REGIONS OF ORIGIN OF IMMIGRANTS FROM NON-EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

- (34) The dual structure of the immigration flows (qualified "expert migrants" from industrialized countries vs. "poverty migrants" from countries of the Third World) has a different importance and pattern of origin in all the countries included in this analysis.

The statistical evaluation of the data for 1987/88 on the regular residence of the foreign population in these four Southern countries illustrates the typical structure of their qualifications and origin. As predicted, high qualifications were linked with those coming from developed industrialized countries; and low qualifications were linked with those coming from less developed Third World countries.

- > Representing 33 % of the regular foreign residents, the migrants from Great Britain, the United States and France are a relatively large group (see Table 6). Adding the foreigners from the other industrialized countries to this group, the result is that more than half of the foreigners (51 %) living in the Southern countries have emigrated from industrialized countries. Previous observations prove that these foreigners have taken up temporary work in these countries, either as highly-qualified self-employed workers or as qualified employed experts. There are also retired people who are enjoying what Southern countries have to offer.
- > Leaving aside the migration between the member countries of the Community, the only other industrialized labour-exporting countries are the United States and Switzerland (see Table 7). The remaining residents (approx. 80 %) come from Third World countries and have emigrated from less developed countries. Despite a relatively large spread of

countries of origin, most emigrants come from only a few labour-exporting countries, in particular in the Mediterranean, Asia, and South America. In consequence, nearly 50 % of all foreigners coming from the Third World are recruited from nearly 17 labour-exporting countries. Leaving the migration of refugees aside, these immigrants are probably in general less qualified persons who have immigrated into the Southern countries of the Community in their search for work.

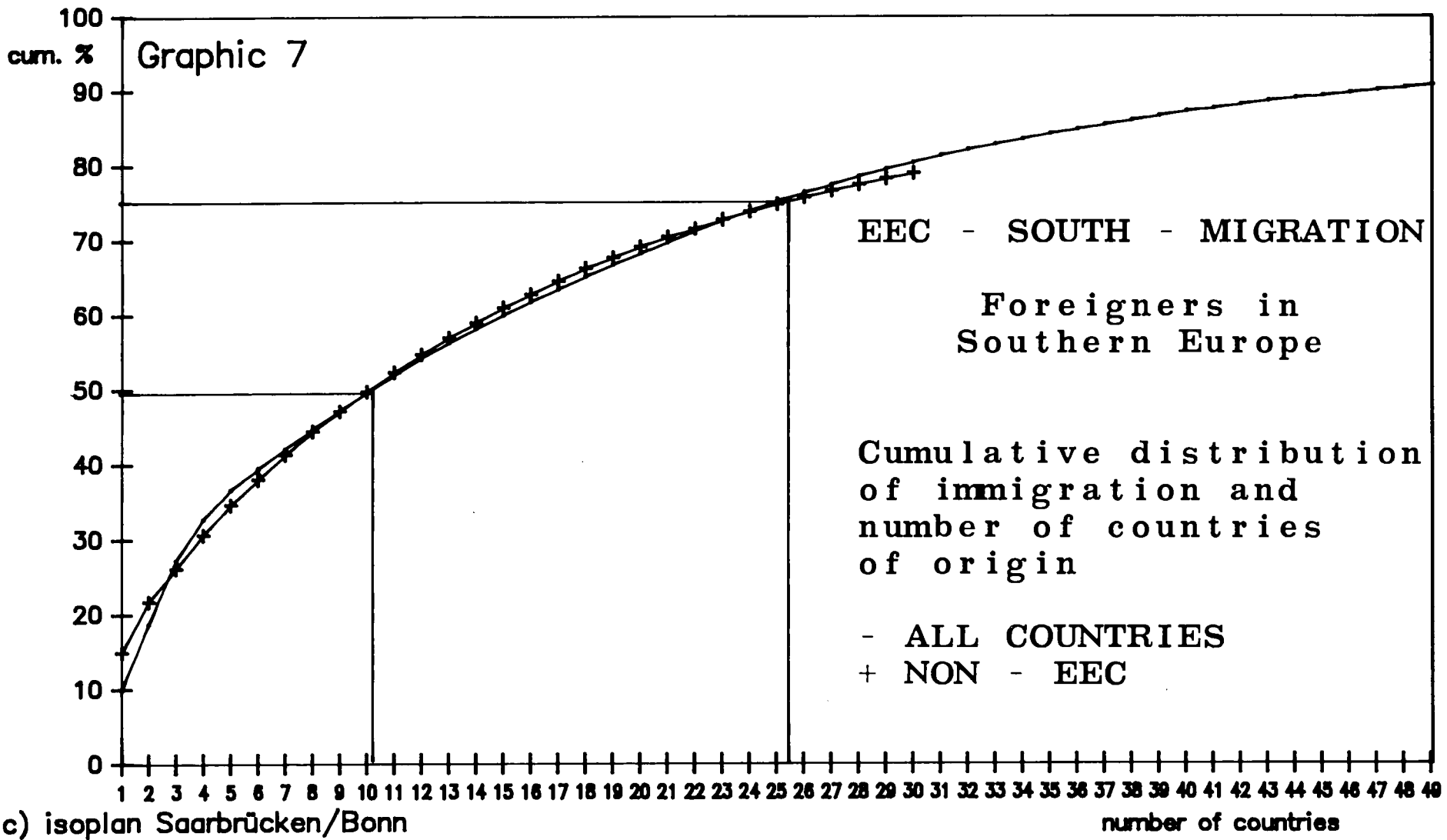
(35) Based on the information in Table 7 (without considering the country-specific effects that will be dealt with in detail in the respective country reports), the following main groups of immigrants from Third World countries can be classified:

a) Migrants from EEC and non-EEC Industrialized Countries

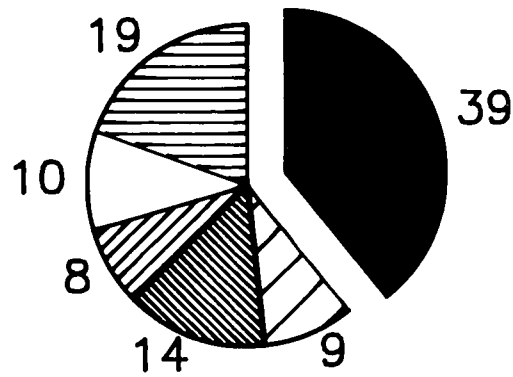
25 % of the approx. 755,000 regular foreign residents from Third World countries belong to this group. The important countries of origin are above all the United States with 14.9 % and Switzerland with 4.5 %. Additionally, there is Canada with 1.5 %, Japan with 1.3 %, and Australia with 1.1 %. As already mentioned, this is "expert migration" or "retirement migration".

b) Immigrants from Former Colonies

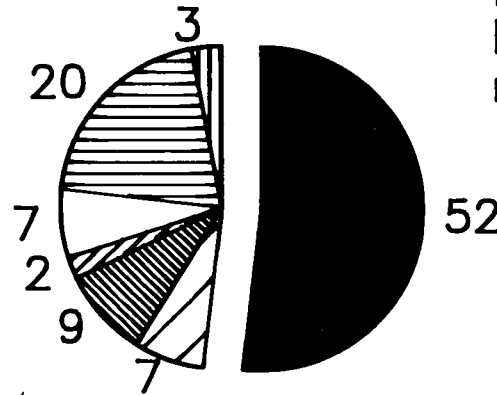
As far as regular immigration is concerned, the migrants from former colonies of the Southern member countries of the Community in Africa, South America and Asia (with around 23 %) are the second important group of foreign residents from non-European countries. The reason for this can be found in the fact that still today "socio-cultural relations" exist between the now independent colonies and the former "mother colonies".



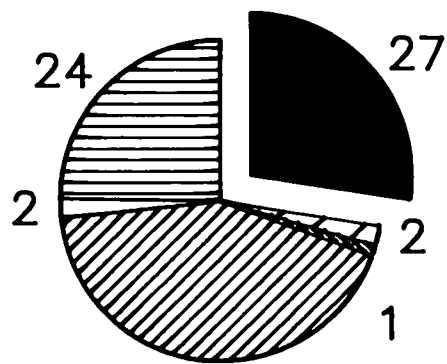
EEC – South Migration  
Regional origin of  
regular migrants in %



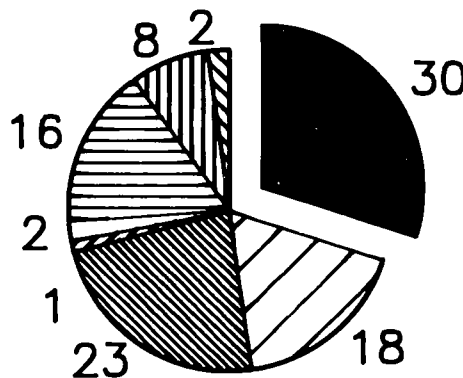
Italy  
(572,000)



Spain  
(484,000)



Portugal  
(94,500)



Greece  
(184,000)

- EEC
- ▨ other European countries
- ▩ other Mediterranean countries
- ▧ Africa
- Asia
- ▦ America
- ▤ Australia/Oceania
- ▥ without nationality

Table N° 6

EEC-South-Migration - RANKING FOR ALL - 1987/88  
 Foreign Population by countries of origin (without irregular migration)

Country of origin	TOTAL		
	1,319,268	ABS. %	CUM. %
1 Great Britain	128,922	9.8	9.8
2 Germany	117,945	8.9	18.7
3 USA	112,475	8.5	27.2
4 France	72,028	5.5	32.7
5 Morocco	50,926	3.9	36.6
6 Portugal	37,647	2.9	39.4
7 Other Asians	35,416	2.7	42.1
8 Switzerland	33,848	2.6	44.7
9 Cape Verde	33,293	2.5	47.2
10 Greece	32,240	2.4	49.6
11 Other Africans	30,471	2.3	51.9
12 Turkey	30,347	2.3	54.2
13 Argentina	26,003	2.0	56.2
14 Philippines	24,723	1.9	58.1
15 Spain	24,059	1.8	59.9
16 Venezuela	23,757	1.8	61.7
17 Italy	22,716	1.7	63.4
18 Other Southern	22,409	1.7	65.1
19 Netherlands	20,772	1.6	66.7
20 Yugoslavia	20,210	1.5	68.2
21 Brazil	19,486	1.5	69.7
22 Cyprus	19,338	1.5	71.2
23 Jordan	18,706	1.4	72.6
24 Belgium	17,302	1.3	73.9
25 India	16,642	1.3	75.2
26 Poland	15,095	1.1	76.3
27 Oceania	14,386	1.1	77.4
28 Canada	14,006	1.1	78.5
29 Egypt	13,832	1.0	79.5
30 Tunisia	12,329	0.9	80.4
31 Sweden	11,063	0.8	81.3
32 Ethiopia	10,781	0.8	82.1
33 Japan	9,770	0.7	82.8
34 Australia	8,653	0.7	83.5
35 Chile	8,617	0.7	84.2
36 WITHOUT NATIONAL STATUS	8,474	0.6	84.8
37 Denmark	8,247	0.6	85.4
38 Iraq	8,202	0.6	86.0
39 Lebanon	7,752	0.6	86.6
40 Saudi Arabia	6,881	0.5	87.2
41 Libya	6,563	0.5	87.6
42 Cuba	6,472	0.5	88.1
43 China	5,739	0.4	88.6
44 Columbia	5,073	0.4	89.0
45 Finland	4,965	0.4	89.3
46 Nigeria	4,851	0.4	89.7
47 Mexico	4,725	0.4	90.1
48 Iran	4,613	0.3	90.4
49 Uruguay	4,530	0.3	90.8
OTHERS	54,928	4.2	94.9
UNCLEAR EEC	67,040	5.1	100.0
TOTAL 1 - 3	1,319,268	100.0	100.0

Table N° 7

EEC-South-Migration - RANKING FOR ALL - 1987/88

Foreign Population by countries of origin (without irregular migration)

Country of origin	TOTAL		
	754,544	ABS. %	CUM. %
1 USA	112,475	14.9	14.9
2 Morocco	50,926	6.7	21.7
3 Switzerland	33,848	4.5	26.1
4 Cape Verde	33,293	4.4	30.6
5 Turkey	30,347	4.0	34.6
6 Argentina	26,003	3.4	38.0
7 Philippines	24,723	3.3	41.3
8 Venezuela	23,757	3.1	44.4
9 Yugoslavia	20,210	2.7	47.1
10 Brazil	19,486	2.6	49.7
THE TOP TEN			
11 Cyprus	19,338	2.6	52.3
12 Jordan	18,706	2.5	54.7
13 India	16,642	2.2	56.9
14 Poland	15,095	2.0	58.9
15 Oceania	14,386	1.9	60.9
16 Canada	14,006	1.9	62.7
17 Egypt	13,832	1.8	64.5
18 Tunisia	12,329	1.6	66.2
19 Sweden	11,063	1.5	67.6
20 Ethiopia	10,781	1.4	69.1
THE TOP TWENTY			
21 Japan	9,770	1.3	70.4
22 Australia	8,653	1.1	71.5
23 Chile	8,617	1.1	72.7
24 Iraq	8,202	1.1	73.8
25 Lebanon	7,752	1.0	74.8
26 Saudi Arabia	6,881	0.9	75.7
27 Libya	6,563	0.9	76.6
28 Cuba	6,472	0.9	77.4
29 China	5,739	0.8	78.2
30 Columbia	5,073	0.7	78.9
THE TOP THIRTY			
Other Europeans	4,965	0.7	79.6
Other Asians	40,029	5.3	84.9
Other Africans	35,322	4.7	89.5
Other South Americans	31,664	4.2	93.7
WITHOUT NATIONAL STATUS			
	8,474	1.1	94.9
UNCLEAR			
	39,122	5.2	100.0
=====			
TOTAL 1 - 3	754,544	100.0	
=====			

(c) isoplan saarbrücken/bonn 1989

Cape Verde (4.4 %) is in 4th position. 15 % of all immigration comes from the countries of Southern and Central America (Argentina, Venezuela, Brazil, Chile, Cuba, Columbia, and others). Further immigration comes from Africa and Asia (the Philipinos etc.), and, depending on those countries' history, locates itself in different Southern member states of the EEC.

Besides the legal migration from former colonies, illegal immigration adds to the number of people coming from former colonies. Of particular note are the Latin Americans, Philipinos and the immigrants from Guinea going to Spain, Eritreans and Somalis to the urban centres of Italy as well as those from Cape Verde to Lisbon.

c) Immigrants from Maghreb countries and Egypt

Consisting of 10 % of the total resident population, the migrants from North Africa rank third among the most important groups. Compared to the dimension of the total immigration (incl. irregular migration), this group surpasses not only the group from industrialized countries but also those from the former colonies. To a certain extent, the reason is probably the "geographic proximity" between the labour exporting and receiving countries.

Besides Morocco, the most important labour-exporting country after the USA, sending 51.000 regular migrants - which constitutes 6.7 % - to the Southern member countries; Egypt (17th with 1.8 %) and Tunisia (1.6 %) also supply migrants.

The significance of North African countries as countries of origin of the irregular migration can be considered far more important, particularly for Italy and Spain which are the destination of irregular,

often seasonal movements. One cause amongst many for this development is the new political course taken by the North African nations: their policy liberalization and openness. The resulting emigration was at first directed towards the whole of Europe. After Northern Europe had put into force their immigration restrictions (1973 ff.), these migration movements became "stranded on the shores" of the Southern EEC countries. The distribution of the immigrants from the Maghreb countries and from Egypt is quite clear: the Moroccans are preponderant in Spanish territory, and the Tunisians in Italy. Moreover, Italy and Greece are the destination of hundreds of migrants from the Arabic Mediterranean countries, in particular from Lebanon.

d) Immigrants from other South European Countries

Even if the migration movements among the Southern member countries are excluded, there is a considerable number of foreigners from non-European, non-EEC countries, immigrating from Southern Europe. They represent already 9.3 % of the overall foreign population; of which 4.0 % come from Turkey, 2.7 % from Yugoslavia and 2.6 % from Cyprus. In this case, too, the reasons are the "geographic proximity" on the one hand and the "waiting room function" of the South European member countries on the other.

e) Migrants from other Third World Countries

This category comprises the remaining group of foreigners living in the four Southern member countries. The origin of these foreigners is diverse. They come from a variety of Third World countries, and recently also, an increasing number come from so-called East-European countries. The foreigners with regular residence in the Southern member countries amount to only 10 % of the overall



population; but the number of irregular immigrants from the Third World must be considerably higher.

It is true that a great number of those listed under b), c) and d), who have migrated for reasons of socio-cultural ties or geographic proximity, should be classified, strictly speaking as poverty - inspired international migrants. Obviously this motive is clear as regards migrants from Third World countries. The economic and political aspects of the Southern member countries are so attractive that even long distances cannot put off migrants from Third World countries. For those immigrants, originally wanting to go to the North-West European member countries, the Southern countries serve additionally as a "waiting room". There are various indications that immigration from other Third World countries will increase in future. Therefore, it is to be expected that international migration due to poverty will overlap with the existing migration patterns in the Southern member countries based on socio-cultural or geographic proximity.

(36) In a brief survey, the structure of the origin of immigration from non-European countries to the Southern members of the Community can be summarized as follows:

- a) With respect to regular immigration (besides industrialized countries such as the USA), important labour-exporting countries are above all:
- Morocco, Egypt, and Tunisia
  - Cape Verde
  - Turkey and Cyprus
  - Argentina, Venezuela, Brazil
  - the Philippines, and
  - Yugoslavia.

- b) With respect to irregular immigration, the most important labour-exporting countries are primarily to be found in the Mediterranean region, and also in the Third World.

Strategic reflections on the development of a joint migration policy will have to take these patterns into account to a large degree.

## 5. THE SITUATION IN THE FOUR SOUTH EUROPEAN MEMBER COUNTRIES

The specific situation in the individual receiving countries can only be roughly sketched out here. Detailed statistics for each country's immigration flows can be found in the country reports. The causes and historic background are also thoroughly explained in the respective country reports.

### (37) Italy

Not only is Italy, with its 57 million inhabitants (of whom 24 million are working), the largest of the analyzed countries but also, as regards the immigration of foreigners, with more than 572,000 regular foreign residents (see Table 8), it is the most important one quantitatively. Moreover, it is remarkable to note that the number of regular foreign residents in Italy has tripled since 1976. 1)

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1) Barsotti, O., Lecchini, L., p. 419

Migrants with irregular status have to be added to this figure. At present, their number is estimated to range from 600,000 (SOPEMI 1) to 1 million. The most realistic estimate is that in 1987/88 approx. 850,000 foreigners were in the country illegally and took up work without a work permit.

With a "stock" of 1.2 - 1.5 million foreigners in total, Italy has thus become a reservoir and turntable for more than half of the immigrating foreigners to the Southern countries of the EEC.

It must be presumed that more than half of this total number (i.e. 600,000 to 800,000) seek work in Italy. This contrasts with at least 2.5 million registered unemployed of Italian nationality. This is an indication of the difficult problem of labour markets which are structurally inflexible, and the immense dimension of a dual economy, in which the irregular foreigners' share of employment in the underground economy surpasses the regular rate many times over. 2)

The "dual" structure of foreign immigration is clearly reflected in the regional distribution of regular immigration. Although Italy is a country that, from the last two decades of the 19th century to the seventies, has been "exporting" manpower, and that has been characterized by massive inland migration movements from the "Mezzogiorno" to the industrialized North, it has always retained a certain "stock of foreigners from economically developed countries. And even today, more than 30 % of the regular migrants come from the highly - industrialized nations of Europe and America (USA, FRG, Great Britain, France, Switzerland), or from other EEC countries (Spain, Greece).

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1) SOPEMI 1989, p.7, according to data from the Ministère du Travail, of whom approx. 280,000 to 400,000 were working (CENSIS)  
2) see Ancona, G., p. 116 f.

Table N° 8:

EEC-South-Migration - RANKING FOR ITALY -  
Foreign Population by countries of origin 1987/88 (without irregular mi-  
gration)

Country of origin	TOTAL	ABS. %	CUM. %
1 USA	60,819	10.6	10.6
2 Federal Republic of Germany	44,644	7.6	18.4
3 Great Britain	32,749	5.7	24.2
4 Greece	31,424	5.5	29.7
5 France	28,297	4.9	34.6
6 Switzerland	20,165	3.5	38.1
7 Yugoslavia	19,018	3.3	41.4
8 Jordan	16,501	2.9	44.3
9 Spain	15,577	2.7	47.1
10 Morocco	15,750	2.8	49.8
11 Philippines	15,050	2.6	52.4
12 Poland	14,005	2.4	54.9
13 Tunisia	11,953	2.1	57.0
14 Egypt	11,016	1.9	58.9
15 Ethiopia	10,528	1.8	60.7
TOTAL	347,496		
OTHERS	224,607		
TOTAL	572,103	100.0	100.0

(c) isoplan Saarbrücken/Bonn 1989

Other large groups of migrants (approx. 10 %), often with few qualifications, come from Yugoslavia and the East-European countries (in particular from Poland). The Southern member countries of the Community (particularly Greece), the North-African countries (Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt) and the former Italian colony of Ethiopia are the other main source of immigrants into Italy, and above all, into its Southern parts. It is quite clear that geographic proximity is of the utmost importance, as well as the existence of a seasonal demand for manpower in agriculture, the building industries and the services sector in the South-Italian metropolis, which is often excessive.

It is of note that parallel to these "traditional" groups of origin, the number of migrants from other Third World countries has recently increased. According to data of the Italian Ministry for Domestic Affairs, the total number of foreigners increased from 1981 to 1987 by 72.5 % but the number of Africans rose by 162 %, and the number of Asians by 87.7 %. 1)

(38) Spain

After Italy, also Spain has become to an increasing extent a receiving country and country of transit for migrants over the past two years.

- > In 1988 around 335,000 foreigners were officially registered. 2) Approximately two thirds of these came from the industrialized member countries of the Community, and 150,000 (i.e. around 42 %) from non-European countries, mainly those that were formerly Spanish colonial territory: Morocco (approx. 12,000), the Philippines (approx. 8,000), and various Southern and Central-American countries (total 57,000). Yet consideration must be given to the problem already discussed in (15) concerning the limited statistical data.
- > The country report elaborated by the IOE estimates, however, the number of regular foreign "residents" for 1988/89 to be 484,343 (including 9,274 stateless persons and refugees without residence permit, and 11,240 students). Compared to the figures for officially registered foreigners, the non-EEC rate amounts to about 48 % (equivalent to 232,450 foreigners).

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1) see also Barsotti, O., Lecchini, L., p. 419

2) Pereda, Carlos; de Praha. M.A., Los inmigrantes en Espana, Madrid 1987

Table N° 9:

EC-South-Migration - RANKING FOR SPAIN -  
 Foreign Population by countries of origin 1987/88 (without irregular migration)

Country of origin	TOTAL	ABS. %	CUM. %
1 Great Britain	75,036	15.5	15.5
2 Federal Republic of Germany	48,935	10.1	25.6
3 Portugal	37,380	7.7	33.3
4 Morocco	35,144	7.3	40.6
5 France	32,605	6.7	47.3
6 USA	21,942	4.5	51.8
7 Argentina	18,494	3.8	55.7
8 Netherlands	17,462	3.6	59.3
9 Italy	17,299	3.6	62.8
10 Belgium	13,071	2.7	65.5
11 Venezuela	12,047	2.5	68.0
12 Philippines	8,909	1.8	69.9
13 Sweden	8,488	1.8	71.6
14 Chile	8,144	1.7	73.3
15 India	7,226	1.5	74.8
TOTAL	362,182		
OTHERS	122,152		
TOTAL	484,334	100.0	100.0

- > The number of irregular migrants is at present at least 294,000. Besides around 38,000 Portuguese, this group consists mainly of Moroccans (60,000), Philipinos (35,000), and South Americans, of whom approx. 200,000 work in the underground economy.
- > All in all there are at present about 780,000 foreigners in Spain, of which approx. 62 % (=483,000) come from non-EEC countries. 1)
- > Immigrants from other member countries of the EEC (in particular Great Britain, FRG, Portugal, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Italy), or from other industrialized countries (USA, Sweden) represent the

1) According to data from SOPEMI 1988, p. 36, 54,000 of these received a work permit - most of whom were migrants from industrialized countries (within and outside the Community)

majority of regular migrants (approx. 53 %). This is a group whose presence during the seventies and eighties has stabilized and grown in parallel with the political and economic integration of Spain into Europe.

Despite the predominance of immigrants from the Philippines (officially registered: 8,221; their maximum however is estimated to be 52,000) the group of Asians is expanding relatively. Chinese, Indians, Pakistani, Vietnamese, Iranians and Iraqis attempt, to an increasing extent, to settle in Spain, after having entered the country, in general, as a "tourist", or as a person seeking asylum.

A last group, of minor importance quantitatively, yet "visible" in the country and often the reason for social conflicts, is the group of black Africans. They are partly Central Africans from Equatorial Guinea (a Spanish colony until 1968) who at the time of independence decided to remain Spanish citizens. In recent times, however, "poverty migration" has been increasing, mainly from French speaking countries in Black Africa (Senegambia, Mali, Guinea-Bissau, Ivory Coast, Cameroon etc.).

Seasonal immigration from Portugal, due to the regional proximity, has a long tradition.

Moroccan immigration into Spain (the fourth highest) is an exception to the rule. It developed during two periods. At first, until 1970 as immigration to Cuba and Melilla, and then, after 1970, it expanded across the whole Iberian Peninsula. At that time, until the middle of the seventies, their entry to Spain was even promoted in order to safeguard economic growth. 1)

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1) see Country report Spain, section 2.3

A new development is the massive immigration from Latin-American countries, in particular from those which in former times had been the destination of Spanish immigration (Argentina, Chile, Uruguay). Due to the traditional ties to Spain, the immigrants benefit from several legal privileges which are dealt with in the country report. The results of the country report show that for many immigrants entry to Spain represents only an intermediate stop in their planned migration onwards to a different country (Cubans to the USA etc.).

(39) Portugal

From the quantitative point of view, Portugal is of minor importance as a country of destination for foreign immigration.

- > Approx. 95,000 foreigners are officially registered.
- > The number of irregular migrants is estimated to be between approx. 60,000 and 70,000.

Furthermore, the structure of immigration to Portugal differs drastically from the situation in Spain and Italy:

- a) At 27 %, the percentage of immigrants from other member countries of the Community is relatively small. Even if the migration from the USA and Canada is included, the share of mainly "qualified immigrants" (total 37 %) is still below the level of Italy and Spain. However, in the course of the economic integration of Portugal into the European single market, its share will certainly increase.
- b) The "degree of regional concentration" of the countries of origin is extremely high. Immigration is from a very few countries, being former colonies of Portugal:



- > 28 % of the immigrants come from Cape Verde alone;
- > from the South American countries (Brazil, Venezuela etc.) come another 15 %; and
- > the former Portuguese African countries (Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, San Tomé) are the countries of origin for about 13 % of the total immigration.

This means that approx. 57 % of the total immigration from non-EEC countries come predominantly from Cape Verde and other African colonies. All in all, 77 % of the immigration from non-European countries originates from the former African colonies, as well as Brazil and Venezuela.

**Table N° 10:**

EC-South-Migration - RANKING FOR PORTUGAL -  
Foreign Population by countries of origin 1987/88 (without irregular migration)

Country of origin	TOTAL	ABS. %	CUM. %
1 Cape Verde	26,953	28.5	28.5
2 Brazil	9,333	9.9	38.4
3 Great Britain	7,115	7.5	45.9
4 Spain	7,105	7.5	53.5
5 USA	6,055	6.4	59.9
6 Venezuela	4,828	5.1	65.0
7 Angola	4,434	4.7	69.7
8 Federal Republic of Germany	4,133	4.4	74.1
9 Guinea Bissau	3,021	3.2	77.3
10 France	2,803	3.0	80.2
11 Mozambique	2,762	2.9	83.2
12 Canada	2,095	2.2	85.4
13 St. Tome	1,730	1.8	87.2
14 Netherlands	1,546	1.6	88.8
15 Italy	1,060	1.1	90.0
TOTAL	84,973		
OTHERS	9,480		
TOTAL	94,453	100.0	100.0

(40) Greece

The picture of regional immigration problems in Greece is atypical, being quite different from those in Italy, Spain and Portugal. Having the lowest population rate (9.9 million) of southern EEC countries

- > the number of officially registered foreigners in Greece amounts at present to about 184,000 (of which approx. 45,000 have dual nationality; 1)
- > approx. 30,000 foreigners are irregular in the country according to the estimates of Fakiolas. 2)

However, the actual number of the irregularly employed is estimated to exceed 76,000, of which around 50 % come from Western and Socialist countries, and 50 % from countries of the Third World (Egypt, Philippines, India, Pakistan, Iraq, and others). 3)

The immigration to Greece differs in two main aspects from the immigration to other Southern member countries of the Community:

- a) The "non-EEC rate" of 70 % is extremely high, which means that other EEC countries, as sending countries, are of minor importance. Thus, the situation could still be compared to Portugal. But parallel to this, the industrialized countries, as the origin of the immigration to Greece represent 53 %, which is substantially higher than in Italy (40 %) or Portugal (34 %). This is the consequence of significant immigration flows, in particular from the USA and

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1) According to SOPEMI, p. 31, 28,300 foreigners had a work permit in the second half of 1988.

2) see also Fakiolas, Rossetos, and Voß, Werner, Wanderungsbewegungen von und aus Griechenland (isoplan-Schriftenreihe, Saarbrücken, Fort Lauderdale 1989, ed. by M. Werth)

3) see SOPEMI 1988, p. 31

Australia, but also from countries such as Switzerland, Sweden, Canada and Japan. Some of these immigrants (especially those from the USA, Australia and Canada) can be considered as the return of persons of Greek descent.

b) Despite certain traditional ties with the Pacific region, the immigration is - compared to the other Southern countries of the EEC - far more influenced by the geo-political situation of the country and by the political development on the Eastern boundaries of the Community. The ranking of the most important labour-exporting countries (Table 11) clearly illustrates this statement.

> As many as 27 % of the regular immigrants are Turks and Cypriots (i.e. around 80 % of the total of immigrants come from other industrialized countries or from Turkey).

**Table N° 11:**

EEC-South-Migration - RANKING FOR GREECE -  
Foreign Population by countries of origin 1987/88 (without irregular migration)

Country of origin	TOTAL		
		ABS. %	CUM. %
1 Turkey	30,145	16.4	16.4
2 USA	23,659	12.9	29.2
3 Federal Republic of Germany	20,233	11.0	40.2
4 Cyprus	19,337	10.5	50.7
5 Great Britain	14,022	7.6	58.4
6 France	8,323	4.5	62.9
7 Oceania	7,458	4.1	66.9
8 Australia	7,041	3.8	70.8
9 Italy	4,357	2.4	73.1
10 Albania	3,563	1.9	75.1
11 Egypt	2,415	1.3	76.4
TOTAL	140,553		
OTHERS	43,447		
TOTAL	184,000	100.0	100.0

(c) isoplan Saarbrücken/Bonn 1989

- > Other groups of significant size come from Albania, Egypt, several other countries of the Near and Middle East, and from the USSR, Poland and other East-European countries.

The fact that migrants from various other countries consider Greece their country of destination, should not be played down. Yet, this immigration to Greece is not so much a problem of "poverty migration" from countries of the Third World. It is, rather, the result of the international migration of experts and the retired from the industrialized countries (there is also an element of "cultural migration"). Furthermore, it is a relatively small migration movement, explicable by the geographic location of the country.

#### 6. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE IMMIGRATION FROM NON-EEC COUNTRIES

- (41) There is, for the analyzed countries, only a limited itemization of the statistical data by the countries and regions of origin in terms of the socio-economic structure of the immigration (i.e. by age, personal status, employment, vocational qualification, sectoral unemployment etc.) 1) The statistics in the appendix of the country reports were collected from various sources by the isoplan team, and may be considered the most detailed collection of material of its kind available at present.

Yet, several general characteristics and country-specific points can be concluded from this material. Beyond the dual structure of immigration flows, which has already been discussed, the overall picture can be subdivided into four groups (of different regional distribution).

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1) see Part A

- a) temporary "experts' migration" of younger migrants from EEC countries and other industrialized countries;
- b) immigrants from EEC countries and other industrialized countries who often settle down in the receiving countries as "retirement migrants" (with their families);
- c) groups of underqualified "poverty migrants" from Third World countries which lie close to the South European member countries as well as increasing numbers from more distant countries and also irregular migrants from both types.
- d) finally, country-specific exceptions:
  - immigrants with dual nationality,
  - nationals from former colonies,
  - political emigrants, and
  - other refugees and persons seeking asylum.

(42) Italy, with a relatively wide range of countries of origin and a high rate of irregular immigration from Northern Africa, is characterized by three trends:

- a) the immense increase of the total foreign population (see point (37)),
- b) the growing "Third World element",
- c) the increasing rate of employment of foreigners.

According to the census results in 1989, 36.4 % of the foreign residents have been jobholders; in 1989, the rate was estimated at 50 % (with an annual increase

of 100,000 foreigners). 1) In this time - according to the official statistics - Italy had 2.6 million registered unemployed. 2)

It has been repeatedly emphasized in this report that regular immigrants (and employed) represent rather the minority of the foreigners in Italy. As far as the available statistics allow a conclusion, it can be stated that the age structure of these groups is well-balanced. In most cases, the immigration is of a family of highly-qualified workers, who are in short supply on the national labour market, despite the generally high unemployment rate. The problem involved here is not so much the absorption capacity of the labour market, since these groups do not compete with the Italian unemployed; but it is rather the difficulty of integrating these groups into society, particularly because their number has increased between 1981 and 1988: by 83.1 % - faster than that of the Italian population (+ 1.2 %)

The group of irregular immigrants are considerably more likely to be the source of conflict, as they have taken up "concealed" employment or marginal work, sometimes under the worst conditions, in agriculture, in the building industries, in commerce, in the services sectors. Of 800,000 irregular foreigners, presumably

- approx. 350,000 are permanent residents in Italy,
- approx. 250,000 are at least partly residing, and
- only 200,000 are seasonal migrants (from North Africa and Yugoslavia).

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1) see Ancona, p. 116

2) see article in "Gazetta del Mezzogiorno" from 6 June, 1988. Similar conclusions are drawn by G. Bensi, "Colore nero, lavoro nero" (The Blacks in a Black Market), in: Mondo economico, 30 March 1987

The attempt to normalize the situation by means of legal regularizing measures has been of little success: approx. 100,000 irregular immigrants (primarily Moroccans, Philipinos, Tunisians, Senegalese, Egyptians) applied for registration in 1987 and 1988, whereas the majority remains underground. 1)

Exact statistical data on the demography and profession of these immigration groups is missing. The presumption is that the majority of those living in the "Mezzogiorno" are male, originating from North African countries, between 25 and 30 years of age, and working in the underground economy or in jobs which are avoided by nationals because of the low social standard. 2)

Despite the irregular migrants' insufficient social security and social integration these facts give rise to a growing xenophobia in parts of Italian society. Recently, a joint commission of representatives of the trade unions, the Church and associations was founded in order to promote the social and cultural integration of foreigners into Italy and to combat the increasing trend towards xenophobia ("Insieme per una societa multiculturale"). Yet, this will hardly change the actual causes; two distinct Italian labour markets - the overstretched official one and the expanding underground economy.

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- 1) Formica, Rino, Immigration of Non-community countries: Problems, Measures and Perspectives, in: Journal of Regional Policies, Vol. 8 (1988), p. 491 ff and SOPEMI 1988, p. 32
  - 2) see Sgori, Emanuele, Due continenti, un territorio: l'immigrazione tunisina in Sicilia, Rome 1988

- (43) Excluding the border crossing migration between Portugal and Spain, the phenomenon of larger regular and irregular immigration is quite new to Spain. The rates of increase are considerable.

In 1986/87, there was an increase in the number of immigrants from

- > Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Columbia and Uruguay by 23 %
- > Asia, in particular from the Philippines, China and India by 27 %
- > Morocco, over the past four years, on average by 25 % (SOPEMI 1988)

There is only a little information available on the social structure and employment situation of the foreigners in Spain. Indirect evidence is given by the fact that a high rate of foreigners come from other EEC countries or industrialized countries (approx. 58 %). These are in general quite highly-qualified immigrants who satisfy the "Experts demand" of the expanding Spanish industry. This hypothesis is confirmed on 1987 figures, if one equates the legal exercise of a profession to the number of work permits issued. More than one third of the foreigners from EEC countries and other industrialized countries are part of the professional groups of top managers, of administration officials and managerial staff, of students leaving university, and of engineers (66 % of the total of US Americans, 50 % of all Japanese, and 41 % of all British immigrants); whereas the immigrants from non-European countries are clearly over-represented in the professional groups with low qualifications (employees) in commerce, domestics, trained and unskilled workers, helpers in the services sector and in agriculture).



Further figures on vocational qualification and employment are included in the repeatedly quoted study by the IOE. According to the results of their inquiry, many immigrants from non-EEC countries (including Portugal) are employed below their academic or professional standard. This discrepancy between qualification and employment is extremely evident in the case of Moroccans, Black Africans and Latin Americans.

The immigration from Morocco is of specific importance. On the one hand, at the beginning of the Seventies, Spain permitted and even promoted classic labour immigration (and consequently experienced a constant family migration during the following decade); and on the other hand, from the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Mellilla a hardly recordable intermediate migration arose. These immigrants are mainly occupied in commerce in established trading firms, and also in street vending, as casual workers in agriculture and industry, and as domestics. A great share of illegally-employed immigrants can be found in each of the above-mentioned groups.

It must be emphasized in particular that the African immigrants from Morocco and Gambia alone hold 61 % of the work permits in the agricultural sector. The Moroccans are mainly seasonal helpers in the agriculture of Andalusia: the Central Africans (from Senegambia, and also from Nigeria, the Congo, Guinea, Mali, Cameroon and Ghana) are established helpers in agriculture, the building industries, and handicraft firms in the region of Maresma in Catalonia. Moreover, Black African immigrants can presently be found all over Spain as street traders, especially in the tourist centres and metropolis. This immigrant group contains a great number of the illegally-employed. Yet, the immigrants from Equatorial Guinea (a Spanish

colony until 1968) must be excluded from this group, for in 1977 they were granted the possibility (in certain circumstances) of naturalization as Spaniards by Royal Order.

Despite high increases, a specific problem arises from the special ties between Spain and its former South American colonies, and from the existing agreement on dual nationality. The question is still not settled of how nationals coming from these countries might be prevented from using Spain as country of transit to other EEC-countries after the implementation of the Regulations on Freedom of Movement within the EEC on 1 January, 1993.

- (44) Compared to the situation above all in Italy and Spain, the growing immigration trend is at present less noticeable in Portugal.

There, the scale of immigration is still relatively small, and, as outlined in the "Phases of European Migration", presently characterized by a period of labour migration and return migration by Portuguese workers. However, the potential conflicts arising from regular and irregular immigration, should not be underestimated in view of the difficult framework of the country' s economy. 1)

At the end of the Seventies, it was the repatriation of about 700,000 persons from former colonies which caused the social infrastructure and absorption capacity of the labour market to be vastly overstretched. Today, it is to an increasing extent migrants from developing countries who are pushing onto a

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- 1) see also Sousa Ferreira, E., Clause, G. (eds), Closing the Migratory Cycle: The case of Portugal, Saarbrücken, Fort Lauderdale 1986  
 2) Pires, R. P. and Maranhao, M.J. et al., Os retornados, un estudo sociografico, IED, Lisbon 1987

labour market with an extremely high rate of hidden unemployment, and into a rapidly expanding underground economy (which is estimated to produce 20 % of the GNP, in particular sectors, e.g. in the building industry).

The situation is characterized by the fact that the percentage of foreigners from other EEC countries or other industrialized countries at 34 % of the total of foreigners is by far the lowest of the Southern EEC states.

The "Third World percentage" is in other words exceptionally high. Parallel to this, the immigration stems from very few sending countries (mainly Cape Verde, Brazil).

The socio-economic structure of these immigration groups is especially characterized by a distinct dichotomy. On the one hand, there are the traditional immigrants (from Cape Verde, Guinea and after decolonization, from other African nations having Portuguese as their official language) who are employed in various sectors (the building industry, shipbuilding, the domestic sector) as low qualified workers. On the other hand, there is the traditional practice of sending minors from these countries to Portugal in order to complete their academic studies, which explains the high percentage of 15 to 39 year old persons (70 %) in these immigration groups. Thus, Portugal continues to play an essential role in training the executive personnel for these African countries (also by scholarships).

With respect to the countries of Portuguese emigration on the American continent (USA, Canada, Brazil, Venezuela), a similar picture can be drawn. The proportion of the economically-active population among the migrants from these countries is far lower than from European and African countries. In addition, the proportion of

students (Venezuela 74 %, Brazil 65 %) is striking. In this context, Brazil is an exception to the rule; because immigration from this country has evidently increased over the last years, and also because Brazilians can plead equality of treatment on the basis of the existing specific and bilateral agreements. Some of these immigrants are highly qualified specialists (dentists, physicians, architects, lawyers) working free-lance or self-employed. Yet, it is uncertain whether there will be further migration by these groups after the implementation of the regulations on freedom of movement within the EEC.

- (45) As already discussed, the development of the immigration of foreigners to Greece, and their socio-economic characterization, are in many aspects atypical.

Turks, Cypriots and Albanians are to some extent the traditional alien group of the country. Furthermore, the "industrialized country rate" - the number of foreigners from other non-European industrialized countries - is extremely high.

Due to its geographic position, Greece strongly attracts immigrants from East-European nations as well as from the Near and Middle East. The immigrants from South-East Asia and the Pacific region (of which many are women) add to the picture of "international" immigration to Greece.

There is no exact data available on the social structure and the employment situation of these very divergent groups.

As Greece has a relatively low unemployment rate (7.4 %) foreigners are legally employed as skilled workers in the health system, as engineers, in the building industry, as teachers and in the tourist industry. In addition, there are noteworthy groups (from Turkey, Cyprus, Albania) who are employed as unskilled workers in the shipbuilding industry or the shipping trade (total of approx. 24,000 to 31,000).

Many of the 30,000 to 76,000 irregular migrants enter the country as tourists in order to stay illegally for a shorter or longer time as domestic servants or helpers in the tourist industry or in agriculture. Although the illegal employment of foreigners has been subject to strict punishment for several years (since 1983), the number of irregular migrants will nevertheless increase, due to a growing demand for unqualified manpower in a rapidly expanding Greek underground economy (30 % of the GNP).

Another fact must be considered, which tends to promote irregular immigration and employment. Up to today, the Greek law has been in favour of the employment of foreigners from so-called "developed countries"; as for immigration from countries of the Third World, however, the legal regulations concerning residence and work permits are being applied in an extremely restrictive sense (despite the fact that there are large loopholes). In fact, this resulted in the socio-economic structure of employment of foreigners being to a large extent of a dichotomic nature. A highly qualified group of about 20 to 30 % (foreigners legally employed as managers, engineers, teachers, etc. can be contrasted with approx. 70 to 75 % of mainly unqualified foreign workers who pursue their work without work permit or any kind of social protection.

A further fact worth mentioning is that about 80 % of the immigration of foreigners is concentrated in the urban area of Athens. Considering the partially poor housing and living conditions of, above all, foreigners from Third World countries, this reinforces the impression of an extreme "dualism" in the immigration problem in Greece.

7. DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES IN STRUCTURES OF THE IMMIGRATION PROBLEM IN THE SOUTHERN MEMBER COUNTRIES OF THE EEC

- (46) Any attempt to analyze the above-outlined divergent structural pattern of immigration to the Southern EEC countries with the aim of finding points in common, will inevitably result in gross simplifications. Yet, it is possible to determine points in common between the general frame conditions in the individual countries and in the structure of the South migration. This would allow patterns of migration to be distinguished with a view to predicting future trends. Such a facility would be of great importance for the relevant countries, and indeed, for the Community as a whole.
- (47) Despite all country-specific divergences, the four Southern member countries of the EEC have certain economic, institutional, socio-cultural and geopolitical frame conditions in common.
- a) Compared with the average figures for all the European member states, the four countries have the economic characteristics of:
- > a high demand for highly-qualified manpower in the rapidly growing high-tech industries of the conurbation areas;

- > a growing underground economy, which greatly attracts irregular immigration; but also
  - > a high unemployment rate among the national manpower (except for Greece) which correlates with the low mobility and flexibility of the regionally and sectorally divided labour markets; and finally, in most cases, for structural reasons,
  - > a high inflation rate, which leads on to a high foreign and national debt. This limits the framework for social and regional development policies.
- b) Another common characteristic of the Southern member states is the fact that "migration policy" in former times had been exclusively considered "emigration policy". The recent proportions of the phenomenon of increasing migration is new. The countries involved have been, and still are, barely willing to face up to the situation, by adopting both legal and administrative measures to regulate immigration itself and the employment of aliens. "Irregular immigration" 1), in particular, for many reasons, including insufficient border controls, has been simply tolerated rather than systematically regulated (see explanations of the attempts at regulation, in particular, in Italy).
- c) The third aspect which the Southern EEC countries have in common - the socio-cultural aspect - (leaving aside the colonial history) should not be underestimated in its importance for the migration dynamic. It is not in dispute that for a long time Greece, Italy, Spain and Portugal had been emigration countries

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1) see Rica, S., Administering migrant workers in an irregular situation in Greece, Italy and Spain; op. cit. Böhning, W.R. Regularising the the irregular, op. cit.

or rather countries which exported labour to the most divergent regions of the world. The present noticeable immigration flows reflect, to a certain extent, the "socio-cultural relation" derived from these historic ties (especially in the case of Portugal).

- d) Due to their geographic position, the Southern member states are also affected in a certain way by the demographic and political development of other nations in the Mediterranean region, as well as by the resulting migration pressure. At present, it is hardly predictable to which extent the Perestroika politics of the East European countries will cause a noticeable intensification of the immigration to the Southern member countries. Yet, it is certain that in particular Italy (from Poland) and Greece (from USSR a.o.) will have to be prepared for an increased immigration from East European nations.

Considering the total dimension of migration, the following aspects of common frame conditions might be negligible, yet should not be forgotten. Slogans, such as "Spain as the future California of Europe" are not without reason discussed in terms of their locational advantages and disadvantages within the future single market. A series of studies has shown that the criteria of prime importance for industrial settlements (above all in high-tech industry) are far from being determined by factors such as infrastructural integration alone. For these factors would lead one to locate in overpopulated conurbation areas of the North which are on the brink of disaster, ecologically. Climate, recreational value, quality of life and similar factors are today decisive as well. The comparative advantages of locating in the South will in the medium and long term undoubtedly have a corresponding effect on migration.



(48) Indicators

It is nearly impossible to give a complete definition of indicators characterizing the differences and common structures of the immigration problem, which would be equally relevant for all countries and would take into account the different historic backgrounds and present frame conditions described above. Since, however, it is evident that in all four Southern member states of the Community the immigration problem has been aggravated by the increasing number of foreigners, it is beyond doubt that there is a need for an active migration policy. The strategy of political action must therefore be directed at the main indicators of the immigration problem:

- a) The "non-EEC figures" (those foreigners who come from non-European countries) show the degree of openness of the relevant countries towards a non-EEC migration. The reciprocal value of this rate illustrates the integration of the migration into the exchange processes on the labour markets of the Community (to a certain extent also the degree of economic integration of these countries). At present, Portugal and Greece still bear an above-average non-EEC rate. In contrast to this, Italy and Spain are quite restrictive towards non-EEC migration. 40 - 50 % of the regular foreigners in these countries are the product of intra-Community migration movements.
- b) The "figures for the industrialized countries" (those foreigners who immigrate temporarily or permanently to the Southern EEC countries, but come from nations with a high per capita income) 1)

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1) According to World Bank nomenclature, all countries with a per capita GNP of more than 6,000 US \$. See World Bank, International Development Report 1989, Washington, D.C. 1989, p. 195. This category already includes Spain (US \$ p.a. 6,010) and also Italy (US \$ p.a. 10,350)

illustrate the need for highly-qualified manpower which cannot be satisfied, or only partly so, by the national labour markets. Especially in Greece and Spain, immigration is mainly characterized by migrants from other industrialized countries. This high figure for industrialized countries brings about problems of a different order for social integration than in the case of Portugal, where nearly 70 % of the immigrants come from countries of the so-called "Third World".

- c) The "density of sending countries" (the distribution of the number of foreigners according to the number of countries of origin) provides an indicator of immediate political relevance. It distinguishes the group of non-European nations which are of prime relevance for the political dialogue. It also defines the complexity of the problem concerning the social integration of divergent groups of foreigners. Again, Greece and Portugal have the highest density of sending countries: four countries send 50 % of the immigrants and about 75 % of all regular migrants come from at most 8 to 10 sending countries. The regional distribution is higher in Italy and Spain; but even here the majority of the immigrants come from a relatively small group of labour-exporting countries (10/5).
- d) The "rate of irregularity" (the rate of irregular foreign immigrants by the total population of foreigners) can only be presumed. However, it is a "proxy indicator" for a series of problems which have been discussed under the term "frame conditions of immigration"; and it is certainly an indicator of the dual structure of the economic systems and labour markets, of the problems of social and political integration of these groups, and of the efficiency or burden of the immigration and labour market authorities (e.g. with respect to the regularizing policy in the South).

Thus, it also indicates the urgency for political action. The fact that 55 % of all foreigners are in Italy irregularly, and 40 % in Spain and Portugal and, moreover, that they live and work in the worst conditions, amply justifies pressure for a joint initiative in order to improve the administrative systems in the main Southern member states.

- (49) There are not enough statistics in order to calculate a "mobility rate", which would enable conclusions to be drawn as to the significance of the four Southern countries being countries of transit to (North-West European) receiving countries (the "waiting room" function). (On the basis of the available data), as to the length of stay of the different groups of foreigners in the respective immigration countries only presumptions can be made. It is certainly realistic to assume that the majority of workers and experts from other industrialized countries stay only temporarily. Also realistic is the hypothesis that an important part of the regular and irregular migrants with low qualification consider the relevant receiving countries (particularly Italy, Spain and Greece) largely as countries of transit for their intended further immigration to the North-Western states of the Community. Furthermore, a considerable part of irregular immigration from North Africa to Italy seeks only temporary (seasonal) employment.

The extent of this potential for further migration as well as the expected length of stay can hardly be determined; for this does not only depend on the migrants' intentions, but also decisively on the possibility of reaching the country of destination. With regard to the restrictive immigration policy of the North-Western member countries of the Community,

**Table N° 12**

Index of the migration structure in the Southern member countries of the EEC  
(1988/89)

Country	ITALY	SPAIN	PORTUGAL	GREECE
Indicator				
1. non-EEC rate in %	non-EEC 61 EEC 39	non-EEC 48 EEC 52	non-EEC 73 EEC 27	non-EEC 70 EEC 30
2. industrialized countries rate	40	58	34	53
3. density of the sending countries (%/number of sending countries)	50 : 10 75 : 28	50 : 5 75 : 14	50 : 4 75 : 8	50 : 4 75 : 10
4. rate of irregularity in %	55	38	39	25

(c) isoplan Saarbrücken/Bonn 1989  
estimates 1989

the chance of success here is small. Therefore, the presumption seems to be justified that (leaving seasonal work aside) the mobility rate in fact of the foreigners in the four Southern member countries is rather negligible.

The "potential for return migration" is another criterion in the mobility rate. Of prime importance are the geographic proximity (e.g. between Yugoslavia and North Italy, or Tunisia and Sicily), the socio-cultural relation (language, religion, also ethnic factors), the political relation (the existence of privileged political relations with former colonies), or the economic relation (via traditional trade relations or the divergence of the respective labour markets). Seen in this light, many aspects suggest that immigration to the Southern member countries will lead to two very different consequences: on the one hand, to an intensified inter-linkage of the labour markets of the South and the North of the EEC (in particular as to skilled and highly-qualified manpower), and on the other hand, to the creation of a "Mediterranean labour market", which will expand beyond the borders of the Community, develop its own inherent laws and adopt its own measures.

**PART C:****GENERAL CONDITIONS AND EFFECTS OF THE IMMIGRATION FROM  
NON-EUROPEAN COUNTRIES: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE  
SITUATION IN GREECE, ITALY, PORTUGAL AND SPAIN**

The following synopsis consists of a comparison of the most substantial consequences of the four country reports with special attention to (a) the legal situation of the immigrants from non-European countries, (b) their occupational situation and the economic effects of the immigration from non-European countries, (c) their social integration and the demographic effects of the immigration, and (d) aliens' policy and public opinion. The objective of this comparison is to outline common general conditions and effects, point out similarities and differences in the situations and structures, and to elaborate a comparative analysis.

**1. LEGAL REGULATIONS AND LEGAL PRACTICE**

- (50) Undoubtedly the emphasis of the presentation and analysis in all four country reports is defined by the legal situation of the immigrants from non-European countries, that is to say, the legal regulations and practice. This is not merely understandable because this topic is important for the living conditions of the immigrants, but also because of the complex structure and diverse application of this normative framework.

The general principles and regulations on entry and residence, on the obligation to hold a visa, on admission, deportation and expulsion, the right to asylum and refugee law as well as the regulations on

the acquisition of nationality and naturalization, represent in all four countries a "disparate and irrational unit" (as one of the authors describes it). This mish-mash of legal regulation on immigration clearly shows that these nations have not (yet) adapted to their relatively new function as de facto immigration countries by formulating general legislation in response to the prevailing normative objectives. The reason for this is the lack of an immigration policy which responds to the circumstances. It also illustrates the familiar political and administrative practice of trying to tackle new social developments and problems haphazardly rather than systematically.

Laws put into effect at different times and with different regulatory principles; subject to boundless re-enactment, supplements and implementing rules; disparate legal and inaccurate administrative practice - proven to be in existence in all four countries - hamper the legal handling of the immigrant, and give rise to a subjective and objective feeling of legal uncertainty. Therefore the courts were not the only bodies demanding the substitution or better still the amendment of the aliens' laws, by an immigration law which would take into consideration the international and european social charters on freedom of movement, and the migrant workers' charter ratified by the countries involved.

- (51) In all four countries the regulations on residence can be divided into three: those for foreigners from EEC countries, regular immigrants from non-European countries and irregular immigrants. In all countries refugees and persons seeking asylum enjoy special

legal regulations and therefore form a separate group. Yet, apart from their differentiation based on legal regulations, it can be stated that the system of approval is applied more restrictively towards migrants from low-income countries than towards those from high-income countries.

Even on the legal level, the privileged position of the foreigners from the EEC countries (freedom of movement and access to the labour market) is enhanced by various bilateral agreements of the countries involved with nations in Asia, Africa and South America (mainly based on colonial ties) and by the privileged handling of certain persons (i.e. foreigners with native/national origin, foreigners married to nationals, foreigners who are ascendants or descendants, nationals who can help these persons or nationals of these countries to easily receive a permanent residence or privileges within no time. Thus, not only do citizens of these countries achieve legal equality with EEC citizens but also they gain (not only by virtue of agreements on dual nationality) equality in fact.

With respect to irregular immigration, Spain and Italy endeavored to change significantly the status of the residing foreigners by legalization regulations. Yet, success was limited as a result of numerous administrative obstructions. In the authors' opinion, this endeavor should be repeated in order to put the factual residence of foreigners on a legal footing and to improve their social integration. But considerable objections from employers must be taken into account - they would lose the advantages irregular employment of foreigners offer.



Legal Regulations and Practice	Greece	Italy	Portugal	Spain <span style="float: right;">84</span>
<p>A Right of residence</p> <p>- Residence permits for citizens of EC states</p> <p>- Residence permits for citizens of non-EC states</p>	<p>Self-Employed persons and employees from EC countries have been granted freedom of movement since 1/1/1981 and 1/1/1988 respectively, and residence permits, valid from the start of employment or on the expiry of the 3- or 6-month tourist permit.</p> <p>Residence permit (for taking up employment) - only by an invitation issued by the prefecture.</p>	<p>According to art. 10.2 of the Italian Constitution, the legal position of foreigners in Italy is regulated by a law (legal reservation) conforming with the agreed regulations of international law and international treaties.</p> <p>As to citizens of the Community, the system of freedom of movement (EC regulation 1612/86) is applicable, and there is no need for a residence permit. A "residence card" is issued by the police authority of the community where the citizen of the EC wants to settle down; it is valid for 5 years and is automatically renewable. These regulations can only be altered on grounds of public order, public security or public health and the personal behaviour of an EC citizen.</p> <p>The legislation on entry and residence of foreigners from non-EC states is based on the Testi Unico (Law on Public Security) of 18/6/1931 and the implementing regulations of 1940 referring to it. According to these, the residence permit for dependent employees from non-EC states has been limited to 2 years since 1985, the residence permit for other purposes for all foreigners from non-EC states has been limited to 1 year (Ministerial Circular Regulation of 1985 and 1987 respectively).</p>	<p>The general regulations for entry, residence and exit of foreigners are laid down in Law 264-B/81 (as amended on 19/8/1982, including alterations and adaptations).</p> <p>The Portuguese Constitution rules in art. 15 that foreigners and stateless persons staying in Portugal or having their residence there, enjoy the same rights and duties as Portuguese nationals, with the exception of political rights, the exercise of public offices and the rights reserved to Portuguese nationals by the Constitution. Following the principle of reciprocity, this equal status is limited by art. 15.2 of the Civil Code, according to which foreigners are denied those rights which Portuguese are also denied in the respective countries.</p> <p>By Law 267/87, members of EC countries are automatically granted a residence permit (total validity: 10 years) on application, if they meet the following conditions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- employed persons having a job on 1/1/86, persons with a work permit and their family members get a residence permit for 5 years which is renewable;</li> <li>- persons practising employment for a period between 3 months and 1 year and coming to Portugal for a period of more than 3 months in order to offer or take up a service, as well as their family members, obtain a residence permit of limited validity. The validity corresponds to the intended period of employment or of the contract of labour.</li> </ul> <p>All foreigners intending to stay in Portugal must apply for a permanent residence permit 30 days before the provisional residence permit (business, tourist or transit visa) expires, unless they hold a permanent visa. Conditions for its granting are, apart from the proof of sufficient financial means for their livelihood, a practicable purpose for the stay and family bonds with residents, national</p>	<p>Since 1/1/86, there has been full freedom of movement for self-employed persons from EC countries; for dependent employees, this will not come into effect until the expiry of the transition period on 1/1/93. At present, EC citizens are granted residence permits when taking up a job or after a stay of 3 or 6 months as tourists (temporary residence).</p> <p>First residence permits <u>without</u> work permits (validity 3 months to 2 years) for foreigners, who have not been living on Spanish territory legally for at least 2 years; normal permits (valid for a maximum of 5 years) for foreigners wishing to establish a permanent residence in Spain, if they can prove their legal residence in the country for at least 2 years.</p> <p>In the application procedure, the applicant must prove sufficient means of livelihood, including health insurance and accommodation.</p>

Legal Regulations and Practice	Greece	Italy	Portugal	Spain <span style="float: right;">85</span>
<p>- Residence permits for citizens of non-EC states</p> <p>- Conventions (UNO, Council of Europe, ILO)</p> <p>- Bilateral agreements</p> <p>- Regulations for the stabilization of residence</p>	<p>UN Charter (1945), ILO Charter (1947), various ILO agreements (among them, nos. 17, 29, 42, 52, 95, 103, III, 112); ratification of the statutes of the Council of Europe (1949) and the agreement of the Council of Europe on individual freedom of movement (1960); ratification of the international agreement on economic, social and cultural rights (1985).</p> <p>Ratification of the European Convention on Extradition (1961)</p> <p>Residence and work permits can be granted on simplified conditions to foreigners of Greek origin, foreigners married to Greeks and members of the "Greek nation" (Cypriots, Greeks from Albania, Turkey and Egypt), Egyptians having been resident in Greece before 1981 (treaty with Egypt, 1982).</p> <p>No permanent residence without a residence permit issued by the Ministry of the Interior, first granted for 6 - 12 months and renewable.</p>		<p>or foreign. The permanent residence permit can be extended to the applicant's children under 14. There are 3 kinds of permanent residence permits:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Type A: first permit, validity 1 year, 5 times renewable for equal periods.</li> <li>- Type B: following permit, valid for 5 years, 3 times renewable for equal periods;</li> <li>- Type C: permanent permit, granted after 20 years of uninterrupted residence in Portugal and valid for life.</li> </ul> <p>UN Charter, ILO Charter, numerous ILO agreements (64 altogether); the agreement of the Council of Europe on individual freedom of movement (1957), European Convention on the legal status of migrant workers (1977), European Convention on deportation (1989), European Convention on human rights.</p> <p>Law 233/82 provided that, as far as the granting, maintenance and renewal of residence permits are concerned, all foreigners resident in Macao must be treated as if they had a permanent residence in Portugal, regardless of the actual existence of this residence.</p> <p>Between 1974 and 1979, Portugal signed numerous treaties regarding cooperation and friendship with Angola, the Cape Verde Islands, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique and Sao Tome and Principe (after the independence of these countries), granting free access to schooling and education, and in some cases (Cape Verde Islands, Guinea Bissau and Sao Tome) also to employed and self-employed work (with reservation).</p> <p>In general, nationals of countries with Portuguese as their official language can be granted rights by mutual agreement, which nationals of other countries are not entitled to. Access to the sovereign</p>	<p>UN Charter (1948), UNO treaties regarding Civil and Political Rights (ratified in 1977), ratification of the Statutes of the Council of Europe (1977) and the agreement of the Council of Europe on individual freedom of movement (1979), European Social Charter (1961, ratified in 1980), European Convention of Strasburg on the legal status of foreign workers (1977, ratified in 1980), various agreements of ILO (among them nos. 87, 97, 98, 117 and 135), ratification of the International Agreement on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1977).</p> <p>Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, the Dominican Republic and Venezuela on immigration and residence. If they have been living in Spain legally for at least 2 years, special residence permits (valid for a maximum of 10 years) can be granted to foreigners born in Spain, foreigners married to Spaniards, foreigners with Spanish ancestors or descendants, foreigners who have already held Spanish nationality once before, Portuguese, Philipinos, Andorrans, Equatorial Guineans and Sephards, persons born in Gibraltar, and nationals of a territory that used to be a Spanish protectorate.</p> <p>Foreigners, who can prove they have been living legally and permanently in Spain for 10 years, can also apply for the above-mentioned special residence permit.</p>

Legal Regulations and Practice	Greece	Italy	Portugal	Spain 86
<p>- Regulations for the stabilization of residence</p>			<p>organs of the state including the governments of the autonomous regions, service in the armed forces and Foreign Affairs are excepted.</p> <p>Special regulations for a permanent residence permit also apply to members of EC-countries (employees, holders of work permits and members of their families), who definitely want to settle in Portugal. On proof of sufficient financial security, a permanent residence permit (permanent visa) is issued.</p>	
<p>- Regulations for according equal status to EC citizens</p>			<p>With Law 126/72, a treaty between Brazil and Portugal was put into force guaranteeing equal rights and duties for Brazilians and Portuguese. According to this law, Brazilians with permanent residence in Portugal have the right to be active in the economy, to work without special permit and without limitation, to hold offices in governmental or social organisations without limitation and to acquire the ownership of property. For the exercise of political rights, the law prescribes residence in the respective country of a least 5 years.</p>	<p>Available by means of the regulation regarding dual nationality (see below).</p>
<p>- Control of entry and residence</p>	<p>Valid passport, identity card, special travel documents etc. must be presented on entry.</p>	<p>For administrative reasons (ease of entry with tourist visa) and for geographical reasons (borders which are easily penetrated), the control of residence is highly insufficient. Simple access and rare checks are the main reasons for Italy being more and more favoured by foreigners and refugees as a "terminus" or "transit country".</p>	<p>As a rule, a valid passport and a visa are required for a foreigner's entry into Portugal; their validity is checked at the frontier.</p>	<p>Passport or valid travel document; citizens of EC countries, Austria and Switzerland only needing an identity card. In addition, a health certificate (art. 12 of the Implementing Regulations of the Constitutional Law 7/1985 on the rights and liberties of foreigners in Spain), evidence of economic means (art. 11 of the Regulations) of 5.000 pts. per day + 50.000 pts. for a return ticket. On the order of the Minister of the Interior, evidence of sufficient means of livelihood is systematically demanded in Ceuta and Melilla, on the arrival of ships and planes from non-EC countries and from citizens of countries with a tendency towards illegal immigration. Systematic evidence is not required from EC nationals. After protests by some Latin-American states, this order is to be handled in a more flexible way in respect to Latin-Americans in the future.</p>

Legal Regulations and Practice	Greece	Italy	Portugal	Spain <span style="float: right;">87</span>
<p>- Compulsory visas</p>	<p>A visa specifying the length of stay is required for 73 states. Included in these states are mainly Asian (including the Near East, excluding Japan), African, East European states, Oceanic countries and the Caribbean Islands.</p>		<p>With the exception of citizens from EC countries, the signatory states of NATO, with whom Portugal has mutual agreements and certain groups of persons (crews of ships and planes, diplomats), visas are obligatory. No visas are required from persons having valid residence permits and coming from countries with whom Portugal has come to a reciprocal agreement.</p> <p>There are 3 different kinds of visa (those for diplomats, for special services and those issued by Portuguese consulates). The first 2 kinds of visa must be used within 60 days after issue and are valid for an equal period of residence. They are renewable twice, each time for a maximum of 60 days. Visas from consulates permit entry up to 120 days after issue; the validity can last from 4 days (transit visa) up to 1 year.</p> <p>The granting of visas and entry can depend on evidence of sufficient financial means or - for the majority of African and Asian states - on the deposit of a sum of money amounting to the price of a return ticket.</p>	<p>As a rule, all foreigners entering Spanish territory are obliged to hold a visa. There are exceptions for a stay of less than 90 days, ships' crews and refugees, and in addition, for citizens of more than 60 countries, with which Spain has reached agreements on the abolition of the visa; these include 19 Latin-American states, Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia. The agreements with the 3 last-mentioned countries are to be cancelled in 1989.</p> <p>Up to now, there have been the "tourist visa" and the "special visa" for obtaining the necessary residence and work permits (with a - renewable - validity of 90 days). According to new legislation concerning foreigners, distinctions are made between 22 different types of visa. In principle, a visa is earmarked for specific purposes, that is, it must only be used for the purpose given by the foreigner upon application. For the issue of a visa for a short stay only, possession of at least 100.000 pts. must be proved.</p>
<p>- Registration procedure</p>		<p>Foreigners are obliged to report to the public security authorities at their place of residence within 3 days of their entry into Italy, in order to show their papers and give a declaration of residence. The application having been examined, a receipt is issued, which is to be presented to the police on demand. In the case of change of residence, a new declaration of residence has to be made. The foreigner can be submitted to identity controls, if there are reasons for doubting his identity.</p>		<p>Responsibility for the granting of the first or normal visa lies with the civil governments. Special permits and those for refugees are granted by the General Direction of the Police.</p>
<p>- Legalisation</p>		<p>The legalisation procedure of Law 943/1986 was aimed at foreigners from non-EC countries looking for jobs or in employment. Legalisation had to be applied for by the workers themselves or their employers; its grant came with the acquisition of all the rights of a legal foreign worker and on amnesty for all breaches of the residence regulations.</p>		<p>The second transitory decree (V.O.) of the Law of Foreigners of 1985 allows the belated legalisation of illegal residence, if the foreigner or, possibly, his employer, applies for such a procedure and produces the required documents (labour contract) within a period of 6 months (single procedure of legalisation with 45.000 applications).</p>

Legal Regulations and Practice	Greece	Italy	Portugal	Spain 88
<p>- Legalisation</p> <p>- Deportation of Irregular migrants</p>	<p>Ratification of the European Convention on Deportation (1961).</p> <p>The Greek Constitution guarantees the sanctity of life, dignity and liberty of the individual, irrespective of his nationality or race. Deportation of foreigners because of activities as freedom fighters is forbidden. The Greek state has the right to deport any temporary or permanent foreign resident in Greece, even if his stay is guaranteed by bilateral agreements. Deportation must be justified (for reasons of security), and is not subject to judicial review.</p>	<p>The largest group of all "legalised foreigners" were those from North Africa (over 50 %); the second largest group were from the Philippines and states of the Middle East. In spite of being prolonged four times, the implementation of the law has not brought the expected result; firstly because of unwillingness to cooperate on the part of employers; secondly because of the lack of information about the law; and thirdly because of considerable distrust by irregular immigrants towards the authorities responsible for the procedure.</p> <p>For reasons of public security, on the order of the Minister of the Interior, after conviction by a court and breaches of residence laws, foreigners can be deported. "Without exception", foreigners without any means, practising prostitution, pretending pursuit of a profession or held for vagrancy or begging are to be refused entry at the border, or deported.</p> <p>Administrative or legal objections can be made against a deportation order.</p>	<p>Deportation of a foreigner is only possible by decree of court. In accordance with the terms of treaties and international conventions signed by Portugal, the following persons - among others - are deported: persons having entered illegally; persons not abiding by the Portuguese Law of Foreigners; offenders (depending on the period of residence) or persons whose presence/activities in the country constitute a threat to the interests or the dignity of the Portuguese state or its nationals.</p>	<p>20 % of the persons arrested on Spanish territory in recent years have been foreigners; about a third of them were deported. 85 % of the deportations were founded on the "absence of papers". This practice is in contrast to formal political statements, claiming that only persons who have offended against public security are to be deported.</p> <p>The residence permit can be annulled, if serious irregularities in the original application can be proved; as a result, the foreigner is deported, too.</p>
<p>B Rights of asylum</p> <p>- Legal regulations</p>	<p>The UN treaty of 1951 on refugees was signed by Greece with the proviso that political refugees are generally only granted a temporary stay. There are exceptions for Turks and, to a limited degree, for Albanians, Vietnamese, nationals of other socialist states, Iranians and Iraqis.</p>	<p>Right of asylum is granted according to art. 10 of the Italian Constitution. The Geneva Convention of 1951, however, was only ratified subject to a geographical reservation. With the exception of Chileans and Vietnamese, only refugees from East Europe are recognized.</p> <p>After entry, persons from Europe seeking asylum have to apply to police headquarters. To start their procedure of acceptance, they must submit their application for asylum. A committee with proportional representation examines the application and decides on its authorization; if it is granted, the refugee is theoretically on equal footing in status with Italian citizens, according to the Convention.</p>	<p>The right of asylum and refugee status are constitutional rights and are regulated in Law no. 38/80 (amended by Law no. 415/83). The right of asylum is granted to foreigners and stateless persons, who are persecuted or threatened with persecution in their home country or at their place of residence, because they stood up for democracy, social and national liberty, peace or human rights, who have reasonable fears of being persecuted because of their race, nationality, political opinion or affiliation to a particular social group; and who, because of these fears, cannot or do not want to return to their home country or their place of residence.</p>	<p>The legal status of refugees and persons applying for asylum is regulated by Law 5/84 and its implementing regulations (RB 511/1985). The legal character varies. The legal status of persons applying for asylum is based on a constitutional mandate (art. 13), the regulation of refugee status is based on an international obligation arising from the ratification of respective conventions. Applicants for political asylum in Spain must prove that they have been prosecuted, indicted or sentenced for political offences, racial, ethnic or religious reasons, or for affiliation to a particular social group. If asylum has been granted, the persons concerned must not be extradited; they are given travel and identification documents and a residence permit, and they are granted the right to carry out professional or commercial activities.</p>

Legal Regulations and Practice	Greece	Italy	Portugal	Spain <span style="float: right;">89</span>
<p>- Legal regulations</p> <p>- Conventions (UNO, Council of Europe</p> <p>- Refugee status</p> <p>- Transit refugees</p> <p>- Toleration</p>	<p>UN Convention of 1951, multilateral convention on the legal status of refugees of 1959; New York Supplementary Agreement on the legal status of refugees of 1967; ratification of the international convention on the status of stateless persons of 1954 (1975).</p> <p>Refugees are not granted fewer rights than other foreigners; a work permit is therefore actually out of the question for them, it being the condition for a foreigner's entry.</p> <p>In 1987/88, about a third of the applicants for asylum / refugees were settled in other countries with the help of Greek migration organizations.</p> <p>Political asylum or the refugee status under the UNHCR is awarded to almost a third of the applicants for asylum/refugees. Living costs are mainly financed by UNHCR. Paid work is tolerated, although the majority of applicants for asylum do not have a work permit.</p>	<p>Convention of 1951; New York Supplementary Agreement on the legal status of refugees, 1967.</p> <p>Refugees from other regions cannot apply for asylum to the Italian state but must apply instead to the UNHCR in Italy.</p> <p>Once classified as refugees, these persons are subject to the authority of the United Nations. The Italian state regards them as transient visitors and grants them the right to stay in Italy with a renewable residence permit until they emigrate to a state which accepts them for an indefinite period. Allocation to an (overcrowded) refugee camp until the granting of an entry visa for the destined country of asylum is possible.</p>	<p>Applicants for asylum are immediately given a provisional residence permit, valid for 120 days, renewable for periods of 30 days, until the final decision on the application is made.</p> <p>The granting of the right of asylum results in "refugee status", with all the rights and duties of a foreigner resident in Portugal.</p> <p>Portugal is a signatory state of the Geneva Convention of 1951 and the New York Supplementary Agreement of 1967.</p> <p>Moreover, asylum can be granted for humanitarian reasons, if a foreigner or a stateless person does not want to return to his home country, because his life is endangered by armed conflicts or the systematic violation of human rights. In the first two cases, the Portuguese administration only has the right to make a declaration; in the last case it is authorized to decide.</p> <p>If the application is refused, a provisional residence permit for a transitional period of a maximum of 60 days, is issued.</p>	<p>Geneva Convention of 1951 on the Status of Refugees, New York Supplementary Agreement on the Legal Status of Refugees of 1967, Ratification of the International Convention on the Status of Stateless Persons of 1954.</p> <p>Applications for refugee status are founded on justifiable fears of being persecuted because of race, religion, nationality, affiliation to a particular social group or because of a political opinion. The application is decided on by the Minister of the Interior; an objection may be lodged against the decision; in the case of a positive decision, the refugee is protected from extradition, is entitled to travel documents and can be granted residence and work permits regardless of the state of the Spanish labour market.</p> <p>In the case of a negative decision on his application for political asylum or for refugee status, the foreigner can, within 2 months, apply for a residence permit. This is granted according to the normal procedure.</p>

Legal Regulations and Practice	Greece	Italy	Portugal	Spain 89.1
<p>C Dual nationality/naturalization</p> <p>- Bilateral treaties</p> <p>- Naturalization</p>	<p>Foreigners or stateless persons can acquire Greek nationality only by birth on Greek national territory or, in the case of minors, if one of their parents is Greek.</p> <p>Adults can acquire Greek nationality by naturalization only. Persons of non-Greek origin are required to have been living in Greece for at least 8 years within the last 10 years or for the 3 years immediately preceding application without interruption. Naturalization is granted by a decision of the Minister for the Interior.</p>	<p>According to the law regarding the procedure for the acquisition of nationality, 13/6/1912, acquisition of Italian nationality, apart from by birth, is possible for foreigners who are a) married to an Italian national and have been resident in Italy for at least 6 months or have been married for at least 3 years (at the date of the application) b) born in Italy and individually applying for it up to the age of 18, c) naturalized.</p> <p>A foreigner over the age of majority can be granted the Italian nationality, if he has served the Italian state for at least 3 years, has been living in Italy without interruption for at least 5 years or if he has not exercised the right of option for the acquisition of the nationality and has been a legal resident in Italy for at least 6 months. In all cases, nationality is granted by decree of the President of the Republic.</p>	<p>Law no 37/87 made "ius sanguinis" the basic principle for nationality. Children with at least one Portuguese parent, born in Portugal or on territory under Portuguese administration or abroad (after registration of the birth in a Portuguese registry office); children born in Portugal of foreign parents who have been resident in Portugal for at least 6 years; and children without any other nationality, are considered native nationals.</p> <p>Minors or handicapped children, whose father or mother are granted Portuguese nationality or who are adopted by a Portuguese national, and spouses of Portuguese nationals can acquire Portuguese nationality on application or by declaration.</p> <p>Brazilians can acquire Portuguese nationality on the grounds of the "statute of general equality".</p> <p>Acquisition of nationality by application is not a legal claim. The conditions are: age of majority, moral and social qualifications, capability to earn one's own living, knowledge of the Portuguese language and residence in Portugal for 6 years.</p> <p>The last two conditions may be disregarded, if the applicant has already held Portuguese nationality before, if he is a descendent of a Portuguese national or a member of a community with Portuguese affiliation abroad.</p> <p>Moreover, Law no. 113/88 provides the possibility for persons who had lost Portuguese nationality because of decolonization, to be granted it or to retain it.</p>	<p>Spanish nationality is acquired by birth (art. 17 and 18 of the Civil Code); children of foreign parents are Spaniards by birth, too, if at least one parent was born in Spain. According to this legal position, it may be assumed that many of the Moslem inhabitants of Ceuta and Melilla hold Spanish nationality by birth without having claimed it so far.</p> <p>There are treaties on dual nationality, with a number of Latin-American countries (Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Dominican Republic, Argentina, Bolivia, Columbia, Chile, Ecuador, Paraguay and Peru). They provide for the acquisition of Spanish nationality, without loss of the original nationality. The treaty with Guatemala is the only one providing for privileged acquisition. All the other countries must follow the prescribed naturalization method (with shorter time limits).</p> <p>The acquisition of Spanish nationality by persons not Spaniards by birth is a derivative right; this means that they may be naturalized under certain conditions. Naturalization is always granted on application (without a legal claim), either by a certificate (as a result of individual circumstances) or because of actual residence. For this, the applicant must prove he has been legally resident in Spain for a continuous period of at least 10 years immediately before the application is made. For foreigners from Latin American states, the Philippines, Equatorial Guinea or Portugal, and for Sephards, residence for 2 years is sufficient. One year suffices for foreigners born on Spanish territory, foreigners born outside Spain as children of former Spanish nationals and foreigners married to Spaniards.</p>

## 2. EMPLOYMENT SITUATION AND EFFECTS

(52) The economic effects of the immigration from non-European countries to the Southern nations of the European Community were analyzed with special attention to the distribution of the migrants according to economic sectors. This was done with the following points also in mind: the shadow economy, the structure of employment according to the level of qualifications, the probable knock-on effects for individual national labour markets (over-supply of labour in one sphere spilling over into another) and different payment schemes. Moreover, the comparative analysis concentrated on the legal procedures for the employment of foreigners.

The practices on the issue of work permits and of an admission to the individual national labour markets show similarities with the law of residence: a work permit for self-employment or salaried work is preferably issued to nationals from EEC-countries and other industrialized countries (who additionally enjoy an employment priority guaranteed by law in Italy and Greece). In an almost identical situation to these people are those who due to their nationality - according to bilateral agreements or treaties - or to specific circumstances (foreigners of national origin, foreigners married to a national, foreigners with national relatives) are granted easy or privileged admission to the individual national labour markets. The third group of immigrants, those from so-called low-income countries have hardly any chance of entering the regular labour market. In general, the application for, and approval of residence and work permits are linked in all four countries. For those countries



demanding visas and practising invitation procedures, the application must be made before entry. This means that legal entry, with the purpose of employment, is not possible without a prior work permit. Since this approval is only given in the case of non-availability of national manpower, or to workers from EEC countries (Greece and Italy), or according to the demands and possibilities of the national labour market (Spain), the tendency for illegal residence by immigrants from non-European countries is already in existence by virtue of the law and legal practice.

The right to social security benefits under the individual national social security systems is primarily linked with proof of a legitimate right to work (work permit). Contributions and payments of benefits are the same as for the individual national worker. Illegally-employed foreigners do not enjoy any benefit (in the case of accident or invalidity), and in general cannot benefit from the individual national health systems.

- (53) This trichotomy can be found in the structure of employment and wages granted to foreigners. The first group are the highly-qualified experts and skilled workers (university graduates, technicians, engineers, top employees, directors, administrative experts) mainly from EEC countries and other industrialized countries. They are experienced in high-tech industrial sectors, in the modern services sector and in research and development. Their payment is equal to that of national experts and skilled workers with the same qualifications. A second group are the less or unskilled workers who are mainly employed in trade, hotel and restaurant work, and tourism, in other service sectors, and as helpers

in industry and agriculture. They come from non-European countries (excluding the industrialized countries), and they are, despite legal employment and the legal principle of equal treatment, paid less than a qualified national. The majority of this group, however, works, also in addition to their legal employment, in the shadow economy. Finally, the third group are the illegally-employed (those without work permit). They come from non-European countries which have an income far below that of the receiving country. They work mainly as seasonal workers, as unskilled workers and auxiliaries in industry, in the lower-paid service sector as domestics and as self-employed traders and street vendors. Their earnings are far lower than those of the national worker (below the legally defined minimum wage), and moreover, the regulations on benefits and working hours according to and outside collective agreements cannot be invoked.

All in all, this differentiation of employment and payment structures justifies the conclusion that the social separation lines are not merely determined by the factor "qualified/non-qualified work", or by the factor "migration from industrialized country/non-European country", but by a combination of these factors. Qualified foreign workers from industrialized countries are, as to their social and occupational standing, the absolute equals of the comparable national groups. The majority of the qualified immigrants from non-European countries, however, drop to a lower social and occupational standing. As to unskilled or non-qualified foreigners, the region of origin is not a relevant differentiation criterion for the comparison with qualified nationals: on the contrary, only a slight

inferiority can be observed here. The group of illegally-employed, however, share a common standing independent of their region of origin and qualification, which lies far below that of a comparable national worker.

- (54) All the groups just outlined are in high demand due to the specific conditions of the individual national labour markets or the recently developed economic structure. The economic causes for the employment of foreigners therefore reflect the fact that national labour reservoirs do not meet the demands for highly-qualified workers. On the other hand, despite an existing potential of unqualified workers on respective national labour markets, there is still a demand for unqualified staff as a result of various political factors existing in specific labour markets. For example, there may be little room for mobility, social improvement or flexibility (caused by the splitting of sectoral and regional labour markets) in certain jobs and occupations. Furthermore, the improvement in social security for jobholders (i.e. insurance in the case of unemployment) as a result of the adoption of EEC norms, and the various existing possibilities becoming self-employed, have fostered the attitude that it is not necessary to take any job which offers itself. Parallel to this development, the employers take a quite clear position in employing illegal immigrants in order to avoid higher ancillary wage costs.

Considering the overall economic effects of the employment of foreigners, a definite parallelism can be observed between the various sectors of the respective production systems as well as the labour markets which have been divided according to qualification significances, and the previously determined groups of

foreigners. The financially and technologically advanced middle-sized companies and large enterprises (trade, industry, modern services sector) are still in need of unqualified manpower. The foreign workers can be wholly integrated into this sector and thus contribute to the further development of this economic sector (growth effect).

In the peripheral sector of traditional enterprises and small-scale companies (in trade, industry, handicrafts and traditional services sector) the foreign workers have a "substitute function" which means that they compensate for malfunctions in the respective national labour markets. They may fill the gaps where there is a special need for labour at certain times or in certain places (the labour market flexibility effect) or as a result in peaks in demand (labour market additional effect). Finally in the marginal sector (consisting of small-scale agricultural companies, small-scale handicraft and service companies (e.g. bazaars and street vending), the foreign workers are in fact competing with the nationals. The massive presence of foreign workers in this sector produces not only intensified competition but also slows down the development of wages (effect on wages) and favours the growth of the shadow economy (structural effect). The consequence is that the (mainly illegal) employment of unskilled foreigners hinders the substitution of work by capital, serves to preserve poor economic efficiency in this sector, and thus hampers the development of productivity and technological change (blocking effect).

Seen in this light, the illegal status of foreign workers cannot be considered as a transitional step in their future legal incorporation into society where they would enjoy equality of opportunity in the peripheral or modern sectors of the labour market.



Labour Situation and Economic Effects	Greece	Italy	Portugal	Spain 96
<p>- Bilateral treaties</p> <p>- Regulations for remittances/transfers of money</p> <p>- Sanctions against illegal employment</p>	<p>Such treaties have been signed with the Philippines and Egypt; they include the settlement of minimum wages, transfer of currency and payments for medical care.</p> <p>Employers of foreigners without work permits are sentenced to 3 months' imprisonment, a fine and the payment of the costs for the deportation of the foreigner. In case of recurrence, fines are increased.</p>	<p>There are also special regulations concerning access to the labour market for former Italian nationals naturalized in other countries, Swiss and citizens of San Marino.</p> <p>There are no data about remittances of immigrants because they hardly ever go through official channels (banks), but are made privately and directly. Frontier commuters and seasonal workers (Tunisians in Sicily) mainly export goods into their countries of origin where they sell them.</p>	<p>Citizens of Brazil, Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde are treated like Portuguese with regard to labour legislation and social security. The respective work contracts are not registered; neither are they taken into consideration in the 10 % quota. For their entry, however, citizens of these countries (with the exception of Brazil) need a document issued by the Minister of Labour providing evidence of a place of work.</p>	<p>Foreigners from Latin-American states, Portugal, The Philippines, Andorra and Equatorial Guinea are granted work permits in the categories A - D with priority over other foreigners.</p> <p>Spanish companies or private persons employing a foreigner illegally can expect fines ranging from 50,000 to 15,000,000 pts.</p>
<p>B Social Security</p> <p>- Social insurance pension fund</p>	<p>It is compulsory for employers that all foreigners legally employed in Greece are included in the Greek system of social insurance. Greece has signed bilateral agreements on social security with a number of states; among them France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Sweden, Cyprus, Libya, Australia, Norway, Egypt and Austria.</p>		<p>The mandatory regulation in the Portuguese Constitution concerning equality in status (art. 15) includes the right to education, the right to social security, the right to health and the right to a domicile.</p> <p>Foreigners legally employed in Portugal have the same rights and duties as Portuguese employees as far as membership, contributions and their claims to the benefits of the social insurance pension fund are concerned.</p>	<p>Foreigners with residence and work permits are put on an equal footing with Spaniards. They are obliged to become members of the social insurance system, pay contributions and enjoy benefits under the same conditions as Spanish employees.</p> <p>Article 7 of the General Law of Social Security in Spain establishes absolute equality between Spanish and Latin-American, Portuguese, Andorran, Brazilian and Philippine employees regarding the determination of claims in the country of origin, on condition that the foreigners are legal residents on Spanish territory. As for citizens of other states, their equal status depends on agreements and treaties on questions of social security signed and ratified by Spain (Latin-American Convention on social security, 1978, ratified in 1982).</p>

Labour Situation and Economic Effects	Greece	Italy	Portugal	Spain <span style="float: right;">97</span>
<p>- Health insurance</p> <p>- Consequences of unemployment, illness and accident under the residence laws</p> <p>- Payment</p> <p>- Rules for regular employment</p>	<p>In the first 2 months after the start of employment, health insurance costs are to be paid by the employer.</p> <p>According to ratified ILO conventions, there should - de jure - be no differences between the remuneration of Greeks and foreigners (ILO Convention 111 and 112). De facto, there are differences in wages, according to qualifications and lines of business (compare C). Several bilateral treaties contain agreements on minimum wages (\$ US 400), which are often, however, not observed.</p> <p>Dependent on the line of business, foreigners with a work permit in some cases earn about 50 % less than Greeks. Differences in income can be enormous in the services sector; in industry and agriculture they are marginal; and in the building trade foreigners' wages are about 25 % below those of Greeks.</p>	<p>On application, foreigners resident in Italy can claim the services of the national health service like nationals (Law no. 833). Law 33/1980 defines the formalities and the amount of contributions for foreigners who apply for the benefit of the national health service. Foreigners staying in Italy temporarily can claim urgent hospital treatment in cases of sickness, accident or maternity only at their own expense.</p> <p>An interruption of employment (by dismissal), or a discontinuation or change of employment are not reasons for revoking a non-EC employee's residence permit.</p> <p>According to the provisions of Law no. 943/86 (not put into practice), foreign employees must not be discriminated against, either with regard to their working conditions or their payment. De facto, this equal treatment has only been achieved among highly-qualified regular employees and among immigrants working in industry or on the basis of contractual wages. In the same way, comparatively high wages are paid in the sector of domestic work because of demand exceeding supply.</p>	<p>Foreigners and their family members legally resident in Portugal, are granted access to all institutions and benefits of the Public Health Service under the same conditions as Portuguese nationals.</p> <p>There is no legal protection for irregular foreigners in the sectors of public health service, social security, education and accommodation. Frequently, however, the administration is open-minded and tolerant. Thus, social services do not insist upon evidence of regular residence, which is required for registration (but employers do not notify their employees of this), and irregular persons are often accepted and treated by hospitals, although they have no access to social and medical services.</p> <p>In foreign firms, which usually employ a great number of foreigners, from EC and non-EC states, resident in Portugal, the level of payment may be higher than in Portuguese firms.</p> <p>The wages of legal immigrants do, on the whole, not differ very much from those of Portuguese workers. But they are very often found working in sectors having economic difficulties, or in small firms paying below average wages.</p>	<p>Irregular foreigners have no legal claim to the Spanish social insurance system; neither are they granted certificates of ill health by the municipal welfare institutions. Therefore, they can only acquire membership of private health insurance (without a legal claim).</p> <p>In the case of voluntary or involuntary unemployment (by notice, dismissal or closing down of a business), residence permits (of all categories) expire automatically; deportation takes place after a 2-month-period of grace.</p> <p>The law (Royal Decree 1119/86) lays down equal treatment for foreigners legally employed, with respect to pay and other working conditions. In particular, minimum wages determined for the different types of business and kinds of occupation must be maintained. De facto, the average monthly net income per employee is slightly higher among foreigners than the minimum wages of all occupational categories (1986: 41,000 pts.), but it only amounts to half the average income in Spain. With regard to kinds of occupation, it is, above all, unskilled workers and domestic servants who earn 86 % less than the legal minimum wages.</p>



Labour Situation and Economic Effects	Greece	Italy	Portugal	Spain 98
<p>- Rules for irregular employment (wage level)</p> <p>C Economic effects of the employment of foreigners</p> <p>- Filling vacancies with qualified workers</p> <p>- Filling sectoral employment vacancies</p>	<p>Compared with Greeks and foreigners with a work permit, the wages and salaries of irregular workers are distinctly lower; unskilled workers may earn up to two-thirds less, and in the building sector up to 50 % less than the pay for regular work.</p> <p>Because of a particular demand in the Greek national economy for qualified workers, highly-qualified experts and specialists (engineers, foreign language teachers, experts) are granted work permits without any difficulty. The percentage of scientists and experts among legal foreigners is 20 - 22 %.</p> <p>The shortage of unskilled workers (of whom 25 % are foreigners) can be explained by the labour-intensive nature of work in agriculture and the building industry, the structure of enterprises (small and family enterprises), the importance of tourism (25 % of the workforce are foreigners) and the merchant navy. General industry, the building industry and craft professions employ about 30 % of the foreigners.</p>	<p>With the exception of immigrants working in industrial enterprises and in the domestic service sector (where, because of demand exceeding supply, higher wages are paid) very low incomes are found in all other sectors; above all for irregular and seasonal work in agriculture, employment which is not declared to the social security authorities in small trade and service businesses and where unemployment is concealed by "free-lance" activities in the service sector.</p> <p>It is above all in the modern sector (industry, modern service sector, research and development), that demands for labour cannot be satisfied by the national supply of workers. This lack of manpower is overcome by the "import" of highly-qualified specialists (engineers, technicians, scientists) mainly from economically and technically advanced countries (Eastern Europe, USA, Japan). Moreover, there is an employment shortage in the labour-intensive and greatly-subdivided conventional commercial sector (where foreigners are employed as substitutes). However, the most widely-spread professional qualification is that of the "unskilled labourer" (25 % of all legalized foreigners), followed by domestic servants (20.6 %), temporary workers (8.6 %), administrative employees (5.5 %) and agricultural labourers (4.9 %).</p> <p>In 1987 79.1 % of all foreign workers were employed in the service sector, followed (in this order) by agriculture, fisheries, the building trade and industry.</p> <p>In the "domestic servants" sector, immigrants from the Philippines, the Cape Verde Islands, Sri Lanka, Eritrea, the Caribbean and El Salvador are represented in great numbers. Most of them are regular and legalized female workers. In agriculture (Campagna, Puglia), mostly irregular immigrants from Africa are employed. In fisheries, too, with a strong concentration in Sicily, North Africans</p>	<p>Irregular persons find themselves in a very unfavourable situation. They have no legal protection, no right to demand a wage increase or job security, and they have to accept great differences in pay. There are whole networks of touts passing on jobs which have very bad conditions.</p> <p>Within the group of European immigrants, managing directors (16 %), managers and highly qualified top executives (21 %), technicians (10 %) and workers (20 %) are predominant. Among immigrants from African states with Portuguese as their official language, the number of non-qualified workers amounts to 84 %; immigrants from the Cape Verdes (92 %), Guinea (64 %) and Angola (54 %) having particularly large shares.</p> <p>With regard to immigrants from former emigration countries, the large share of unskilled workers from Canada is striking. In the cases of Brazil and Venezuela, unskilled workers or workers with just an average qualification are predominant. Recently, however, immigrants from Brazil have tended to hold higher average qualifications (doctors, dentists, architects, lawyers).</p> <p>30 % of the foreigners living in Portugal are employed in the building trade, 30 % in the services industry, 21 % in trade, 16 % in industry and 3 % in agriculture. As to the different nationalities, there is a clear predominance of African countries with Portuguese as the official language in the sector of the building trade; of European countries in the sectors of trade and industry; and of Venezuelan, American and Canadian immigrants in agriculture.</p> <p>At present, the sectors absorbing the greatest share of unskilled workers are in a favourable economic situation, with pros-</p>	<p>According to the IOE Inquiry, the average wages of irregular foreigners were 35 % below those of legal foreigners in Spain. In trade, there are great differences between the self-employed and dependent employees (80 % of tradesmen work on their own account, more than half without any private or legal security); the net wages of domestic servants are 86 % below the Spanish minimum wage, and only a small group of them are registered with the social insurance system; a third of unskilled labourers in agriculture and industry call themselves casual workers, 37 % work as day labourers, 16 % suffer extreme poverty.</p> <p>Immigrants from the EC and other industrialized countries are mainly to be found in higher category professions (academic professions, technicians, higher officials and Civil Servants, managing directors, administrative officers) - altogether 32.4 % of immigrants from these countries fall into these categories. Only 7 % of those from non-EC countries are qualified workers, and only 6 % are in the category of the higher technical or academic professions.</p> <p>A total of 53 % of the working immigrants from non-EC countries (disregarding industrialized countries) are occupied in trade, as domestic servants or unskilled labourers; 61 % of work permits in agriculture are held by African immigrants.</p>

Labour Situation and Economic Effects	Greece	Italy	Portugal	Spain 99
- Filling sectoral employment vacancies		are employed above all (almost 50 % of their total number being Tunisians). An increasing number of foreign workers are employed in the building trade and in industry, above all Egyptians, Eritreans, Senegalese, Moroccans and Chinese.	pects of expansion; like the building industry, the services industry and, for some reason, trade, too. Special attention should be drawn to the building industry with its often precarious working connections and bad working conditions. In this sector, work about half the employees from the Cape Verde Islands (48 %), about 35 % of the employees from Sao Tome, and between 12 and 9 % of the employees from Angola, Guinea and Mozambique.	Mainly unskilled work in agriculture.
- Filling seasonal employment vacancies	The home market is too badly organized to direct the mobility of workers for seasonal activities (agriculture, tourism) and for casual jobs (building trade) in a satisfactory way, thus causing an acute seasonal shortage of workers.	The employment of irregular immigrants as seasonal workers is predominant in agriculture and in trades with temporary employment peaks ( building industry, touristic service industry).		
- Illegal employment	Employers' reasons for illegal employment are the wish to avoid the formalities of legal employment, save contributions for social insurance (16 % of the wages, in the building trade over 40 %) and to pay lower wages and salaries.	Immigrant workers are greatly in demand for the shadow economy. Apart from agriculture, the building industry and fisheries, it is mainly the service sectors that absorb the supply of labour. They include itinerant trade, hotel and catering trade, street-hawking, tourism and various services connected with people. In proportion to the active Italian population, the percentage of active regular foreigners amounted to 0.4 % in 1987, the amount of irregular foreigners being about 2.5 %.	Among the irregular immigrants, the vast majority of men work in the building industry, women in private households. On the whole, two groups have to be taken into consideration. The majority come from African countries with Portuguese as the official language; the others originate mainly from Brazil, India and Pakistan.	Only about 25 % of the employed immigrants from non-EC countries (industrialized countries apart) are employed formally/regularly. The rest work in the shadow economy or pursue an illegal occupation (without social insurance).
- Other criteria	In spite of good pay, unskilled work is not sought after by Greeks, due to a lack of social prestige or of professional development (domestic services, seasonal labour, casual jobs in the building trade, unskilled labour). Other unskilled and skilled jobs are avoided because working conditions are too hard. Almost all persons looking for work draw unemployment benefits. Family members who do not have an income of their own can still be supported because family solidarity remains intact.	The rigid system of employment agencies and the lack of flexibility on the labour market, as well as the powerful role of the shadow economy (double income, youth labour, home-work done by housewives and pensioners, occasional jobs done by the unemployed) promote the irregular employment of foreigners, too.	According to an inquiry by the Ministry of Labour (1987), 23.1 % of persons employed in Italy were irregular workers; foreign workers represented 13.5 % of irregular employees.	As far as the illegal immigrants from these countries of origin are concerned, their share of the regular labour market amounts to an estimated 1.2 % (compared to the share of the regular immigrants: 0.3 %), and the share of the shadow economy is 5 %.
		Moreover, a number of activities are not accepted by the native workers under existing conditions (e. g. work as a domestic servant).	For a considerable number of immigrants (both regular and irregular) a job in the shadow economy, particularly in the services sector (itinerant trade, domestic services, smaller jobs in family businesses), offers the only possibility of surviving in otherwise bad living conditions.	A great number of foreigners work in precisely those jobs which the Spanish do not seek or accept because of the degree of exploitation and hard working conditions.
				Foreigners from countries poorer than Spain, in particular foreigners employed illegally, form a labour reserve for sectors of temporary or casual employment (agriculture, periods of overproduction in various branches of industry) and for sectors where Spanish workers are hard to find (domestic service, mining, etc.). For 40 % of the foreigners from countries poorer than Spain, immigration means a descent in both social and professional terms.
				The following occupations are predominantly practised: domestic servants, street traders, agricultural and industrial unskilled labourers.

### 3. SOCIAL INTEGRATION AND DEMOGRAPHIC EFFECTS

(55) Owing to the increasing and more noticeable number of immigrants into the Southern nations of the EEC, firm data on the living conditions of the migrants (their residential and social situation), family reunification and their participation in education and vocational training are hardly existent. The same can also be said of the data on the demographic structure of the immigrants (age structure, division female/male, family structure). Nevertheless, the country reports (by virtue of the results of their investigations and inquiries, their interpretations draw a detailed overall picture of the situation of the foreigners with a special emphasis on their social integration. They once again clearly show the often mentioned trichotomy which exists within the foreigners and migrants in the countries involved.

As to demographic structures, the general statement can be made that those involved consist mainly of young women and men under 40 from non-European countries migrating alone (apart from specific national deviations). Where there is a comparison of age and family structures according to continents foreigners from Africa, Asia and South America - in all immigration countries - dominate the category of singles/those living alone and constitute the highest proportion of those under 40. In contrast immigrants from European countries and North America dominate the category of those who are married/married with family and are spread equally in all age groups (as far as data exist).

It can be concluded that the regular, and even more so the irregular, migration from non-European countries is actually a labour migration whereby the migrants satisfy the relevant country's economic requirements and, from their own point of view, earn enough to support their family back home. This polarization of the immigration flows to the Southern member countries of the EEC is accompanied and enforced by a rather restrictive policy on family reunification. The precondition that one must hold a legal residence and work permit (taking the meager success of legalization into consideration) prevents the majority of foreign immigrants coming from non-European countries from leading a normal family life and leaves them no chance of establishing a social life. These legal requirements have a similar effect on educational and vocational training, financial benefits and on the unrestricted and equal access to government aid for residential building programmes. These factors lead to social isolation and deprivation amongst irregular immigrants.

- (56) Therefore, it is small wonder that the trichotomy between the immigrant population is also reflected in the social integration, educational and residential situation. Highly-qualified foreigners (mainly from EEC countries and other industrialized countries) live in general in a settled family environment after reunification with the family or family relatives, inhabit better residential areas or own property; and have unrestricted and in some cases even privileged access to government education, health and social security systems. Their quality of life is comparable to that of nationals in similar jobs/on a similar

social level. The group of less or non-qualified immigrants (who are the majority of regular migrants from non-European countries) are in general in unsatisfactory or rather inferior residential accommodation (at quite high rents). Those statistics that are available show that the admission rates to school and the graduation rates from higher education are far below those of nationals; and that the standard of living is inferior to that of nationals with similar jobs or on a similar social level.

The family situation of irregular foreigners is hampered mainly by the fact of their being illegal. Their social situation is characterized by inferior residential accommodation (in this case, partly comparable to refugees), non-existent social and health insurance, no legal admission to educational and vocational training systems, and a standard of living which is often below poverty-level. These factors enforce social isolation and alienation from the countries' own nationals. This leaves the foreign population open not only to criminal delinquency but also to recruitment by organized crime (with the danger of them becoming a so-called "reserve army of criminals").

In all four receiving countries various charity organizations of the Church and the trade unions and a large number of national or ethnic clubs for foreigners and self-help groups try to fight these dangers and also the resultant tendency towards xenophobia by means of direct integration support, public relations and the call for adequate legislation or legalization procedures.

Social Integration and Demographic Effects	Greece	Italy	Portugal	Spain 103
<p>A Situation of the family - Demographic structure</p> <p>- Regulations for the reunification / later arrival of families</p>	<p>Only 15 - 20 % of foreigners, most of them from developed countries, are resident in the country, together with their families. There is a relatively large number of families among the refugees (Poles).</p> <p>The vast majority of foreigners are young men and women aged up to 40, having immigrated without their families. About 75 % of all foreigners with a residence permit are under 40, about 40 % are married. Around 13 % of foreigners of non-Greek origin with a residence permit are under 18.</p> <p>There is no special regulations concerning a family's later arrival. The work permit is not a guarantee. Administrative practice is rather restrictive, but it is claimed that only a small number of immigrants want their families to follow them.</p>	<p>The majority of both the foreigners with residence permits and the irregular immigrants are single persons, either unmarried or married without a family. The immigration of the complete family is prevalent where emigration is not caused by economic reasons, but is caused by political, religious or ethnic persecution or by war, even without recognition of refugee status of the person concerned (emigration from Sri Lanka and Eritrea).</p> <p>As far as foreign residents in Italy are concerned, the data of the Census of 1981 show an even balance between men and women and between the age groups. A clear difference, however, can be noticed with regard to ethnic groups and the countries of origin. Among North Africans, men are predominant, whereas women prevail among the immigrants from African islands (Cape Verde Islands, Mauritius), from the West Indies, the Philippines and some Latin-American countries.</p> <p>Immigrants are mainly young people at employable age; among legalized foreigners, the age group up to 29 years amounts to almost 50 %. This percentage is confirmed by estimates on illegal foreigners, too.</p> <p>Local inquiries show a slightly greater subdivision in the age structure of North Africans, there being a relatively higher percentage of older people.</p> <p>According to Law 943/1986, after a year's legal residence an employed person usually has the right to be joined by his spouse and his dependent, unmarried children and to be granted work permits for these family members.</p>	<p>65 % of the foreigners resident in Portugal live together with their families (often including unmarried children), 14 % together with their spouses, 8 % in flats with 3 or more nuclear families, and 9 % live alone.</p> <p>On the whole, immigration from countries known to be preferred destinations for Portuguese emigration (Venezuela, France, Canada and South Africa) is distinctly characterized by complete family units returning home, whereas there is an above-average percentage of single persons among immigrants from EC countries (especially the Federal Republic, Spain and Great Britain), other European countries, Brazil and the USA. The figures concerning African countries with Portuguese as the official language hardly differ from the average, whereas the high rate of single immigrants from the Cape Verdes and Guinea Bissau does stand out.</p> <p>With regard to the age structure of European immigrants, there are high percentages of older persons among the Spanish and the British, whereas France, the Netherlands and the Federal Republic have a comparably younger age structure. Immigration from the African countries with Portuguese as the official language, however, chiefly concerns younger age groups, dominated by 15- to 39-year-old persons, who make up 70 % of immigrants from practically all the countries concerned.</p> <p>Additionally, among immigration of this origin, there is a large surplus of men (rate of men: 1.52).</p> <p>The target countries for Portuguese emigration (Brazil, Venezuela, the USA, Canada) show only a slight surplus of men; with respect to their age structure, again, the group of 15- to 39-year-old persons outnumbers the others.</p>	<p>Neither statistics nor a register record data concerning the foreigners' marital status and family structure. According to the IOE Inquiry, the average size of immigrants' families totals 2.7 persons, which is considerably below the Spanish average (3.7 persons). This figure indicates a high share of single people and married couples without a family, especially as the number of children among Moroccans, Equatorial-Guineans, Chinese, Indians, Mexicans and Venezuelans exceeds the Spanish average by 5 points, according to other surveys.</p> <p>According to the Register of 1986, only 17 % of EC-immigrants are younger than 18; but 29 % of the Africans and 22 % of the Latin-Americans and Asians. These figures reveal a tendency towards higher demographic increase among non-EC immigrants, all the more obvious when considered in relation to the decrease in the Spanish birth rate (tendency towards stagnation).</p> <p>According to the Register of 1986, there is a higher proportion of women than of men; a particularly high proportion of men among Central-Africans (65 %), Greeks (63 %), Chinese (59 %) and Italians (57 %); a particularly high proportion of women among immigrants from the Philippines (77 %), the Dominican Republic (77 %), Columbia (60 %) and France (58 %). According to the IOE Inquiry, the proportion of men is higher than that of women, because more attention is being paid to illegal immigrants, who are more often men than women. In particular, there is a predominance of men among immigrants from Black Africa and of women in the case of the Philippines.</p> <p>Family reunification enjoys preferential treatment. Above all, preferential and fast treatment is granted to the applications for visa, work and residence permits of persons intending to join a family member living in Spain (Royal Decree 1119/86). The following are considered as</p>

Social Integration and Demographic Effects	Greece	Italy	Portugal	Spain 104
<p>- Regulations for the reunification/ later arrival of families</p> <p>- Housing situation</p> <p>- Regulation of the housing market</p>	<p>No uniform housing conditions for foreigners, but clear distinctions according to status and income. A few of the immigrants (domestic servants, seasonal and casual labourers in agriculture and in the building trade) are given accommodation by their employers. Very high rents compared to wages (a third of the monthly income of unskilled immigrants), and limited housing space because of increasing demand, force even legal foreign employees to live in unsatisfactory conditions. Thousands of foreigners and the majority of refugees live in cheap hotels and ramshackle buildings in the centres of Athens and Piräus.</p> <p>Free housing market, seasonal shortage of housing because of tourists and students; prejudice against foreigners is widespread, leading to clearly excessive rents.</p>	<p>Especially in big cities, the housing problem is a serious aspect of immigration, the only people not affected being female immigrants working as domestic servants (accommodation in their employers' households). Above all, immigrants from non-EC countries have only limited economic means at their disposal or, because of their irregular status, do not have the chance of signing regular contracts. They are forced to accept speculative prices demanded by landlords, and sometimes they have to pay exorbitant rents for flats that are ramshackle, situated on the city outskirts or in run-down districts of the city centres, or they must live in overcrowded, communal residential homes. The difficult housing situation encourages feelings of insecurity, of isolation and of being expelled, preventing or delaying their social integration.</p> <p>Immigrants are not entitled to the allocation of a publicly - financed flat (Decree 1035/1972); only in exceptional cases and on the basis of regional, special regulations, according to the principle of reciprocity, is an allocation possible. The purchase of property, too, is possible under these conditions. However, as this principle is not applied very rigidly, a great number of foreigners have bought freehold flats in Italy.</p>	<p>There are no specific regulations concerning the question of family reunification. It is, however, facilitated by family bonds being taken into consideration for the granting of a residence permit. Abroad, family members of a foreigner holding a residence permit can be also granted a residence permit on application. There is no legal definition of the term "family member".</p> <p>Of the entire foreign population resident in Portugal, 90 % live in classical accommodation (one-family houses, flats, country houses and the like), about 6 % in mobile homes (caravans, tents, boats and the like), about 2 % in ramshackle houses or very plain wooden huts, and another 2 % in mass accommodation (hotels, boarding-houses, residential homes and the like). Distinguishing between different nations, while still classifying accommodation in the same way, we can discern a distinctly good housing situation among immigrants from Venezuela, the USA, South Africa, Brazil and from European and other American states. High proportions of mobile or ramshackle accommodation are, above all, to be found among immigrants from the African countries with Portuguese as the official language (in particular, Cape Verdians).</p> <p>In their first year of regular residence in Portugal (counted from the date of issue of the permanent residence permit), foreigners are not entitled to purchase a house or a flat, unless the Bank of Portugal gives consent. Later, there are no restrictions. There are considerable numbers of freeholders among immigrants from Venezuela, Canada, France, South Africa and the USA (between 90 and 70 %, as compared to an average of 56 %). On the other hand, less than half the nationals of African countries with Portuguese as the official language, and only a third of the Spaniards are proprietors of their own accommodation, 45 % being tenants and 10 % living in lodgings left to them.</p>	<p>family members: spouse of a Spaniard or a foreigner resident in Spain, minors under 18; those of the age of majority dependent legally/economically on a Spaniard or a foreigner resident in Spain; minors or handicapped persons, whose legal guardian is a Spaniard or a foreign resident in Spain, and foreigners over 65, whose children are Spaniards or foreigners resident in Spain. The periods of legal residence in Spain required from nationals of European countries (with the exception of the FRG, Cyprus and Malta), Latin-American countries, Australia, Canada, the USA, Israel, Japan and Equatorial-Guinea differ from those required from the other remaining states.</p> <p>There is a wide spectrum of accommodation, ranging from housing of an average quality for Latin-Americans, Portuguese and Asians, to housing of bad quality for Moroccans and Central-Africans. Legal immigrants live in much better conditions than illegal ones.</p> <p>There is, with regard to financing, economic and tax privileges and access possibilities, unrestricted access to property or participation in house-building publicly-assisted by the Spanish State and the Autonomous Governments (Royal Decree 2960/76).</p>

Social Integration and Demographic Effects	Greece	Italy	Portugal	Spain 105
<p>B Schools and further education</p> <p>- Participation in the school system</p> <p>- Participation in the professional education system</p> <p>- Support for participation</p>	<p>According to art. 16 of the Greek Constitution, all permanent foreign residents with a good knowledge of the Greek language are granted free access to all levels of education. There are 15 foreign secondary and 4 foreign primary schools with a Greek educational programme; 10 more foreign schools with a foreign curriculum.</p> <p>National scholarships are reserved to Greeks. Greece has, however, signed special agreements on programmes for students with a number of socialist and non-EC states (Egypt, Libya, Poland, Hungary and France).</p>	<p>Registration at schools for primary and secondary education depends on the parents' residence permits.</p> <p>No data exist at all regarding the level of education. According to local inquiries and estimates, the highest level of education is to be found among immigrants from the Philippines, the Middle East, Sri Lankans, Ghanaians and Latin-Americans. Tunisians have an average level of education; immigrants from San Salvador, Morocco, the Cape Verde Islands and Eritrea a low one. Several regional and local inquiries confirm the picture of a polarized level of education: large proportions of highly-qualified persons contrast with an equally high percentage of foreigners, who have scarcely attended school at all.</p> <p>Registration for courses of vocational training is not generally controlled, but may be included in the different decrees passed at regional level.</p> <p>Law 943/86 guarantees all foreigners from non-EC states the right to education. In particular, they are granted access to vocational training courses in Italy.</p>	<p>Regular foreign residents in Portugal have unrestricted access to primary and secondary school education. There are no special examinations; applicants for secondary schools have to prove that they have completed the required primary school education in their country of origin.</p> <p>The average educational level is low. 72 % have only completed up to 4 school years, 48 % have not completed any education at all, and 21 % are illiterate.</p> <p>80 % of the immigrants from Portuguese-speaking African countries have, at the most, completed 4 school years (including immigrants from the Republic of South Africa). As to the other African countries, the percentage only amounts to 68 %, for the USA to 72 % and for Venezuela to 63 %. The figures for Brazil are above the average of all foreigners.</p> <p>The percentages of 6 - 11-year-old children attending primary education are practically identical, if you compare the countries of Europe, Africa - including, however, lower figures for the countries with Portuguese as the official language - and America. The rates range between 94 % (Europe) and 89 % (America).</p> <p>In spite of actually having no access to the school system, children of irregular immigrants attend state schools. The level of school education is, however, usually very low, the failure rate at school is very high and is caused more by social problems than by language difficulties.</p> <p>Students from African countries with Portuguese as the official language and Brazilians are given precedence as far as the granting of university places is concerned, in accordance with cooperation treaties and the Statute for Equality in Status.</p>	<p>According to the IOE Inquiry, slightly more than 10 % of the children of immigrants from non-EC countries (including Portugal) did not attend school in 1986 or had left prematurely in spite of being of school age. Moreover, 16.7 % of the children were repeating classes.</p> <p>According to art. 9 of Law 7/85, legal foreign residents in Spain have the right to school education and vocational training, under the corresponding laws and regulations for Spanish citizens (free and obligatory primary school education up to the first graduation, qualifying them for free access to all kinds of secondary education).</p> <p>There are no particular opportunities or legal dispositions for members of the second or third generation of foreigners.</p> <p>Under the Royal Decree 2298/83, scholarships and individual educational grants are reserved to Spanish nations. However, by means of numerous cooperation agreements with Latin-American states for technical and financial aid and for aid in the field of education, the Spanish government has provided a number of scholarship programmes for nationals of these countries.</p>





#### 4. ALIENS - POLICY AND PUBLIC OPINION

(57) The evaluation of immigration (particularly from non-European countries) is another important area of analysis in the country reports. Consideration had to be given to the position of relevant social groups such as the Church, trade unions and the political parties. Furthermore, the positive as well as negative factors influencing public opinion towards the immigrants had to be investigated in detail.

The results give the impression, still partly vague but becoming clearer as a result of the current growth and increasing polarization of the flows of immigrants, of a "society in flux". Reminded of their own history of emigration and with an eye to the vital importance of tourism, all four countries demonstrate a rather pleasant, open and tolerant attitude towards immigration.

The present massive increase of mainly irregular immigration from non-European countries combined with existing high unemployment rates and the resulting "competition" for jobs between thousands of unskilled foreigners and nationals have led to a change in this basic attitude and have evoked trends towards xenophobia.

These tendencies become stronger as a result of phenomena which - according to many experts - stem increasingly from the presence of foreigners. These phenomena are the increased drug sales and consumption, criminality, social and political tensions between different alien groups, increases in prices in the

building sector, and the growing ghettos in towns or town boroughs. The authors' opinion is that in the recent conditions increasing immigration will lead to a xenophobic trend.

This attitude towards immigrants which at best is one of indifference but which could become more negative is considerably enhanced by ill-thought out policies which tend between repressive and permissive measures (in particular in Spain and Italy). However, it must be remembered that the previous measures on the legalization of irregular foreigners have not been successful because they were not accompanied by social measures towards future social and economic integration.

For these reasons, the definition and formulation of an immigration policy also covering these matters is, in view of further increases in irregular immigration, of the utmost importance for the solution of the connected social and political problems.

Policy Concerning Foreigners  
and Public Opinion

Greece

Italy

Portugal

Spain

109

A Policy concerning foreigners

- Overall programme

From the political point of view, Greece has become a receiving country without wanting to be a country of immigration. The law itself discourages settlement by limiting work and/or residence permits.

As a rule, policies favour the visit, residence and employment of foreigners from developed non-EC countries. In some cases, however, they seem to be very limited. Nationals of EC countries enjoy freedom of movement; with, however, the exception of the public sector, and within the limits of a rather restrictive policy generally. The policy is entirely negative towards nationals of Third World countries, who find themselves therefore in a difficult situation. There is an exception for small groups of refugees, who are granted political asylum.

The general principles and regulations concerning residence and employment of foreigners (above all from non-EC states) are, as a whole, badly structured and irrational. They are based on a conception of rights and policy which defines the foreigner's status in an exclusively negative sense and the legal significance of the presence of foreigners almost solely, in terms of the problems they cause for public order.

The fragmentary, incomplete and outdated legislation, as one instrument of immigration policy, indicates the absence of a general policy which is clearly directed, decisive and effectively implemented in regard to the relatively new phenomenon of immigration. The Italian situation is still characterized by a "non-policy", based on the hope that mechanisms of the market and administration will lead to a solution of the problem (discouragement of immigration by supporting a "war among the poor").

The political discussion lacks any kind of reference to foreign residents. Nor are there any global demands as regards foreigners in general, such as we often come across in other countries (e. g. demands for limiting the entry of foreigners, for holding their numbers at a fixed level or, in contrast, for promoting immigration politically).

In the future, however, the Government will be required to define an immigration policy, which, because of the complexity and problematical nature of immigration (legal, economic and social aspects), has to be wide in scope, interdisciplinary and has to integrate the different fields. Its decision to maintain privileged relations with Brazil and the African countries with Portuguese as the official language, forces Portugal to pursue an immigration policy which is, in comparison with other fields, rather selective and restrictive.

The basic norm for Spanish legislation on foreigners is the Constitutional Law 7/85 on the rights and liberties of foreigners in Spain ("Foreigners' Law"). It was accepted by the majority of the political representatives in Parliament (the Socialist Party and the Conservative People's Coalition) and is deemed to express the idea of "defending national interests".

- Administrative practice

Numerous cases have been documented of foreigners having been deported or badly treated by the police, exploited by employers, and discriminated against by several foundations responsible for the granting of scholarships. Complaints, which are not unfounded, are also aimed at the Greek state, whose attitude is dubbed racist.

The partially outdated and very general legal provisions leave the way open for a wide range of administrative legislation (ministerial circulars, decrees, circulars by organs of public law) with binding force only on organs of public administration. They do however leave room for scope in interpretation by the respective active institutions. This "double-track legislation", which leaves essential normative functions regarding the regulation of the individual case to the administrative authorities, blurs the limits of the law and the rights of foreigners.

Spanish authorities are adapting themselves more and more to the immigration policy predominant in Europe, which tends towards extending free movement within the EC, while, at the same time, applying more rigid measures towards non-EC countries.

Its implementing regulations make the Foreigners' Law a network of restrictive articles that a great number of immigrants from non-EC countries find difficult to comply with.

The measures for legalization having failed (1985), no further decrees were laid down to facilitate the integration of those foreigners in difficulty.

Policy concerning Foreigners and Public Opinion	Greece	Italy	Portugal	Spain 110
<p>B Statements by relevant political/ social groups on migration from non-EC countries</p> <p>- Political parties</p> <p>- Trade unions</p> <p>- Churches / Social organizations</p> <p>- Media</p>	<p>No political party, of either the right or left wing, has declared itself against foreigners. As in other countries, the parties of the Left are more vocal, but Liberals and Conservatives are not against foreigners either.</p> <p>The vast majority of journalists, graduates, associations and trade unions agree that Greeks must live in coexistence with foreigners and that the country must prepare itself to accept more foreigners. They admit that many aspects concerning foreigners have not been regulated properly, e. g. the basic legal conditions for residence and employment and the measures for entry and integration.</p> <p>Almost every day there are comments in the press concerning the question of foreigners; very often, the Government or certain groups of the population are criticized for taking wrong measures, for a lack of initiative or for their general attitude towards foreigners (indifference).</p>	<p>With regard to planning and regulating the immigration phenomenon, both the parties in power and in opposition gradually seem to be acquiring a more realistic attitude, respecting human rights and acknowledging the productive and cultural contribution of foreign immigrants while at the same time, anxious to keep the influx (entries, transit and residence) in balance within the limits of what the country can manage.</p> <p>Finally, all the political and social groups are aware of the need to introduce a new general bill legalizing the residence of all foreigners staying in the country at present.</p> <p>Recently, political debate has sharpened in tone. Many political representatives, including some with governmental responsibility, have presented suggestions and bills aiming at a more urgent and drastic solution to the immigrant problem.</p> <p>With regard to both concrete measures (material support, social integration) and to legislative recommendations, trade unions and organizations of the Church are among the most active supporters of a liberal and permissive attitude towards migration from non-EC countries. They criticize, above all, the untenable legal situation, demanding the abolishment of the "geographic reservation" and the full implementation of Law 943/86.</p> <p>The greatest commitment in the search for solutions to the immigration problem has been shown by the district authorities (regions, provinces and communities), confronted with the difficulties of everyday life.</p> <p>The mass media play a very important, but double-edged role in the sensitizing of public opinion on the subjects of racism and ethnic prejudices. They reported incidents of xenophobia, quickly and firmly, and also helped to spread the idea of an "inevitable development" towards a society with different ethnic communities/groups</p>	<p>According to an inquiry among staff members of the communal and regional administration, social and ecclesiastical organizations and leaders of immigrant organizations, irregular immigration is, because of the living conditions it brings with it, seen as an alarming problem requiring immediate measures to reduce the effects drastically. Some such measures to be considered are an immigration policy defining and effectively controlling the possibilities for entry and legalization of all foreign residents, according to defined objectives and priorities.</p>	<p>Not only officials in public administration, but also representatives of political parties give priority to the control of frontiers and to the regulation of foreign residents in Spain. Their final aim is the social rehabilitation of all immigrants within the existing system and, at the same time, the control of further influxes.</p> <p>Numerous non-governmental organizations, among them Caritas, Justitia et Pax, the Society for Human Rights, Amnesty International, the Association of Young Lawyers and the Emigrants' Commission of the Trade Union CC.OO. complain that the Ministry of the Interior's immigration policy has priority over both the Foreign Ministry and the Ministry of Labour, and they demand that the Foreigners' Law be amended by a Law of Immigrants.</p> <p>The nationalist argumentation, which gives priority to the protection of the rights of Spanish citizens, is, above all, to be found in the conservative newspaper ABC. On the other hand, El Pais tends to the opinion that economic immigrants have to suffer extreme discrimination, further aggravated by new legal measures.</p>

Policy Concerning Foreigners and Public Opinion	Greece	Italy	Portugal	Spain 111
- Media		<p>in Italy. At the same time, however, by dramatizing information and by reporting in a general way, they have caused "social alarm". In particular, they use the stereotyped formula of the foreigner being a representative or special factor in criminal or abnormal behaviour or in violence.</p>		
C Public opinion and actions		<p>In the field of politics, it looks as if the traditional and restrictive attitude, with a strong nationalist and ethnocentric drive, desiring closed frontiers to immigrants from the Third World and with stricter control of the present foreign residents, restricted access to social services, more frequent procedures for deportation and expulsion if necessary, is receding in favour of a liberal and permissive attitude, demanding the complete opening of frontiers to foreigners from non-EC countries (with the exception of minor controls, necessary for the security of the state).</p>	<p>The most important fact to be mentioned is that colloquial Portuguese has no generally-accepted term for the entire category of foreign residents (equivalent to the French term "immigré"). Opinions expressed about foreigners always refer to specific subgroups, the category of "Africans" standing out most from the others, both because of the frequency and the constancy of the terms used.</p>	
- Decisive positive factors	<p>In general, there is a predominant feeling of friendliness towards foreigners in Greece, because the Greek national economy and society are open and the vast majority of the population are familiar with foreigners.</p>	<p>In principle, there is a tolerant and accepting attitude towards foreigners among the population, especially among ecclesiastical and socially-committed groups, trade unions, the liberal press and at universities. Attention is drawn to the situation of foreigners, particularly of irregular ones, by public and charitable work.</p>	<p>The lack of a global expression for all foreign residents, means that in public discussion the idea is never voiced that the number of foreigners in Portugal is very high or too high (unlike in various other European countries, where numerical proportions are being worked out). Foreigners are not seen as a problem in public debate. In comparison with northern European countries, it is worth emphasizing that there are no reactions of rejection or any expression of the thought that immigrants should leave the country, the sooner, the better.</p>	<p>The economic interests of certain groups of entrepreneurs (farmers, building trade), and political and moral obligations resulting from Spanish history (emigration of Spaniards to Europe and overseas), aim to grant nationals of these countries access to economic compensation.</p>
- Negative factors	<p>Reasons for being reserved towards foreigners are based on war experiences, the expulsion of Greeks from Turkey, illegal activities of foreigners in Greece and political confrontations with political and religious foreign groups.</p>	<p>Various social abnormalities are increasingly blamed on the foreigners. The problem of criminality is most alarming. The proportion of criminality recorded among foreigners is, indeed, lower than among the corresponding Italian population. The latest data, however, indicates a considerable increase.</p>	<p>One aspect deserving special attention is the feeling of concern among Portuguese, where competition on the labour market and for services are involved. However, the possibly increasing problem of competition with the Portuguese, caused by the immigration of foreign workers, is chiefly seen in the context of Portugal's entry into the EC and the establishment of foreign firms in Portugal.</p>	<p>Certain phenomena to be found amongst foreigners, such as criminality, drug trafficking and other abuses, must be mentioned, along with competition on the labour market.</p>

Policy concerning Foreigners and Public Opinion	Greece	Italy	Portugal	Spain 112
<p>- Negative factors</p> <p>- Tendencies towards xenophobia</p> <p>- The self-image of foreigners</p>	<p>Signs of more wide-spread xenophobia have been noticed only recently. They have been caused by competition for jobs between thousands of unskilled foreigners and the corresponding native population. Large numbers of unemployed natives in certain sectors (merchant navy, in shipyards, building industry) may reinforce this tendency, if the employment of large numbers of foreigners increases.</p>	<p>Although reports about arrests are possibly influenced by press campaigns and xenophobic prejudices, there is the danger of immigrants becoming involved in a kind of "criminal reserve army" at the disposal of organized crime which is wide-spread in some regions of Italy.</p> <p>Several incidents (actions of protest, town-meetings, verbal and physical attacks on immigrants) recently can be taken as indications that a xenophobic attitude is increasing in Italy, too. An up-to-date survey revealed, among 12 % of the persons questioned, the existence of hostile feelings towards all social groups with notable "differences". According to another survey made in July, 1987, 49 % of the persons questioned see nothing but disadvantages in foreign immigration; only 13 % see advantages arising from it. The disadvantage mentioned most often is the effect on unemployment. 57 % think that Italy should not support immigration or it should only exceptionally accept it, and 46 % would prefer Italy to inhibit it by very strict checks. According to the latest survey, 72 % of the persons questioned consider the extent of immigration too high; 45 % are of the opinion that persons without an assigned job should not be permitted entry.</p> <p>Only few of the immigrants - probably those with a higher cultural qualification and a keener political sensibility - express, in addition to the wish for satisfaction of the basic needs (work, accommodation, health), secondary needs, such as being granted the franchise at least in local elections, and the participation of the respective ethnic and national communities and representative associations in public organs and bodies which touch upon the sector of immigration policy, the simplification of the procedures for family reunification and access to school education and vocational training. Another problem immigrants are highly aware of is the "cultural barrier", both in the sense of isolation and social distance from the native population and also with regard to the difficult preservation of their own cultural identity.</p>	<p>There seem to be reservations particularly towards the "Cape Verdians", who are socially and geographically isolated. The national authorities are not successful in controlling this population; their material situation is generally described as precarious (ramshackle lodgings, insufficient hygiene, low incomes, high unemployment, unacceptable working conditions, lack of social security). Tendencies of Africans/Cape Verdians towards "violence" are judged critically. There is, however, no uniform social attitude; it varies between social, charitable relief and social fears (fears of the development of ghettos and criminality).</p> <p>An interesting result revealed in an inquiry made by this group that there is no racism in the field of work, either among their colleagues or from employers.</p>	<p>Existing unemployment and the exaggerated statistics of criminality amongst foreigners are the two main arguments justifying a policy of closed frontiers and the gradual deportation of illegal residents.</p> <p>The fundamental discrimination against immigrants coming to Spain for economic reasons (documents required from certain groups only, evidence of regular work and sufficient means of livelihood) is pointed to more and more by foreigners organized in centres or associations. The Government is blamed for having caused the legal situation.</p>

## PART D:

**HYPOTHESES ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE IMMIGRATION PROBLEM  
IN THE SOUTHERN COUNTRIES OF THE EEC AND ASPECTS OF A  
JOINT POLICY**

1. SCENARIOS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOUTHERN MIGRATION  
BEYOND 1992

(58) The expected development of the immigration problem in the four Southern member countries of the Community depends on the one hand on general developments within these countries themselves and on the other hand within the important labour-exporting countries. The factors which affect the labour market and the labour policy of the North-Western member countries and those factors resulting from the achievement of the single market of the Community are of primary importance.

The two latter general determinants will be briefly outlined. Following that the relevant conditions in the Southern member countries and in the important sending countries will be discussed.

(59) The general determinants of the anticipated development of the immigration problem result from the fact that the Southern countries Italy, Greece, Spain and Portugal are part of the Community (and from 1 January, 1993 onwards, Spain and Portugal will share the freedom of movement of manpower within the Community). They will thus be included far more intensively in the integration process beyond 1993. Consequently, not only will their respective labour markets be influenced by



the economic development and the labour markets of the North-Western countries but also as far as their economy and labour market policies are concerned they will also be substantially affected by the impact of the achievement of the single market:

- a) Despite quite favourable macro-economic developments over the past years, the North-Western member countries of the Community will nevertheless have to tackle the problems of employment in future. In 1988, the unemployment rate was above 6 % in all of these countries. Belgium and France had even higher figures. 1) This is a consequence of the deep structural changes to which the labour markets of these countries have been subject. Poorly-qualified foreigners, minors, some women, older workers who cannot adapt to the new requirements of the production process - all cannot participate in economic activities which are generally expanding. In addition to the persistance of this structural unemployment some countries, in particular the Federal Republic of Germany suffer a surplus demand for jobs, due to demographic and political conditions (Germans from the GDR and East European countries resettling in West Germany). In other words, it can be expected that a balance of supply and demand on the labour market of the North-Western member countries will not occur until the year 2000.

Even though the present employment of foreigners has increased during this phase of economic up-lift, this does not mean that the labour markets of the North-

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1) Sperling, I., Zu den Arbeitsmarktwirkungen des EG-Binnenmarktes, in: Mayer, O. G. et al. (eds), Der europäische Binnenmarkt. Perspektiven und Probleme, Hamburg 1989, p. 315

Western member states are capable of taking on new labour migrants. For, due to the population dynamic, foreigners who have been employed are recruited from among those who settled in these countries long before. 1) A selective admission of new migrant workers will only take place exceptionally.

In these circumstances, it can hardly be expected that there will be a substantial change in the restrictive policy of the governments of the North-Western member countries towards labour migrants from non-European countries. The consequences of this policy, however, affect mainly the Southern member states because they lose their function as country of transit for the migrants from non-European countries. In the long run, the "waiting room" is converted into a "terminus" - as long as the migrants do not migrate irregularly. The result is that the Southern countries alone must bear the burden of migration from non-European countries, should they not decide to implement effective measures to restrict it.

- b) The achievement of the single market will probably not lead to an additional strain on the labour markets of the member countries. 2) A revival of mass migration of low-qualified manpower from the Southern member countries to the North-West of the Community is not probable because of the already greatly reduced migration potential in the Southern countries (possible exception: Portugal). However, the exchange of qualified

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1) see Werner, H., Die Entwicklung der Ausländerbevölkerung in einigen westeuropäischen Ländern, in: Hönekopp E. (ed.), Aspekte der Ausländerbeschäftigung in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Nürnberg 1987, p. 343 ff, esp. p. 347 ff

2) see Padoa-Schioppa, T., Effizienz, Stabilität und Verteilungsgerechtigkeit. Eine Entwicklungsstrategie für das Wirtschaftssystem der Europäischen Gemeinschaft, Wiesbaden 1987, p. 399 ff; also Sperling, I., p. 329 ff

manpower between the member states of the Community will be intensified, in particular when the intended measures for the liberalization of the working regulations for the self-employment and university graduates have been successfully finalized.

The Southern member countries of the Community might suffer a depression as a result of the integration of qualified persons into the labour market, should they prove to be less attractive countries to these workers (and to the self-employed). It is possible that in the framework of freedom of movement, these countries might lose rather than win such manpower 1), which would lead to a "brain drain" within Europe at the expense of the Southern countries.

The probability that the Southern member countries of the Community will be less attractive as a result of the achievement of the single market is quite possible because it will result in a regional polarization of economic activity within Europe. 2) The agglomeration of capital and production-oriented services and also of high-tech production at a few and favourable locations can lead to an aggravation of the socio-economic difficulties of under-developed and peripheral regions (mainly to be found in the Southern countries). Moreover, the metropolitan locations in the Southern countries will reach their "limits to growth" earlier than in the North because of insufficient infrastructures.

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- 1) It is possible that in the framework of a single market industries especially with relatively small manpower capital will settle in the Southern countries. See Gälli, A., Neue Investitionsmöglichkeiten am Mittelmeer?, in: ifo-Schnelldienst 19/89, p. 36 ff
  - 2) see Padoa-Schioppa, T., p. 91 ff; Franzmeyer, F., Economic, Social and Political Costs of Completing the Internal Market, in: Bieber, R. et al. (eds), 1992: One European Market? Baden-Baden 1988, p. 55 ff, esp. 57 ff

In return, this can be detrimental to the attractiveness of those locations for modern industries and qualified staff.

In general, it can therefore be expected that the general conditions of the migration problem of the Southern member states will undergo a rather unfavourable development. The restrictive migration policy of the North-Western member countries as well as the achievement of the single market will have depressive effects on the economic and social systems of the Southern member states, which the weaker ones (i.e. Greece, Portugal) can hardly solve without external assistance.

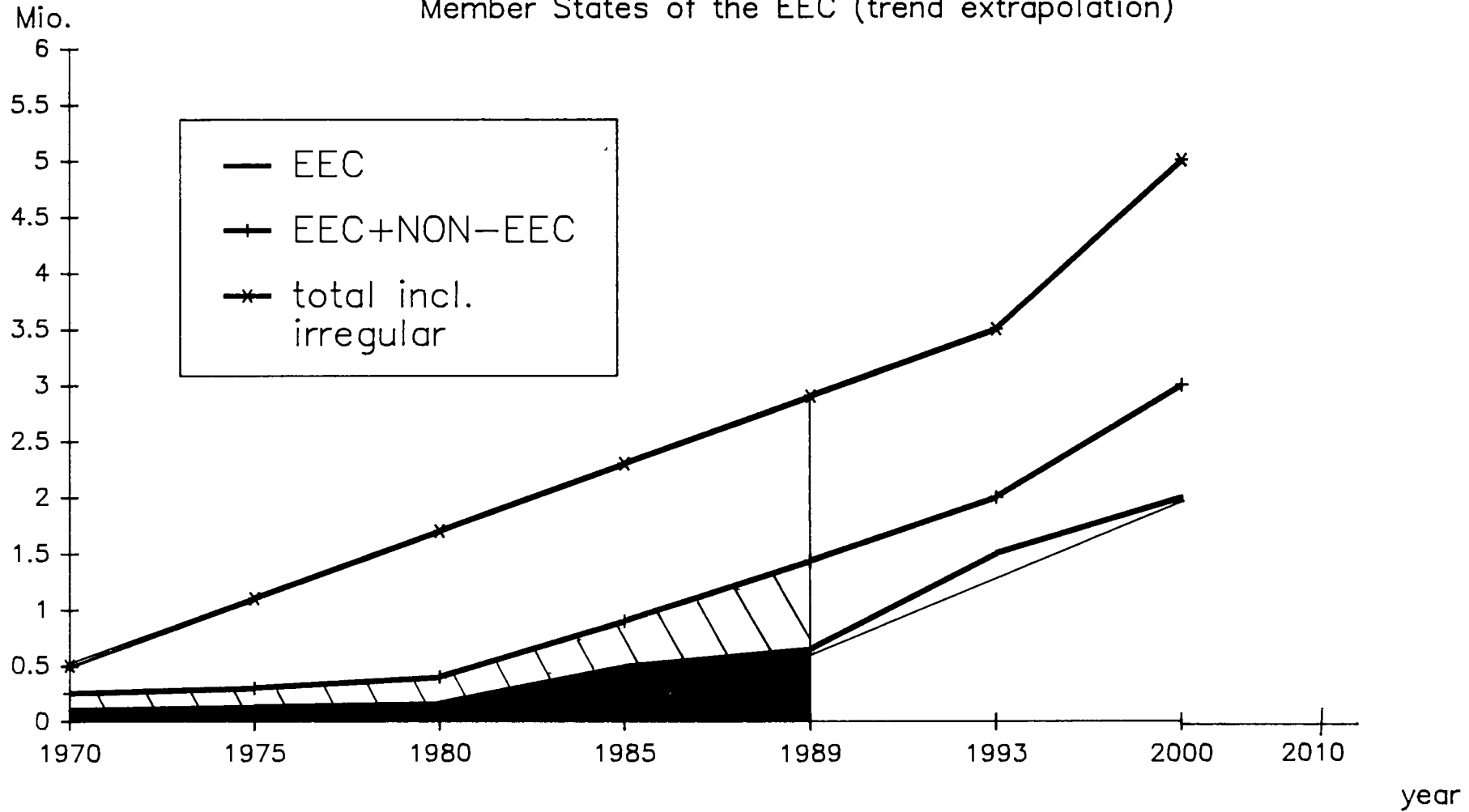
(60) The socio-economic situations within the four Southern member countries have already been described in detail (Part B). Therefore, the following statements will be sufficient:

- a) Comparing the per capita national product, Portugal and Greece are the poorest countries of the Community. Spain, however, can be considered a rapidly growing, yet poor country. Italy can be seen as a rapidly-growing country with the average prosperity level of the Community.
- b) All Southern countries are characterized by an extreme dualism in their economic and labour market structures. Their roots lie in the profoundly disjointed nature of the countries' society and culture, which is not compensated for by the operation of the market (especially the labour market). This results in sectoral or regional market surpluses where there is insufficient demand and vice versa.

- c) This structural immobility and inflexibility in the formal markets is partly compensated by the expanding informal sectors or the so-called underground economy which includes above all the financial, production and person-oriented services as well as a larger element of small-scale businesses.
- d) The expansion of the "underground economy" is the main reason for the immigration of low-qualified manpower from non-European countries. In general, the "underground economy" offers job opportunities which due to their comparatively bad quality, even unemployed nationals do not accept blindly. These jobs can in other words only be taken up by (in this respect) indiscriminating migrants from non-European countries who are often brought into the country with the support of professional agents. Thus, the underground economy proves to be an essential magnet for the immigration from non-European countries. And it is quite justified to state that the underground economy (in many respects itself also irregular) favours in particular irregular migration.
- e) Immigration from non-European countries is not only a considerable burden for the administrative capacity of the Southern member countries (i.e. "regularization policy"); but it also contributes to the overstraining of the social infrastructure - already overstrained by rapid structural change - above all in the urban conurbation areas. Poverty, lack of housing, lack of education and medical care favour the occurrence of criminality and racist/ethnic tensions. Without external support, this could result in a threat to social stability in the Southern member countries.

Graphic 9

Status-quo-Prognosis of the Immigration into the Southern Member States of the EEC (trend extrapolation)



(c) isoplan Saarbrücken/Bonn 1989

(61) The critical situation - with respect to economic and social affairs - in the sending countries on the external borders of the Community is generally known. In general (according to World Bank nomenclature) these countries are developing countries with a national product per capita of 500 to 2,000 US\$ (only Algeria, Argentina, Venezuela are better off 1)). They are characterized by a high population growth, high unemployment and underemployment and precarious conditions for growth. Already the disparity between the economic and social living standards of the underdeveloped, non-European countries and the Southern states is a significant explanation of the pressure for migration towards the countries of the Community. Undoubtedly a continuous increase in the North - South prosperity disparity (caused by the achievement of a single market in Europe) and the internalization of "poverty migration" will increase this push-factor.

Further consideration must be given to the fact that the overall pressure of migration is intensified by the existing specific socio-cultural ties or the geographic proximity of certain member states to some sending countries, in particular those on the South and East Mediterranean coast, which maintain specific relations with the Community (cooperation and association agreement). These countries demand that the Community should admit labour migrants 2), something which the Community and in particular the Southern member states cannot avoid doing in the long run.

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1) World Bank, Development Report, Statistical Annexe, p. 194 ff.

2) Duchêne, F. et al., Die europäische Gemeinschaft und der Mittelmeerraum, Luxembourg 1985, p. 100 ff., esp. p. 105 ff.

- (62) The conditions briefly sketched out above allow the following hypothesis on the future development of migration from non-European countries to the Southern member countries (see Graphic 9):

An extrapolation from the given trends (provided the outlined conditions remain constant) calculated up to the year 2000, results in an increase of the foreign population to up to around 5 million persons. This total could be distributed as follows:

- > approx. 1 million regular migrants from EEC-countries
- > approx. 2 million regular migrants from non-European countries
- > at least 2 million irregular migrants mainly from other countries of the Mediterranean region.

At present, there is no indication whatsoever that the changing role of the former emigration countries to immigration countries will decline in importance. On the contrary, the above-outlined factors will enhance the role not only of Italy and Spain but also of Portugal and Greece as receiving countries for qualified experts and, in particular, of unqualified manpower from non-European countries.

- (63) Italy, having today already 1.5 million foreigners, plays the main role in the development of a regional labour market which would reach beyond the borders of the Community up to the North-African Mediterranean countries. According to present estimates, the foreign population increases by at least 100,000 per annum, but irregular migration certainly increases this rate
- 1)

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1) see Ancona, G., 1989, p. 118



It is difficult to assess the possible long-term effects of immigration, above all of unqualified manpower. Despite the danger that the economic and social systems might split into, on the one hand, a superior and modern sector, and on the other hand an inferior and clandestinely-organized sector overlapping with the conventional North-South divide of the country there are indications that the employment of these workers will have a rather hampering effect on modernization and economic growth. Investments in more productive technologies would be impeded or at least retarded.

A further point is that the social costs of this immigration will increase. The reason is that, in contrast to Portugal, Greece and even Spain, the diversity of the regional origin of the foreigners in Italy is extraordinarily large despite the predominance of irregular immigration from the Maghreb countries. The specific factors of regional or socio-cultural "closeness" influencing the migration to Spain, Portugal and also Greece are, in Italy's case, of minor importance. The "potential of further migration" to other countries of the Community is certainly, as a result, relatively high. Though it is impossible to give recent data, Italy nevertheless will bear the heaviest burden of migration from non-European countries.

- (64) On the basis of this principal hypothesis and bearing in mind possible political reactions, the following three scenarios are conceivable 1):

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1) see Callovi, G., Perspectives de flux migratoires internationaux dans l'Europe communautaire à l'Aube du troisième millénaire, in: Futuribles international, Working Paper, Paris 1988

1. The "megapol-scenario" (catastrophe-scenario) in which excessive irregular immigration leads to the growth of conurbation centres of immigration, to a polarization of the population (similar to South American metropolis) and consequently to the breakdown of the respective economic and social systems.
2. The scenario of the "solde migratoire nul" and the development of a strategy (with respect to solving the structural problems of the labour market and to the demographic development in the member states) of controlled and slow immigration (flux ciblés).
3. The scenario of "solde migratoire positif" presumes that due to the uncontrollable push of migration from non-European countries and the existence of structural pull-factors in the receiving countries, a limited immigration will always be necessary and indeed unpreventable. Yet, in cooperation with the most relevant sending countries, it aims at reducing in particular the phenomenon of "irregularity" in the case of it being "institutional" or "statutory irregularity", according to Mr Böhning's typology (seasonal workers, family reunification, fraudulent tourists, students, etc.)

The danger that the present typical political predominance of "laissez faire" will cause the megapol-scenario affects above all the Southern nations of the Community, primarily Italy and Spain. Owing to their geographic position, their historic ties with the Third World, and their principally open attitude as former emigration countries towards immigration, they will doubtlessly become the preferred "reception countries" of Europe for the "poverty migrants" from all parts of the world, unless the Community or its member countries lend them additional political support.

The zero scenario, presupposing a gradual end of the immigration of labour migrants even in the Southern member countries is in many respects irrelevant. The most relevant consideration in favour of it is the presumption that the Community, because of its powerful position in the world economy, could not close its borders to qualified and unqualified labour migrants without provoking conflicts in the systems of value.

1) On the other hand, it is uncertain whether this policy can succeed at all, in view of the constant, probably growing migration flow from the poor countries. It is possible, rather, that migration will not principally be prevented but only diverted to irregular paths. Considering the particular problems related to irregularity, this outcome must also be avoided at all costs.

After these reflections, the scenario of a positive migration balance seems to be the most realistic result of a policy based on the receiving capacity in particular of the Southern member countries and on the interests of the most relevant sending countries. This scenario is the basis on which the following regional migration policies will be discussed. For the development of the migration flows in the nineties will in the end be a function of political will-power in the Community.

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1) As Duchêne et al., p. 117 ff. show, the strategy of a political "fortress Europe" towards migrants ("expansion without compensation") may lead to a severe loss in confidence by the Mediterranean sending countries in the policies of the Community, and even to political conflicts in the Mediterranean region.

- (65) Whether the scenarios just outlined prove to be correct or whether the Community secures a formal political mandate for a joint migration policy on non-European countries, it must be presumed that the individual member nations of the Community have in any case an interest in an intensified cooperation in accordance with the guidelines on a migration policy of the Community from 1985. 1)

On the issue of which policy the Community is to pursue in the future on the employment of foreigners and immigration from non-European countries, the "General declaration" states in the annex of the Single European Act from 1985 that the governments of the member states agree

- a) "to cooperate, without prejudice to the powers of the Community, in particular as regards the entry, movement and residence of nationals of third countries",
- b) that "nothing in these provisions (of the Single European Act) shall affect the right of member states to take such measures as they consider necessary for the purpose of controlling immigration from third countries, and to combat terrorism, crime, the traffic in drugs and illicit trading in works of art and antiques". 2)

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1) see esp. sub-paragraph 3 of the Resolution of the Council from July 16, 1985, in: Bulletin der Europäischen Gemeinschaften - Beilage 9/85, Luxembourg 1986, p. 19

2) Acte unique européen, Journal officiel des Communautés Européennes, No L 169, 30.06.1989

- (66) A number of factors suggest that there should be a growth in the obligation of the member states (with, at the same time, safeguards for their fundamental sovereign rights) to cooperate because of the cross-frontier nature of the migration phenomenon.

The question of whether it is necessary to have intense cooperation between the member states, or even action on the part of Community bodies, is a matter of the trans-frontier "spill-over effect" of the political problems to be solved and of the major policies to be followed. 1) In other words, it must be proved in what way and what intensity the problems and politics have strong external effects on the entire Community, or whether they are primarily the concern of one country alone.

It is recognized that there are, of course, areas of the migration problem in which external effects have little influence on other member countries of the Community. It can be taken for granted, for example, that the employment of Algerians in France and of Turks in the Federal Republic of Germany 2), and the respective bilateral agreements between these sending and receiving countries are of little significance to the other member countries, and so can remain a question of national powers. This report, however, has clearly proved that this does not apply to the immigration from non-European countries to the Southern member states. In particular the migration pressures which the Southern countries bear is intensified by the ban on employment by the North-Western member countries with the result that the cost of adaption is shifted, without compensation, by the wealthy member countries onto the relatively poor and structurally weaker Southern member countries.

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1) Padoa-Schioppa, T., p. 41

2) For example the control of the inflow of persons from East Germany and East European countries will probably remain the responsibility of the Federal Republic of Germany.

A need for intensive political cooperation on the question of migration between the member states, or even for action by bodies of the Community seems therefore necessary. "The Community as a political institution with mainly economic tasks " can function only if "the economic advantages it offers are relatively well-balanced." 1)

(67) The development of a suitable joint migration policy which is defined as a political objective for the entire Community applies in particular to the Southern member countries:

a) A positive net migration from non-European countries to the countries of the Community can be expected even in future. The Community should basically accept this fact for the following reasons.

- > Even in the case of long-term unemployment within the Community there is a need for manpower who will take up the (socially unaccepted) working opportunities in the secondary labour market. This sector can grow stronger as a complement to the expanding high-tech sector.
- > For humanitarian reasons, persons seeking asylum and refugees cannot be rejected and relatives of migrants from non-European countries staying already in a member country of the Community must be admitted.

b) Nevertheless, social peace and the functioning of the labour markets and social institutions in the countries of the Community should not to be disrupted by this immigration.

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1) Padoa-Schioppa, T., p. 87

Nor should the existing instruments of the joint labour market policy be downgraded. This should especially be the case for:

- > the freedom of movement for workers from the countries of the Community
- > the according of equal status to recognized refugees and those migrants from non-European countries, who already stay in a country of the Community;
- > the functioning of the rules for the coordination of the national social security systems;
- > the provisions on the protection of public health, on job safety and appropriate conditions of employment, and
- > the measures on vocational training and the creation of new jobs.

- c) Therefore, immigration from non-European countries should not be left to its own devices. It should rather be tackled by agreement between the Community and its member countries in order, firstly to take account of the humanitarian and economic factors favouring further migration, secondly to maintain the functioning of the labour markets and social institutions of the Community and the member countries, and thirdly, to guarantee social peace and the chances of integration.

Basing themselves on the resolution of the Council from July 16, 1985 on "Guidelines on a migration policy of the Community" 1) and on the Decision of the Community from July 8, 1985 on "Introduction of an information and voting procedure on migration policies towards non-European countries" 2), the Community and its member countries should formulate

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1) see Bulletin of the EEC - Annexe 9/85

2) see Journal officiel des Communautés européennes No. L 183, 14.07.1988, p. 35

a "strategy of controlled, slow immigration (stratégie active d'immigration lente)" which will contribute to the achievement of the above-mentioned aims.

- d) As outlined in this report, the specific situation in the Southern member states is characterized in many respects by a backlog in meeting the demand for regularization and in integrating foreigners from non-European countries, and by their new role as receiving countries for a regional Mediterranean labour market. This requires the formulation of a defined joint "South policy of the Four" going beyond the "Policy of the Twelve". Considering their historic, cultural, political and economic interrelation and also the structure of observable migration flows, it is the criterion of "evolutionary closeness" (Delors) which makes this South migration policy necessary and reasonable.



2. COMPONENTS OF A JOINT MIGRATION STRATEGY

- (68) A joint migration policy towards immigration from non-European countries, in particular into the Southern member states, must take account of:
- > on the one hand, the capacity of the social systems and the labour markets in the member countries (or in individual regions), and
  - > on the other hand, the justified interests of the sending countries and in particular of those non-European countries (in the Mediterranean region and in the sphere of the ACP countries) to which the Community maintains special relations (association, cooperation).
- (69) In this framework and on the basis of cooperation with the most relevant sending countries 1) (see Part B) it would be conceivable to strive for the establishment of admission regulations for migrants to the Community, which would permit an annual limit on admission quotas depending on the demand of the labour markets. Following the example of Canada's immigration policy, the Community could at first admit the quotas of refugees (acknowledged by Convention); then for humanitarian reasons family relatives (maybe individual quotas for each member country/member country region); and finally it could admit other migrants (with specific qualifications) on the grounds of labour market policy.

The priorities for admission, especially in the case of the two latter categories, should be determined and described by an objective and generally-comprehensible

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1) Here, additional measures for the improvement of the employment situation may be attached. Far reaching suggestions have been developed by Duchêne et al., p. 126 ff.

points system which would set out reasons for admission on the basis of the tangible qualities of the applicants. The decision of the immigration authority/ies should be controlled by law by those involved (individuals and countries) (inter-governmental Law of Migration, individual right to admission in the case of certain criteria).

- (70) This joint migration policy should be supported by measures which would increase the capacity (i.e. the absorption potential) of the countries in the South of the Community (or regions of these countries) which are affected most by migration (especially from sending countries of the Mediterranean region). This is of importance in particular if the intensification of the free movement of the production factors and the de-regularization of up to now protected economic sectors have negative effects upon the "problem regions" in Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain in the course of the achievement of a European single market.

In this context, it appears indispensable to enhance the relevant infrastructures, the promotion of vocational training, of occupational retraining, of technological assistance, and of the general education systems backed up by better adjusted use of the structural fund of the Community 1) and the expansion of measures promoting the socio-cultural integration of migrants.

- (71) A further measure in support of a joint migration policy should be the promotion of economic and social cooperation between the Community and the sending countries overseas. Important elements in this cooperation would include all those measures which create

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1) see Padoa-Schioppa, F., p. 91 ff.

employment opportunities in new and work-intensive industrial sectors, and prevent rural exodus. Further elements include programmes orientated towards general educational institutions and vocational training up to a certain level, and also towards the improvement of rural areas by the development of socio-cultural infrastructures.

In the framework of this policy, it is advisable to develop the already existing cooperation agreements with most of the Mediterranean countries (Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia and Yugoslavia) into a "Marshall Plan for the Southern and Eastern Mediterranean countries". (Formica) 1)

- (72) Beyond the existing agreements containing commitments to non-discrimination for workers from the countries involved and employed in the respective national regions, there should be provisions on the method and dimension of the labour migration, and joint bodies for observing migration should be established, whose task will consequently be to police adherence to existing agreements (e.g. non-discrimination of women).

Finally, those administrative infrastructures in the South European member states and in the sending countries which are necessary to observe the respective labour markets should be improved and strengthened. They would be of assistance in the enforcement of legitimate conduct in the employment system, in the control of the free movement of persons crossing the external borders of the Community, in the implementation of measures concerning socio-cultural integration of the migrants, and in the coordination of all these measures on a Community level.

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1) Formica, R., p. 499; also Duchêne et al., p. 114

The necessity for an intensified coordination of the immigration policy on the administrative level is of importance especially for the Southern member countries of the Community, who still consider migration policies primarily as emigration policies despite the figures and trends outlined in this report.

- (73) Last but not least, what needs to be improved are the bases of information which constitute an important prerequisite for setting up and implementing the migration strategies described here. Information on the scope and the qualitative importance of migration from non-European countries into the Southern countries of the Community were elaborated for the first time in the relevant country studies of this report.

They prove that as a result of the growth and restructuring of the economy in the Southern countries - just as in the Community in general - there is a considerable need for those labour migrants who find employment (legal or illegal, regular or irregular) especially in the secondary segment of the labour market.

However, they also prove that the social situation especially of those who enter the country illegally and who are irregularly employed is in part a precarious one and that on occasions both the employment systems and the social systems of the recipient countries are overburdened as a result of the influx of migrants from non-European countries.

There can be no doubt that this situation constitutes a considerable potential source for social conflict and growing xenophobia.

In this context it might be useful to refer to some results of a survey on racism and xenophobia 1) which was carried out on behalf of the Commission of the European Communities in November 1988 in cooperation with the European Parliament.

- > The spontaneous reactions in the individual member countries - with the exception of France and Great Britain - to the term "the other race" was to associate it in most cases with the black race. In France people associated the "others" first of all with the Arabs; whereas in Great Britain these are the Indians.
- > Every third citizen believes that the presence of persons of a different nationality is too high.
- > The bad feeling towards immigration which can be felt in some countries does not mean that the citizens of these countries are in favour of measures which contravene basic democratic values and principles. On the contrary, three out of four Europeans express the opinion that the situation of immigrants should be improved or at least that it should not be worsened. In this respect their hope lies with the European institutions.
- > With regard to foreigners from countries outside the Community every third European wants the adoption of legislation taking effect in the whole of the Community. Only every fifth European sees a better solution in a national policy vis-a-vis foreigners from non-European countries.

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1) see Eurobarometer - Public opinion in the European Community - Surveys on "racism, xenophobia and intolerance", November 1989

The little information drawn from the survey confirms the conclusion that the "joint migration strategy" presented here in basic outline can contribute to prevent these developments and promote the balance of interests between non-European countries and the Community as well as the economic and social integration of foreign workers and their families.

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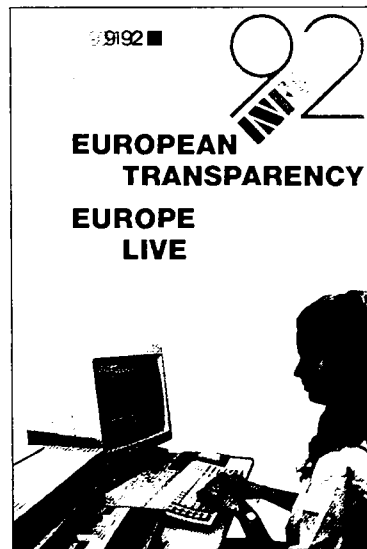
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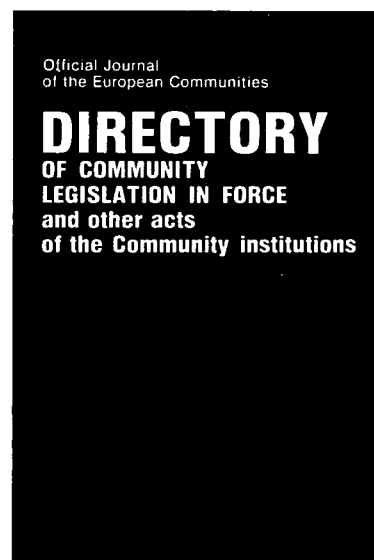
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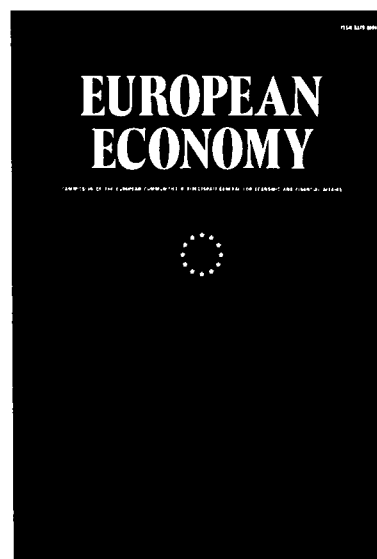
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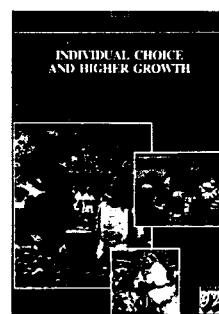
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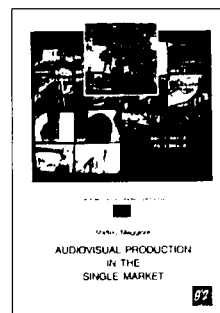
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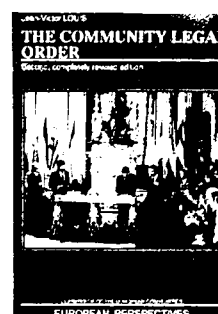
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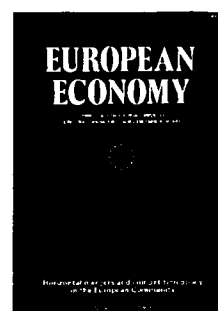
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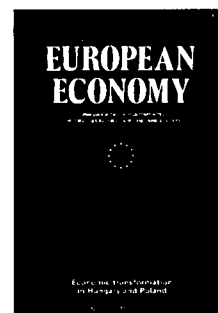
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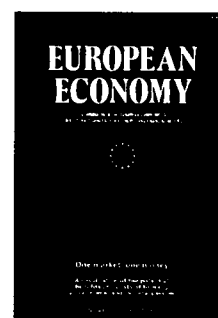
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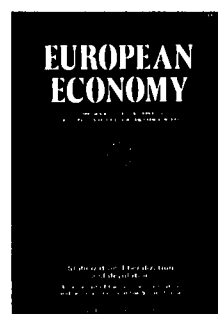
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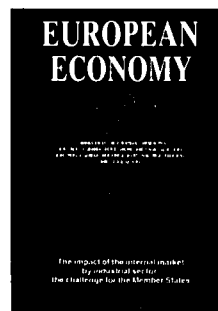
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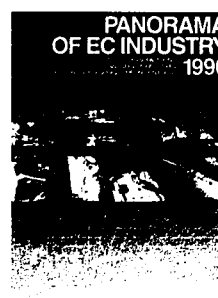
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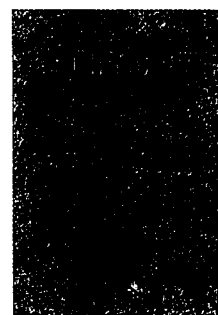
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