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**INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION
TO NORTHERN MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES.
THE CASES OF GREECE, SPAIN AND ITALY.**

**Ira EMKE-POULOPOULOS, Vicente GOZÀLVES PÉREZ,
Laura LECCHINI, Odo BARSOTTI**

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Ira EMKE-POULOPOULOS

Demographic Section of the Institute for the Study of the Greek Economy
12, Sevastopoulou str. - 115 24 ATHENS (Greece)

Vicente GOZÀLVES PÉREZ

Departamento de Geografía Humana
Universidad de ALICANTE (España)

Laura LECCHINI

Dipartimento di Statistica e Matematica Applicata all'Economia
Via Ridolfi, 10, 56124 PISA (Italia)
fax 050-541437

Odo BARSOTTI

Dipartimento di Scienze Sociali
Via Serafini 3, 56126 PISA (Italia)
fax 050-501605

Preface

As from the second half of the seventies, the migration pattern in European Mediterranean countries has changed.

Italy, to the greatest extent, but also Spain and Greece have experienced similar situations:

- a stop or in any case a reduction of traditional migration flows towards the countries of continental Europe;
- a re-balance or even a surplus of those leaving over those entering;
- the start of migration of qualified manpower towards developing countries (new technological migration);
- a growing inflow of migrants from developing countries.

Changes in the migration pattern can be put down to the interaction of two fundamental factors: improvement in the economic conditions of European Mediterranean countries, strong demographic growth and the consequent excess in the labour supply from developing countries. The economic development of Spain, Greece and Italy has been accompanied by intensive restructuring processes which in the last decades have involved, in different ways, all western countries. In these processes the most dynamic nuclei, in terms of growth in employment, have been the tertiary sector and the area of the informal economy.

Consequently, the economic role of new migrants has universally changed. In whatever country they are inserted into poorly qualified, lowly paid and very precarious activities and they increase the growth of the hidden economy. Activities generally found in the informal sectors of the economy where level of technological innovation are more modest and therefore increases in productivity are more modest. This economic function of the migrant has come about despite the contrast between migration and economic trends and between immigration and unemployment.

It is thus understandable that in countries like Spain, Greece and Italy a now large immigration from developing countries can live alongside conditions of underdevelopment (even marked in some areas of the three countries) and high levels of unemployment.

It seemed to us to be interesting to collect in this paper, for the first time, three essays on the migration experiences of these three countries. The aim is to offer a first frame of reference even if it is still imprecise and its composition is greatly conditioned by the experiences of its authors, the different availability of information and various levels of investigation developed so far. Despite its limitations, this operation seems important to us because it is placed in the perspective of considering these countries as three territorial realities that are experiencing similar situations and that are becoming the hot spots of immigration in the Mediterranean basin. With this prospect for the future it is the intention of the researchers, who have collaborated on this paper, to develop the problems of immigration from developing countries tackling themes in common and adopting methodologies and common instruments of research.

L.Lecchini, O.Barsotti

IMMIGRANTS AND REFUGEES IN GREECE STATISTICAL EVALUATION AND CAUSES OF ENTRY IN THE COUNTRY

Ira EMKE POULOPOULOS

In the post-war period Greece was a country of high emigration. From time to time Greece received members of the Greek communities of Romania, Turkey, Egypt, the Middle East, the Soviet Union and other East European countries. But since the early seventies, Greece has also become a country of immigration, a phenomenon similar to other south European countries, in which illegal immigration is a common phenomenon. Since 1989 an acceleration of the movement from Soviet Union and in 1990-1991 a great but unknown number of Greek origin persons from Albania-as well as Albanians-has arrived in the country.

This article in the first part supplies all published Statistical Data on foreigners in Greece and journalists and other assessments about illegal immigrants. In the second part the causes for arrival of the immigrants and refugees in Greece are analysed.

Part I. Data on Foreigners in Greece

The data on foreigners are not reliable and there is considerable discrepancy in the data already published. The sources of references on foreigners are: the census, held every 10 years by the National Statistical Service of Greece, the most recent was in 1981, and the Ministry of Social Order that provides data on the residence permits of foreigners. In collaboration with the National Statistical Service, data are provided by the Ministry of Labour regarding foreigners who are holders of work permits. The Ministry of Merchant Marine carries out a census of Greek and foreign seamen every 2 years. Further information can be found in two other publications of the National Statistical Service of Greece. The Statistics of the Ministry of Justice show the number of foreigners convicted for various offences, and the Education Statistics show the number of foreign students. The High Commission for Refugees provides information on refugees, Eurostat and the Council of Europe also provide information on foreigners in Greece. More specifically:

1) The 1981 Census(1) showed that there are 180,595 individuals of foreign citizenship in Greece, (51% men 49% women). 35% are in the 20-44 year-old age group (both sexes). Among these there are 3,563 Albanian citizens and 30,145 Turkish citizens of Greek origin and 19,337 Cypriots. Individuals of foreign citizenship in Greece, constitute 1.8% of the population, if, however, the Albanians, Turks and Cypriots are not taken into account - because most of them are of Greek origin - the foreigners of Greece constitute only 1.3% of the population. In the 10 EEC countries(2) according to censuses carried out in 1981-82 the foreigners amounted to 13,919,799 and constituted 5.1% of the population of the 10 E.E.C. countries. In some countries the percentage of foreigners is particularly high : 26.3% in Luxembourg, 8.9% in Belgium, 7.5% in Germany, 6.8%

in France, 6.2% in Britain. At the beginning of 1987 it was estimated that there were 12,938,000 immigrants of whom 8,000,000 (60.3%) were from third, non EEC countries.

2) Data from the State Security Directorate that were given to us by the Ministry of Social Order concern only foreigners to whom residence permits-including extensions- have been granted by the Authorities.

Figure 1 shows a considerable increase in the number of resident permits granted from 1983 (2,126 permits) to 1974 (22,768 permits) and this number is almost tripled during the period 1974-1988 (61,361 permits in 1988). In 1981, 49,932 permits were granted (including extensions), consequently there is a great difference between the figures shown by the 1981 census (180,595 foreigners) and the data provided by EEC - 260,000 foreigners of whom 175,000 were Greeks of foreign citizenship. In 1988 more than half, 53.8% originated from European Countries (33,032 individuals) most were from Poland (10,377), Britain (5,134) and Germany (4,029). One individual, in every 4 (15,640 persons or 25.4% of the total) originated from Asian Countries, most of them from the Philippines (3,457), Iran (2,597) and Lebanon (1,934). There was a special increase in the number of residence permits granted to Filipinos. From 15 in 1973 to 853 in 1980 and 3,457 in 1988. 7,364 individuals (12%) originated from Africa, most from Egypt (3,349), Ethiopia (1,712), Libya (532) and from America 4,070 individuals (6.6%) most from the USA, whereas the remainder are of Australian, New Zealand and undefined citizenship. In the Appendix tables 1-6 data from the Ministry of Social Order are presented, these concern foreigners according to sex, continent and nationality for the year 1988.

An important ascertainment is that up to 1985 men out-numbered women, whereas since 1986 more permits are granted to men. Women from Great Britain and Germany far out-number men, a fact mainly due to mixed marriages. The women from the Philippines, the majority of whom work as home helpers or nurses, are almost 18 times more than their male fellow-countrymen (3,223 women and 234 men in 1988). It should be noted that Greeks from abroad and foreigners from EEC countries have no difficulty in renewing their work permits, but the other foreigners face restrictions and control.

3) The Ministry of Labour in collaboration with the National Statistics Service of Greece collects data on foreigners working in Greece legally. Figure 2 shows the number of foreigners employed legally in the Greek mainland during the period 1980-1988. The foreign workers' families are not shown in figure 2 which only shows the work permits, not the residence permits. The 29,661 immigrants working legally in 1988 are classified as follows :

a) According to sex and age: Figure 3 shows the age pyramid of foreigners working legally in Greece: 6 in 10 are men belonging mostly to the particularly productive age group, under 40 years of age. As to the distinction according to sex, the data from the Ministry of Labour do not agree with the data from the State Security Directorate which show that from 1986 more residence permits were granted to women (Figure I).

b) According to the country of origin: Most of the legal workers originate from countries of Europe (52%) and Asia (28%). The same percentage prevails as regards both Africans and Americans (7.7%) whereas those originating from Australia are considerably fewer (2.9%). Of the total of legally employed foreigners 1 in 3 (33%) originate from the 12

EEC countries whereas 1 in 5 (21%) are Greeks from Turkey, Albania and Cyprus (Figure 3). Figure 4 shows the legally employed foreigners. The small percentage of agricultural workers with work permits (2.6%) is due to seasonal employment, and to the inability of employers to apply in due time for work permits for foreign workers, whom they employ illegally. The very small percentage employed in mines (0.1%) would be much larger if those working without permits were taken into account. Because of the bad working conditions and the refusal of the Greek labour force to accept such occupations, it is very probable that the number of legally employed foreigners will increase in the future. Industry and home industry employ a high percentage of immigrants. Commerce, hotels and restaurants (29.5%) and services (12.1%) employ the largest percentage of legal foreign workers, and it is believed that the greatest percentage of illegal immigrants is employed in these branches also.

The occupational status of foreigners working legally is shown in Figure 5. Most are office workers (27.8%), that is to say holding jobs congenial to the native labour force. Many are citizens of developed countries, working for multinational or international firms. Besides a large percentage consists of individuals belonging to the professions (26.1%).

Differences exist according to the country of origin. Most Europeans occupy positions requiring specialization and that are congenial to the native labour force. Few Europeans work as artisans-labourers, whereas the overwhelming majority of Turks, Egyptians and Albanians are employed as labourers on a legal basis. According to data of 1988 0.6% of Europeans are employed in agriculture-cattle breeding as against 24.4% of Africans. Most Africans constitute the humbler staff in cattle-breeding (cattle-farms, pig-farms, poultry farms) or are employed as home-helpers, helpers of the very old and/or disabled, nurses, cleaners.

Citizens from Third World Countries work without permits, seasonably in agriculture, fishing, tourism, building and construction work, and as helpers. Foreigners from highly developed countries work illegally in tourism and in the tertiary sector as secretaries, assistants for firms with foreign connections.

4) The Ministry of Merchant Marine holds a census of legally employed seamen, every 2 years. The latest data published were for 1988 (3) and showed that, whereas foreigners constitute 7% of ships' crews on the whole (5,373 foreigners among 31,476), on Greek owned vessels under foreign flag 4 in 10 crew members were foreigners (2,632 foreigners among 5,891). The majority originates from Third World Countries and is employed as lesser crew members. Those data do not refer to foreigners working illegally, as their number cannot be estimated (see table 7 in the Appendix).

No doubt a considerable number of foreigners no longer working in the merchant navy are now employed as an illegal labour force on land. Shipowners estimate that there are 12-40 thousand foreigners working in the merchant navy at all levels, many without a work contract.

5) Statistics of the Ministry of Justice (4), show that, in the year 1985, 707 foreigners (641 men and 66 women) were convicted for various offences, mostly for breaches of penal laws (340) crimes involving property (126), bodily injuries (89). Most of those convicted originated from European Countries (567) the overwhelming majority from Germany (209) a few from United Kingdom (87) and France (65). Very few from Third

World Countries: 6 from Pakistan, 1 from India, 1 from Jordan, 3 from other Asian Countries, 3 from Marocco, 2 from Sudan and 24 from other African countries.

6) Data published in Eurostat. Data appearing in the official statistics of the EEC are taken from sources that differ from country to country, and exclusively concern those foreigners who reside legally in EEC countries. As regards data on Greece, certain reservations have been expressed as to their accuracy, because they have not been compiled methodically by the National Statistical Service of Greece, but have been collected from various administrative Services, so the results are incomplete or erroneous containing double entries; e.g. many foreigners having dual nationality may use either as it suits them best, and as a result the same person appears twice on the records (see Table 8 in the Appendix).

7) Data published by the Council of Europe (see Table 9 in the Appendix).

8) Estimates on Refugees. Refugees estimated at 14 million throughout the world in 1981 (5) have increased considerably in all European countries during the last few years. In 1985, 3,500 persons had applied to the High Commission for Refugees for refugee status, in Greece. Table 10 in the Appendix shows the number of refugees in Greece during 1987-1989.

The refugees are classified by the competent authority of the Intergovernmental Committee for Migration as follows:

a) those applying for refugee status (asylum seekers) whether they have arrived in Greece with visitors' permits, or illegally, crossing the country on foot or arriving in small boats at Greek islands, or traversing by boat or swimming the river Evros;

b) refugees who have been granted refugee status by the High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR mandate status) or by the Greek Government that grants this status mainly to Turks;

c) those who have not been granted refugee status but who remain in the country as de facto refugees until they are forwarded to other countries for permanent residence. The number of the latter is unknown. Refugees who are granted political asylum by the Greek Government or refugee status by the High Commission for Refugees do not acquire the right of permanent residence nor the right to work in Greece, since the Greek Government, at the ratification of the Geneva Convention, requested the inclusion of these two clauses. The impossibility of obtaining a work permit and the very small allowance (10,000 drs per month) allotted the refugees by the High Commission oblige the refugees to seek employment, in spite of the fact that they have no right to do so. They usually find employment as home helpers, helpers of the very old and/or the disabled, or the underground economy. The International Committee on Migration, during the 35 years of its operation, has forwarded more than 70,000 refugees, 2,886 in 1987 and 2,339 in 1988. Most were resettled in the 3 large receiving countries: in 1988, 1,206 went to Canada, 1,046 to the USA, 54 to Australia and only 33 to other countries.

9) *Pontian Refugees*(6). According to the USSR Census of 1979, there are 344 thousand Greeks whose basic language is Greek. There are, however, many more who call themselves Greek or do not declare to the Authorities that they speak Greek. The Greek Associations in the URSS claim that the Pontians today number at least 500,000. According to other estimates the Greeks and their children from mixed marriages reach 1 million. It has been estimated that since 1965, 70,000 individuals have settled in Greece. The estimates of the National Foundation for the Resettlement of Repatriated Greeks

(NFRRG) 527 persons arrived in 1987, 1,365 in 1988, 6,791 in 1989, 6,880 during the period January-March 1990, and since June 1990 almost 2,000 persons are coming every month.

Most of the Pontians arrived in the USSR during the period 1916-1923. The returnees are other than those who emigrated, so it is essentially an immigration and not a return or a repatriation to Greece.

The research of the General Secretariat of Greeks Abroad, on 1,216 persons 61% men and 39% women, of an average age of 39, states that in the coming years 15,000 persons a year are expected to arrive in Greece. According to the data of the NFRRG have arrived 4,822 member families, 3,173 member families, 3,044 member families, 1,205 member families, 296 member families and 12 multimember families. Also 705 men and 460 women came alone. They are facing problems of housing, employment and language.

The NFRRG estimates that about 20,000 persons per year will come to Greece in the next 8-10 years, but the Institute for Refugee Studies in Oxford believes that during the next 7 years 7 million Soviet citizens will emigrate, 500 thousand among them for Greece.

10) *Migrants of Greek origin from Albania.*

During 1990-1991 an important but not statistically known number of Greek origin persons from Albania have arrived in Greece. Some have already returned to Albania. This immigration wave is still in evolution and has not yet been studied.

11) *Foreign Students.*(7)

The number of foreign students in Greece was 6704 during the academic year 1981-82. The majority were from Cyprus (4,224) and Turkey (519) 424 were citizens of African countries, 421 from Jordan, 7 from Pakistan and 1 from Philippines. In 1986-87 the total number fell to 1,155 foreign students registered at Universities and Colleges of Higher Education (those registered at Technical Colleges are not included) 730 were Cypriots, 7 Ethiopians and 1 Filipino. Therefore the number of foreign students is small and their possible illegal participation in permanent or intermittent employment does not constitute a problem for the Greek labour market.

12) *Illegal migrants.*

The dominant illegal flows are from "south" to "north", from the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America to the developed countries of Western Europe, Northern America and Oceania, as well as to a number of countries that are capital-rich or that have transitional economies.(8)

An "illegal migrant" may be a person who crosses a land border between ports of entry to seek employment, a worker who is recruited by an unauthorized agency to work, a migrant worker who loses his (her) job and fails to report the fact to the Authorities; a tourist who decides to remain in the country and seek employment; a student who decides to overstay his (her) visa; a worker who changes his (her) sponsor or breaks his (her) contract without authorization; a refugee who is denied asylum or declared to be an economic migrant (9).

In Greece illegal migrants are more specifically considered: a) foreigners without residence and work permits; b) foreigners with residence permit but working without work permit; c) refugees who have not been granted refugee status by the Greek Government nor by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees.

Comprehensive data on illegal migration stocks and flows are virtually non-existent (10) in all countries.

The number of illegal immigrants in Greece is unknown, and no reliable data is available permitting even an approximate estimate. Of course estimates have been made, and some are given below.

19,000 foreigners, including 4,000 political refugees, were said to be working illegally in Greece, in 1980 (11) but according to estimates of the International Labour Office they amounted to 40 thousand (12). The figure 70,000 was mentioned (13), whereas other estimates placed the total number of foreigners at 130,000 of which 27,000 had work permits for 1987 (14)

In 1988 the figure given (but with many reservations) by the State Security Directorate was 40,000 and by the Intergovernmental Committee for Migration it was 70,000 (15)

For 1989 the estimates provided by the representative of the High Commission for Refugees in Greece, placed illegal immigrants in Greece at 60,000-100,000 (16).

For 1990 the Minister of the State Security has announced to the Council of Europe the number of 70,000 foreigners, including those having work permits (17). The number of illegal migrants in 1990 seems to be higher than that of 1988 but we cannot provide evidence for this year.

We are not able to quote a precise number, but there is evidence that the number stated above is considerably higher than the number of work permits issued during the same year and that there is a tendency for increase. Data about the residence permits are from the State Security Directorate and the comparative data come from the Associations of the Foreigners, the Embassies and the Press.

1) *Filippinos*. In 1988 3,223 Filipino women and 234 men had residence permits (a necessary prerequisite for a work permit). The Filipinos themselves, at their congress, stated that 8-10 thousand persons were working in the country, that puts their number up 3 times. The overwhelming majority is women 95%, of these 70% are young (25-36 years of age). In 1989 the Press, estimated that there were 20,000 employed as home helpers, helpers of the elderly and/or the disabled, nurses and in bars.

2) *Egyptians*. In 1988, 3,349 residence permits were issued (2,511 to men and 883 to women). Information from the Egyptian Embassy, however, puts the total number of Egyptians in Greece at 20,000 persons.

3) *Poles*. 10,337 residence permits were issued in 1988, but it is estimated that 15 persons a day arrive in Greece and that this number doubles in the summer. In November 1988, 2,368 had refugee status granted by the High Commission for Refugees. In 1989 the number mounted to 30-45 thousand persons employed mainly as building workers, seamen, mechanics, agricultural workers or in handicraft industries; the women work as private nurses, cleaners, etc.

4) *Indians*. The number of residence permits in 1988 was 433, whereas the Indian Embassy presumes that at least 2,000 individuals are living in Greece.

5) *Ethiopians*. Only 245 residence permits were recorded in 1988, whereas the Eritrean People's Liberation Organization (EPLO) estimates 800 Eritreans and the same number of Ethiopians who all appear as Ethiopian citizens. However, the number of refugees alone for that same year was 1,669. It was published in the Press that the Ethiopians

numbered 3,500 persons, most of whom work on cattle farms, pig farms, and land workers, home helpers, escorts of aged persons, etc.

6) *Pakistanis*. In 1988 the number of residence permits amounted to 781. The estimates on the total number of Pakistanis range from 2,500-10,000, whereas according to the newspapers the workers in shipyards and the seamen are about 3,500.

7) *Vietnamese*. After the International Conference Organized in Geneva, Greece permitted 200 Vietnamese to settle permanently to this country. In 1989 there were 300 Vietnamese in the whole of Greece, of whom 99 in Rhodes. They are employed in factories, in tourism, while some are self-employed in small family restaurants.

8) *Kurds*. They began arriving in Greece in November 1989. By March 1990, 200 had entered the country.

9) *Turks*. In 1988 the number of residence permits amounted to 1,434 persons. It seems that a considerable number of Turks are living and working in Greece without residence and work permits. The number of Turks who have applied for political asylum to the Greek authorities was 387 in 1987.

10) *Albanians*. As for the persons of Greek origin from Albania, the number of Albanians who arrived in great numbers during the period 1990-1991 is unknown. Some have already returned to their homeland, but the migration wave is still in evolution.

Part II. Causes of the arrival of immigrants and refugees in Greece.

Europe, with its aging, stationary and diminishing population, is in proximity with countries with young and rapidly increasing populations. Chances of migration are encouraged or discouraged by the policy of the receiving countries whose basic target is their economic development. The restrictions imposed by the traditional receiving countries of North and West Europe made it easier for would-be migrants from the Third World - mostly illegal - to enter South European countries, with the hope that eventually emigration to countries overseas or to North Europe would be possible(1). The revolution in world transport and communications has had its effect on the destination of migrants.

With the assistance of Greek and foreign scientific bibliography, the causes concerning Greece have been classified as follows :

1. CAUSES CONNECTED WITH THE GEOPOLITICAL POSITION AND THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC SITUATION IN GREECE.

1. *The geopolitical position of Greece.*

Greece's geopolitical position plays an important role where the entry of foreigners is concerned, situated near the Middle East, Turkey and the North African countries, at the crossroads of 3 continents, Europe, Africa and Asia. The borders are extensive and easily accessible by sea and by the river Evros. The fact that Greece is a tourist country, with over 8 millions tourists in 1988 and 9 millions in 1990, makes the control of illegal entries difficult. Greece's good relations with all countries leads to a certain tolerance as regards illegal foreigners. Besides, it is hard to trace those living in the country illegally without work permits.

2. Demographic Developments (2)

The mass emigration of Greeks to West European and to overseas countries caused a scarcity of unskilled workers on the Greek Labour Market. The drop in the birthrate, particularly pronounced in the 80's, has already contributed to the diminution in the Greek Labour force, and to the employment of foreigners; this trend is bound to continue with even greater intensity in the future.

3. Economic development of Greece and mal-function of the labour market.

The peculiar character of the development of the Greek economy, and particularly the rise in incomes in the primary sector of the economy, in combination with employment in tourism and building construction have limited internal migration to the urban centres of the unskilled labour force willing to accept any employment, because alternative job opportunities have been created in the provinces. To meet the needs created by the mal-function of the labour market, foreigners are employed either legally or illegally. The scarcity observed on the Greek labour market since the early 70's is relative and not absolute. It is a shortage of a labour force willing to work for low salaries or in live-in jobs. There is also a demand, by middle class families for live-in domestic servants and helpers for the elderly and/or the disabled.

The Micro-census (3) showed that 627,630 individuals had returned to Greece by 1986, of whom 56% were 15-44 years of age (23,9%, 15-29 years of age). The returnees avoid unskilled, dangerous and low-status jobs. In Athens and the Greek islands, surveys showed that returnees with savings used some of their capital to set up small family businesses or more rarely partnerships(4). In Macedonia, the phenomenon of foreign employment is limited to Poles. According to a survey carried out in Macedonia and Thrace (5) the returnees, with few exceptions settle in their place of origin and tend to work periodically. Only 3.3% in West Macedonia and 8.5% in East Macedonia and Thrace set up their own businesses, whereas Gipsies and Pomaks are employed as cheap labour in agriculture, and men from the Muslim Communities of Thrace have menial and unhygienic jobs in the mines of Thassos and Chalkidiki. The Poles, who arrive in summer, work for 1-3 months, and live in tents on farms. In the region of Imathia alone in 1986, 5,000-6,000 individuals were employed during the harvest (mainly gathering peaches).

A) Underground economy and hidden employment.

Underground, black or parallel economy (6) is a phenomenon that has emerged in all developed and developing countries and has assumed great dimensions in East European countries as well.

Underground economy flourishes in Greece. The income from underground economy for 1984 was estimated at 28.6% of the Gross National Product (GNP) (7), for 1985 it was estimated at 1,174 billion drs, which was 28.4% of the GNP, in 1988 it was 31.6% and in 1990 was 30-35 of the GNP (8). Black economy offers employment at low salaries and without insurance coverage, which all workers are entitled to: a) in the primary sector in the branches of fruit picking, agriculture and cattle breeding; b) in the secondary sector in industry and construction ; c) in the tertiary sector in the services. There is a demand for work in the lower sections of underground economy, for jobs not requiring qualifications and specialisation, for which there is no offer on the part of the native labour force (home helpers, cleaners, lesser kitchen workers, lesser personnel in

hospitals etc.). In the underground economy, the illegal immigrants are often victims of deceit and unlawful exploitation.

Many Greeks are self-employed in small scale traditional activities. In 1984 only 45% of the economically active population was salaried, whereas 28.2% was self employed(9), and consisted of two social groups registered separately by the National Statistical Service of Greece: employers and those working "on their own account". In 1981, the latter were estimated at 20% in Athens, and 23% in Thessaloniki (10). The category of self-employed consists of small businessmen, free lance workers, retailers, and marginal strata. It is a dependent occupation called self-employment. The self employed need assistants, either all the year round or for a certain period. They usually call upon their wives or members of their family and other relatives and when these do not suffice, foreigners are employed. In Macedonia only 1/3 of businesses work the year round. Much of the production process is subcontracted either to small family units or to industrial homeworkers, mostly women (11).

Hidden employment is a complex and multidimensional phenomenon that has barely been investigated in Greece up to date. This employment is not made known to the authorities with a view to evade taxation and contributions and to dodge rules and regulations. Secretly employed individuals not appearing in official data, do not belong to the foreign illegal labour force only, but may very well originate from self-employed or salaried persons and people outside the labour force, such as women and pensioners(12).
B) *Seasonal employment.*

Apart from small businesses in towns, there is also the possibility of seasonal employment in agriculture, construction and tourism, in combination with long periods of underemployment or unemployment. Greece is a tourist country and the control of the borders is rudimentary. Therefore many foreigners enter the country as tourists and stay on illegally after their 3 month residence permit has expired. Besides it is very hard to locate individuals living in the country without residence or work permits. In tourism, work is available for 3-7 months of the tourist period (13). According to the International Labour Office (14), tourism is a "labour intensive" industry; where the Labour force increases steadily in spite of efforts to increase productivity by means of new technology. The labour force is comparatively young and unskilled. It is estimated that in bars, restaurants, hotels, local jobs etc. 65% of economic activities are "underground" while in winter there is no work available. The inhabitants of tourist areas have turned to employment in tourism, either permanently or in the form of dual employment (agricultural section, or construction work in combination with a tourist job). The labour force of the area is not sufficient to meet the needs during the peak season, so individuals from other parts of Greece as well as foreigners are employed during the summer months when the local population must see to their tourist and agriculture occupation. Tourism offers the possibility to combine work and vacation for the young, either Greeks or foreigners, whereas the increased demand for labour in the agricultural section during harvest time is met by young tourists from highly developed countries and by economic immigrants and political refugees originating mainly from Poland and Africa. The phenomenon of the employment of foreigners is particularly prevalent in Crete and the Peloponnese.

C) *Improvement of the standard of education.*

The development of the educational level of the population and the rejection of unskilled labour on the part of the young, have also led to the mal-function of the labour market.

4) *The development of the Merchant Marine.*

In the post-war period the development of marine transport employed a large percentage of Africans and Asians at salaries much lower than those earned by Greeks. According to the Code of Public Naval Law, foreigners are not allowed to exceed 25% of the crew members of ships under Greek flag. Apart from the foreign seamen legally employed on Greek cargo ships, and Greek owned ships under foreign flag, an unknown number is employed illegally. The crisis in the Merchant Navy has reduced the number of both legal and illegal workers. It would appear that a large number of those who lost their jobs have found employment in mainland Greece.

5) *Infrastructure for refugees.*

The 1951 United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees (the so-called Geneva Convention) supplemented by the 1967 United Nations Refugee Protocol on the provision for refugees were signed by Greece. The fact that Greece is party to both these instruments and to other international legal instruments which are directly or indirectly concerned with refugees as well as the existence in Greece of an international infrastructure have greatly facilitated the arrival of refugees in Greece. The Offices of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees are located in Athens. They grant refugee status and a small allowance to refugees. The offices of the National Council for Refugees and of the International Migration Committee are also in Athens. Recently 3000-3200 persons a year have been forwarded to overseas countries. In Greece there are also voluntary organisations such as the World Council of Churches (WCC), the International Catholic Migration Committee (ICMC) and the Tolstoi Foundation that see to the emigration of refugees to countries of permanent settlement. (US, Canada, Australia).

II. CAUSES CONNECTED WITH GREEK EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES

Greek and foreign experts(15) emphasize the importance of employers and of the type of work, in the employment of foreigners. Entreprises prefer foreign workers in order to evade taxation and social charges such as contributions to social security, whereas private employers prefer them because they accept low pay without any social security. It is maintained that "industries where migrants are concentrated, (..) some of them are under very intense competitive pressure from abroad, that is why they cannot pay the wages required to attract native labour and if migration was curtailed, they would no longer survive domestically and the goods they produce would be imported" (16). In other words, some handicraft manufactories in Greece, if they had to pay salaries high enough to attract Greek labour, would soon be out of business, the goods they produce would be imported, and very probably the owners themselves would emigrate. A close relationship between employer and employee is characteristic of such businesses." Small

businesses (sometimes themselves clandestine) welcome a cheap, undemanding and flexible supply of labour"(17).

In Greece, the employment of foreigners who are not able to negotiate and are prepared to accept lower salaries and worse working conditions than those which are acceptable to Greek employees is the result of the tendency of employers, especially small businessmen and private individuals to seek cheap labour. The cost of illegal labour is 50% lower than the official legal cost, and this creates opportunities of employment for the illegal labour force. For instance, in February 1991 the minimum salary of a Greek live-in domestic servant was drs 70,000 and 22,200 for National Insurance Coverage. As regards live-in nurses, their salary is 80,000 to 150,000 drs plus 37% that includes the contribution of both employer and employee, bringing the sum paid by the employer to 118,000 -205,000, whereas a foreigner's salary is 40,000 - 75,000 (men are less paid than women when they live-in). Very often that is the only cost involved for the employer, because it is agreed that no insurance be paid - although foreigners with work permits are entitled to have insurance coverage. In the tourist sector, the cost of semi-skilled labour, with the knowledge of at least one foreign language, is much higher than the cost of a student from North or West Europe who often knows two languages. Foreigners in Greece without work permits and often without residence permits are unable to claim legal remuneration and national insurance coverage, nor can they complain to the Police that they are paid less than the amount agreed upon. Because they receive low salaries, and have no national insurance coverage and other elementary benefits they are "cheaper" for the employers and that is why they find employment.

In certain cases unscrupulous employers make great profits from the exploitation of foreign workers. On the other hand there are small businessmen who owe the existence of their businesses to illegal labour and to the fact that no questions are asked by the Trade Unions, also to the close relationship created between worker and employer. It should be noted that in 1984 on a total of 144,463 industries 123,962 employed up to 4 persons.

Besides, families with average incomes are able to keep their aged, sick or bed-ridden relatives at home, thanks to the assistance of a foreign nurse or helper. Let us not forget that the increase in number and percentage of aged in the Greek population is on a par with the serious lack of services, especially those of home helpers and carers. Persons who care for aged individuals, but who are under no control from any quarter, demand sums that exceed a good pension that an aged couple is supposed to live on. For the above reasons the employment of foreigners, mainly illegal, still continues, although Greek Law foresees strict penalties for employers who employ foreigners without work permits or whose permits are no longer valid.

Permits have not been granted recently to domestic servants, but only to nurses (males or females). However, healthy and young individuals submit the necessary documents to get a work permit for a nurse whom they later use as a domestic servant. In Greece, as well as in Italy (18) a Filipino domestic servant is a kind of status symbol. On the other hand, persons genuinely in need of help are unable to employ a foreigner, albeit illegally, either because they cannot afford one, or because of the complicated formalities required to bring a foreigner into the country with a work permit, even if they have to pay the lowest salary.

It is also important the role played by the employment agencies that "recruit" foreign workers and particularly home helpers and nurses. In the immigrants' countries of origin bureaus and middlemen (with or without licences) demand from the luckless emigrants vast sums to find work for them in countries of South Europe, and particularly in Greece. Not infrequently do the middlemen vanish with the money.

These agencies and middlemen play an important role in Greece also, where domestic servants, nurses and seamen are concerned, as they guarantee employment that their relatives and fellow-countrymen living in Greece cannot secure. Although the Law is particularly strict as regards private employment agencies and middlemen who charge a fee to find employment for foreigners in Greece, several such agencies are operating and advertising in the newspapers. Employment bureaus for seamen, bearing the names of tourist agencies or shipping enterprises operate in Piraeus, and their fees are paid out of the seamen's salaries. As regards domestic servants, the employer concerned pays to the Agency 30,000-40,000 drs for each worker. The Press has denounced the activities of illegal agencies that exploit unemployed workers, mainly foreigners, a state of affairs that tends to become a "contemporary slave-trade". A particular concern are the "entertainment agents" who bring young girls from Asia and Africa, but force them into prostitution. There are also employment agencies for professional executives that usually supply multinational companies with highly specialised and experienced personnel who are very generously paid (400,000 to 5,000,000 drs per month).

III. CAUSES REGARDING THE GREEK LABOUR FORCE

The immigrant workers in West European Countries have been employed in jobs rejected by the native labour force. Such jobs are connected with bad working conditions, little security and low social status. What is the situation in South European countries and especially in Greece?

Specialists who have analysed the Italian Labour Market and the causes of employing foreign labour, came to the following conclusions :

- a) the change of attitude in industrial countries has resulted in the natives' refusal to work in unskilled and badly-paid jobs (19).
- b) The native labour force rejects unskilled work at low salaries and long working hours - preferring unemployment. This phenomenon is explained by the work expectations of the young generation. When employment levels are high, the young are not disposed to work in jobs that they consider incompatible with their specialization and their social position (20).
- c) An income from the family or from the State (unemployment benefit) permits the individual to live without being obliged to sell his work potential (21).

Greek workers refuse employment they consider socially unacceptable, unhygienic, dangerous or badly-paid in the secondary sector (mines, chemical industries, construction work) and in the tertiary sector (lesser kitchen and hospital workers, cleaners, etc). They also avoid arduous agricultural employment and other jobs in the primary sector e.g. work on cattle farms, pig farms, poultry farms, or as fishermen. Greek women reluctantly agree to work as live-in domestic helpers.

Unskilled labour repels workers with even an elementary level of education who seek to better themselves socially. They reject employment in small industries-home

industries, in mines etc. where the existing conditions of hygiene and safety are unsatisfactory and in certain cases deplorable.

Greek bibliography (22) is very helpful for the analysis of the causes concerning Greek youth : The new generation prefers to swell the ranks of unemployed in towns rather than be integrated in industry. The workers have their children educated in order to save them from the dependence, misery and insecurity that they themselves experienced. In particular, young High School or University Graduates and especially their parents, prefer unemployment to employment in jobs which they consider incompatible with their education and social position. The family encourages and plans the delayed integration of the young into the labour market. In most Greek families the custom of financing the children who are studying, and even those who are not, is considered a moral parental obligation. An exceptionally high proportion of the children's jobs are superior to those of their parents. The consent of the family in delaying the integration of the young into the labour market and the family -influenced expectation of a "better" (at any rate non-manual) job, relate to the view that acceptance of a temporary "inferior" job may be detrimental : a declared preference not to work appears much more acceptable than a degrading job.

The unwillingness of the Greeks to accept certain low-status, poorly paid jobs under unpleasant and/or unhygienic conditions, has resulted in the systematic employment of illegal labour force in unskilled jobs, termed "non-acceptable" by the native labour force.

The jobs accepted by the foreigners are not always badly paid. But besides the hard and/or unhygienic working conditions and the low social status, these jobs rarely provide opportunities of promotion to more congenial employment.

IV. CAUSES REGARDING THE IMMIGRANTS' COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN.

1. Third World and East European countries.

A large number of studies (23) analyse the causes of emigration. In the 1970s and 1980s more and more migrants from Third World countries emigrated to South European countries. They did not only originate from countries relatively near Europe such as countries of North and West Africa, but from distant lands in Asia where a migratory tradition to Europe did not exist. Several Governments of Third World countries encouraged the emigration of their nationals and increasingly endeavoured to restrict the exploitation suffered by their citizens in foreign countries, as well as to stipulate conditions of employment.

What are the causes of these emigrations ? During the last 4 decades the world has been rapidly changing. A large number of countries have gained their independence under difficult circumstances. A rapid population increase has been observed in many areas and the revolution in world transport and communication have had an impact on the destination of migrants and refugees. Political, economic and social crises in Africa, Asia and the Middle East countries account for this emigration.

a) Political causes

Abnormal political situations - dictatorships, coups d'état, internal conflicts, persecutions (imprisonment, threat of execution, amputations or torture, women publicly flogged for having their heads not covered by a mantilla etc) in certain countries of Asia (Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, the Philippines) and of Europe (Poland, Romania) the war between Ethiopia and Erithrea that has lasted 29 years, the civil war in Lebanon, the Iran-Iraq war, and other international or civil engagements have obliged a part of their population to choose the alternative solution of emigration. The end of colonial rule, the independence of the former British, French and Italian colonies in Asia and Africa resulted in citizens of these countries arriving in Britain, France and Italy. As the former colonising powers and the traditional receiving countries no longer accept immigrants, some have turned towards Southern Europe. In the Soviet Union, Gorbachov's perestroika policy, the upsurge of nationalistic tendencies especially in the Caucasian and Transcaucasian Republics, free travel permission to leave the country since March 1989, have been the cause for thousand of Pontians to throng to the Greek embassy in Moscow to obtain the "longed-for visa". The Kurds left Iraq-held Kurdistan in August 1988 after the use of chemical weapons has killed 25,000 individuals, and fled to Turkey where they are confined to camps. The severe emergency measures like exile, censorship, banning of strikes, resulted in their mass emigration.

b) Economic causes (24)

Poverty, hunger, natural disasters in the country of origin, misery and hardships that increase with the widening of the gap between rural and urban districts, "excessive" urbanization, low income, unemployment and underemployment that plague a large part of the labour force, the underdevelopment in general, are basic causes of emigration from Third World Countries. In these countries there is an abundance of working hands, not only in the absolute meaning of the unemployed, but with the relative meaning of individuals emigrating for a better income. In many countries, particularly in Asia, an economic development has been observed in recent years and the standard of living has improved, nevertheless the differences in incomes between the receiving countries and the countries of origin are still great, and small cash incomes no longer satisfy rising expectations. In some countries with a large rural population a great role has been played by the feudal system of ownership, the outdated cultivation methods, the dependence of production on uncontrollable natural factors (e.g.drought) and the very low rural income. In other countries where the greater part of the labour force is occupied in agriculture , the extension of the arable land is restricted, and industrial development is unable to absorb the increase in population and permit of a larger participation of women in the "paid" labour force.

A certain role was also played by the Governments of the countries of origin by encouraging their citizens to emigrate in order to have an income in foreign exchange. In the Philippines, for instance, it was estimated that in 1986, 800,000 Filippinos were employed abroad, most of them women, which constituted 8% of the rural labour force. During that same year \$ 1.8 billion were remitted to their homeland, a sum which constituted 30% of the countries exports (25). The foreign debt of the countries of origin needs millions of dollars to be paid off. That is why emigration is encouraged.

A number of Pontians left the Soviet Union because the economic crisis of the Soviet Union touches them and they are not willing to wait till the measures of economic reform take effect in a few years. Others left Armenia (mainly from Erivan) after the earthquakes that destroyed their homes.

c) Social causes (26)

The changes in the way of life in the less developed countries, the claim to higher expectations, the desire for consumer goods which cannot be fulfilled on the very low salaries and wages paid, the wish for social betterment of individuals and their families, all induce the immigrants to accept jobs they themselves consider humiliating and inferior, in the hope of enjoying a better future on their return to their homeland. The number of migrant women shows the changes, in the role of women, that are taking place in some Third World countries e.g. Philippines.

d) Demographic causes (27)

The demographic development of certain areas in the Third World is not related to their socio-economic development even when the latter evolves rapidly. Intense demographic pressures in combination with political, economic and social causes incite individuals to leave. The fall in mortality, especially infant mortality, which is due to suppression of epidemics by easily available medical treatment and to the aid from the World Health Organisation (WHO), the United Nations and UNICEF, in combination with high fertility, leads to a large increase in population, especially of the young.

e) Cultural causes

An interesting study on the emigration of Filipinos shows that their culture has always accepted the financial independence of women. Prior to the Spanish occupation, women worked, not only on farms and in animal husbandry, but in commerce as well. Even at present, a large section of the retail market is run by women, who manage small shops and open air markets. Therefore, the emigration of women seeking work opportunities is in accordance with the financial role of women in Filipino culture (28).

2. *Causes concerning highly developed countries and particularly EEC countries* (29).

Since 1-1-1988 free movement of workers has been permitted. This means that Europeans from EEC countries employed in Greece are not obliged to apply for work permits to the competent services of the Ministry of Labour and are able to work in any sector of the Greek economy without the need of any prior investigations on the Labour Market as to whether there are vacant positions where the foreigner wishes to work, as is the case with foreigners from other countries. The free movement of workers is in accordance with Act 48 of the Convention of Rome and with regulation 1612/68. The right of entry and residence is withheld if public order, public security and public health are in jeopardy. Spain and Portugal will not be included in the rules of free movement of workers until 1-1-1993 (they are passing through a transition period that ends on 31-12-

1992). Finally, the high unemployment rate of the young in Europe, and the possibilities of seasonal and partial employment in certain sectors of the Greek economy, favour the employment of foreigners, particularly during the summer in agriculture, in tourism and in building construction.

V. CAUSES CONNECTED WITH THE MIGRANTS THEMSELVES

International migration, whether permanent or temporary, is a difficult and painful decision. It is often connected with external factors that are related to the prosperity of the would-be emigrant (male or female). The causes connected with the migrants themselves have been the subject of many studies both abroad and in Greece (30). In the receiving countries the immigrants accept jobs they consider humiliating and inferior because they believe that these will contribute to their own social betterment and to that of their families when they return to their homeland. Many prefer to work abroad for the same or even lower income, provided they avoid the stigma of manual work in their own country (31). The great adaptability of foreigners to arduous, badly paid jobs where conditions are particularly hard has been recognized (32). Surveys of female Filipino migrants (33) showed that the emigration of young girls is "planned" by the family and justified by the need of further income. Girls are preferred because it is believed that daughters are more likely to send money home to help the family, instead of spending it on themselves. When a married woman emigrates, the extended family looks after her children and her husband. Finally, social and psychological factors are related to illegal immigration. The wish to flee from a society where they do not feel well integrated.

No research has been done in Greece, as it was the case in Italy for instance (34), but from various sources (social workers, the Press, questions put to immigrants and refugees) the following have transpired.

1. Economic immigrants from Third World Countries (35).

A number of aliens from Arab countries, the Philippines, Pakistan, Central African and Southeast Asian countries work in Greece, which they consider as a temporary stop in their search for employment in the European and North American labour market. Most did not have a work contract or insurance coverage and endured bad working conditions in their country of origin, and accept similar conditions in Greece. However, they are significantly better paid in Greece than in their own countries. Their aim is to earn enough money to improve their social position in their own country. They accept jobs that the native labour force rejects, their aim being to save as much money as possible in the shortest possible time, so as to set up a small business in their homeland. Farmers wish to buy land, livestock and farm machinery. Individuals from towns would like to run small businesses and have their children educated. All dream of owning their own home in their country of origin, or improving it and equipping it with consumer goods (electrical appliances, colour television, furniture, etc). As expectations grow faster than incomes, individuals emigrate in search of higher incomes. They consider their jobs in the receiving countries as humiliating and inferior but justified because of the social advancement they and their families will enjoy on their return to their homeland. They

accept work in the services sector (servant, nurse) and agree to limited leisure time because these jobs allow them to save all or the greater part of their salaries.

For women (36), the change in traditional values is a crucial factor; the desire to escape from traditions and customs which they no longer accept, the hope of bettering their position with the possibility to be self-employed when they return are all-important. In addition, personal reasons, such as an illegitimate child, marital incompatibility and no divorce possibilities are causes for emigration. In particular, Filipino women become domestic servants in spite of having an education and being skilled workers in their own country. Italian studies have revealed that most of them (60%) are content with their job and only few report dissatisfaction because their job is inferior to the one they had back home.

Several hundred foreign businessmen and Company employees from war-torn Lebanon have settled in Athens since the late 1970s.

2) Political Refugees (37).

Most become refugees voluntarily because the tyrannical regimes in their own countries endanger their lives and threaten them with torture or annihilation. Hostilities, civil war and other armed conflicts force them to abandon their own countries and to seek security and protection in other countries. They consider Greece a temporary stop-over in their search for a country in which they will finally settle and become employed (mainly in the USA, Canada and Australia). All hope to return to their homeland one day. The Kurds, after suffering genocide by chemical warfare in Iraq during 1989, arrived in Turkey where they were confined to refugee camps under wretched conditions and where attempts were made to poison them. They escaped and after many adventures arrived in Greece, crossing the Evros river and paying 1,000 - 1,500 \$ per person. They seek jobs in order to survive.

3) Immigrants originating from EEC countries and other developed countries (38).

Many Europeans originating from EEC countries are employed legally in Greece as businessmen, in the professions or as business executives. Most executives originate from Europe and the USA and are usually University and College Graduates. They are in the 35-50 year age bracket and speak English and at least two other European languages. They are involved in the production, design and development of new products. They are employed mainly in the branches of commodities, food and drink, in the chemical industry and in international banks. Their positions in these businesses are usually those of factory manager, board director or general manager.

Information from the media has indicated that foreign companies would like to minimize the number of foreign executives in Greece, because of the high cost, and because these executives operate with emphasis on quick and short-term results in order to improve their position in the company and further their career. Other employees with special work permits include foreigners married to Greek men or women (estimated at about 150,000 individuals), many of whom have also acquired Greek citizenship.

A significant number of young Europeans work illegally, combining work with holidays and are in great demand in jobs desirable to the native work-force (foreign

language teachers, travel agency employees etc.), whereas others also accept jobs often not wanted by the Greeks (in the harvest, in restaurants, hotels etc.). Most find employment in tourist regions or in Athens with help from relatives or friends of theirs who work or have worked in Greece, or return to regions where they themselves have worked in previous years and are welcome. There exist travel agencies abroad which offer cheap holidays in combination with the possibility of working in Greece.

Several European old age pensioners with small or middle incomes remain in Greece for significant periods of time, or even settle permanently. The pleasant climate of Greece and the ability to make their pension go further than in their own country, influence their decision for temporary or permanent immigration. Individuals, such as writers, artists, persons with private incomes, etc. who desire an "alternative" way of life and wish to avoid city life, have settled permanently or spend a substantial part of the year in regions such as the Cyclades, the Sporades, Hydra and Peloponnese, especially in Monemvasia. Some of the above work seasonally in tourism and at construction sites, while others have become self-employed. Marriage to or even a love affair with a Greek man or woman is also a reason for migration.

A small percentage of foreigners originate from highly developed non-EEC countries. This includes governesses (e.g. from Switzerland), office employees and highly specialized persons (technicians, organisational and managerial experts) who work in international and multinational companies. To a special (numerically small) category belong the members of the diplomatic corps, who usually remain in Greece for 2 to 3 years.

4. The Pontian refugees (39).

Although the rights of the Pontians were recognized in the Soviet Union for the first time in 1989 and M.Gorbatchov has referred to the rehabilitation of the Pontians, the exodus is accelerating for the following reasons: a) for many decades their dream was to reach what they consider their national homeland. Now they can realize it. b) There is a general feeling of insecurity as a result of the Stalinist persecutions. c) In Georgia, Armenia and Central Asia the re-emerging nationalism of the local population leads to extremist behavioural patterns as is the immediate and hasty enforcement of the local language. The Greek element is bilingual in Russian and Pontian, and is often threatened with dismissal if not familiar with the local dialect (e.g. in Kazahstan the Pontians are persecuted if they do not speak the dialect spoken there). An additional problem is the compulsion to change their names and nationality. d) In the Caucasian and Transcaucasian Republics of the Soviet Union where the Pontians are concentrated they are also persecuted by emerging Muslim nationalism. They feel that they are second class citizens and that they are foreigners. e) The hope for a better material future in Greece.

According to a survey conducted by the General Directorate for Greeks Abroad, 1,216 individuals aged 18 years or more showed that the main reason for repatriation was their desire to return to their homeland, followed by family reasons and the improvement in the standard of living. A lower percentage of returnees gave nationalistic turmoil and memories of the Stalinist persecutions as reasons for their return.

Conclusion

The entry of immigrants and political refugees is a recent, non-expected phenomenon. Apart from the immigrants from developed and Third World countries, the Pontians, and at the end 1990-beginning 1991 Greek origin refugees from Albania, as well as Albanians, have been arriving in Greece in great numbers. The analysis of this movement-in still in evolution is not included in our study.

The basic variable of immigration in Greece is the duration of stay of the immigrants. In spite of the restrictions in force, it appears that the immigrants who have come to Greece for financial reasons and who have been living here over 5 years are probably not few in number. The refugees who consider Greece a temporary stop on their way to emigrate to other countries, especially the USA and Canada, sometimes remain in Greece for a period of 3 or even more years. Because these receiving countries have adopted a policy that restricts entry, it has been noted that the length of stay in Greece has increased. During this period they have to be helped to solve the problems they face, to meet the basic need of board and lodging and to find some jobs so as to become self-sufficient. It is believed that the Pontians from the USSR come to Greece to take up permanent residence. Recently, however, the Greek press reported that the USSR Ambassador in Athens stated that 800 individuals have already returned to his country. The temporariness or permanence of the migration is the 'key' to the scientific approach of the matter.

This article has been limited to the causes of the immigration of foreigners in Greece. A separate study will deal with the effects on the labour market of immigrants originating from EEC countries, Third World Countries and Greeks coming from the Soviet Union and Albania, as well as the impact of this entry on the economic and social development of the country. This study will also refer to the social consequences: marginalization, integration, racism directed against immigrants and refugees. A paragraph will refer to the influence of immigrants and refugees on society and particular on the young. Another will analyse the criminality of the immigrants. The contribution of immigrants and refugees to the Greek family (the caring for the children and the help offered to the aged enabling them to remain at home) will be discussed. One section will be devoted to the immigrants' and refugees' way of life in Greece, especially for those originating from Third World countries and Greeks originating from the Soviet Union and Albania. In particular their occupation, income, housing and educational level will be investigated. Finally, reference will be made to the proposed targets and measures for the optimum management of immigrants and refugees. The result of this study is that the entry of immigrants is an aspect of the demographic situation of the country. At the same time, it is an acute socio-economic problem.

NOTES

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APPENDIX

Table 1. Number of foreigners in Greece according to the residence permits issued by the Aliens Bureau by nationality and sex.

I. EUROPE

<u>Nationality</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Total</u>
Belgium	143	239	382
United Kingdom	1,753	3,381	5,134
France	668	872	1,540
F.R.G	1,307	1,962	3,269
Denmark	134	322	456
Italy	794	738	1,532
Ireland	51	133	184
Luxembourg	2	11	13
Netherlands	241	677	918
Spain	92	148	240
Portugal	44	72	116
Total EEC Countries	5,229	8,555	13,784
Albania	62	47	109
Bulgaria	454	639	1,093
Yugoslavia	362	360	722
Romania	604	830	1,434
Total Balcan countries	1,482	1,876	3,358
German Democratic Rep.	105	41	146
Hungary	179	144	323
Poland	6,354	4,023	10,377
USSR	621	880	1501
Czechoslovakia	198	174	372
Total East European Countries	7,457	5,262	12,719
Other Countries	830	2,341	3,171
Total Europe	14,998	18,034	33,032

Source: Ministry of Public Order, Directorate of State Security, Section C/I/a

Table 2. Number of foreigners in Greece according to the residence permits issued by the Aliens Bureau by nationality and sex.

II. ASIA

<u>Nationality</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Total</u>
Viet Nam	125	98	233
Japan	260	249	509
India	335	98	433
Jordan	841	166	1,007
Iraq	552	189	741
Iran	1,502	1,077	2,579
Israel	188	62	250
Lebanon	1,224	710	1,934
Pakistan	597	174	771
Syrian Arab Republic	821	201	1,022
Turkey	807	627	1,434
Philippines	234	3,223	3,457
Other Asian countries	554	726	1,280
Total Asia	8,040	7,600	15,640

Source: Ministry of Public Order, Directorate of State Security, Section C/I/a.

Table 3. Number of foreigners in Greece according to the residence permits issued by the Aliens Bureau by nationality and sex.

III. OCEANIA.

<u>Nationality</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Total</u>
Australia	159	223	382
New Zealand	31	57	88
Total	190	280	470

Source : Ministry of Public Order, Directorate of State Security, Section C/I/a.

Table 4. Foreigners in Greece according to the residence permits granted in 1988, by nationality and sex. IV. AFRICA

<u>Nationality</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Total</u>
Egypt	2,511	838	3,349
Ethiopia	771	941	1,712
Libyan Arab Jamahiriya	349	182	532
Nigeria	266	70	336
S.Africa	34	103	137
Sudan	275	80	355
Other African countries	541	366	907
Total Africa	4,747	2,581	7,328

Source: Ministry of Public Order, Directorate of State Security, Section C/I/a.

Table 5. Foreigners in Greece according to the residence permits granted in 1988 by nationality and sex. V. AMERICA

<u>Nationality</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Total</u>
USA	1,079	1,215	2,294
Brazil	27	176	203
Dominican Republic	10	423	433
Canada	137	224	361
Chile	78	101	179
Other Countries	166	434	600
Total America	1,497	2,573	4,070

Source: Ministry of Public Order, Directorate of State Security, Section C/I/a.

Table 6. Individuals of unspecified nationality, according to the residence permits granted in 1988 by sex.

<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Total</u>
612	205	817

Source: Ministry of Public Order, Directorate of State Security, Section C/I/a.

Table 7. Foreign Sailors working on Greek ships according to the censuses of 1984, 1986 and 1988.

Crews on ships of 100 GRT and over	Year			Participation of foreign seamen %		
	1984	1986	1988	1984	1986	1988
Total	49,184	37,830	31,476	13.8	10.3	17.0
Crews on ships under Greek flag	42,591	32,552	26,103			
Thereof Foreigners	5,653	3,348	5,373			
Crews on Greek- owned ships under foreign flag	6,593	5,278	5,891			
Thereof Foreigners	2,811	2,142	2,632	42.6	40.9	44.6

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Source: 1984 and 1986: Statistics of Merchant Marine, Ministry of Merchant Marine, Athens, 1988, p.34 (in Greek). *Monthly Statistical Bulletin*, Vol. 34, No 1, p.20. (In Greek) Ministry of Merchant Marine, unpublished data (in Greek).

TABLE 8. Foreigners in Greece 1979-1985 according to EUROSTAT data.

<u>Country of origin</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1984</u>	<u>1985</u>
F.R.G.	4,144	5,144	5,694	6,108	7,148
France	2,564	3,191	3,494	3,746	4,199
Italy	3,363	3,834	4,115	4,446	4,905
Netherlands	856	1,092	1,263	1,390	1,624
Belgium	419	519	577	653	779
Luxembourg	9	12	12	13	21
Un.Kingdom	6,435	7,915	8,827	9,364	10,500
Denmark	274	365	423	504	601
Ireland	137	188	220	254	308
Portugal	122	153	155	179	204
Spain	331	399	431	514	602
Yugoslavia	577	686	623	756	883
Other European Countries	6,788	8,413	8,118	9,399	11,905
Africa	21,701	26,778	7,975	7,716	9,010
USA	11,043	13,229	13,457	16,003	17,722 (1)
Canada	888	1,070	1,224	1,130	1,222
Other countries	<u>10,600</u>	<u>11,238</u>	<u>23,472</u>	<u>24,189</u>	<u>26,663</u>
Total	70,251	84,196	80,080	86,370	87,365
<u>Greece (2)</u>	<u>163,547</u>	<u>175,664</u>	<u>183,131</u>	<u>197,417</u>	<u>197,585</u>
Total	233,798	259,860	263,211	283,787	295,841

(1) North America.

(2) Greeks with foreign nationality.

Source: 1979-1981, EUROSTAT, Demographic Statistics, 1984, p.186.

1982-1985, EUROSTAT, Demographic Statistics, 1987, p.192.

Table 9. Population with foreign nationality in Greece according the Council of Europe (C.E.) data.

<u>Country of Nationality</u>	<u>Around 1970</u>	<u>Around 1986</u>	<u>31-12-1987</u>
Austria	318	1,082	1,251
Belgium	247	889	1,018
Cyprus	85	127	133
Denmark	124	702	888
France	1,522	4,738	5,175
R.F.G.	1,984	8,091	8,970
Greece (1)	69,210	87,474	72,298
Iceland	4	18	16
Ireland	50	368	426
Italy	2,021	5,387	5,692
Liechtenstein	1	3	3
Luxembourg	4	30	30
Malta	18	60	67
Netherlands	354	1,884	2,225
Norway	67	451	576
Portugal	35	212	245
Spain	194	662	694
Sweden	165	1,238	1,512
Switzerland	372	1,192	1,343
Turkey	1,492	2,471	2,444
United Kingdom	2,909	11,785	13,280
<i>Total members C.E.</i>	<i>81,176</i>	<i>128,864</i>	<i>120,385</i>
Africa	1,863	9,738	11,014
Asia	2,834	19,217	22,459
Latin America		2,215	2,486
North America	292	19,880	20,303
<i>Total non members C.E.</i>	<i>14,109</i>	<i>66,135</i>	<i>72,655</i>
Total	95,285	194,999	193,385

(1) Greeks with foreign nationality

Source: Register of Aliens, in: Conseil de l'Europe, Evolution démographique récente dans les États membres du Conseil de l'Europe, Strasbourg, 1989, p.144.

Table 10. Refugees in Greece. 1987-1989.**I. Asylum applications received by the UNHCR and the Greek Authorities.**

	1987	1988	1989 (Jan-Dec.)
Europe	3,165	4,609	1,383
Africa	1,446	1,266	668
Middle East	2,511	1,829	1,168
Asia	<u>236</u>	<u>720</u>	<u>185</u>
Total	7,358	8,424	3,404

II. Asylum granted by the UNHCR and the Greek Authorities. 1989.

	Greek Authorities accord- ing to 1951 Convention	U.N.H.C.R. mandate status
Europe	234	289
Africa	12	188
Middle East	39	831
Asia	<u>6</u>	<u>37</u>
Total	291	1,345

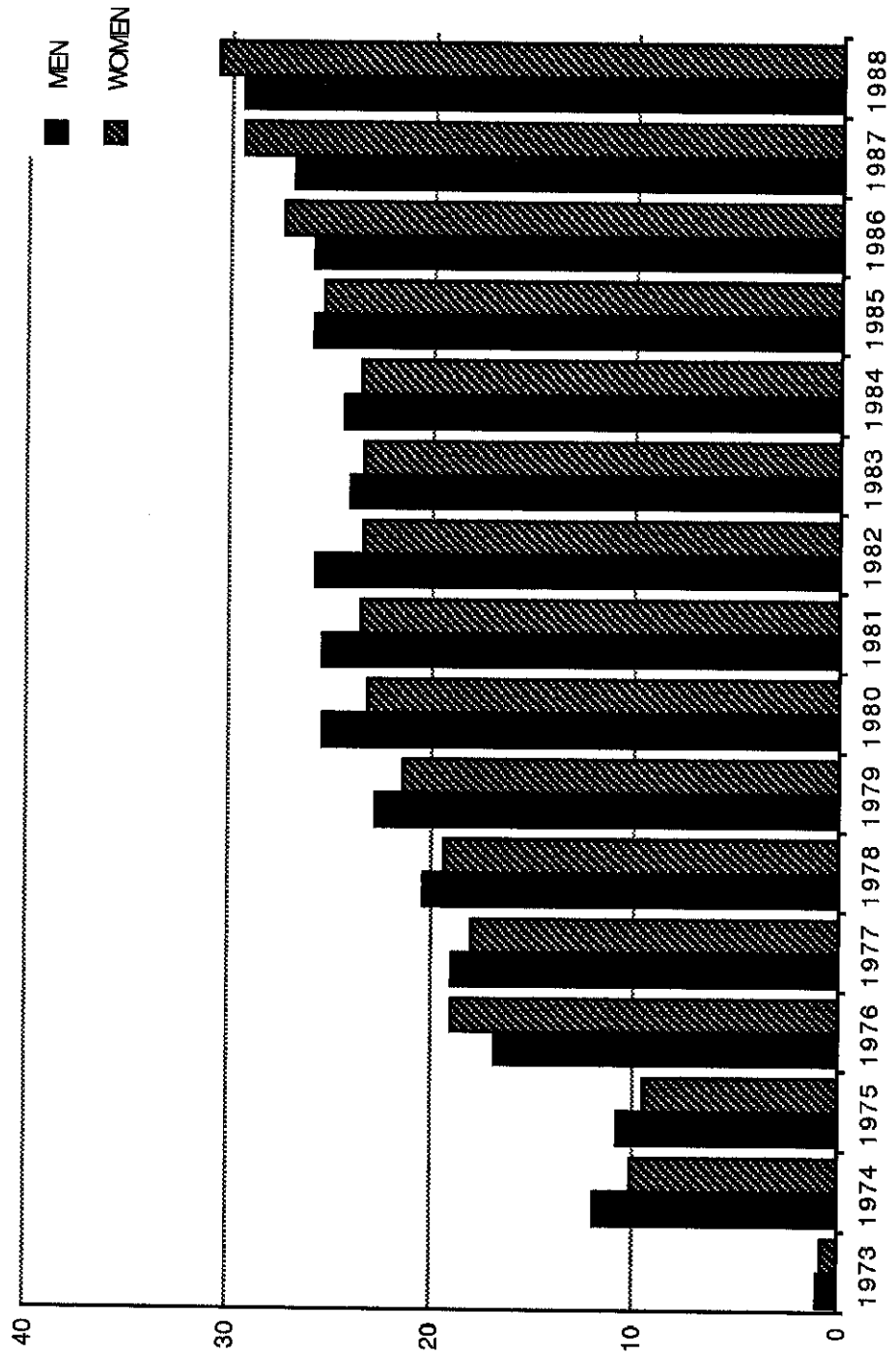
III. Applications for Asylum to the specific Agencies: Intergovernmental Catholic Migration Committee, World Council of Churches and Tolstoi Foundation.

	1988	1989
Europe	7,020	4,440
Africa	1,012	1,177
Middle East	1,284	841
Asia	<u>-</u>	<u>16</u>
Total	9,316	6,474

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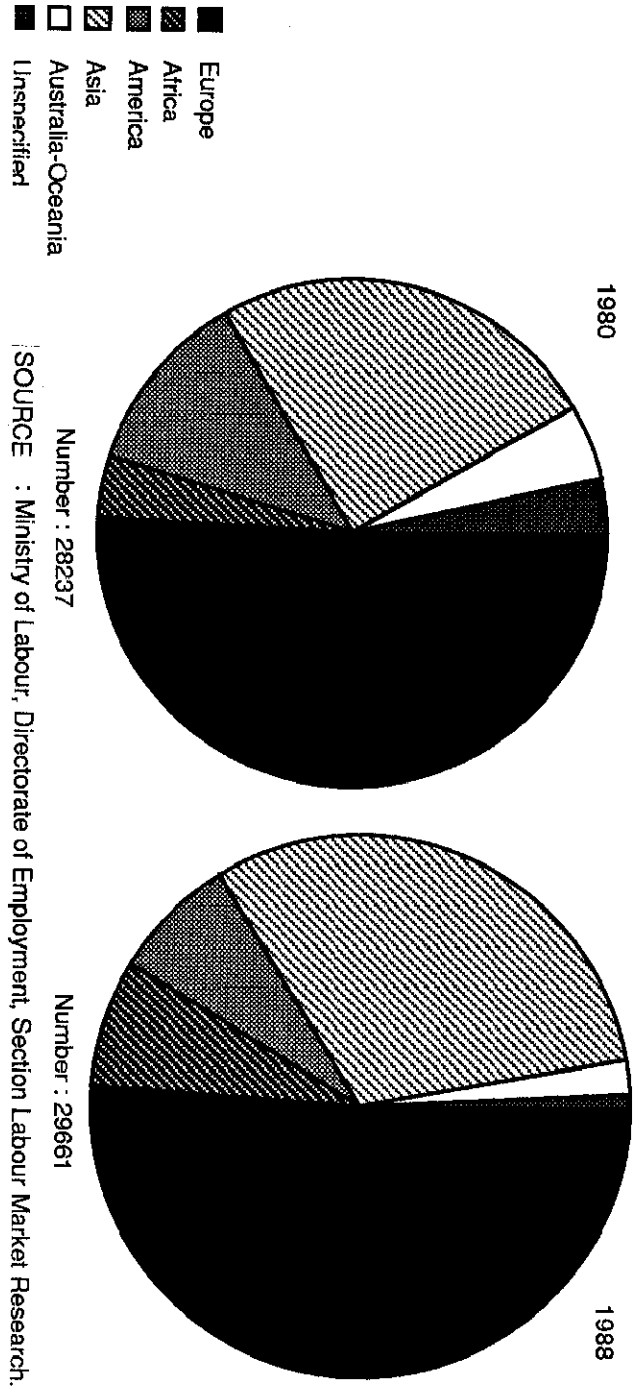
Source: United Nations High Commission for Refugees, January 1990.

Fig.1- Residence permits granted to foreigners during the years 1973-1988



SOURCE : Ministry of Social Order, Directorate of State Security, Section C/1/A. Athens, 1990.

Fig.2 - Continents of origin of foreigners in Greece 1980-1988. Europe, Africa, America, Asia, Australia, unspecified.



SOURCE : Ministry of Labour, Directorate of Employment, Section Labour Market Research. Athens, 1990

Fig.3- Foreigners working legally in Greece by age group 3rd trimester 1 988

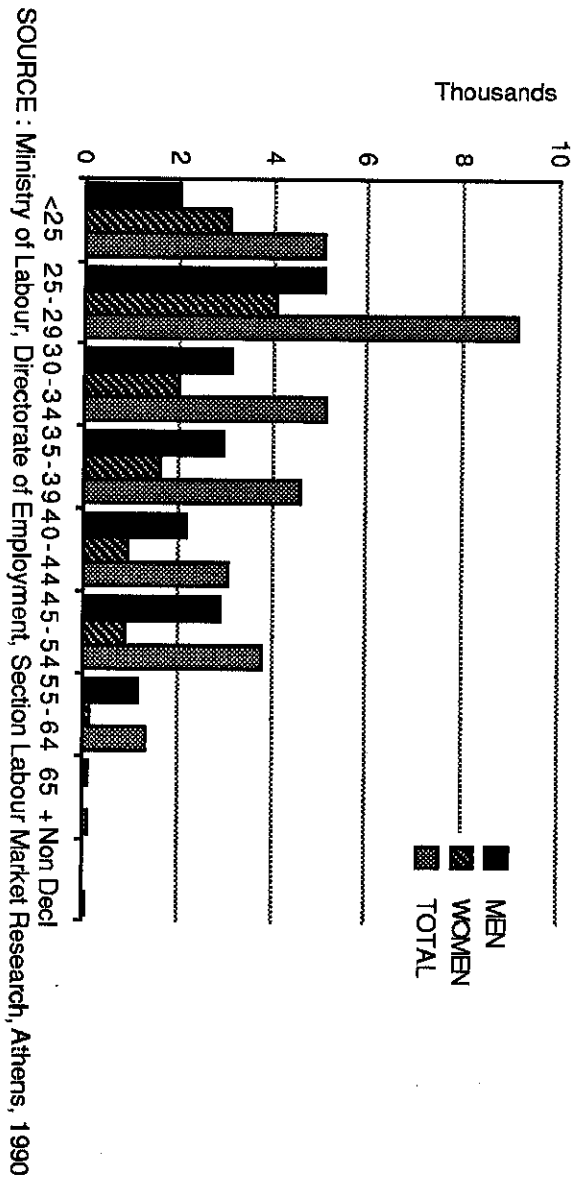
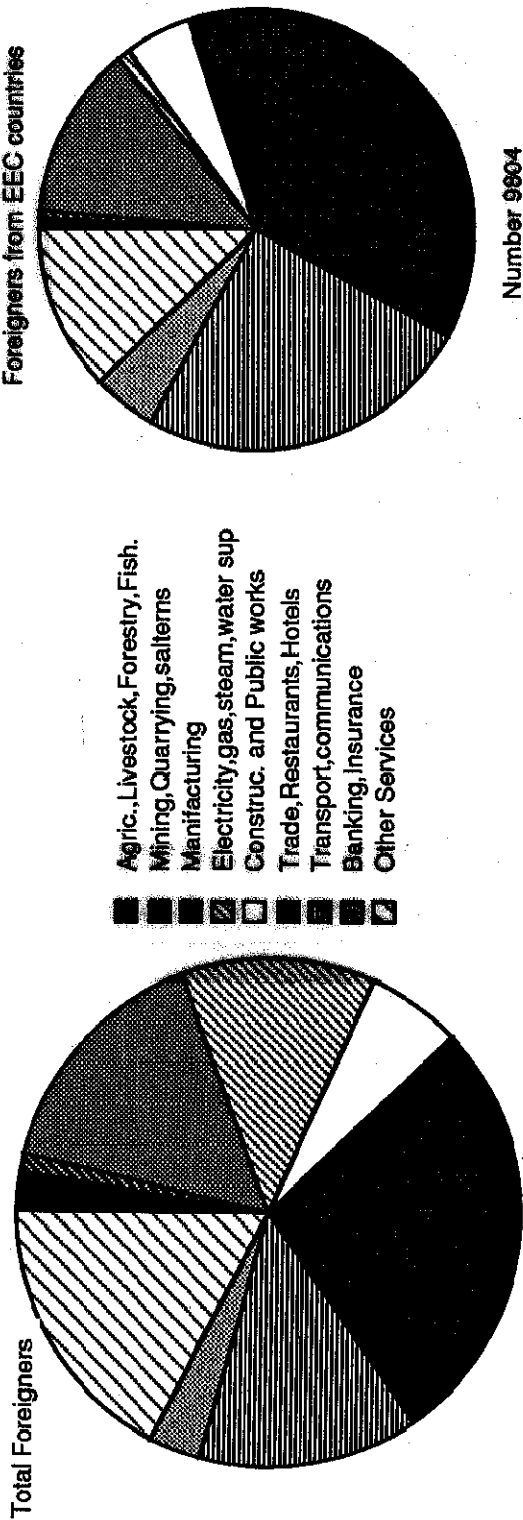


Fig.4 - Number of foreigners working legally in Greece on September 30th 1988, according to areas of economic activities

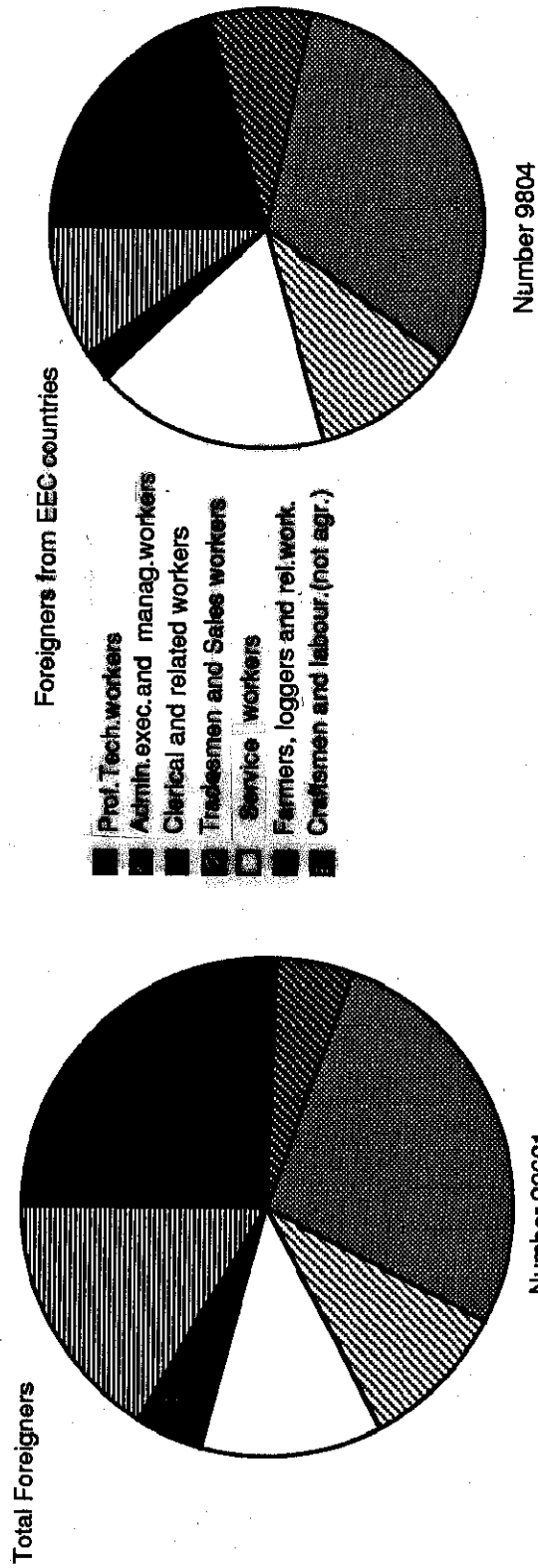


Number 29661

SOURCE : Ministry of Labour, Directorate of Employment, Section Labour Market Research. Athens, 1990

Number 9804

Fig.5- Number of Foreigners working legally in Greece, according to professional category



SOURCE : Ministry of Labour, Directorate of Employment, Section Labour Market Research, Athens 1990.

L'IMMIGRATION DES ÉTRANGERS EN ESPAGNE*

Vicente GOZÁLVEZ PÉREZ

1. Les flux migratoires des espagnols (1970-1989).

Les mouvements migratoires espagnols ont été dominés au cours du siècle par des nombres élevés de départs, concentrés vers l'Amérique Latine jusqu'en 1960 (75-85%) et vers l'Europe occidentale après cette date (80-90%) (1). Le résultat de ces courants fut que le contingent d'espagnols à l'étranger était de 3,4 millions en 1970. La crise économique de 1973 provoqua une diminution substantielle tant sur le nombre des départs que sur celui des espagnols résidant dans les pays d'immigration, le phénomène se faisant sentir d'abord et avec plus de force en Amérique Latine (voir tableau 1 et 2). Ainsi, l'émigration vers l'Europe donnait pour 1970-73 une moyenne annuelle de 102.890 départs, avec un solde positif de 25.790 émigrants par an. Les faibles flux migratoires de l'Espagne avec les pays non européens se maintiennent à des niveaux stables et positifs pendant toute la décennie 70, mais avec les pays d'Amérique Latine les effets de la crise se manifestent par une très forte diminution du nombre d'espagnols qui y recensés: 2,1 millions en 1970 contre 944.785 en 1980, soit une réduction au cours de la décennie de 1,2 millions (56%).

Au cours des années 80 les courants migratoires des espagnols se poursuivent par une baisse des départs et une augmentation des retours. Pour les échanges avec l'Europe, réalisés en quasi totalité avec les pays les plus industrialisés, CEE et Suisse, la tendance est à la diminution des départs et à la stabilisation des résiliations consulaires, avec un solde devenu négatif en 1989 (tableau 2). Les flux avec les pays non européens révèlent des tendances identiques mais antérieures par rapport à l'Europe occidentale, c'est à dire que les départs sont devenus insignifiants (1.186 en 1989), mais les résiliations consulaires s'élèvent à 10.975 en 1989, avec un solde de plus en plus négatif après 1985.

Pour résumer, le bilan total du mouvement migratoire des espagnols fut: 1) très positif en 1970-73, 2) fortement négatif en 1974-80, 3) en 1981-85 à peine positif avec de sensibles irrégularités annuelles, 4) depuis 1986 le solde est devenu progressivement négatif (tableau 2) suite à la conjugaison de la diminution des départs et à l'augmentation des résiliations consulaires, il en résulte une baisse continue du nombre d'espagnols recensés dans la CEE et en Amérique du Sud (tableau 1), zones où résident encore 1.336.685 espagnols soit 76% des émigrés.

2. Une forte augmentation de l'immigration des étrangers.

Le nombre des étrangers résidant en Espagne est demeuré stable de 1970 à 1978 autour de 160.000 selon les chiffres du Ministère de l'Intérieur. Depuis lors, il s'est accru régulièrement - de 10.000 à 16.000 par an - jusqu'en 1985 (241.971) alors qu'il

* Traduction: Francis Massuet

augmente beaucoup plus au cours des dernières années 51.237 nouveaux résidents en 1986, 41.727 en 1987, 25.097 en 1988 et 38.115 en 1989, année où le nombre d'étrangers s'éleva à 398.147. Les derniers accroissements sont sans doute liés aux impératifs découlant de la Ley de Extranjería (1985) et des conditions réglementaires de son application (1986) mais aussi à l'augmentation des arrivées de toutes provenances. Ainsi, de 1985 à 1989, les résidents originaires d'Amérique et d'Asie augmentent de plus de 50%, les Européens et ceux d'Océanie de 65% -proportion identique au nombre total des étrangers- tandis que les africains en situation régulière augmentent de 178% passant de 8.529 à 23.713; cet accroissement insolite s'explique, indépendamment de la forte pression des arrivées marocaines (61% des africains), par leur situation irrégulière généralisée antérieure à 1985.

Entre 1980 et 1989, les européens sont les seuls à stabiliser leur participation relative dans le recensement des immigrés avec 65% du total; les originaires d'Amérique diminuent leur poids surtout les Latino-américains qui passent de 19,6% à 16% en 1989, les asiatiques augmentèrent de 1980 à 1986, mais depuis diminuèrent leurs effectifs aux dépens principalement des immigrés philipins qui constituent l'ensemble asiatique le plus fortement représenté en Espagne (tableau 3); l'augmentation ininterrompue des africains apparaît la plus significative: 2,2% du total en 1980, 6% en 1989. L'accroissement de l'immigration des travailleurs d'origine du Tiers Monde apparaît évident tout comme celui des résidents européens originaires surtout des pays atlantiques.

Au sein des étrangers européens, les groupes désormais les plus nombreux en Espagne, les anglais et les allemands, enregistrent le plus grand accroissement au cours de la dernière année (1989) avec 15% et 12% respectivement, alors que les portugais en situation régulière -3^e groupe européen- augmentent seulement de 4%, phénomène influencé sans doute par les grandes disparités socio-économiques et démographiques qui caractérisent chaque type de résidents. Parmi les immigrants du Tiers Monde, la concentration des pays d'origine s'accélère également puisqu'il s'agit des immigrés en provenance des pays déjà les plus représentés à l'échelle de chaque continent qui voient leur nombre augmenter le plus de 1988 à 1989: hausse de 22% pour les résidents marocains, 16% pour les Gambiens et 19% pour les Chinois, bien que les Philipins, principalement des femmes, constituent une exception significative puisqu'ils diminuent de 22%.

3. Une concentration des étrangers dans les grandes agglomérations et dans les espaces littoraux à développement touristique.

Madrid concentre le plus grand nombre de résidents étrangers en 1989, 75.056 qui, ajoutés aux 45.822 de Barcelone représentent plus de 30%. Alicante (48.124), Málaga (46.737), les Baléares (31.225) et les Canaries (48.046) atteignent 44%, c'est à dire que dans les 7 provinces citées vivent les 3/4 des étrangers résidant en Espagne. De plus, cette concentration spatiale s'accroît puisqu'au cours de l'année 1989, Madrid et Alicante ainsi que les Baléares connurent une croissance supérieure (14%, 12,5% et 15,5% respectivement) à la moyenne nationale (10,6%). 258.992 étrangers en situation régulière (65% du total) vivent dans les 11 provinces du littoral méditerranéen et aux Canaries. Durant les 5 dernières années (1985-89) les étrangers, selon des chiffres

officiels, augmentèrent de 65%, mais ceux de Madrid de 93%, ceux d'Alicante 85% et ceux de Malaga 74%; par contre la province de Barcelone connut une hausse de 28% seulement toutefois contrebalancée par celles de Gérone (11.053 étrangers en 1989) avec 112% et de Lérida avec 163%. Sur le littoral méditerranéen, à l'attraction résidentielle et économique exercée par le tourisme et les activités qui lui sont liées, s'ajoutent des possibilités d'emplois proposées par ses grandes agglomérations (Barcelone, Valence) et par son agriculture intensive (cultures maraichères, agrumes, horticulture).

Dans les provinces intérieures, les résidents étrangers sont peu nombreux, s'y dégagent les 4.088 de Leon (activités minières), 5.219 d'Orense (province frontalière avec le Portugal) et 3.026 de Saragosse. Les provinces de la côte atlantique recensent chacune de 3.000 à 6.000 étrangers (Biscaye) attirés par l'industrie (Pays Basque), les mines ou des activités diverses à la frontière portugaise.

Les étrangers en situation régulière représentent encore une faible place, 1,03%, de la population espagnole (2), mais leur répartition spatiale irrégulière révèle une implantation relativement inégale avec des points d'ancrages dans les zones touristiques: 4,6% aux Baléares, 4,2% à Tenerife, 4,1% à Malaga, 4% à Alicante (3) 2,4% à Las Palmas, et 2,3% à Gerone, alors que les pourcentages descendent pour Madrid à 1,6 et à 1 pour Barcelone. Cependant, les taux indiqués sont en réalité plus élevés puisque les étrangers en situation irrégulière se concentrent également dans ces mêmes aires.

La répartition spatiale des immigrés obéit à des règles différentes selon les nationalités. Les européens se localisent de préférence dans les provinces à fort développement touristique: ils constituent 75% des étrangers à Tenerife (année 1988), 76% à Malaga, 82% aux Baléares et 89% à Alicante; dans les provinces aux grandes agglomérations ou les possibilités d'emploi sont plus diversifiées et les attraits résidentiels moindres les européens voient leur poids relatif sensiblement diminuer: 44% des résidents étrangers à Madrid, 49% à Barcelone, 47% à Valence, et 42% à Saragosse.

Le littoral d'Alicante, Malaga, Baléares et Tenerife concentre 70% des anglais résidant en Espagne et la moitié des allemands mais si les premiers cités préfèrent les côtes continentales, les seconds optent pour les archipels ainsi que Madrid et Alicante. La présence des italiens et des français est davantage liée à l'emploi puisque leurs colonies les plus importantes se localisent à Madrid et Barcelone ainsi qu'à Alicante pour les français. Les portugais ont leur colonie la plus nombreuse à Madrid, pour le reste ils se répartissent de préférence dans les provinces frontalières ou voisines du Portugal, il s'agit toujours d'immigrants à faible ou nulle qualification professionnelle.

Les européens, même s'ils peuvent localement avoir un poids relatif élevé, offrent une répartition spatiale très morcelée: ainsi la plus grande colonie est celle qui réside à Alicante avec 89% de l'ensemble des étrangers de cette province, mais s'y concentrent seulement 16% (38.000) des européens d'Espagne, 14% à Malaga, 12% à Madrid, 9% à Barcelone. Les Latino-américains apparaissent beaucoup plus concentrés dans les grandes métropoles espagnoles: 30% d'entre eux vivent à Madrid et 21% à Barcelone où prédominent les uruguayens, vénézuéliens et argentins. Les asiatiques se rassemblent à Madrid pour plus d'un tiers (9.530) dont la moitié sont philipins. Les indiens, second ensemble asiatique en Espagne, se concentrent pour 55% d'entre-eux aux Canaries et se consacrent au commerce de détail, soit un pourcentage analogue à celui des philipins à Madrid (52%) et des japonais (55%) mais ces derniers exercent des activités bien différentes. La croissante immigration africaine se localise fondamentalement sur la côte

méditerranéenne, avec un noyau principal à Barcelone (21%) atteignant le tiers pour l'ensemble de la Catalogne; la seconde colonie africaine se trouve à Madrid (18%) suivie de loin par Malaga, province d'arrivée.

4. Les estimations des immigrés en situation irrégulière.

Le nombre et la provenance des immigrants en situation irrégulière, leur relation avec les secteurs d'activités ainsi que leur prévisible évolution à la hausse sont des problèmes interdépendants et essentiels de l'immigration par les autorités gouvernementales espagnoles, en tant que régulateurs de la politique nationale de l'emploi mais aussi au regard de la CEE dont l'Espagne sera la frontière sud à partir de 1993. Depuis la publication de la "Loi sur les droits et libertés des étrangers en Espagne" -Ley de Extranjería- la surveillance et le contrôle des autorités sur les immigrés clandestins se sont intensifiés, des informations sur ces collectifs se sont multipliées dans les médias, de nombreuses associations non gouvernementales se sont constituées pour s'occuper d'eux, par ailleurs ce thème suscite, à partir d'initiative individuelle ou officielle, un intérêt croissant parmi les chercheurs en sciences sociales.

Des estimations bien sûr diverses ont été faites sur le nombre d'étrangers en Espagne en situation irrégulière, tant pour les travailleurs que pour les simples résidents. En 1985 une étude publiée par Caritas Española évaluait à 366.500 les étrangers non contrôlés en provenance des pays du Tiers Monde et 45.000 du Portugal (4). En 1988, dans les milieux autorisés du Ministère de l'Intérieur on estime à 250.000 (5) les étrangers non contrôlés. Un rapport récent sur le sujet chiffre à 259.051 les étrangers en situation irrégulière originaires des pays du Tiers Monde, du Portugal et de l'Europe de l'Est mais diverses données indiquées dans l'étude laissent entrevoir des chiffres plus élevés (6); ci-dessous nous détaillerons la répartition par communautés autonomes de ces 259.051 immigrés en situation irrégulière (A), ainsi que leur comparaison avec les effectifs de résidents des mêmes pays d'origine (année 1988) contrôlés par le Ministère de l'Intérieur (B), il en résulte de fortes disparités, absolues et relatives, dans leur répartition spatiale (voir le tableau dans la page suivante).

Selon les données qu'offrent les diverses études consultées, les taux de l'immigration irrégulière semble dépendre aussi du pays d'origine comme on le voit dans le tableau IV.

Une estimation globale du nombre des étrangers résidant en Espagne, à partir des données indiquées antérieurement s'élève à 259.051 immigrés en situation irrégulière en provenance du Tiers Monde, Portugal et Europe de l'Est, s'y ajoutent 148.626 originaires des mêmes pays et contrôlés par le Ministère de l'Intérieur (année 1989) soit un total de 407.677 immigrés des pays non développés. Les résidents ressortissants des pays développés sont 249.520 selon des sources officielles, chiffre que l'on pourrait multiplier par 1,5 (+124.760) pour corriger le nombre élevé de "clandestins" qui semble toucher les résidents de certains pays européens (tableau 4). Ainsi selon ces estimations, résideraient en Espagne, en 1989, 780.000 étrangers, soit presque le double des chiffres officiels (8).

Communautés Autonomes	Immigrants en situation irrégulière (A)(7) 1989	Immigrants selon Ministère de l'Intérieur (B) 1988	Indice A:B
Andalousie	9.781	15.949	0,6
Murcie	1.373	983	1,4
Valence	10.334	8.599	1,2
Catalogne	88.500	26.597	3,3
Aragon	539	1.943	0,3
Navarre et Pays Basque	3.141	7.211	0,4
Cantabrie	378	950	0,4
Asturies	6.521	3.234	2,0
Galicie	8.659	10.815	0,8
Castille-Leon	7.686	6.433	1,2
La Rioja	86	341	0,3
Madrid	82.000	34.957	2,3
Castille-La Manche	49	753	0,06
Estremadure	539	1.682	0,3
Baléares	3.369	4.097	0,8
Canaries	29.000	12.037	2,4
Ceuta et Melilla	7.525	497	15,1
Espagne	259.051	136.760	1,9

5. D'autres "immigrés" étrangers: naturalisés, réfugiés, et bénéficiaires du droit d'asile

Les étrangers naturalisés espagnols constituent, dans la perspective de cette étude, une partie importante du flux migratoire légal, ils se sont accrus parallèlement au nombre des résidents étrangers même s'il est vrai que leurs origines soient polarisées sur les nations en voie de développement. Le nombre de naturalisations a une forte discontinuité positive depuis 1978 comme l'indique le tableau 5. Si au cours de la période 1975-84 les latino-américains et les européens étaient les principaux bénéficiaires, de 1985 à 1989 les africains deviennent les plus nombreux (12.498) alors que, dans le même temps, les européens diminuent substantiellement. L'analyse par pays d'origine montre, qu'au cours des années 80, les portugais naturalisés représentent 45% des européens; les philipins constituent le quart des asiatiques; tandis que parmi les africains, les marocains atteignent 92%, cette hausse spectaculaire (953 pour 1980-85; 11.753 pour 1986-89) étant sans doute liée à l'entrée en vigueur de la Ley de Extranjería; par ailleurs la répartition des naturalisations parmi les pays latino-américains est respectivement conforme, grosso modo, à leur nombre de résidents en Espagne.

La répartition par sexe des naturalisations est totalement équilibrée; par âges, 69% d'entre elles sont comprises entre 21 et 50 ans, la classe des 31-40 se révélant la plus nombreuse (29%). Enfin, aussi bien par pays d'origine que par âges, les étrangers naturalisés présentent un taux élevé d'activité.

Face aux entraves croissantes mises en place par les pays développés, les immigrants originaires des pays en voie de développement augmentent, depuis les dernières années, les demandes de droit d'asile et de refuge. Ainsi, une récente communication du gouvernement espagnol adressée au Congrès des députés qualifie de nombreuses demandes d'asile et de statuts de réfugiés comme une voie "illégal" d'entrée dans le pays, mais la législation en vigueur et la lenteur administrative face à l'accroissement des demandes permettent de garantir aux nombreux demandeurs un séjour prolongé.

En Espagne, les demandes d'asile et de refuge s'élevaient à 2.819 en 1986 et à 3.904 en 1989, mais pendant les dix premiers mois de 1990, 9.190 demandes furent déposées, desquelles 4.543 sont le fait d'européens de l'est (hausse de 95% par rapport à 1989) et 3.181 d'africains (+388%). Au 31-XII-1989, les demandes de droit d'asile atteignaient 7.783 et celles de réfugiés 17.061 (10), or seulement 16% d'entre-elles furent accordées. Cuba (3.168 demandes), la Pologne (4.511) et l'Iran (6.024) viennent en tête des demandes, mais en 1989 les polonais se détachent largement avec 47% du total.

6. Structure socio-démographique de la population étrangère en Espagne.

Les données les plus complètes et les plus récentes sur les caractéristiques socio-démographiques des étrangers résidant en Espagne sont celles fournies par le recensement de 1986; elles sont résumées dans le tableau 6. Parmi les européens se dégagent 3 types: 1) la plus grande partie se trouve dans la situation que présentent les anglais et les allemands, c'est à dire haut niveau culturel, proportion élevée de retraités (25-30%) et faible nombre d'enfants, taux d'activité le plus bas (22-32%) inversement proportionnel à celui des retraités. 2) Les italiens se différencient totalement du "modèle occidental" par

leur activité (taux de 48%), leur proportion moindre de retraité (18%) et leur meilleure formation universitaire (20%). Les ressortissants français, bien qu'en situation intermédiaires entre les 2 groupes cités, apparaissent plus proches de l'ensemble italien.

3) Les immigrés portugais forment, à eux seuls, le troisième type au sein des européens occidentaux, en fait ils offrent une structure qui rappelle sur nombre de points celle des immigrés maghrebins: niveau d'instruction très bas (12,1% d'analphabètes, 1,7% d'universitaires), des forts pourcentages d'actifs agricoles et du bâtiment; la concentration de ces immigrés dans les provinces limitrophes du Portugal dépourvues d'attrait en matière d'emploi, indique bien qu'il s'agit d'une immigration frontalière composée de ménages salariés dotés d'une faible préparation culturelle et professionnelle.

Les immigrés venus d'Amérique déclarent une formation culturelle analogue à celle des européens, ils ont un taux d'activité élevé, en particulier les sud-américains, accompagné d'un taux de chômage également élevé, la part des personnes âgées est relativement faible tandis que la proportion des enfants est notablement supérieure à celle des européens, enfin leur sex-ratio est équilibré. Les centre-américains ont, en échange, une structure différente: les cubains forment le groupe ayant une structure par âges la moins favorable puisqu'un tiers d'entre eux ont plus de 60 ans et que les moins de 14 ans n'atteignent que 8%, cette caractéristique est sans doute liée aux arrivées massives du début des années 70; les originaires de la République Dominicaine (1.258 recensés en 1986) viennent distordre le sex-ratio de ce groupe de pays puisqu'il est seulement de 29 hommes pour 100 femmes, taux par ailleurs identique à celui des philipins.

Les immigrés africains sont dotés de la structure sociale la plus défavorable, la pire situation étant celle des marocains; le taux d'analphabétisme de ces derniers atteint 20,3% et celui du chômage 27,2%, bien que ces chiffres doivent être nuancés car tandis que le "reste" des africains, fondamentalement composé d'une population noire subsaharienne, réside dans la péninsule et les archipels, les marocains recensés résident en majorité à Ceuta et à Melilla ce qui leur confère sans doute des caractéristiques socio culturelles plus défavorables que celles de leurs concitoyens immigrés dans la péninsule. Les immigrés de race noire ont un sex-ratio très élevé -184-, il s'agit surtout de jeunes célibataires puisque les moins de 14 ans représentent 6% et les plus de 60 ans 4,8%.

Les asiatiques révèlent de grandes disparités selon les diverses nationalités; ainsi le sex-ratio des philipins est-il de 29 hommes pour 100 femmes, alors que celui des chinois est de 145; pourvus de bons niveaux culturels, ces deux groupes offrent les taux d'activité les plus élevés de tous les immigrés -64 et 66%- auxquels s'ajoutent les plus bas pourcentages pour le chômage, les personnes âgées et les enfants.

7. Les travailleurs étrangers en Espagne.

L'évolution récente du nombre de travailleurs étrangers et leur répartition sectorielle se calcule à partir des statistiques de permis de travail communiquées par le Ministère du travail. Pour 1988 et 1989 ce Ministère a également publié pour la première fois des données sur le nombre total de travailleurs étrangers. Cependant, depuis 1986 aucune source n'inclut les étrangers en provenance de la CEE qui exercent une activité à leur compte puisque le permis de travail ne leur est plus requis: en 1985, 7.034 de ces permis furent délivrés.

De 1971 à 1989 les permis de travail accordés par an ont oscillé entre 66.000 (1974) et 45.539 (1988) tandis que le total officiel de travailleurs s'élève à 70.566 (11) car la durée du permis de travail varie de 9 mois à 5 ans. Il faudrait ajouter à ces actifs ceux qui proviennent de la CEE comme travailleurs indépendants: si nous transposons le poids de ces derniers en 1985 (pourcentage par rapport au total de permis de travail délivrés à des citoyens de la CEE) à 1989, leur nombre s'élèverait à 10.126. Ainsi le total des travailleurs étrangers en situation régulière atteint un minimum de 80.692 soit 0'66% des actifs espagnols.

En 1989, 37.402 travailleurs étrangers proviennent d'Europe et du reste des pays développés, ce qui correspond à un taux d'activité par rapport aux résidents de 13%; les autres 31.695 travailleurs sont originaires des pays du Tiers Monde avec un taux d'activité de 28%; si nous transposons ces pourcentages aux estimations d'immigrés en situation irrégulière -124.760 des pays développés et 259.051 des pays en voie de développement -il existerait 88.750 travailleurs clandestins qu'il faudrait ajouter aux 80.692 calculés antérieurement. Cependant, l'estimation réelle des travailleurs en situation illicite serait sans doute nuancée par la forte proportion d'emplois précaires et surtout instables.

Les chiffres du tableau 7 sont révélateurs des différentes possibilités des travailleurs de la CEE par rapport aux autres pays: en 1988-89 les permis de travail des premiers augmentent de 11% (un peu plus que leurs résidents) avec une remarquable exception chez les portugais (-17%), alors que les permis accordés aux asiatiques et aux centre-américains connaissent d'importantes réductions; seuls les africains voient leur nombre de délivrances de permis augmenter notablement mais deux fois moins que l'accroissement de leurs résidents. Les variations du total des travailleurs et la proportion de ces derniers par rapport aux permis apportent des conclusions semblables: chez les ressortissants de la CEE les travailleurs dépassent de 70% les permis de travail (1989), tandis que les africains ne le dépassent que de 12%; c'est à dire que ces derniers ont une faible stabilité dans leur activité car leur permis sont d'un an, alors que les permis accordés au titre du Régime Communautaire sont de 5 ans et renouvelés automatiquement.

Selon des chiffres officiels, en 1989, 18% des étrangers résidant en Espagne sont des actifs (tableau 8). Le taux le plus bas est celui des européens (13%) ce qui s'explique par le pourcentage élevé de retraités, ce taux apparait par ailleurs sous estimé car ne sont pas pris en compte les travailleurs indépendants de la CEE; les portugais étant donné leurs caractéristiques ont 19% d'actifs, pourcentage égal à celui des latino-américains. Le taux d'activité le plus élevé correspond aux Philipins (54%) bien qu'au cours des dernières années leurs permis de travail connaissent une brutale diminution: 3.357 en 1987, 1.889 en 1989) et que le total de leurs travailleurs augmente seulement de 4,8% en 1988-89 quand la moyenne nationale est de 18,7%. L'ensemble présentant le taux d'activité le plus élevé -43,5%- et le plus homogène est celui des africains, mais la situation la plus favorable correspond aux marocains: en 1989 ils représentent seulement 3,6% du total des résidents mais accaparent 12,7% des permis de travail et constituent le second total de travailleurs étrangers en Espagne (6.712) derrière les anglais (7.900); ces 2 nationalités détiennent également le plus grand nombre de permis de travail en 1989 (5.947 et 6.550, respectivement). Les portugais forment le 3e groupe de travailleurs étrangers en situation régulière (6.353 en 1989) mais les 7e en matière de permis de travail (1.689 en 1989

contre 4.699 en 1987).

La proportion de travailleurs étrangers par rapport à la population espagnole au chômage est, à l'évidence, un indice intéressant surtout si l'on tient compte du taux élevé de chômage en Espagne (17,3% en 1989 et 22,1% en 1986); les travailleurs répertoriés en 1989 -70.566- représentent 2,8% des chômeurs espagnols, mais si l'on ajoute les estimations portant sur les travailleurs clandestins, le pourcentage atteint 6,6. Les chiffres par provinces apparaissent beaucoup plus significatifs car si dans 17 provinces les travailleurs étrangers en situation régulière n'atteignent pas 1% des chômeurs espagnols, à Madrid ils s'élèvent à 8,6%, aux Baléares 10,3% et à Gérone 13,4%, zones par ailleurs où se concentre un volume important de travailleurs étrangers clandestins.

Le total des travailleurs étrangers se répartit comme suit: 84,4% de salariés et 15,6% de travailleurs indépendants, mais ces derniers sont sous estimés puisque ne sont pas comptabilisés les ressortissants de la CEE qui doubleraient le nombre de recensés (10.807). Les africains atteignent la proportion la plus élevée chez les travailleurs indépendants (34%) ce qui s'explique par le commerce ambulancier, viennent ensuite les sud-américains (29%) et les asiatiques (27%).

La répartition par sexe des travailleurs européens fait apparaître un équilibre d'ensemble mais révèle de fortes disparités par pays: 77% des italiens sont des hommes, 73% des portugais et 62% des français mais le ratio s'inverse pour les anglais, les irlandais et les danois (de 43 à 46% d'hommes). Les hommes prédominent nettement chez les africains: 86% pour les marocains et même 99% pour les gambiens, la moyenne étant de 95% pour le reste des actifs de race noire. Parmi les latino-américains les hommes représentent 70 à 75% des travailleurs mais la proportion s'inverse pour certains pays centre-américains: 21% pour la République Dominicaine et le Honduras, 30% pour le Guatemala. Les travailleurs asiatiques présentent également une forte surmasculinité, de 81% (chinois) à 99% (pakistanaï) exception faite et déjà évoquée des philipins (27%).

8. La répartition sectorielle des travailleurs étrangers.

La stabilité prédomine dans la délivrance de permis de travail dans le secteur tertiaire (76-81%), alors que dans l'industrie leur nombre a diminué, 16,1% en 1982 et niveau le plus bas en 1988 (10,7%), ceux octroyés dans le bâtiment connaissent une évolution conforme à celle de ce secteur (3,4% en 1984-85 et 5,6% en 1989), enfin une notable augmentation caractérise le secteur agricole: 2,7% en 1985, 6% en 1987-88, 4,7% en 1989. La proportion par secteur du total des travailleurs étrangers est similaire à celle des permis, bien que le secteur agricole y soit légèrement inférieur et celle de l'industrie supérieure, ces décalages s'expliquent par les différentes durées des permis de travail.

Parmi les permis de travail accordés dans le secteur tertiaire viennent en tête ceux du commerce (8.006 en 1989), l'hôtellerie (6.155) et les "activité annexes au transport et communications" (6.187) mais alors que les premiers cités ont maintenu une stabilité relative pendant les années 1980, le 3e ensemble a, en 1989, multiplié par 5,2 le chiffre absolu de 1985. Les permis délivrés pour les emplois de "services domestiques" et "services sociaux, récréatifs et culturels" ont suivi une évolution opposée se traduisant par de fortes diminutions: 6.327 en 1987 contre 3.201 en 1989 pour les premiers, 9.337 en

1985 contre 2.042 en 1989 pour les seconds. "Education et recherche" ainsi que "Banque, assurances et services pour entreprises" sont d'autres branches importantes et stables (entre 3.600 et 3.900 permis). Parmi toutes les branches indiquées, seul le commerce de détail s'individualise en tant qu'activité indépendante (environ 3.500 permis par an depuis 1986), une proportion élevée d'africains se consacrant à la vente ambulante s'y remarque.

La répartition sectorielle du total des travailleurs étrangers par nationalité est présentée dans le tableau 8. Au sein des européens, le secteur tertiaire occupe les 3/4 mais tandis que la part des britanniques et des irlandais atteint 91-93%, celle des portugais tombe à 41%; italiens, français et allemands s'y consacrent moyennement et se tournent vers l'industrie pour 29% d'italiens, 25% de français et d'allemands. Les portugais, conformément à leur faible instruction apparaissent les seuls européens avec un fort pourcentage dans l'agriculture et le bâtiment.

Les asiatiques forment le groupe le plus spécialisé dans les activités de services (98% pour les chinois, philipins et indiens réunis) où prédominent la restauration, les services domestiques et le commerce respectivement. Les japonais sont les seuls à avoir une place significative dans l'industrie (27%).

Des 2.907 travailleurs étrangers employés dans l'agriculture, 43% sont africains et 36% portugais; les premiers se localisent sur la côte méditerranéenne de la péninsule, surtout en Catalogne, les seconds choisissent les provinces limitrophes de Portugal, principalement Lugo et Huelva où ils constituent plus de la moitié de tous les travailleurs étrangers. Les actifs du bâtiment (3.960) offrent une spécialisation analogue, en effet marocains et portugais, en nombre égal, atteignent 55%; les plus fortes concentrations de cette branche se situent sur la côte de Gérone et à Madrid, Barcelone et Alicante suivent à distance. Les travailleurs de l'industrie et surtout des services révèlent une répartition par pays beaucoup plus équilibrée, ainsi les portugais et les allemands, groupes les plus nombreux dans l'industrie, n'en représentent que le quart; les anglais arrivant en tête dans le tertiaire (7.179) ne constituent que 14% du total.

Les catégories professionnelles proposées par les statistiques officielles, font apparaître, au cours des dernières années, une forte stabilité, toutefois deux d'entre elles se singularisent (tableau 9): celle des "professions libérales, cadres et assimilés" est la seule marquée par un net accroissement (24% des permis de travail en 1989), à l'inverse, la catégorie "personnel de services" connaît une diminution accusée. L'évolution de ces catégories de travailleurs traduit, sans doute, la volonté des autorités d'ajuster dans la mesure du possible la délivrance des permis de travail aux besoins économiques réels.

Les professions libérales et les cadres proviennent, en majorité, des pays développés et d'Amérique du Sud où prédominent les argentins (40% dans ce groupe); à l'opposé africains et asiatiques ne représentent que 3% de ces permis. Dans la catégorie "commençants et vendeurs" la première place revient aux africains avec près d'un tiers des ces permis, bien que 87% des indiens s'y consacrent. 29% des 11.248 permis octroyés aux "professions libérales et cadres" le sont à Madrid et 23% à Barcelone, tandis que dans le reste du pays seules les provinces insulaires et celle de Malaga présentent des chiffres relativement significatifs. Les fonctions de capitale d'Etat apparaissent plus évidentes pour la catégorie "fonctionnaires publics supérieurs et cadres d'entreprise" puisque Madrid en accapare près de la moitié. Les provinces de Barcelone et Gérone rassemblent 42% des permis accordés pour les activités d'industrie, bâtiment et

transport" et 37% pour l'agriculture. Pour les permis délivrés aux travailleurs des "services" les Baléares ont le plus fort contingent (2.169), précédant de peu Madrid alors qu'un second groupe se compose de Barcelone, les Canaries et Malaga.

Tant par l'origine des résidents étrangers que par les branches d'activités et les professions exercées, des disparités évidentes se dégagent entre les trois principales zones d'immigration, Madrid, Barcelone et les provinces littorales où le tourisme a une plus grande retombée économique.

9. La politique d'immigration en Espagne.

Les fondements de la politique immigratoire en Espagne a été récemment exposée dans une communication du gouvernement au Congrès des députés (12). Le document, bien que faisant référence à l'ensemble des étrangers vivant en Espagne, est essentiellement consacré à l'immigration en provenance des pays en voie de développement, c'est à dire aux immigrés caractérisés par une forte activité. Les propositions se basent ou dérivent du constat suivant:

1) L'Espagne se caractérise par une tradition séculaire de flux émigratoires. Au cours des années 80 l'Espagne devient un pays d'immigration marqué par des flux en accroissement rapide.

2) Les immigrés sont très différenciés: a) selon les pays européens occidentaux, tant pour des raisons résidentielles que d'activités, bien que celles-ci soient suscitées par leurs compatriotes et liées aux zones touristiques b) selon les pays en voie de développement auxquels sont venus s'ajouter depuis peu les pays européens de l'Est. Les arrivées en provenance d'Afrique et d'Asie se limitent à quelques pays desquels le Maroc connaît un vif accroissement facilité sans doute par la proximité, les flux frontaliers intenses et la souplesse en ce qui concerne les régularisations, dont il est fait preuve à leur égard.

3) L'existence d'importants contingents d'immigrés en situation irrégulière.

4) L'accroissement élevé des africains se profile pour les années 90, il est motivé par a) le regroupement des familles puisqu'il s'agit d'une population jeune marquée par un très fort taux de masculinité et des caractéristiques culturelles très éloignées de celles des espagnols; b) de profondes différences de revenu par rapport à l'Espagne; c) une forte pression démographique dans les pays de départ; d) des secteurs d'activités moins prisés par les travailleurs espagnols.

5) Depuis 1989 les demandes de droit d'asile et de statut de réfugié augmentent avec force, elles émanent pour l'essentiel des ressortissants d'Europe de l'Est, fondamentalement les polonais, ainsi que d'Afrique. La prévisible évolution de ces pays, jusqu'aujourd'hui socialistes, peut sans doute conduire à un accroissement des flux d'arrivées.

6) La plus grande attention de la part des autorités espagnoles vis à vis de l'immigration originaire des pays du Tiers Monde s'aligne sur la politique restrictive du reste des pays de la CEE mise en oeuvre à la suite de la crise de 1973. Cette politique touche doublement l'Espagne: d'une part celle-ci consitue la frontière sud de la CEE, d'autre part elle enregistre un taux de chômage élevé (17,3% en 1989); une réduction du chômage s'avère difficile devant la montée massive des jeunes générations sur le marché du travail (l'Espagne connut une forte natalité jusqu'en 1976 avec 18,9‰) et face à la

demande croissante des femmes dont le taux d'activité est bas mais croît rapidement, il était en effet de 27,6% en 1985 (par rapport à la population de plus de 16 ans) contre 32,8% en 1989.

7) En réponse au constat indiqué, l'Espagne promulga en 1985 la "Loi sur les droits et libertés des étrangers en Espagne" (Ley de Extranjería) qui régleme l'arrivée des immigrés. Son application pendant les premières années souffre, sans doute, de la "nouveau" que représente pour les autorités l'immigration, d'autant plus si l'on tient en compte la situation inattendue et anormale -taux de chômage espagnol élevé- dans laquelle s'est réalisée sa mise en oeuvre rendue encore plus difficile par l'accroissement des flux en provenance des pays en voie de développement.

En conclusion à ce qui vient d'être présenté, les axes fondamentaux de la politique immigraoire espagnole, d'après le document cité, passent par:

1) une plus grande rigueur dans la délivrance de visas et un contrôle des frontières plus strict, en particulier au sud de l'Espagne.

2) Lutte contre le travail clandestin par le biais de sanctions imposées aux chefs d'entreprises et une surveillance de l'admission des travailleurs étrangers.

3) Aide et intégration des travailleurs étrangers originaires des pays en voie de développement car ces derniers, surtout les maghrebins, souffrent de profondes déficiences d'instruction et d'un manque de ressources économiques; les actions d'intégration s'avèrent d'autant plus nécessaires qu'elles portent sur des populations fortement concentrées géographiquement. L'arrivée de populations plus facilement intégrables sera favorisée.

4) Amélioration de l'infrastructure administrative destinée aux immigrants étrangers afin de faciliter leurs démarches bureaucratiques nécessaires et de déterminer leurs véritables possibilités d'admission.

5) Interdire "l'immigration irrégulière de fait" effectuée par l'intermédiaire de demandes non fondées de droit d'asile et de statut de réfugié; cette immigration est pour l'heure rendue aisée par le fait que tout demandeur bénéficie d'une résidence légale jusqu'à ce qu'il soit statué sur son cas, processus, par ailleurs, qui généralement traîne en longueur.

6) Plus grande coopération en faveur du développement des pays du Tiers Monde, en particulier vers ceux qui sont liés à l'immigration en Espagne c'est à dire l'Amérique Latine et les pays du nord de l'Afrique.

NOTES

- (1) Gozávez Pérez, V., "El reciente incremento de la población extranjera en España y su incidencia laboral", *Investigaciones Geográficas*, Université d'Alicante, 1990, pp. 7-36
- (2) Nombre d'étrangers au 31-XII-1989, population espagnole de droit du 1-IV-1989.
- (3) Dans quelques communes littorales de cette province ils sont même supérieurs à la population espagnole selon le recensement de 1986: à Alfaz del Pi 3.540 étrangers représentent 54% de la population communale, à La Nucía 3.090 soit 59%, à Calpe 3.530 soit 33%.
- (4) Cáritas Española, "Los inmigrantes en España", *Documentación Social. Revista de estudios sociales y de Sociología aplicada*, n. 66, 1987, 376 pp. Cf. p. 96.
- (5) Gozávez Pérez, V., *op. cit.*, pp. 18-22
- (6) Marcos Sanz, R. de; Alvarez Prieto, J.J.; Rojo Alcalde, J.; Khaba Luanda, A., *Mapa de trabajadores extranjeros en situación irregular en España*, mars 1990. 110 pp. mécanographiés. Cette étude fut réalisée à la demande de la Dirección General del Instituto Español de Emigración à l'Asesoría de Programas de Servicios Sociales (PASS) en octobre 1989, le travail de terrain fut conduit de novembre 1989 à janvier 1990.
- (7) Marcos Sanz, R. de, et al., *op. cit.*, pp. 43 et 93
- (8) Cette estimation globale des étrangers en situation irrégulière est analogue au taux estimé par les autorités barcelonaise pour cette province où en 1989 résident 45.822 étrangers en situation régulière d'une part, et 45.000 en situation irrégulière d'autre part, parmi lesquels la proportion de marocains non contrôlés serait plus élevé.
- (9) Communication du Gouvernement au Congrès des Députés, *Situación de los extranjeros en España. Líneas básicas de la política española de extranjería*. 30 folios + 10 annexes, 1990.
- (10) Ministère de l'Intérieur. Direction générale de la Police. Commissariat général de documentation, *Memoria 1990*.
- (11) Le chiffre utilisé dans cette étude est provisoire, 69.096 travailleurs, publiée par la Direction Générale de l'IEE.
- (12) id. note 9.

TABLEAU 1. Résidents espagnols dans les principaux pays d'immigration

<u>Pays de résidence</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1975</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1987-89</u>	<u>var. % 1970-89</u>
CEE	1.057.194	1.001.920	736.061	626.806	-41
Autres pays européens	125.070	135.596	120.998	140.339*	+12
Amérique du Nord	92.156	92.690	160.952	168.945	+83
Amérique Centrale	125.198	62.443	33.986	41.680	-67
Amérique du Sud	2.006.259	1.687.015	910.799	709.879	-65
Total	3.405.877	2.979.664	1.962.796	1.687.679**	-50

* Dans ce groupe de pays, en 1987-89, la Suisse en comptabilise 114.688 et Andorre 20.140

** A ceux-ci il faut ajouter 61.541 espagnols recensés en Afrique (17.489), Asie (4.899), Océanie (16.329) et dans les autres pays d'Europe (22.831)
 Source: Ministère du Travail, D.G. de l'Institut espagnol de l'émigration, *Memoria Anual 1989. Datos sobre migraciones*, pp. 17-21.

TABLEAU 3. Evolution des résidents étrangers en Espagne selon leur origine (1980-1989).

Origine	1980	1985	1989
Europe	119.569	158.211	259.444
%	65,2	65,4	65,2
Royaume Uni	22.678	39.052	73.535
R.F. Allemande	20.878	28.485	44.228
Portugal	24.094	23.342	32.936
France	16.262	17.841	27.737
Pays Bas	6.342	10.398	16.415
Italie	9.581	10.333	15.274
USA et Canada	10.538	13.281	19.868
%	5,7	5,5	5,0
Amérique Latine	35.994	40.796	63.529
%	19,6	16,9	16,0
Argentine	7.665	9.706	16.165
Vénézuéla	6.653	6.260	9.029
Chile	3.526	4.517	6.610
Cuba	5.902	4.992	5.961
Asie	11.719	19.366	28.920
%	6,4	8,0	7,3
Philipines	2.878	6.168	6.379
Inde	2.367	3.711	5.718
Chine	677	1.598	4.173
Afrique	4.106	8.529	23.713
%	2,2	3,5	6,0
Maroc	2.964	5.817	14.471
Océanie	529	748	1.234
Apatrides	967	1.039	1.390
Total	183.422	241.971	398.147

Source: Ministère de l'Intérieur. Direction Générale de la Police. *Memoria* annuelle (les chiffres font référence au 31-XII)

TABEAU 4. Nombre d'immigrés résidant en Espagne selon diverses sources.

Années	Origine	Ministère de l'Intérieur(A)	Autre source (B)	Indice B:A
1984	Total pays Tiers Monde	63.068	Cáritas Española(1)-316.500	5,0
1986	Norvégiens à prov. Alicante	416	Consulat à Alicante(2)4.000-4.500	9,6-10,8
1986	Allemand occ. à p. Alicante	3.853 (a)	Consulat à Alicante(2)20.000-30.000	5,2-7,8
1986	Anglais à prov. Alicante	11.535 (b)	Consulat à Alicante(2)15.000	1,3
1987	Total Marocains	10.910	Consulat à Madrid(3) 30.000	1,7
1988	Total étrangers	360.032	Minist. Intérieur	
1989	Portugais à Asturies et Leon (en 1988)	4.318	360.032 reg. + 250.000 irreg.= 610.032(4)	1,7
1989	Total chiliens	6.610	Association Portuguesa de Tremor de Arriba (5) 30.000	6,9
1989	Total Tiers Monde à Catalogne (en 1988)	24.293	Association "Salvador Allende" (6) 20.000	3,0
1989	Total Tiers Monde	113.747	Syndicat CC.OO. Catalogne(7) 100.000	4,1
			P.A.S.S. (8) 148.626 reg.+259.051 irreg.= 407.677	3'2

(a) d'après le recensement du I-IV-1986, ils s'élèvent à 3.727

(b) idem. 7.553

(c) excepté ceux de Ceuta et Melilla.

(1) Cáritas Española, "Los inmigrantes en España", *Rev. Estudios Sociales y de Sociología aplicada*, n. 66. 1987, 376 pp. Cfr. p. 96

(2) Valero Escandell, J.R., *La inmigración en la provincia de Alicante, 1960-1986*, (tesis doctoral), Université d'Alicante, Dpt. Géographie Humain

(3) Ministère de Travail, D.G. Inst. Espagnol d'Emigration, *Los marroquies en España*, 1987, 22 pp.+10 annexes. Document signé par Ana de Franci et José Álvarez Uria-Rico

(4) Gozálvarez Pérez, V., "El reciente incremento de la población extranjera en España y su incidencia laboral", *Investigaciones Geográficas*, n. 8 d'Alicante, 1990, pp.7-36, Cfr. pp. 18-22

(5) Marcos Sanz, R. de et al., *Mapa de trabajadores extranjeros en situación irregular en España*, Minist. de Travail, D. G. Inst. Espagnol d'Emigr 110 pp. Cfr. p. 68

(6) Marcos Sanz, R. de et al., *op. cit.*, p. 86.

(7) Marcos Sanz, R. de et al., *op. cit.*, p. 75

(8) Marcos Sanz, R. de et al., *op. cit.*, pp. 93 et 109.

TABLEAU 5: Evolution des naturalisations d'étrangers en Espagne (1970-1989)

Périodes	Naturalisations		Augmentation de		Naturalisations de			
	Naturalisations	rés. étrangers	Européens	Latino-amér.	Africains	Asiatiques	Autres	
1970-74	2.204	18.386	1.043	748*	192	147	74	
1975-79	12.052	7.754	4.379	5.069*	1.268	1.019	317	
1980-84	27.310	44.425	9.454	13.483	1.319	2.633	421	
1985-89	31.971	156.176	5.697	10.751	12.498	2.567	458	

* Excepté le Mexique

Source: D. G. de l'Institut espagnol de l'émigration, *Anuario de Migración. Agenda I.E.E. 1991*

TABLEAU 6. Résidents étrangers en Espagne, indices structureaux. Année 1986.

Nationalité	sex ratio	âge 0-14	âge +60	Analphab.	Etudes Universit..	Actifs	Occupés	Chômeurs	Total immigrés
Europe	89	13,2	25,2	2,1	12,2	31,0	26,4	14,8	151.799
Royaume Uni	90	11,6	29,1	0,6	12,2	21,6	19,3	10,9	36.924
R.F.A.	90	14,0	24,4	0,5	14,7	32,2	28,5	3,8	25.274
France	74	15,7	21,1	0,8	12,7	36,6	29,3	7,3	20.909
Italie	135	13,4	18,3	0,4	19,8	47,8	40,4	15,6	7.850
Portugal	99	11,4	19,2	12,1	1,7	46,0	37,1	19,3	19.691
EE.UU. et Canada	97	19,4	12,7	0,3	21,4	35,3	31,5	10,9	17.527
Amérique Centrale	71	12,2	0,5	1,3	14,4	40,0	29,6	26,0	9.017
Cuba	88	8,4	32,4	1,2	12,2	40,0	27,5	31,4	4.832
Amérique Latine	93	18,1	10,1	0,5	17,7	47,2	37,6	20,5	36.266
Argentine	96	17,7	14,8	0,6	20,7	51,3	42,9	8,4	11.800
Vénézuéla	104	21,8	7,8	0,4	12,5	36,0	24,6	31,6	6.983
Afrique*	118	23,8	7,0	17,6	3,9	51,3	38,0	25,9	30.675
Maroc	111	25,4	6,8	20,3	2,3	50,2	36,5	27,2	25.091
Reste de pays**	184	14,9	4,5	7,2	10,1	59,0	47,8	18,9	4.341
Asie	101	18,2	4,8	1,0	16,5	50,5	44,2	12,4	16.373
Philippines	29	6,1	4,8	0,5	15,6	63,9	60,2	5,8	3.302
Chine	145	17,2	3,5	1,5	9,5	66,4	64,0	3,6	1.183
Inde	115	23,2	5,4	1,1	7,9	46,2	41,4	4,5	2.996
Océanie	109	21,9	10,9	3,2	15,2	41,2	35,9	12,7	667
Apatriés	216	12,7	24,0	9,9	29,6	50,7	40,3	20,6	79
Pas pris en compte***	85	25,5	7,9	31,2	2,0	40,6	28,9	28,7	5.409
Total	93	16,0	18,4	3,9	12,8	37,2	30,7	17,6	267.812

Source: Recensement des habitants de 1986.

* Les récursés à Ceuta et Méjilla inclus.

** Tous sauf Maroc, Algérie et Guinée Equatoriale.

*** Presque tous recensés à Melilla, vraisemblablement marocains.

TABLEAU 7. Espagne. Variation des permis de travail, des résidents et du total des travailleurs étrangers d'après leurs origines (1980-89)

Origine	Variation % permis de travail	Variation % résidents	Var. % total travailleurs	Travailleur/ permis, % (89)
CEE	11,1	10,6	22,3	70,3
Autres pays européens	5,7	12,6	10,2	11,5
Afrique	9,6	18,1	23,6	12,6
USA et Canada	-1,2	10,0	19,1	51,2
Mexique et Amérique centrale	-10,8	8,0	13,1	76,7
Amérique du Sud	0,0	12,1	21,1	46,5
Asie	-16,4	2,2	7,3	53,7
Total	2,9	10,5	18,7	47,4

Source: Ministère de Travail, D. G. de l'Institut Espagnol de l'émigration, *Anuario de migración. Agenda I.E.E. 1991.*

TABLEAU 8. Travailleurs étrangers en Espagne par secteurs d'activités et origine (%). Année 1989

Origine	Total		% travailleurs					Services	Non classés
	Travailleurs	résidents	Agriculture	Industrie	Batiment	Services	Non classés		
Europe	33.309	12,8	4,0	17,3	5,6	72,3	0,8		
Royaume Uni	7.900	10,7	0,6	6,4	2,1	90,9	0,1		
Allemande	5.232	11,8	1,3	24,6	2,7	71,0	0,4		
France	3.432	12,2	2,1	25,1	3,5	68,2	1,1		
Italie	2.061	13,5	1,0	28,7	6,0	63,3	1,0		
Portugal	6.353	19,3	16,3	23,2	16,5	41,3	2,7		
EE.UU. et Canada	3.018	15,2	1,0	14,1	2,3	82,4	0,2		
Afrique	10.320	43,5	12,0	10,0	13,4	64,0	0,6		
Cap Vert	662	40,8	7,7	35,8	10,1	45,2	1,2		
Gambie	777	44,8	39,6	32,2	14,2	11,8	2,2		
Maroc	6.712	46,4	11,0	5,7	16,9	66,0	0,4		
Amérique Latine	12.758	20,1	1,5	13,8	4,3	79,9	0,5		
Argentine	4.342	26,9	1,2	13,1	4,2	81,0	0,5		
Chile	1.435	21,7	1,5	14,2	5,3	78,7	0,3		
Vénézuéla	1.247	13,8	2,4	17,4	7,2	72,2	0,8		
Asie	9.407	32,5	1,1	6,0	0,9	91,9	0,1		
Chine	1.373	32,9	0,4	1,0	0,1	98,5	-		
Philippines	3.441	53,9	0,4	1,6	0,3	97,6	0,1		
Inde	1.710	29,9	0,4	0,6	0,2	98,8	-		
Océanie	140	11,3	2,8	9,3	4,3	83,6	-		
Apatriés	145	10,4	2,1	9,6	7,6	80,7	-		
Total	69.097	17,7	4,2	13,8	5,7	75,7	0,6		

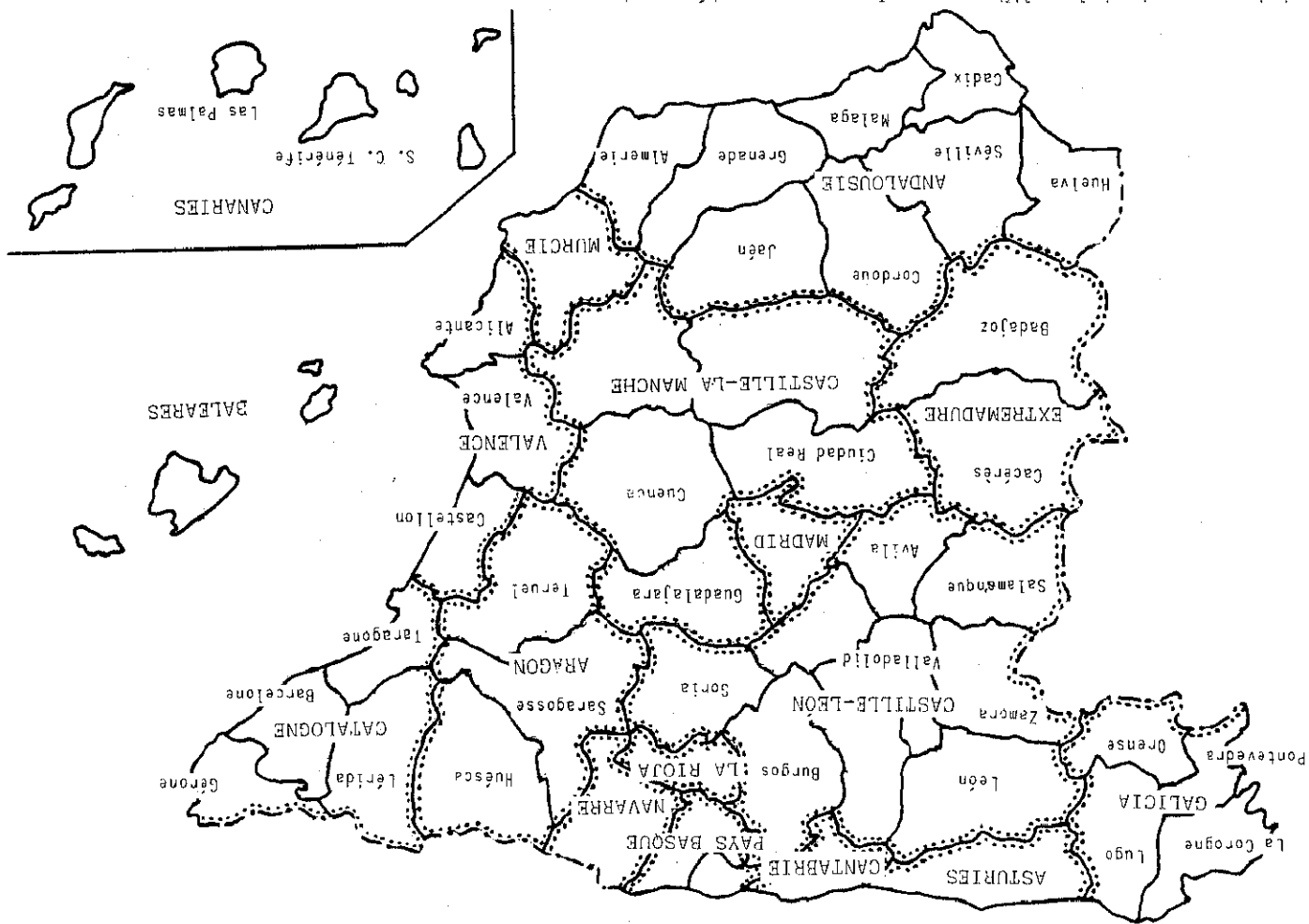
Source: Ministère du Travail, D.G. del Inst Español de l'emigration, *Anuario de migración. Agenda I.E.E. 1991* (chiffres provisoires).

TABLEAU 9. Espagne. Permis de travail concédés à des étrangers par catégories professionnelles (1986 et 1989)

	1986		1989	
	núm	%	núm	%
Professions libérales et cadres	10.639	19'8	11.148	23'8
Cadres supérieurs d'entreprise et de l'Administration publique	2.508	4'7	2.273	4'8
Personnel Administratif	4.679	8'7	3.807	8'1
Commerçants et vendeurs	7.687	14'3	7.330	15'6
Personnel de services	19.074	35'4	14.109	30'1
Agriculteurs et pêcheurs	2.693	5'0	2.385	5'1
Ouvriers de l'industrie, du bâtiment et des transports	6.522	12'1	5.653	12'1
Non Classés	20	-	175	0'4
Total	53.82		46.880	

Source: Ministère du Travail, Subsecretarie du Travail et Sécurité Social, *Anuario de estadísticas laborales*

Division provinciale d'Espagne. Les communautés autonomes sont délimitées par des pointillés et écrites en majuscules.



JOBS, PROJECTS AND MIGRATORY STRATEGIES OF THE THIRD WORLD IMMIGRANTS IN ITALY*

Laura Lecchini, Odo Barsotti**

1. Italy within international migration systems.

The migratory profile of Italy, traditionally a country of emigration, has greatly changed since the beginning of the seventies. The balance between those entering and leaving the country, negative for all the sixties, became positive from 1973. Furthermore the make up of the flow has changed; the emigration of unskilled workers has lost its importance whereas that of technically qualified people is increasing towards developing countries (Censis, 1984).

Finally, Italy has become the destination for increasing flows of immigrants from the Third World. But this fact has not cancelled out the still evident, enduring traces of emigration in the past. About 5 million Italians live abroad. Although problems connected with family reunions, educational and social integration and professional mobility have been reduced they are still not completely resolved (Collicelli, Di Cori, 1986).

The increasing imbalances in occupational opportunities and income have stirred up, in the last decades, a movement of labour force within national frontiers of impressive proportions. But the sole motivation of differentials in development and of levels of over population does not seem to be sufficient to explain the phenomenon. Certainly, conditions of poverty, underdevelopment and overpopulation constitute formidable factors that stimulate emigration. But for the migratory process to be triggered off the stimulating factors have to be balanced by those of attraction so that large numbers of the work force of Third World countries satisfy the demand coming from advanced industrialised countries (Chiarello, 1990). A demand that has generally increased induced by strong processes of segmentation of the labour market and development of 'hidden activities' that have characterised all the western economics during the last decades (Venturini, 1990).

In this context of expansion of the system of international migrations, Italy could not remain immune from migration flows from developing countries. Indeed it has become, like other countries in the past, a 'preferential' goal for new international migration flows. This is because, at least up to 1986, entry into the country was very easy because Italy had not adopted these restrictive measures for immigration that other European countries had begun to put into force, already from the seventies, to cope with the structural crisis that had hit their economies.

Italy's lateness in adapting to the migration policies of other countries can at least partly be put down to the incapacity to recognise in time to be among the circle of

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destination countries for new arrivals of immigrants since the whole society is filled with the image of a country as traditionally a land of emigration. On the other hand only from the first years of the eighties has the phenomenon assumed such dimensions that they could have been noticed.

But if the opinion of Italy as a destination country was determined only by the greater ease of entry it could be thought that the choice by new immigrants came about 'for lack of anything better' or that arrival in Italy is considered as a transit stage towards more sought-after goals.

Once the migrants reached Italy they realised that the environment offers work opportunities and living conditions not less satisfying than those imagined in other countries.

Indeed Italy has now filled up in large measure, in spite of the persistence of great territorial economic and social imbalances, the development gap compared to other more industrialised European countries. And even where deep signs of underdevelopment remain, processes of 'modernisation' have been achieved which have made the country in terms of life style and consumption be recognised as corresponding to other western European countries (Reyneri, 1985). On the other hand the economic and productive structure of Italy has certain characteristics that certainly do not make it less suitable compared to other countries do absorb an immigration work force. You have only to think of the strong territorial differentiation in the productive fabric, of the widespread activity with low technological content and hidden activity in the traditional areas of agriculture, building and light industry and service sectors which for their own survival are oriented towards strategies of great flexibility in the use of the work force (recourse to non-institutionalised labour, to a second job, to the extensive use of overtime and forms of piece-work). Finally the inclination to stay in Italy is probably strengthened by a social climate that is not preconceptually intolerant.

2. Dimensions and characteristics of the phenomenon.

As already noticed it is from the end of the seventies that immigration to Italy from developing countries takes on a certain importance (Censis, 1978). It is differentiated as much from the point of view of the ethnic origin of the immigrants as where they come from geographically.

From official sources, generally of an administrative kind, is revealed a strong dynamism of the flows especially in most recent years but it has not been possible to obtain a reliable measurement of the dimensions of the phenomenon. They emphasise only the visible part of a population that is made up for the most part of irregular, very mobile illegal and evasive elements. (Barsotti, Lecchini, 1989). Recently however ISTAT on the occasion of the National Conference on Emigration produced an estimate of foreign immigrants present in Italy. It was calculated that in 1989 (average year) they amounted to 1,144,000 of which 963,000 come from outside the Common Market (1).

Territorial distribution is characterised by strong concentration, given that 4 out of 10 are concentrated in only three regions, in order Lazio, Sicily and Lombardy (Tab. 1).

Table 1. Estimate of foreign immigrants present in Italy at 1989: yearly average (absolute data in thousand).

Regions	CEE countries	Extra CEE	Total	<u>Foreigners</u> residents(‰)	<u>For.Ex.CEE</u> residents(‰)
Piemonte	12.8	67.4	80.2	18.4	15.5
Valle d'Aosta	0.7	1.5	2.2	19.1	13.0
Lombardia	30.9	105.2	136.1	15.3	11.8
Trentino Alto Adige	6.7	15.3	22.0	24.8	17.2
Veneto	9.2	57.6	66.8	15.2	13.1
Friuli Venezia Giulia	3.6	24.4	28.0	23.3	20.3
Liguria	8.8	39.3	48.1	27.8	22.7
Emilia-Romagna	8.1	51.8	59.9	15.3	13.2
Toscana	16.9	70.3	87.2	24.5	19.8
Umbria	21.5	37.4	58.9	71.8	45.6
Marche	2.6	11.7	14.3	10.0	8.2
Lazio	32.7	178.5	211.2	40.8	34.5
Abruzzi	2.1	10.4	12.5	9.9	8.2
Molise	0.3	3.1	3.4	10.1	9.2
Campania	10.0	83.5	93.5	16.1	14.4
Puglia	4.3	36.9	41.2	10.1	9.0
Basilicata	0.2	2.8	3.0	4.8	4.5
Calabria	1.1	15.5	16.6	7.7	7.2
Sicilia	5.8	135.4	141.2	27.3	26.2
Sardegna	2.7	15.0	17.7	10.7	9.1
ITALY	181.0	963.0	1144.0	19.9	16.8

Source: ISTAT (1990); p.73.

Migratory option towards these three areas has probably very different reasons. For Lazio, it is the metropolitan effect exercised by the capital of the country that favours the aggregation of numerous ethnic groups and offers irregular immigrants the possibility of greater camouflage. The figure for Sicily, instead, could be influenced to excess by the fact that it is a region of initial arrival (ISTAT, 1990); however there is no doubt that geographical vicinity and widespread presence in the regional economy of precarious, seasonal work in the fishing and agricultural sectors lead to consistent temporary flows of labour force towards the island from countries in the Magreb. The vast presence of immigrants in Lombardy is also due to the dynamism of the demand for labour in some industrial sectors not satisfied by the supply of national workers.

If the different increase in the population of single areas is eliminated, the presence of immigrants from outside the Common Market results much less irregularly widespread on the territory. Dividing the whole country into two big areas, the South and the Central-North, it can be seen that the incidence of people from outside the Common Market per thousand is not very dissimilar (15‰ against 18‰).

Whereas the composition of people from outside the Common Market is very different between the two territorial areas. From a comparison between the number of living permits (at 31.12.89) and the ISTAT estimate (average 1989) (Tab.2) it is seen that in the North for every 100 regular immigrants there are 130 irregular and in the South there might be 304 irregular for every 100 regular immigrants (ISTAT, 1990).

It should be said that on the whole the phenomenon appears in Italy to still be of reasonably controlled dimensions (it represents less than 2% of the population) and in any case very far from the figure reached in other European countries that are traditional work force importers. But the importance of the phenomenon, related to the problems it brings to the welcoming society, does not depend only on quantitative dimensions but also on its nature, on its characteristics, conditions and situations in which it manifests itself.

The speed with which the current level of presences has been reached, the prevalent kind of work force, the preponderance of the young component in the structure by age (Tab.3); the asymmetry towards one or other sex, the propensity to concentrate in certain areas (large urban centres, the coastal belt) rather than distributing themselves uniformly over the country, give to foreign immigration a qualitative content that works, shall we say, to intensify the quantitative dimension.

Pressure on the social-economic arrival environment is then increased by the fact that the influx of workers from developing countries to Italy is happening, contrary to the model of traditional immigration, in a phase of unfavourable economic trend and comes up against a mass of unemployed now close to 3 million and a crisis in the Social State unable to meet effectively the demand for services and social infrastructures by the indigenous population itself.

Table 2. Comparison between residence permits data (31.12.89) and ISTAT estimates (average 1989). Absolute data in thousands.

Regions	Residence permits Extra CEE	ISTAT estimate Extra CEE	<u>ISTAT estimate</u> Res. permits (%)
Piemonte	23	67	291.3
Valle d'Aosta	1	2	200.0
Lombardia	44	106	240.9
Trentino Alto Adige	4	15	375.0
Veneto	20	58	290.0
Friuli Venezia Giulia	11	24	218.2
Liguria	9	39	433.2
Emilia-Romagna	18	52	288.9
Toscana	28	70	250.0
Umbria	28	37	132.1
Marche	5	11	220.0
Lazio	95	179	188.4
Abruzzi	5	10	200.0
Molise	1	3	300.0
Campania	25	84	336.0
Puglia	9	37	411.1
Basilicata	1	3	300.0
Calabria	4	16	400.0
Sicilia	26	135	519.3
Sardegna	4	15	375.0
ITALY	361	963	266.8
Northern and Central Italy	286	660	230.8
Southern Italy	75	303	404.0

Source: ISTAT (1990); p.73.

Table 3. Foreigners in Italy by age groups. 31.12.1989 (percent values).

Country of origin	Age groups					unknown	total
	< 26	26-35	36-45	45-60	>60		
Europe	22.5	27.7	16.4	16.9	16.2	0.5	100.0
- CEE	22.8	28.1	15.5	17.1	16.1	0.4	100.0
- extra CEE	21.5	27.0	17.8	16.7	16.3	0.7	100.0
- from East	21.8	32.9	19.7	13.9	10.9	0.8	100.0
Africa	21.8	51.7	18.2	6.8	1.3	0.2	100.0
- Magreb	20.4	52.0	19.0	7.0	1.4	0.2	100.0
Asia	22.8	45.9	19.8	8.3	2.9	0.2	100.0
- Far East	22.2	44.3	22.5	8.9	2.0	0.1	100.0
America	24.4	27.0	18.1	17.4	12.6	0.5	100.0
-Cent.South	29.0	34.3	16.7	13.1	6.5	0.4	100.0
Oceania	14.6	26.8	15.5	22.5	20.2	0.4	100.0
Stateless	23.2	7.9	7.9	10.4	48.6	2.0	100.0
Total	22.7	35.5	17.6	13.5	10.3	0.4	100.0

Source: Residence permits by Ministry of the Interior, taken from ISTAT (1990), p.116.

Going on to analyse the distribution of the presence from outside the Common Market according to nationality, from the most recent data on living permits and regularisations according to laws no. 943/86 and no. 39/90 reported in Tab. 4 it can be seen that the largest groups are Maroccans, Tunisians and Egyptians among North Africans, Senegalese and Ethiopians among peoples South of the Sahara; Filipinos and Chinese among Asians and Iranians among immigrants from Middle East countries.

Altogether these eight groups represent about half of all immigrants coming from developing countries.

A comparison between regularisations according to law 943/86 and law 39/90 reveals that whereas 'apparent demand' for regularisations has in some groups greatly increased, in others there have been marked reductions even more significant if it is considered that altogether recourse to regularisation, from one law to the other, has more than doubled.

It is not without importance to notice that the national groups that increased their propensity for regularisation are those from Tunisia (those with papers in order according to law 39/90 increased by 160% compared to those according to law 343/86), from Senegal (+100%), from Marocco (+79%); and that instead the groups that have reduced their explicit request for regularisation are from Iran (-58%), the Philippines (-21%) and Egypt (-29%).

In our opinion these changes in attitude towards regularisation can be put down to the following reasons:

-the groups that have taken advantage still more of the second opportunity for regularisation (i.e. the first three) are made up for the most part of subjects that have free-lance jobs and who as such had found difficulty in taking advantage of the first regulatory law that related only to dependent workers. The most recent law has opened to them greater spaces because it extended the benefit of a regulatory law also to free-lance work. Besides this technical fact the increased explicit demand for regularisation can be an index of the greater dynamism of entry flows of these groups during the last four years. Finally on the greater recourse to regularisation it should not be excluded that the lengthening itself of the period of stay in Italy has had an influence; this factor might have reduced the area of marginality in which these conditions can be expressed that make the immigrant weaker and more blackmailable and do not allow him to emerge from a situation of illegality and irregularity.

Instead the groups that have reduced their requests for regularisation (Iranians, Filipinos, Egyptians) are those better organised within Italian society because the time of entry into the country is by now relatively remote, because their process of integration is at a more advanced stage. They have found employment on the labour market prevalently as dependent workers and therefore those of them that needed to were able to fully make use of the first law for regularisation.

Table 4. Number of foreigners in Italy by country of origin.

Country of origin	Ministry of the Interior		Reg.L.943/86		Reg.L.39/90*	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
North Africa						
- Maroc	26,725	5.45	21,175	17.84	37,840	23.75
- Algerie	1,757	0.36	747	0.63	1,564	0.98
- Tunisie	14,145	2.88	8,977	7.56	23,294	14.62
- Lybia	2,196	0.45	157	0.13	135	0.08
- Egypt	10,209	2.08	7,422	6.25	5,285	3.32
Africa S.Sahara						
- Ethiopia	7,900	1.61	3,365	2.83	988	0.62
- Somalia	3,744	0.76	1,513	1.27	3,493	2.19
- Nigeria	3,575	0.73	2,124	1.79	2,593	1.63
- Senegal	8,191	1.67	6,687	5.63	13,450	8.44
- Capo Verde	3,814	0.78	976	0.82	359	0.23
Middle East						
- Iran	11,827	2.41	4,226	3.56	1,771	1.11
- Iraq	1,594	0.33	424	0.36	132	0.08
Asia						
- India	7,168	1.46	1,765	1.49	1,668	1.05
- Sri Lanka	5,117	1.04	4,079	3.44	2,851	1.79
- China	8,531	1.74	6,339	5.34	7,479	4.68
- Philippines	16,131	3.29	12,498	10.53	9,846	6.18
Latin America						
- Brazil	8,716	1.78	985	0.83	2,083	1.31
- Argentina	6,980	1.43	1,024	0.85	1,908	1.20
Eastern Europe						
- Poland	10,091	2.06	647	0.55	4,359	2.74
- Jugoslavia	17,124	3.49	5,696	4.80	8,966	5.63
Total (20 countries)	175,562	35.80	90,826	76.51	130,064	81.64
TOTAL	490,388	100.00	118,709	100.00	159,315	100.00

Source: CENSIS (1990); p.84.

* At 5/5/1990.

3. Placement in the labour market.

The still prevalent nature of immigrants (as work force) drives us to analyse above all their placement in the labour market. One feature all immigrants have in common is their placement in marginal, interstitial areas of the labour market. Then there is a type of homologation between the work carried out and the national group they belong to: thus, for example, Tunisians are for the most part employed in fishing and agriculture, Senegalese as itinerant salesmen, the Chinese in catering and craft activities for the production of articles in skin and leather. The mechanisms that govern this homologation work both on the side of the supply as well as on the demand. Immigrants gradually as they arrive find it useful to get themselves into these occupations that previous migrants have cut out for themselves within local economies. This is for two fundamental reasons: on the one hand because the workings of the migration chain has allowed them to have adequate information about possibility of employment in the country of immigration, and on the other because previous immigrants facilitate (actually because of acquaintances made during their stay) entry into specific working situations for which they somehow or other manage to control demand requirements. To this should be added that the identification of a group also through the work it does, increases its cohesion and therefore the possibility of negotiating as a group, often organised in associations, with the welcoming society for the satisfaction of individual needs.

When it is not the same immigrants that do a job, also demand acts in favour of linking them up by often selecting immigrants because of the ethnic group they come from. Selection is not always fortuitous and sometimes it is a strategy for greater control on the part of the employer over manpower and the reduction of conflict.

This strategy can be achieved all the more when the workers to be recruited belong to groups characterised by a strongly hierarchical structure in which the older immigrants or those who enjoy greater authority can control internal relationships and relations with the employer.

The process of homologation described so far is sometimes affected by the intervention of the territorial variable namely the susceptibleness of the economic-social environment.

Going over the various productive sectors it is possible to grasp the role that demand at the level of specific territorial realities plays in choosing the offer of immigrant labour.

In many cases situations can come about of complementing needs (qualitative and quantitative) for manpower by the local productive fabric and the characteristics of the immigrant work force.

Agriculture and fishing.

In the geographical areas where there is widespread agriculture of an intensive and specialised kind, the need for a high influx of manpower at the time of harvesting the produce forces agricultural firms to have recourse to a large degree to the immigrant work force. The immigrants, especially the illegal ones, accept wages lower than the legal minimum and very heavy work loads. The volume of manpower can quickly be adapted to needs that by the nature of production vary in an unforeseeable way. The entire system

turns out to be extremely fluid with restrictions being avoided which legal rulings and trade union control could impose on the managing of the work force. The employer therefore has the advantage of choosing foreign rather than indigenous manpower.

There is no doubt that this option can create situations of competitiveness on the labour market. However they appear not only and not so much in terms of conflict between immigration and local manpower as rather a moving away from agriculture as the sector of dependent work for a fixed period, by the younger people offering their services (Pugliese, 1990). The extensive use of piece-work as a form of super-exploitation, the violation of trade-union agreements and the relative lowering of wages, all conditions that are made possible by the abundance and blackmail-ability of the immigrant labour force, have consolidated a situation of particularly low wages in agriculture together with a particularly heavy work load. And so in an area like south Italy where "the below minimum salary represents the norm", the vast use of foreign immigrants has favoured in the agricultural sector "effectively a situation of further worsening of working conditions and especially of prospects for change" (Pugliese, 1990).

The nationalities most involved in the demand for agricultural labour are Tunisian, Algerian and others coming from South of the Sahara (Ghana, Nigeria, Ivory Coast).

These activities are mainly concentrated in the areas (Sicily, Campania, Apulia, Lazio and Southern Tuscany) in which the agricultural economy of a Mediterranean type prevails (Giannini, Petrosino, 1990; Amaturò, Morlicchio, 1990; Calvanese, Pugliese, 1988).

Also fishing is a sector which, at least in some areas, resorts to the intensive use of immigrant labour. It is well-known how the presence in such activities of Tunisian immigrants is particularly strong in western Sicily (Vizzini, 1983; Vaccina, 1983) but it also becomes important in the port areas of the Marche and Apulia (Vicarelli, 1990; Di Comite, Ancona, Dell'Atti, 1985).

The great recourse to Tunisian immigrants in the fishing sector is connected with their marked complementarity. Indeed the demand can rely, adapting it without trouble to the need for productive organisation, on a work force that is not only cheap but already well-accustomed and trained in the country of origin to carry out this type of work in even harder conditions.

For immigrants who work in agriculture the complementarity more than to an attitude and a professionalism previously acquired is owed, instead, to the availability of these immigrants that occupy the most marginal belt of the labour force to accept working and wage conditions that are extremely onerous but - as has been said - perfectly functional for the needs of the productive organisation by a strongly flexible use of the work force.

Services.

The service sector absorbs the biggest numbers of immigrants coming from the developing countries. Some recent estimates (Censis, 1990) indicate that about 70% of immigrants are employed in this sector (Tab.5).

Demand that comes from the market is expressed from non-institutionalised segments which for their survival and development use extremely flexible forms of work force, violating any trade union or legal agreement and avoiding the payment of

of immigration into Italy from outside the Common Market are increasing. But stabilisation always inevitably causes conflict (Mansoubi, 1990) and these processes of stabilisation force our country, it also having now become one of immigration, to pass from policies relating to immigration to those relating to immigrants (Entzinger, 1990).

5. Which policy for immigration?

For a long period, while immigration from outside the Common Market was assuming increasing dimensions the Italian State in fact ignored the phenomenon trying to control it with old regulative measures going back for about 60 years (sole text for Public Safety of 1931).

This attitude has been favoured also by the fact that in the beginning a large number of immigrants besides being concentrated in the same area was practically invisible (Filipinos) and/or socially caused few problems (Iranians, Egyptians).

The obsolete normative framework very soon showed itself to be unable to cope with the evolution of the migration phenomenon. Also urged by new initiatives at a Common Market level (the Schengen Agreement of 1985) with which Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg, France and Germany took upon themselves to set a common control policy for their frontiers, in 1986 the Italian government passed law no.943 which aims at reconciling the two opposing requirements: that of protecting the national labour market against an uncontrolled entry of foreign manpower and that of giving precise guarantees to foreigners already present in the country, privileging them over new arrivals and recognising after two years of regular stay, full equality of access of occupation just like Italian workers (Adinolfi, 1987).

The law has on the whole had little success, and its most important aspect, that of programming flows, has practically never been applied (Zanchetta, 1991). Even the regulatory law for irregular positions, either because of the complexities of the bureaucratic course necessary to obtain regularisation, or because it saw the immigrant only as a factor of the labour force and not in his globality as a person, has been only partially effective. Furthermore the law assuming the immigrant to be a dependent worker did not take account of the high number of immigrants doing freelance or autonomous jobs in the national territory. The regulatory law has been given numerous extensions until in the field the situation is as follows: a modest number with papers in order, few more than 100,000, a large contingent of illegal immigrants and just as high a number with papers not in order but not illegal immigrants.

Thus in most recent years the immigration emergency has increased in our country, arrivals have rapidly grown and the range of where immigrants come from has widened. The immigrant has become more and more noticeable not because of the rise of conflicts or tensions on the labour market as much as because of the increasing ability to be seen within the social fabric.

The need of immigrants for services of initial welcome and accommodation, finds the State, apart from declarations of principle in the law, unprepared and without the territorial structures necessary to satisfy them. The initial welcome has been offered by private associations but above all organisations depending on the Catholic Church which has thus carried out a function of social shock-absorber.

contributions and taxes. It is a question above all of activities connected with business and catering and maintenance and cleaning of properties. The work is generally unqualified, often precarious and lowly considered socially.

Demand that instead comes from families absorbs almost all the female immigrant work force. Wherever she comes from the immigrant woman is generally segregated into the role of servant within a family. This work condition is tried out by about 80% of all women immigrants who work in Italy. On the labour market sex seems to eliminate all other variables and the immigrant, in that she is a woman, is used in these activities which the welcoming society considers naturally suited to the female sex. In Italy families of the lower middle class in the domestic work of immigrant women rediscover a function for a woman that is by now obsolete in female culture but which is still very useful for the organisation of family life. If the use of an immigrant is also a status symbol, it serves in many cases to free the Italian woman from onerous tasks such as care and help of the elderly. These are increasing requirements in relation to the lack of social services and the progressive ageing of the population (Barsotti, Lecchini, 1990).

Table 5 - Current main work carried out by immigrants from outside the Common Market (percent values).

Day farm labourers	10.4
Travelling salesmen	15.9
Craftsmen	5.1
Industrial workers	8.6
Building workers	4.9
Hotel workers	14.0
Workers in other services	9.4
Domestics	25.4
Clerks	2.8
Fishermen	0.3
Others	3.2
	100.0

Source : Censis (1990), pp.46-47

There are areas of activity of the tertiary sector in which posts have not been created, at least directly by the demand for local labour but has been that very offer of immigrant labour, sometimes perhaps requested by a hidden demand, that has created or invented work opportunities. We mean we are referring to precarious, marginal activities of a travelling salesman that have greatly developed during recent years all over the country but in particular in the major urban centres and coastal areas.

It is difficult to describe these activities as forms of autonomous work because they are hardly ever supported by even a minimum company structure and even with difficulty can they be considered as free-lance because often they are inserted into networks promoted and controlled by organisations that recruit the most suitable elements among foreign immigrants.

It might now be interesting to superimpose on these tertiary jobs the different nationalities to see if phenomena of work specialisation exist. Dependent jobs activated by market demand cover numerous groups but are particularly the prerogative of Egyptians and Chinese (cooks and waiters in the catering business) Iranians (porters those in itinerant commerce in a fixed position who daily open and close their stalls) Maroccans (staff for the hard work in catering).

In service for families are exclusively placed predominantly female groups from the Far East, (Filipinos, Srilankians and Indians) and from Africa (Capeverdians, Ethiopians). It should be noted that also males belonging to these ethnic groups, even if it is still a limited number, carry out, to suit themselves, the same work as the women.

Finally the itinerant salesman is almost exclusively monopolised by Maroccans and Senegalese, both groups that have an atavistic tradition and propensity for itinerant business.

Industrial activities.

The processes of great industrial restructuring that from the second half of the seventies, have involved Western European countries have reduced in the primary market of the labour force, the availability of jobs in the industrial sector. That action of direct recruitment of immigrant manpower on the part of industries that had characterised previously the most industrialised countries of Europe has been decreasing.

This process of industrial restructuring has however produced an accentuation in the dualism of the labour market in the sense that faced with the contraction of the central guaranteed sector (the primary market), the marginal, precarious sector (the secondary one) has been extended. The process of segmentation and fragmentation has been so intense that real labour markets often little connected have been created (Piore, 1979; Chiarello, 1990). The factors that have created the expansion of hidden occupation in the industrial sector can be traced to reasons for reducing the cost of the labour force and to the increase in flexibility of its use. The phenomena of restructuring in the sense used above have involved even if in different measures the industrial economies of all the countries of Western Europe (Venturini, 1990).

Italy has shown a particular predisposition for carrying out such processes because they have been engaged in a very widespread productive economic context throughout the country and characterised by the presence of small and medium sized industries.

An industrial fabric which in its most traditional activities had moreover already tested out amply recourse to irregular, precarious, black forms of labour. In this situation entrepreneurs who operate in areas where recourse to irregular labour is most widespread could not for long not notice the presence of a supply of labour which was that of the immigrant and particularly suited and available to take on the intensive processes of self-exploitation (Venturini, 1990).

The process is still in an initial stage because it has not been put in motion by direct action of attraction of immigrants by the demand but it is an a posteriori choice that comes from the recognition of an unexpected opportunity for exploitation.

However the phenomenon has already reached a fairly sizeable dimension estimated at 20% of occupied immigrants (Censis, 1990) and appears to be very dynamic. The occupation of immigrants in the industrial sector is concentrated in large measure in some areas in the Centre-North. Work openings have occurred only in these sections where the request and use of low qualified manpower is strongest: the tanning industry in the Veneto (Palchetti, 1991), foundries, resin factories, mechanical factories, pottery, the transformation of foodstuffs in Emilia Romagna, Lombardy, Piedmont, the marble works and naval docks in Tuscany. The increasing demand for immigrant labour by industry in the North of Italy has caused internal migrant shifts of the foreign labour force from the south towards the north of the country. These territorial movements are almost always accompanied by changes in work activity (shifts from one sector to another and from one job to another). Such changes have had a selective effect in the sense that they have favoured the progressive formation of groups of people of the same nationality occupied in specific areas and jobs.

This selection has naturally worked, so to speak, from the side of the offer of labour but the entrepreneurs have also gained advantage from it. Homogeneity from the ethnic point of view of manpower used probably reduces causes for conflict and instead extends moments of interpersonal solidarity among the workers. This fact cancels out in some ways the discomforts the immigrant may experience in relation to the process of integration, the requirements of a home and social services by being able to count on the system of group solidarity. In other ways however group homogeneity could, in perspective, increase the contractual and bargaining power of the immigrant labour force opposite the employer. For the moment, however, it appears to us that this is still a remote possibility, both because foreign employment in industry is still not great enough and because migrants are still structurally weak.

Entrepreneurial and managerial figures.

As we have seen, the normal placement of immigrants from the Third World on the labour market is their insertion in the most marginal and unqualified areas. If this is the rule, with closer analysis some exceptions arise which might perhaps show still uncertain transient signs of the presence of people with a higher professional profile.

A favourable mix between specific attitudes of the immigrant, characteristics of the economic and social environment of welcome, the possibility to use privileged channels of supplies in the countries of origin, family and group organisation has given rise to some specific forms of entrepreneurship and managership.

At least two examples can be given; that of the commercialisation and sale of carpets by Iranians and manufacture of leather products and the catering business of the Chinese.

Some Iranians who reached Italy in more remote times and are now fully integrated knew how to create a niche for themselves in the market of production and services. The occupied productive segment is that of the commercialisation, promotion and sale of oriental carpets. These activities are seen by the socio-economic environment as natural

and congenial to oriental immigrants and are therefore appreciated and only marginally considered as forms of undesirable competition. So, united to the type of demand satisfied by this commercial activity that is scarcely affected by cyclical conditions of the economy, makes the economic sector chosen by the Iranians particularly solid and in some ways protected.

Also the Chinese have inserted themselves mainly into the economic and social fabric of the big cities of the Center-North.

The rapid development of production of leather articles by the Chinese especially in some areas already selected for this activity, like the Florentine hinterland, is due to a productive organisation that involves all the members of the family, the capacity for very hard work, their developed manual skill which allows them to produce products of good quality. Thus productive organisations have been formed, largely efficient and competitive opposite both local craft companies and forms of non-institutional and black labour (Masetti, 1989). In some local areas it seems that the market for the production of leather products is now monopolised by the Chinese.

Another activity in which the Chinese community is, so to speak, specialised is that of catering. It is an activity widespread in all the urban centres of the country which finds its strong points in the culture of the migrant Chinese, in the contacts they keep with the country of origin, apart from their capacity to create an offer of a service that has itself induced an ever greater demand on the part of the local population.

The role of immigration on the labour market.

As has been recently observed (Pugliese, 1990), the contraposition between immigration labour force by offer and labour force by demand is too schematic to effectively explain the effects that immigration has, on the whole, on the Italian labour market. In other words it seems limiting to define the role of the immigrant labour force compared to the local one as complementary (immigration on demand) or competitive (immigration on supply).

In the light of what has been shown in the previous paragraphs, to define the role of immigrants the social and productive characteristics of the environments they are inserted in have to be taken into account on one hand and on the other the personal and group qualities as well as the migration projects of the migrants.

Meanwhile all immigration of female manpower is linked less with cyclical economic factors than to connotations of Italian society (Pugliese, 1990). Also since in areas of high unemployment operates a system of guarantees, albeit weak, of a family and social type, the unoccupied Italian female labour force can afford to refuse a type of work that, because of the conditions it is carried out in, is considered unacceptable. Therefore with regard to these activities the supply of local labour is rigid and therefore the immigrant labour force can be defined as additional (Pugliese, 1990).

In certain ways the activities of travelling salesman, or between those parts of it that can keep themselves independent, are to be considered as additional jobs, jobs in this case devised by the offer itself and which rest on close group links between immigrants of the same nationality.

When we turn to consider the jobs carried out by migrants as dependent workers in productive sectors, the definition of the role becomes more complicated.

They would play a role neither substitutive nor complementary but rather of transformation of the productive process in so far as they would slow down its modification (Venturini, 1990). Illegal immigration would induce a decline of capital towards the informal sectors of the economy (Dell'Aringa, Neri, 1987); it would give support to hidden activities; it would favour its spread and would produce a lowering in technological levels (Furcht, 1989; Bruni, Pinto, 1990).

But the tendency to flexible occupation and the development of hidden activities is part of a strategy for productive reorganisation which wide sectors of the Italian economy have been experimenting with for decades, long before the arrival of immigrants from outside the Common Market. They therefore cannot be held responsible for increasing the sector of the hidden economy. Their presence constitutes if anything a greedy opportunity from which this economic sector manages to obtain further big advantages in terms of over-exploitation of the labour force and of fluidity in productive activities (CESPE, 1990).

4. Migration projects.

The vast majority of foreign immigrants into Italy, as has already been pointed out, comes for reasons of work. Therefore all the immigrants once they have arrived in the country actively set about trying to find a job. If this is the aspect that they all have in common what role do the different conditions of leaving home, sex and marital status play in the definition of the migration project? Do these characteristics influence the expected length of stay and attitude towards family reunions?

Around 13% of migrants present in Italy have a project of a seasonal type (Censis, 1990). The migrants who look on their migration choice completely as a temporary event and who in the course of the year shuttle between Italy and the country of origin maintaining close relations, even physically, with the family show a clear propensity towards temporary and/or seasonal work that allow rapid earnings. These migrants are certainly among those that have less interest in aspects of the activity of the job that are not truly economic. The regularity of the job, recognition of trade union rights lose importance compared to the possibility of getting the maximum monetary advantage from a short stay abroad. These alternating movements, almost commuting at a very slow rate, are possible if certain particular conditions hold true: the relative vicinity between the country of origin and the country of destination, the accessibility of cheap means of transport; but especially the availability of temporally out of phase jobs in the country of destination and that of origin (both in the marginal uncontrolled areas of the economy). And even the existence of a family and a group structure able to run and control in any case the work activities in the country of origin during the period of absence of the migrant.

This type of alternating migration conforms to a migratory project that tends to optimize the most objectives. One is that of maximising the family economic and financial resources by adding to the possibility of income in the country of origin those deriving from temporary migration, another is that of avoiding the risk of being uprooted from the society of origin and reducing the breakdown of one's own personal identity which migration inevitably brings.

An example of this migration model is represented by the experience of some migrants from the Magreb area: Tunisians and Maroccans. Both Tunisia and Marocco are countries geographically close to Italy where the process of development and modernisation of the economy, even if it is still late, offers significant occupational spaces in informal and precarious activities (Courbage, 1990). As we have seen, placement in the labour market is prevalently in the seasonal activities of fishing and agriculture.

Seasonal migrants are however only a very small part of the people in Italy from outside the Common Market, the vast majority of migrants has temporary projects but of much longer duration.

But the original project is strongly dependent on the economic and social conditions experienced in the receiving country. Gradually the migrant who prolongs his stay loses the certainty of the time of his re-entry. The length of stay in the country of immigration, as has been revealed in the course of our enquiries, becomes indefinite or at least goes well over the time initially foreseen.

This process of gradual stabilisation involves all migrants also because conditions in the countries they come from are not improving with the passage of time (Bruni, 1990) and in any case professionalism acquired, if any, by migrants to Italy only rarely allow reinsertion on better conditions since it is of little value in the countries of origin.

But within this process the attitude appears different between migrant women and men (2). Traditionally the main actor in the migratory process was the male; it was he who migrated and the woman gave the necessary support to the migration act guaranteeing the continuity and care of the family unit. Female migration when it occurred was dependent migration (Barsotti, Lecchini, 1991). In most recent years the presence of women in flows of migrant workers has been progressively increasing. For some of them, those coming from the Philippines, Sri Lanka, India, Cape Verde the female presence is by far the majority: women have therefore themselves become the main actors in the migration process.

Italy which, as has been seen, only recently became established as a country of immigration has found itself involved in these modifications of the international migration model. The female component that makes up approx. 30% of the total presences in the country (Censis, 1990) is made up only marginally of migrants as dependents, the vast majority is instead made up of working migrant women.

We shall illustrate as an example the migration project of Filipino women who make up one of the most numerous groups present in Italy and about which we have carried out a direct survey (Barsotti, 1988).

The view with which to attempt a definition of the migration project cannot only take account of the individual needs and expectations of migrants but must be extended as far as possible to the needs and expectations of the entire family group of the migrant in so far as it has now been checked that the decision to migrate cannot be seen as a purely individual decision (Lin, 1990).

The migration of Filipino women is an integral part of a family strategy. The choice of the woman as the migrant subject within the family depends on various factors. Firstly, the opening up of the availability of jobs exclusively for women (domestic service, au pair girls) in the countries of immigration. Secondly the closing of work opportunities for migrant males in some industrial sectors and in some countries that

traditionally absorbed the male immigration work force. In a situation generalised by migration for survival the migration process tends more and more to involve subjects independently of sex. What counts is being able to secure through migration, income to improve the level of consumption of each member of the family and of the family as a whole.

The woman is able to do it because now she also has work opportunities abroad. For this reason she is chosen as the migrant but also because she is more reliable than the man in keeping close contact with the original family and in constantly transferring money.

With such a prospect migration of the woman cannot be conceived of at the beginning as other than temporary migration.

We can say it is a migration that has proved successful: the aims of the migration project have been achieved. The majority of Filipino women judge positively their migration experience. Over 50% is happy with the work done and 60% has good relations with her employer, 80% earns satisfactorily and 85% makes regular money transfers (Barsotti, Lecchini, 1990). The terms of a stable job allow her an equally stable income which in real terms is relatively high. She can thus on the one hand approach an inner life style that she could not acquire in the country of origin and on the other with her own money transfers satisfy the needs of the members of her family that stayed behind.

But success actually tends to transform the migration from temporary to permanent. The money transfers go on being a factor that the family cannot live without. They alone allow further levels of consumption to be acquired adding to the sense of deprivation that arises from the contrast between the attractions of a westernised life style that is at hand and the lack of economic resources and necessary finances to attain them. Therefore the Filipino woman seems to be precluded from definitive re-entry.

Not even marital status seems to influence the length of stay because for married couples their relations with the family remain even closer and therefore the money transfers are even more important and necessary.

In this case the rejoining of family members in Italy could be thought of as a substitution for re-entry. But, at least for the moment, the type of work carried out (full-time servant living in with the family) that imposes living with the employer is a big obstacle to family reunion.

Female migration thus seems to be a phenomenon destined to stabilisation but the times and methods it can be achieved are still uncertain.

Even if they are following different paths male migration projects (let us recall that the flows which have an almost exclusively male component are those coming from Senegal, Morocco, Tunisia and in general Africa below the Sahara) also seem oriented towards a long and indefinite period of stay in Italy. It also is a migration for survival especially for the immigrants that come from the poorest African countries South of the Sahara. These migrants moreover represent a high and rising share of foreign presences in Italy. It is usually a question of young immigrants, unmarried, with not a high level of education and the majority is without work at the time of leaving home (3).

From a survey conducted on the Senegalese community (Barsotti, Lecchini, 1990) it emerged that migration is seen as a method of accumulating a sufficient amount of savings to re-invest in the country of origin. The investment can be to set up or develop

agricultural, commercial or craft activities in the informal economy of the big cities or to pay the dowry and the construction of a home with a view to marriage.

If these are the aims of migration it would seem obvious that in the case of success re-entry would take place after a short period.

In fact at least for the moment the frequency of the success of migration among the Senegalese appears rather low if one considers that 4 out of 5 of them declared they were dissatisfied with the level of earnings achieved in Italy. This fact makes realisation of the original migration project very uncertain and seems to force the migrants to put back their time of re-entry into their country of origin compared to the estimated times.

The remaining fifth of immigrants which says it is satisfied with the earning level achieved has generally tried a process of social and professional mobility that has moved it from the precarious job as an itinerant salesman to more stable, regular working conditions in the industrial sectors. This process which makes the immigrant advance towards prospects of success for his migration experience because finally it allows him to have a secure, sufficient income, can also cause, but for obviously opposing reasons, a re-thinking of the original project. Working in a factory creates a new network of social relationships between the immigrant and his Italian work-mates, new forms of solidarity but at the same time it slows down relations with the ethnic group of origin. The characteristics of the jobs that the immigrant acquires in a factory make it difficult to use these new professional capacities for a re-entry to better conditions in the country of origin. All this fosters a process of assimilation to the welcoming society and therefore also tends to remove the prospects of a re-entry home. If all this is plausible it is not to be wondered that in the survey conducted by us only 30% foresees leaving Italy before four years have elapsed and that approx. 70% intends staying here a long time or has no idea how long the stay will be.

The inadequacy of the type of work carried out compared to the aim of the migration project makes so to speak 'suspended' relationship with family members that remain back home. The level and frequency of money transfers are very unsatisfactory (only 12% of immigrants can make transfers regularly, more than 50% only sometimes and 35% never) and Senegalese immigrants, even those married, manage only rarely to be an income-pooling for their families whereas the Filipino women do. Furthermore conditions do not exist for the reunion of families which in any case the original project did not foresee. Only a small number of immigrants (18%) indeed thinks it desirable or possible that some of his family could join him in Italy.

One type of immigration that instead has now assumed a character of stability is that which concerns a good number of Iranians and Chinese.

Iranian immigration, begun as immigration of a individual type with motivations that could have made be looked on as temporary or not definitive (the reasons that forced them to leave their original homes were either political or for studying) has changed by increasing the stay in Italy to stable immigration and of population immigration but not so much for the effect of members of the family rejoining them as rather for the creation of new family units in the country of arrival.

Chinese immigration is one of entire family units and the first arrivals in Italy go back several decades. Since the eighties there has been a constant, huge increase in the phenomenon and by now different generations of immigrants are now living together in our country. In conclusion it can be said that on the whole the phenomena of stabilisation

At a distance of three years from the first regulation law the Italian government has had to cope for the second time with an emergency on immigration adopting a new legislative measure (decree with the force of law of 30/12/89 no.416 converted into law no.39) which lays down urgent rules on the subject of entry and stay of citizens from outside the Common Market, but also controls the regularisation of citizens from outside the Common Market and stateless people already present in Italy.

The spirit of the law is to rapidly reach a programming of flows of entry into Italy of people from outside the Common Market as a function of the chance to integrate immigrants already here (Cespe, 1990). From this viewpoint the need arises to make come to light the real numerical number of immigrants from outside the Common Market and for this aim the law has provided a second possibility for regularising one's position by eliminating these obstacles that made the previous measure ineffective and by introducing some concessions for those whose papers are in order. It has speeded up and eased the process of regularisation for free lance work carried out by citizens from outside the Common Market; it has provided for the facility to enrol on the lists for ordinary jobs with the possibility for the worker from outside the Common Market to enter into whatever work contract there is, including these for providing training; it has given the facility to citizens from outside the Common Market to set up co-operatives; it has put right previous or still in force irregular working relations, freeing employers for the periods prior to regularisation from having to pay contributions and insurance premiums and the relative penalties in force for failing to make contributions.

From this point of view the law seems to have greater success than the previous one, given that in the six months provided for its application approx. 220,000 immigrants have put their situation in order.

The law is very detailed and tends to align itself with the policies of other European countries. In substance the legislative measure tends to shape the in-flow of manpower from outside the Common Market according to the requirements of the demand for internal work, the evolution of the national labour market and the capacity to support by the social structures.

But one of the principal aims of the law, that of programming flows according to precise discipline for the procedures of entry, stay and expulsion and to reduce the amount of illegality, inevitably comes into conflict with the structure of the labour market whose prospects for development seem to be founded on the availability of an irregular work force, extremely flexible to find jobs in the market of secondary labour (Bastenier, Dassetto, 1990). The requirement of the demand for labour therefore contrasts with the aim of reducing the area of economic marginal activity (of wages and work conditions).

But a policy that tries to regulate immigration according to the economic needs of the demand for labour has little effectiveness on the level of social and cultural integration of the immigrant. Economic marginal state and also the social one and then the immigrant appreciated on the economic level just because he is marginal becomes, in the prospect of being a member of the society receiving him, undesirable really in so far as he is marginal. On this level, competition in the use of social services can be hypothesised between immigrants and the poorest bands of the local population, a struggle between 'marginal people' which in some areas of the country could also become very intense.

All the more so since Italian welfare structures are not very effective or efficient. In many cases they are unable to give satisfactory replies even to the demand for social

services from the poorest levels of the indigenous population and it is not surprising they are unable to bear the added weight of the needs expressed by the immigrant population.

And even the programming of flows according to the needs of the economy, as is provided for by Italian law, will certainly be overwhelmed by the rising tide of people who are seeking in whatever way conditions for survival outside their own country.

It should not be forgotten that Italy finds itself geographically in a critical position, hemmed in between the front of countries on the north side of the Mediterranean and the Mediterranean countries of Eastern Europe.

Therefore a policy that were to bring about the closing of borders and the tightening of controls could have no other effect than that moreover already experienced by other European countries, of the extension of illegal immigration.

Furthermore today to be a developed country means inevitably to also be a country of immigration. It is a conflict that belongs to our economic-social system which makes the immigrant usable as work force but problematic as a human presence. There are not many possibilities for resolving this conflict in the short term and in any case prospects for its solution must be linked to the realisation of consistent policies of co-operation that could favour development auto-centred in the countries of the Third World and could help the development of real processes of democratisation.

A policy based on this outlook which sees immigration as an instrument for international co-operation is obviously a policy realisable only in a multi-national context.

In the short term what could be the correct attitude towards migration to our country from developing countries?

Some people suggest the creation of a parallel labour market for immigrants (Dell'Aringa, 1990), others (Bruni, Pinto, 1990) setting up a complete recognition of immigrant workers as equal to national workers, discouraging the use of illegal workers so that it can show itself on the real excess of demand for labour.

Limiting ourselves to policies aimed at the effects of immigration one route could be taken is that of the development of forms of ethnic economy, in other words "activities run autonomously by immigrants having as a strong point the respective cultural patrimony and ties with the country of origin" (Cespe, 1990). Business nuclei could thus be formed and developed so as to capture specific segments of the market. Nuclei which, opportunely sustained in the setting up phase by help and financial concessions, from making available real services (professional training, marketing, ...) should also constitute levers for the development of relations of commercial exchange with the countries of origin.

It also seems to us appropriate that all measures possible should be favoured which tend to preserve the character of the project of the migrant for being temporary. Numerous immigrants arrive in Italy, as we have seen, with the intention of accumulating financial resources to use in the country of origin. Very often the use of this work force occurs with jobs not recyclable in the country left. The result of this process is the distorting of the original migration project and an inevitable stabilisation of the migrants.

An attempt should be made to reconcile the needs of the indigenous demand with the need to give immigrants a qualification and professional characteristics that can also be used in the economic systems of their country of origin.

Very often moreover these immigrants speak for the most part favourably and are willing to attend courses of professional training and they themselves indicate the

qualifications they deem useful so as to be inserted in the work force of their own country (mechanic, carpenter, driver, joiner, blacksmith, ...). The migration experience would thus become something more than a desperate search for reasonable conditions in which to live. It could lead to acquiring new professionalism and contribute to the development of the country of origin; the enriching of the hidden economy would become less and less and also the running of submerged activities and instead it would contribute to an increase of the "emerged" regular sector of the economy.

NOTES

- (1) Before the official estimate furnished by ISTAT in 1990 other evaluations had been made by research bodies and scholars (Censis, 1979; Labos, 1989; Golini, 1989; Natale, 1986; Natale, 1990). Given the diverse criteria adopted, the various estimates are not easily comparable.
- (2) We shall try to illustrate migration projects basing ourselves, in the absence of official data useful for the purpose, on results of our own direct enquiry carried out from 1988 to 1990 on migrants of five different nationalities: Iranian, Filipino, Senegalese, Moroccan, Capeverdian (Barsotti, 1988). Therefore if we use partial information, it does not however refer to a small amount of immigration from outside the Common Market: these groups form approx 50% of immigration.
- (3) From our enquiry it appears:
 - With regard to age: 73% is less than 30 years old, 26% between 30 and 50 and 1% is over 50 years old.
 - With regard to marital status: 64% is unmarried.
 - With regard to years at school (it should be remembered that in 20% of the cases it was a question of a Koran School): 40% did not do more than 6 years,
 - 43% did between 6 and 14 years,
 - 11% did more than 14 years.
 - With regard to their position on the labour market at the moment when they first leave home: 56% is unemployed.

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