

TURNING A CORNER? HOW SPAIN CAN HELP IMMIGRANTS FIND MIDDLE-SKILLED WORK

By Raúl Ramos



**A SERIES ON THE LABOR MARKET INTEGRATION OF NEW ARRIVALS IN EUROPE:
ASSESSING POLICY EFFECTIVENESS**



THIS PROJECT IS FUNDED BY
THE EUROPEAN UNION



TURNING A CORNER? How Spain Can Help Immigrants Find Middle-Skilled Work

Raúl Ramos

October 2014



This project is funded
by the European Union



Acknowledgments

The author would like to thank Susan Fratzke and Meghan Benton of the Migration Policy Institute for their helpful comments, suggestions, and edits. Sara Carrascosa (Spanish Ministry of Labor and Immigration); Oriol Amorós (Member of the Catalan Parliament and former responsible for Catalan migration policy); Angelina Puig (Catalan Public Employment Services, SOC); Fernando Díaz (Comunitat Valenciana government); and Montserrat Oliveres (Chamber of Commerce of Catalonia) have also provided useful insights. The views expressed in this report are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the position or policy of any of the above mentioned persons or institutions. Any error or omission is the sole responsibility of the author.

© 2014 Migration Policy Institute and International Labour Organization.

All Rights Reserved.

Cover Design: April Siruno

Typesetting: Rebecca Kilberg, MPI

No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, or any information storage and retrieval system, without permission from the International Labour Office (ILO). A full-text PDF of this document is available for free download from www.migrationpolicy.org or www.ilo.org.

For rights of reproduction or translation, application should be made to ILO Publications (Rights and Licensing), International Labour Office, CH-1211 Geneva 22, Switzerland, or by email: pubdroit@ilo.org. The ILO and Migration Policy Institute welcome such applications.

The designations employed in this publication, and the presentation of material therein do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of the International Labour Office or the Migration Policy Institute concerning the legal status of any country, area or territory or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers.

The ILO and the Migration Policy Institute shall accept no responsibility for any inaccuracy, errors, or omissions resulting from the use of the data.

Suggested citation: Ramos, Raúl. 2014. *Turning a Corner? How Spain Can Help Immigrants Find Middle-Skilled Work*. Washington, DC and Geneva: Migration Policy Institute and International Labour Office.



Table of Contents

Executive Summary	1
I. Introduction	2
II. Immigration to Spain during the 2000s:	
A Decade of Growth and Hidden Risks	3
The Precarious Spanish Labor Market.....	5
III. Integration Policy in a Decentralized System	8
IV. Evaluating the Effectiveness of Policies Affecting	
Immigrants' Labor Market Outcomes	10
A. Employment Services.....	11
B. Language Training.....	15
C. Vocational Training.....	17
V. Conclusions	20
Appendix	21
Works Cited	22
About the Author	26



Executive Summary

The twists and turns of Spain's economy in the past two decades have had particular ramifications for foreign workers. The rapid economic boom of the 1990s and 2000s attracted many newly arrived immigrants who found jobs in sectors such as construction and domestic services with great ease. A succession of immigration laws designed to make it harder to recruit foreign workers did little to dampen rising demand for such workers, many of whom arrived through unofficial channels such as tourist visas. And although efforts to cut red tape around the recruitment of foreign workers and better enforce immigration regulations reduced incentives to hire unauthorized workers, a set of regularizations acted as a further pull, inspiring yet more labor migrants to enter Spain however possible. Illegal migration thus became a defining characteristic of Spain's economic boom leading up to the 2007-08 financial crisis.

Throughout this boom period, employment, training, and integration policies in Spain were decentralized and thus varied greatly across the country. While some of the most popular immigrant destinations, such as Madrid and Catalonia, introduced welcoming policies, immigrant integration centers, and language programs, policies elsewhere were much less developed. Devolution within the training and public employment systems also contributed to asymmetrical service provision in many cases, and difficulty coordinating across national and local levels.

The onset of the economic crisis in 2008 revealed many of the hidden challenges faced by both immigrant and vulnerable native workers in the Spanish labor market.

The economic boom itself created a disincentive to develop large-scale labor market integration efforts. Targeted employment program offerings were limited as migrants encountered few obstacles to entering work; moreover, public employment services played a small role in job matching as most new arrivals found work through their own networks. Language policy was also a low priority: many new arrivals spoke Spanish, and vocational and occupational Spanish courses were rare.

The onset of the economic crisis in 2008 revealed many of the hidden challenges faced by both immigrant and vulnerable native workers in the Spanish labor market. The prevalence of informal employment, together with high instances of temporary work and considerable labor market segmentation, left many new arrivals unprotected when the crisis hit. While permanent employees benefited from considerable union coverage, collective bargaining at the industry level, and the high costs of hiring and firing, temporary work had become an increasingly popular way for employers to mitigate costs. Immigrants were especially likely to be in temporary work, often below their education level and with limited opportunities to transition to permanent work. As a result, immigrant workers were disproportionately affected by the large-scale shedding of temporary jobs, especially in high-immigrant-employing sectors such as construction.

As Spain turns the corner into economic health, the government has launched a systematic reform of labor market regulations, employment services, and training and credential systems. Most reforms target all vulnerable workers, but immigrants stand to benefit substantially from improvements to mainstream services. For example, reforms to the public employment service seek to create common minimum standards for all regional providers, revise funding mechanisms to encourage better performance, and increase capacity by enabling the involvement of private actors. Other efforts have increased information and support for entrepreneurs (including migrant entrepreneurs), and sought to enable both migrants and natives



to take up opportunities elsewhere in Europe, through the European Union (EU) employment network, EURES. Within the vocational training system, recent policy changes have looked to introduce more work-based training within both initial and continuing vocational training programs to improve the alignment of programs with employers' needs.

These comprehensive structural reforms provide Spain with an opportunity to improve employment outcomes across the board, both for immigrants and for native-born youth and adults with lower education levels. But reforms will need to be accompanied by targeted policies to help overcome disadvantages specific to immigrants, such as limited language proficiency and difficulties translating foreign experience to the needs of employers. While the economic climate leaves little fiscal space for the costs of reform, Spain must be able to both attract skilled migrants and make the most of all newcomers' human capital if it is to regain its economic competitiveness. As consensus builds that Spain needs to import foreign labor to counteract the effects of an aging population, a selective migration policy can only do so much, and will need to be complemented by measures to help ease new arrivals into stable employment.

I. Introduction

Spain's transformation into a destination for significant and heterogeneous migration flows has occurred over a relatively short period of time. In just a decade (from 1998 to 2007), the share of foreign citizens among the total population increased by at least 10 percentage points, as the economic boom of the early 2000s and corresponding expansion of the low-skilled labor market drew in foreign-born workers—many of them outside formal channels—to fill unmet labor demand.¹

As Spain turns the corner into economic health, the government has launched a systematic reform of labor market regulations, employment services, and training and credential systems.

Most of these new arrivals quickly found jobs in rapidly expanding sectors, such as construction and domestic services, with a significant need for low-skilled labor. Employment rates for immigrants arriving during this period were generally high, and some sectors offered relatively good opportunities for upward mobility after a few years.² Unlike in many European countries, labor market integration was not a major concern in Spain prior to 2008; rather, policies focused on encouraging employers to recruit new immigrant workers through legal rather than informal channels, and providing legal status to resident populations.

The onset of the global economic crisis in 2008 altered the labor market picture for foreign- and native-born workers alike, and highlighted the need to invest in policies that enable workers to enter permanent, high-quality employment. Immigrants and other vulnerable groups (such as youth and other new labor market entrants) were hit disproportionately hard by falling employment as the economy shed temporary contracts and jobs in sectors that had relied on immigrant workers. Rising unemployment rates—among both immigrants and natives—since the recession have placed extraordinary pressure on training and employment services in Spain, and have revealed gaps in integration policy more broadly.

1 Author's own elaboration on data from the Spanish Municipality Register (Instituto Nacional de Estadística).

2 Nùria Rodríguez-Planas and Natalia Nollenberger, *A Precarious Position: The Labor Market Integration of New Immigrants in Spain* (Washington, DC and Geneva: Migration Policy Institute and International Labour Office, 2014), <http://migrationpolicy.org/research/precarious-position-labor-market-integration-new-immigrants-spain>.



This report examines the employment, training, and language education policies that support immigrants' labor market inclusion in Spain, and evaluates how effectively they support new arrivals in finding work and moving out of the lowest-skilled jobs. The report begins with an overview of the Spanish labor market and recent reforms, the position of immigrants within the labor market, and the governance of integration policy in Spain. It then provides an assessment of these policies, focusing on the role of employment services, language education, vocational training, and employers and social partners. Finally, the report concludes with recommendations for further refining policies to support immigrants' labor market inclusion in Spain.

II. Immigration to Spain during the 2000s: A Decade of Growth and Hidden Risks

Despite a high share of labor flows, much immigration to Spain has historically occurred outside the control of policymakers, creating particular integration challenges.

Spain first developed basic legislation governing immigration just before acceding to the European Union (EU) in 1986. This initial legislation was primarily intended to bring Spain in line with EU requirements, and was not designed as a comprehensive system to manage immigrant flows and integrate new residents—a fact that had lasting implications for Spain's experience with immigration over the next decades.

Although the law introduced various requirements intended to act as controls on immigrant inflows—such as labor market tests giving native workers preference for jobs—the high demand for low-skilled workers at the time (and the unwillingness of the native born to fill certain jobs) meant that demand for foreign labor exceeded supply, and left immigration controls largely ineffective.³ In addition, visa exemptions for some significant sending countries (mainly from South America) made Spain an accessible destination for many would-be labor immigrants. Together, these factors ensured a steady inflow of new foreign-born workers to Spain, many of whom arrived through unofficial channels (such as tourist visas). The lengthy process for recruiting immigrant workers from abroad also encouraged employers (especially small and medium firms) to hire immigrants illegally.⁴

As a result, irregular migration became a structural feature of the Spanish labor market during the 1990s. Several regularizations⁵ provided a large proportion of the irregular population (around 1.2 million, according to some studies)⁶ with legal authorization to work and better access to employment services and training.⁷ Recognizing that this situation was not sustainable, Spanish policymakers implemented several measures, beginning in 2000,⁸ that made the recruitment procedure from abroad more flexible and improved border controls in an effort to stem illegal migration.

3 Joaquín Arango and Claudia Finotelli, "Past and Future Challenges of a Southern European Migration Regime: The Spanish Case" (working paper 8, IDEA, Warsaw, 2009), www.idea6fp.uw.edu.pl/pliki/WP8_Spain.pdf; Lorenzo Cachón Rodríguez, "La Formación de la España Inmigrante: Mercado y Ciudadanía," *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas* 97 (2002): 95–126.

4 Carmen González-Enríquez, *Inmigración: Propuestas para un nuevo period. Informes Elcano* (Madrid: Real Instituto Elcano, 2009).

5 Including in 1986, 1991, 1996, 2000, 2001, and 2005.

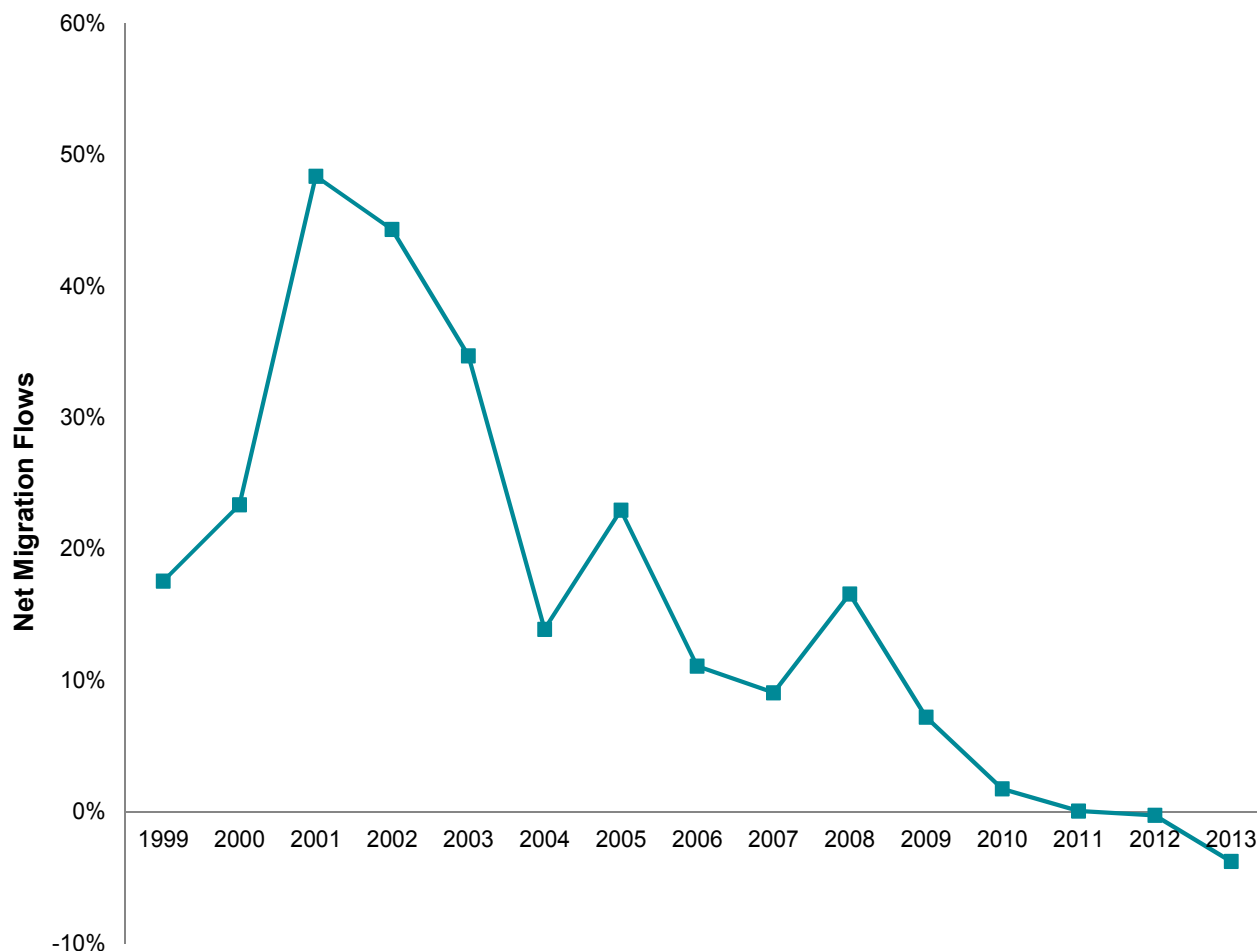
6 Arango and Finotelli, "Past and Future Challenges of a Southern European Migration Regime."

7 Catalina Amuedo-Dorantes, Miguel A. Malo, and Fernando Muñoz-Bullón, "New Evidence on the Impact of Legal Status on Immigrant Labor Market Performance: The Spanish Case," *Labour* 27, no. 1 (2013): 93–113; and Martin Baldwin-Edwards, *Regularisations and Employment in Spain. REGANE Assessment Report* (Vienna: International Centre for Migration Policy Development, 2014), http://research.icmpd.org/fileadmin/Research-Website/Project_material/REGANE/REGANE_Assessment_Spain_Final_Sentout.pdf.

8 Between January 2000 and November 2004, Spanish immigration law was changed four times. The last reform was carried out in mid-2011.

Although tougher enforcement of immigration controls (particularly after 2002) did somewhat reduce immigrant flows in relative terms, the ongoing economic boom encouraged further migration, which peaked in the early 2000s. The extraordinary regularizations of unauthorized migrants acted as important pull factors.⁹ The construction, real estate, domestic services, hospitality, and personal services sectors experienced the highest employment growth precrisis, particularly in low-skill occupations, attracting large immigrant inflows that easily found employment soon after arrival.¹⁰

Figure 1. Year-by-Year Variation in Spain’s Foreign Population (net migration flows), 1999-2013



Source: Author’s own elaboration on data from the Spanish Municipality Register (Instituto Nacional de Estadística).

Previous estimates based on Labor Force Survey data have suggested that immigrants entering Spain during the early and mid-2000s had lower qualifications than pre-2000 cohorts or those arriving after the crisis (although their education levels were similar to those of natives, who also had a relatively low average qualification profile).¹¹ The origin countries of more recent immigrant cohorts have also shifted; while most

⁹ The sustained economic growth experienced by the Spanish economy between 1995 and 2007 occurred faster and with higher intensity than in any other developed country during the same period (primarily driven by a combination of factors related to the adoption of the euro in Spain; these factors included access to lower interest rates, low and stable inflation rates, and improved access to new international markets, among others).

¹⁰ Rodríguez-Planas and Nollenberger, *A Precarious Position: The Labor Market Integration of New Immigrants in Spain*.

¹¹ Ibid. Rodríguez-Planas and Nollenberger found that only 15 percent of immigrants who arrived during the first half of the 2000s had a tertiary education, while this share had increased up to 21 percent for those arriving between 2008 and 2011. Meanwhile, the share of immigrants with less than a secondary education remained fairly stable, around 25 percent, between 2000 and



foreign-born residents in the mid-1990s were from North Africa and developed countries, those who arrived thereafter came mainly from Eastern Europe and South America (although inflows from North Africa were also substantial during this period).¹²

The foreign-born population in Spain is unevenly distributed across the country. According to the Spanish 2011 Population Census, nearly two-thirds of immigrants are concentrated in just four of the 17 regions. These regions are Catalonia (accounting for 20.5 percent of all foreign-born residents in Spain), Madrid (18.1 percent), Comunitat Valenciana (13.9 percent), and Andalusia (12.7 percent). This is partly because employment prospects were better in these regions when most recent immigrants arrived, and also because newcomers often come to join family members already settled in these areas.¹³ The heterogeneity of the immigrant population and the differences in the regional contexts of reception mean that any broader integration policies applied in Spain must account for local contexts.

The Precarious Spanish Labor Market

Although most new arrivals to Spain during the 2000s found work with little trouble, the somewhat unique structure of the Spanish labor market holds special challenges for immigrant workers seeking to move up into more secure, skilled work over time.

The somewhat unique structure of the Spanish labor market holds special challenges for immigrant workers seeking to move up into more secure, skilled work over time.

Despite periods of strong growth, over the past 30 years the labor market in Spain has been characterized by unemployment rates that are extremely sensitive to negative economic shocks, yet remain persistently high even during periods of economic expansion (see Figure 2).¹⁴ This high unemployment is driven in part by the specialization of the Spanish economy in certain sectors (like construction), a lack of flexibility in wages due to collective bargaining arrangements, and the existence of parallel permanent and temporary labor markets with limited opportunities for movement between the two (often referred to as segmented or dual

2011. The authors also found that on average in 2011 the share of natives with a tertiary education was 18.4 percent and the share of natives with less than a secondary education was 26.2 percent.

12 Here, developed economies are defined as the EU-15 plus Norway, Switzerland, Iceland, Cyprus, Malta, the small European principalities, the United States, Canada, Israel, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand. The majority of immigrants in this group are from the United Kingdom, Germany, and Italy. A second set of countries is found in the Southern Cone of South America (Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay), Latin America (with a majority of immigrants from Ecuador and Colombia), Eastern Europe (with a predominance from Romania and Bulgaria), the Maghreb (Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia), sub-Saharan Africa (in particular Equatorial Guinea, the only country in Africa where Spanish is the official language), and the rest of the world (including Asia) (author's own elaboration on Spanish 2011 Census microdata).

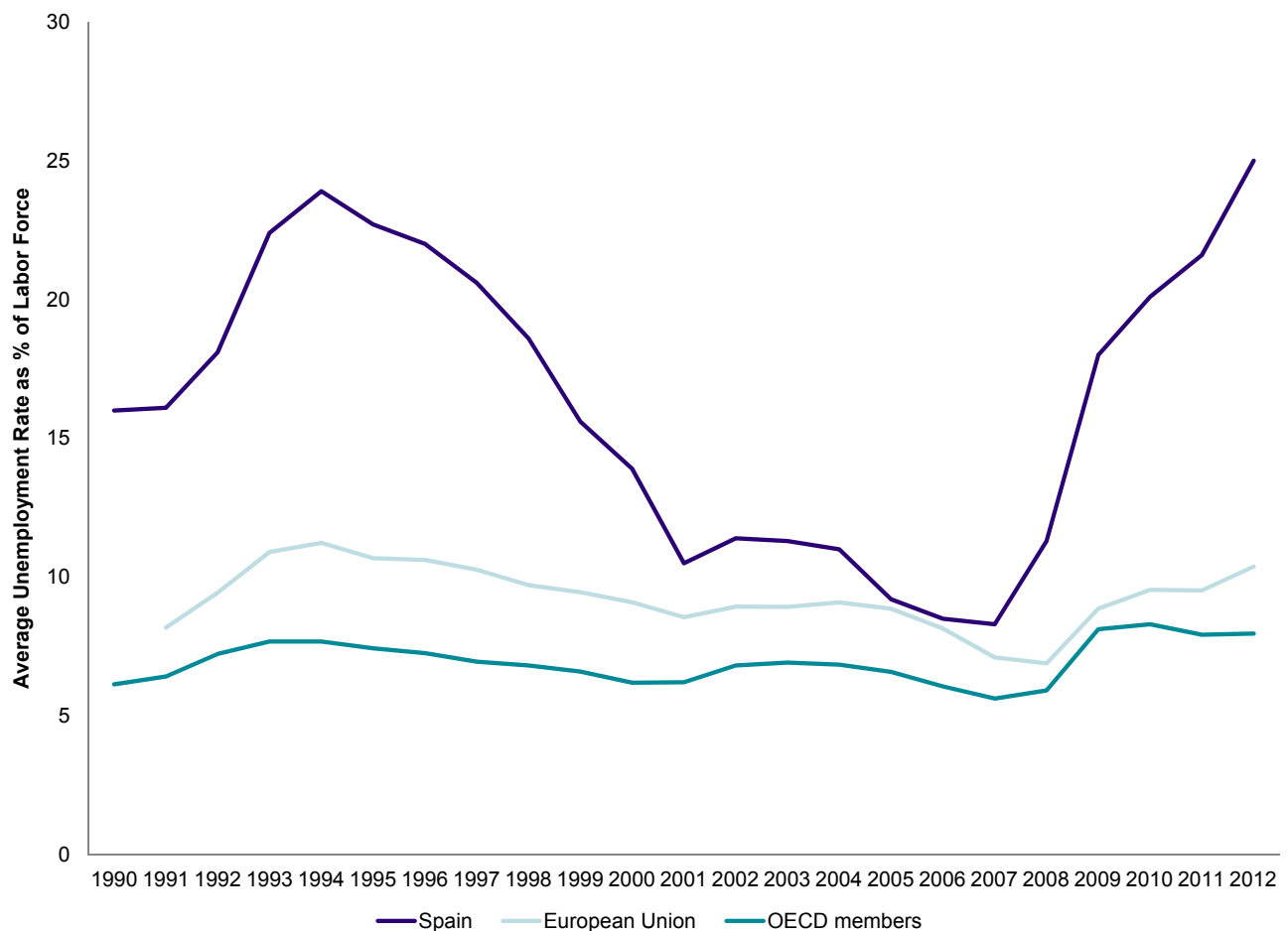
13 These informal networks can be an important tool to ease the labor market integration of new immigrants, although it is not clear if their effectiveness has survived the economic crisis. See Sonia Hernández-Plaza, Carmen Pozo Muñoz, and Enrique Alonso-Morillejo, "The Role Of Informal Social Support in Needs Assessment: Proposal and Application of a Model to Assess Immigrants' Needs in the South of Spain," *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology* 14 (2004): 284–98; Tineke Fokkema and Hein de Haas, "Pre- and Post-Migration Determinants of Socio-Cultural Integration of African Immigrants in Italy and Spain," *International Migration*, May 3, 2011; Miguel Requena and Maria Sánchez-Domínguez, "Las familias inmigrantes en España," *Revista Internacional de Sociología* 69, no. M1 (2011): 79–104.

14 This condition is generally referred to in economic literature as high structural unemployment combined with highly cyclical employment and unemployment. See Florence Jaumotte, "The Spanish Labor Market in a Cross-Country Perspective" (IMF WP/11/11, working paper, International Monetary Fund, Washington, DC, 2011), www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/wp/2011/wp1111.pdf.

labor markets).¹⁵ In Spain collective bargaining generally occurs at the regional industry level and greatly constrains wage flexibility. Although union membership is very low, collective bargaining agreements have broad coverage. Unions represent mostly permanent workers, who benefit from employment protection and high wages that the labor market would not otherwise provide. Prior to reforms in 2012, collective agreements were automatically extended after their end date if no settlement was reached between unions and firms, solidifying protection and employment conditions that may not reflect labor market realities.

Employment protection legislation has also made dismissing permanent workers very costly. Protected workers (generally employees on permanent contracts in industries covered by collective bargaining agreements) therefore have benefited from higher wages during expansion and a lower probability of losing their job during recession (due to their higher firing costs), while unprotected workers (most of them immigrants) suffer the negative effects of economic downturns.

Figure 2. Average Unemployment Rate (as percentage of labor force) in Spain, EU Member Countries, and OECD Countries, 1990-2012



Note: OECD = Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.

Source: World Bank, World Development Indicators, "Unemployment, total (% of total labor force) (modeled ILO estimate)," <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.UEM.TOTL.ZS>.

15 Samuel Bentolila, Pierre Cahuc, Juan J. Dolado, and Thomas Le Barbanchon, "Two-Tier Labour Markets in the Great Recession: France Versus Spain," *The Economic Journal* 122, no. 562 (2012): F155–F187.



Segmentation between temporary and permanent work has been a particular barrier to upward mobility for new immigrants. As with youth or other new labor market entrants, employers may face uncertainty around hiring immigrant workers (due to a lack of familiarity with credentials or work experience obtained abroad, or the perceived risk that an immigrant worker will eventually return home), and may as a result prefer to hire immigrants under temporary contracts.¹⁶ Because it is difficult to transition between temporary and permanent contracts, immigrant workers are at high risk of becoming stuck in temporary positions for the long term.

Various reforms carried out by the central government over the past several years have sought to reduce the segmentation between temporary and permanent work in the Spanish labor market,¹⁷ and also to improve economic competitiveness and enable firms to adopt internal flexibility measures in order to avoid dismissals during recessions.¹⁸ A recent evaluation undertaken by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) concluded that the reforms have contributed to reducing disparities between permanent and temporary workers, and may have helped add up to 25,000 new permanent contracts per month to the labor market between February 2012 and July 2013.¹⁹

Segmentation between temporary and permanent work has been a particular barrier to upward mobility for new immigrants.

Immigrants' concentration in certain economic sectors has further complicated their labor market integration. Between 2000 and 2007 immigrant entry into the labor market was concentrated in labor-intensive activities with low levels of qualification—the sectors with higher growth during the economic boom. The sectors with the greatest numbers of immigrants were construction, hospitality, and service,²⁰ complementing the more-skilled jobs held by natives in these sectors.²¹ The increasing qualification level of the native workforce and the high standards for working conditions and wages enjoyed by those in permanent contracts created a niche market for labor in low-skilled occupations that was readily filled by foreign workers.²² Because of their concentration in these sectors and their recent arrival to Spain,

16 See, for example, Caparrós (2011), who finds that employers may not hire female immigrants under permanent contracts because of possible pregnancy and child-care responsibilities. Looking at immigrants' region of origin, he also finds that African immigrants are the least likely to have a permanent contract, while immigrants from the EU-15 are the most likely. It appears that employers are more reluctant to give migrants from economies less developed than Spain's permanent contracts, perhaps because these immigrants may be more likely to return to their country of origin or possibly show greater labor mobility. See Antonio Caparrós Ruiz, "Contract Type, Wages and Immigrants in Spain" (paper presented at the XIV Applied Economics Meeting [Encuentro de Economía Aplicada], Gran Canaria, Spain, June 2-3, 2011), www.alde.es/encuentros/anteriores/xiveea/trabajos/c/pdf/093.pdf.

17 The segmentation is not caused by excessive protection of permanent workers but the difference in their protection relative to that of temporary workers due to the 1984 two-tier reform that allowed firms to use temporary contracts in a more flexible way than before when they could only be used for seasonal jobs in agriculture or tourism. See Samuel Bentolila, Juan J. Dolado, and Juan F. Jimeno, *Two-tier Employment Protection Reforms: The Spanish Experience* (CESifo DICE Report 4/2008 Munich), www.eco.uc3m.es/temp/juanjo/Two_tier_Reform_bdj_CESifo_DICE.pdf.

18 Flexibility measures include changes in the duties of workers (functional mobility), place of work (geographical mobility), and, in general, working conditions (substantial modification of conditions). Recent reforms also encourage collective bargaining agreements to be made at the firm level, rather than for entire sectors, and create possibilities for employers to use opt-out clauses. As of now, collective bargaining agreements may only be extended for up to one year after their end date if no new agreement is reached. Dismissal regulations have also been modified to reduce the cost of layoffs and lower the administrative burden for collective dismissals. For a full review of the 2012 reform's key elements, see Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), *The 2012 Labour Market Reform in Spain: A Preliminary Assessment* (Paris: OECD, 2013), www.oecd.org/employment/emp/spain-labourmarketreform.htm.

19 Ibid.

20 OECD, *International Migration Outlook, Annual Report 2009* (Paris: OECD, 2009).

21 Catalina Amuedo-Dorantes and Sara De la Rica, "Complements or Substitutes? Task Specialization by Gender and Nativity in Spain," *Labour Economics*, 18, no. 5 (2011): 697–707.

22 Hector Cebolla-Boado, Ruth Ferrero-Turrión, and Ana M. López-Sala, "Spain," in *Labour Shortages and Migration Policy*, eds. Anna Platonova and Guiliana Urso (Belgium: International Organization for Migration, 2012).

immigrants have typically composed a large share of temporary workers (45 percent in 2007).²³ In 2007, before the onset of the recession, 34 percent of immigrants worked in low-skilled occupations, 53 percent were employed in mid-skilled occupations, and only 11 percent had a job in high-skilled occupations.²⁴

A comparison of immigrants' occupations before migrating, immediately on arrival in Spain, and a few years after arrival also shows that their occupational status tends to be substantially worse in Spain than in their countries of origin (see Table 1). The data suggest that immigrants to Spain during the 2000s were unlikely to regain the same job status they had before moving, and were at risk of becoming stuck in low-skilled, low-paid jobs even before the recent economic crisis.

Table 1. Occupational Distribution of Immigrants in Spain, 2007

Type of Occupation	Relative Share (%)		
	Country of Origin	First Job in Spain	Current Job in Spain
Skilled occupations	25.6	8.6	11.0
Semi-skilled occupations	59.3	44.9	52.5
Unskilled occupations	11.1	44.6	33.9
Unknown	4.0	1.9	2.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Adapted from Hipólito Simon, Raúl Ramos, and Esteban Sanromá, "Immigrant Occupational Mobility: Longitudinal Evidence from Spain," *European Journal of Population* 30, no. 2 (2014): 223–55, Table 2; National Immigrant Survey 2007.

The challenge for policymakers after the Great Recession, therefore, has been to provide adequate training for low-qualified workers and to reskill medium-qualified workers (both immigrants and natives) to enable movement out of unemployment or jobs for which they are overqualified.²⁵ The next section describes some recent efforts to adapt integration policies in Spain to meet this challenge.

III. Integration Policy in a Decentralized System

The devolution of a broad range of policy areas to regional and local levels has made integration policy a highly complex issue in Spain. Education, health services, social assistance, and labor-market-related policies are regional competences,²⁶ and for this reason, most regional governments (autonomous communities)

23 David-Sven Reher, Luis Cortés Alcalá, Fernando González Quiñones, Miguel Requena, María Isabel Sánchez Domínguez, Alberto Sanz Gimeno, and Mikolaj Stanek, "Informe Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes (ENI-07)," INE, Documentos de Trabajo 2-08, 2008.

24 See Table 1; 2007 National Immigrant Survey.

25 The objective of attracting high-skilled workers is a relatively new one. In recent years, various measures have been introduced in the Spanish legal system to attract skilled migration, and a series of bilateral agreements have been signed (with Canada and New Zealand) to promote mobility among skilled youth. Another new instrument was created in 2007 to facilitate the recruitment of highly qualified workers by the largest firms and in 2010 the law was modified in order to facilitate residence and work permits for highly skilled workers and researchers following the requirements of the Council Directive 2009/50/EC of May 29, 2009, on the conditions of entry and residence of third-country nationals for the purposes of highly qualified employment. However, there is no global policy for attracting qualified and highly qualified workers. And in the past, high-skilled migrants who entered Spain without a prior job offer still ended up in low-skilled jobs, suggesting that the policy challenge is not just to attract high-skilled immigrants but also ensure they are able to make their way into appropriately skilled work.

26 The current organization of the Spanish government includes the central government, 17 autonomous communities, and two autonomous cities at the intermediate level that are subdivided into 50 provinces and more than 8,000 municipalities. The distribution of powers between the central state and the autonomous communities is a complex issue. In fact, asymmetrical devolution is a unique characteristic of the territorial structure of Spain, where the autonomous communities have a different range of devolved competences due to their different historical characteristics. For more details, see Núria Bosch and José María Durán, eds., *Fiscal Federalism and Political Decentralization: Lessons from Spain, Germany and Canada* (Cheltenham: Edward



have adopted their own specific programs to promote immigrant integration with the cooperation of local authorities. The role of the national government is to establish a series of countrywide measures that aim to guide and coordinate policies, and to provide funding to support regional programming.²⁷ Regional governments then define their own integration plans, and local governments handle direct intervention and implementation in most areas. But many local institutions—particularly those outside the main immigrant destinations of Madrid or Catalonia—have historically lacked the necessary financing and infrastructure to implement integration policies fully, a situation that has not been solved over the past decade.²⁸

Today all autonomous communities have their own regional integration plans that are defined and operated independent of the national integration plan.²⁹ In many cases the development of integration plans is driven by emerging local needs; the first regions to adopt integration plans were those with the highest concentration of immigrants in absolute terms (Catalonia, Madrid, and the Balearic Islands). Each region has taken a different approach to elaborating its integration plans, but most share a common structure and very similar objectives regarding immigrants' education, employment, housing, social services, health, and civic or political participation in society.³⁰ Plans vary in the weight given to each of these areas and the proportion of the budget allocated to them. Some plans also place emphasis on particular groups of immigrants such as women or youth, while others do not include any specific target groups.

Today all autonomous communities have their own regional integration plans that are defined and operated independent of the national integration plan.

The Catalan integration plan for the period 2013-16,³¹ for example, comprises 159 measures grouped into 26 specific actions covering three priority areas (migratory flows regulation and access to the labor market, adapting public services to an heterogeneous society, and integration into a common public culture) and five policy objectives (summarized in Appendix Table A-1). All levels of government involved in these policies (central, regional, and local) contributed to the development of the plan, as did nonprofit stakeholders, trade unions, and other organizations, and members of the civil society involved in the execution of the different policy measures.³² The plan's current priorities relate to the labor market integration of existing and new immigrant populations (the first through the promotion of entrepreneurship, employability, and regular

Elgar Publishing Ltd, 2008). Competences can be divided into three groups: exclusive to the central state or central government, shared competences, and devolved competences exclusive to communities. Exclusive competences of the central government are related to international relations, defense; administration of justice; commercial, criminal, civil, and labor legislation; customs; general finances and state debt; public health; basic legislation; and general coordination, while autonomous communities have the power to manage their own finances under a common framework and are responsible for education, health, and social services. Some regions such as the Basque Country or Navarre have a higher degree of financial autonomy, and together with Catalonia, have their own police; other regions also have a coofficial language with additional competences in this field (Galicia, the Valencian Community, and the Balearic Islands).

27 Currently, these policies are included in the Second "Plan Estratégico de Ciudadanía e Integración 2011-2014;" http://extranjeros.empleo.gob.es/es/Programas_Integracion/Plan_estrategico2011/pdf/PECI-2011-2014.pdf.

28 Spain has achieved a quite high level of decentralization of public expenditure, but the partial decentralization of taxes has made local institutions dependent on transfers from the central and regional governments. Julio Vinuela, "Fiscal Decentralization in Spain" (paper presented at the Conference on Fiscal Decentralisation, IMF Fiscal Affairs Department, Washington, DC, November 20-21, 2000), www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/seminar/2000/fiscal/vinuela.pdf; Ricard Zapata-Barrero, "Spanish Challenges and European Dilemma: Socialising the Debate on the Integration of Immigrants," *Perspectives on European Politics and Society* 4, no. 2 (2003): 243-64; Mary P. Corcoran, "Local Responses to a New Issue: Integrating Immigrants in Spain" in *From Immigration to Integration: Local Solutions to a Global Challenge* (Paris: OECD Publishing).

29 Most regional plans for the integration of immigrants were adopted during the past ten years, with the notable exceptions of Catalonia, where the first plan was adopted in 1993, and Madrid and the Balearic Islands, where plans were approved in 2000.

30 Regional and local integration plans can be accessed at the following dedicated website: http://explotacion.mtin.gob.es/integralocal/locale.action?request_locale=en.

31 "Pla de la Ciutadania i Migracions: horitzó 2016" (approved on April 24, 2014). www20.gencat.cat/docs/bsf/03Ambits%20tema%20tics/05Immigracio/03Politiquesplansactuacio/pla_ciutadania_immigracio/PCM_2013-2016.pdf.

32 Consultations involved 86 different entities and organizations, a public consultation through a dedicated website, and three expert conferences during 2013.

work; the second through reception services, formal and informal training, and language education), as well as social cohesion through adequate access to public services and educational opportunities.

A recent evaluation by the Catalan regional government of its integration plans found them to be successful in improving language knowledge, access to employment, and the expansion of social networks.³³ However, the assessment also recognized the negative impact of the crisis on the capacity for integration in Catalan society, particularly due to the lack of employment opportunities and the more limited capacity of the society to incorporate recent newcomers into the community.

IV. Evaluating the Effectiveness of Policies Affecting Immigrants' Labor Market Outcomes

Because of Spain's long-standing challenges with irregular immigration and work, Spanish policymakers' top priority has historically been to encourage the recruitment of foreign workers through formal legal channels and facilitate the incorporation of existing immigrant populations into the formal labor market. Specific employment and occupational outcomes have typically received less attention.³⁴ But the aftereffects of the recent economic crisis in Spain—which impacted immigrants disproportionately—have highlighted the need for a more robust and comprehensive approach to immigration, integration, and employment, and have significantly shaped recent policy development at both the national and regional levels. Since 2008 the national government has undertaken several measures both to limit new immigration and to encourage unemployed immigrants to return home voluntarily.³⁵ For those who have stayed in Spain, a third group of measures has sought to promote unemployed immigrants' reintegration into the labor market, mainly through training.

At the regional level—despite recent cuts in health, education, and other social services affecting all residents—there has been a movement to develop specific integration programs for new immigrants, with an emphasis on providing local language courses and so-called welcome programs or orientation courses.³⁶ Integration policies are still heavily focused on initial interventions shortly after arrival (to provide newcomers with the information and skills to access mainstream services), and relatively little effort has been dedicated to dealing with longer-term integration challenges such as economic marginalization and exclusion. Once an immigrant has held an initial residency and work permit for a certain time period, he or she is supposed to be integrated into society, and no additional specific actions are taken to improve his or

33 The report on the evaluation of Catalan integration plans can be found at www20.gencat.cat/docs/bsf/03Ambits%20tematics/05Immigracio/002Destacats_dreta/banners/Baner_integracio_immigracio/Informe_integracio_ING.pdf. Iglesias (2010) also provides an exhaustive description of regional integration plans adopted at the end of the 2000s and that have been recently extended with very few significant changes. See Julio Iglesias, ed, *Las Políticas de Integración de Inmigrantes en las Comunidades Autónomas Españolas* (Bilbao: Fundación BBVA, 2010). The special issue of the journal *Política y Sociedad* published in 2008 (vol. 45, issue 1) also provides some case studies for different regional plans: <http://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/POSO/issue/view/POSO080813/showToc>.

34 Carmen González-Enríquez, "Spain, the Cheap Model: Irregularity and Regularisation as Immigration Management Policies," *European Journal of Migration and Law* 11 (2009): 139–57; and Joao Peixoto, Joaquin Arango, Corrado Bonifazi, Claudia Finotteli, Catarina Sabino, Salvatore Strozza, and Anna Triandafillydou, "Immigrants, Markets and Policies in Southern Europe: The Making of an Immigration Model?" in *European Immigrations: Trends, Structures and Policy Implications*, ed. Marek Okólski (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012), 107–48.

35 Ana López-Sala and Ruth Ferrero-Turrión, "Economic Crisis and Migration Policies in Spain: The Big Dilemma" (communication to the Centre on Migration, Policy and Society, COMPAS Annual Conference, 2009, University of Oxford), <http://digital.csic.es/bitstream/10261/36645/1/L%C3%B3pez-Sala,%20Ferrero%20%28COMPAS%29.pdf>.

36 For instance, the Barcelona City Council has developed a Service Center for Immigrants, Emigrants, and Refugees (SAIER: www.bcn.cat/novaciudadania/arees/en/saier/saier.html) providing advice on housing, legal assessment, training, and social benefits, among others. For an extensive review, see Olga Jubany, Berta Güell, and Roisin Davis, *Study on the Local Implementation of Integration/Introduction Courses for Newcomers: Case Study Barcelona/Spain* (Promoting Sustainable Policies for Integration (PROSINT) case study report WP3, Vienna, 2011), http://research.icmpd.org/fileadmin/Research-Website/Project_material/PROSINT/Reports/ES_WP3_Final.pdf.



her situation.³⁷ The lack of attention that has been given to longer-term integration challenges may in part be due to the newness of immigration to Spain and the relative ease with which immigrants were able to enter the labor market before the crisis.

In the next subsections, recent measures related to employment services, language training, vocational training, and the role of employers and trade unions are described.

A. Employment Services

As in other integration policy areas, a major feature of employment services in Spain is its decentralization. While the National Public Employment Services (SEPE) are responsible for providing unemployment benefits, each region is responsible for developing and implementing policies to encourage work among those who are inactive or unemployed (active labor market policies or ALMPs) in coordination with the national government. In particular, the central government sets a common framework and provides the funding, and regional and local authorities are the responsible for designing, implementing, and executing ALMPs.

In most regions, local SEPE offices and regional public employment services (PES) exist side by side, at times in the same building (a situation that can be confusing for those looking to access services). Individuals wishing to receive career guidance, training referrals, or job search support from regional services must first register with SEPE to verify their eligibility to receive benefits, and then proceed to the local service provider.³⁸ After an initial interview, service providers give guidance on how to receive recognition for foreign qualifications, how to access language training, and how to contact immigrant associations or other civil society organizations that help newcomers settle in. In general, PES are open to both unemployed individuals seeking work and employed individuals looking to advance in their careers.

During the economic boom, immigrants arriving in Spain found jobs quite easily due to the relative abundance of jobs left open by native workers, and also due to the significant role played by immigrant networks. As shown in Table 2, according to the National Immigrant Survey for 2007, 15 percent of immigrants came to Spain with a contract signed in their origin country, and 75 percent of immigrants found their first job in Spain within three months after arrival.³⁹ More than half (excluding those with a contract at origin) found their first job thanks to the referral of relatives or friends in Spain, while the rest used other channels (such as direct requests or job advertisements). Employment services played a minor role in helping new arrivals enter the labor market—and were infrequently used by the population as a whole; according to data from the Spanish Labor Force Survey, in 2013 public and private employment agencies were used by less than 5 percent of all jobseekers.⁴⁰

37 Ramon Mahia, Rafael de Arce, and Eiko Thielemann, “Immigration Policy and its Impact a Comparative Study with a Focus on Spain” (Munich Personal RePEc Archive [MPRA] Paper no. 35742, Munich, 2010), www.uam.es/personal_pdi/economicas/rarce/pdf/CIEES-Immigration-Report.pdf; and Strategic Plan on Citizenship and Integration 2011-14.

38 This division of labor between regional and national services can make it difficult to track the activation requirements for benefits recipients; OECD, “OECD Economic Surveys: Spain 2014,” www.keepeek.com/Digital-Asset-Management/oecd/economics/oecd-economic-surveys-spain-2014_eo_surveys-esp-2014-en#page19.

39 However, it is worth remembering that this high employment rate (81 percent of immigrants over 16 years of age living in Spain have worked at some time while in the country) comes at the cost of significant occupational downgrading when compared with the last job before emigrating.

40 Instituto Nacional de Estadística, “Encuesta de Población Activa: Variables de submuestra, Año 2013,” May 23, 2014, www.ine.es/prensa/np841.pdf.

Table 2. Time Lapse between Arrival in Spain and First Job, 2007

Time to Find the First Job in Spain	Number	Percentage
Contract at origin	558,776	15.1
Less than 15 days	1,101,110	29.7
Between 15 days and 1 month	457,671	12.4
Between 1 and 3 months	595,255	16.1
Between 3 months and 1 year	558,224	15.1
Between 1 and 2 years	118,000	3.2
Three years or more	86,182	2.3
Cannot remember	227,358	6.1
Worked in Spain at some time	3,702,576	100.0

Source: Author's own elaboration on National Immigrant Survey 2007 microdata.

Taking this into account, the most relevant interventions for immigrant workers developed by regional governments were orientation services that provided them with general information on the labor market upon their arrival (that are not always formally integrated in the Public Employment System; e.g., Madrid's Office of Information for Immigrants),⁴¹ and basic job-search training to improve their employability and help them identify matches between their skills and the requirements of the Spanish labor market. Although services varied from one region (and town) to another,⁴² throughout the past decade new immigrants who arrived in Spain legally could directly access local public employment services at the same level as Spanish nationals. Access was restricted to those with legal residence status, although the health-care and education systems remained open regardless of status.⁴³

Targeted programs primarily focused on immigrant's employability and on economic incentives to hire them (for instance, direct subsidies to employers who hired young workers on a permanent basis), and were intended to help immigrants with fewer connections (particularly those coming from sub-Saharan Africa or Asia) overcome barriers to finding their first job in Spain. These barriers included, in some cases, an insufficient command of Spanish and, in other cases, difficulties transferring the human capital (including schooling and experience) acquired in their home countries.⁴⁴ Although the recognition of foreign university degrees has been effectively implemented, a similar procedure was only recently adopted for medium-skilled qualifications and it is still too early to evaluate its success.

Challenges and Post-Crisis Employment Policy Responses

In most EU-15 countries, the trend has been to reinforce PES and to invest more in training and reduce support policies.⁴⁵ In Spain, meanwhile the largest share of the budget has consistently been allocated to passive policies⁴⁶ and to employer subsidies rather than to training or guidance, even during the economic boom (see Figure 3).⁴⁷ The low level of support for actual services has been criticized for negatively affecting

41 Ayuntamiento de Madrid, "Servicios de información y orientación," 2011, www.madrid.es/portales/munimadrid/es/Inicio/Ayuntamiento/Servicios-Sociales/Inmigracion/Madrid-Convive?vgnextfmt=default&vgnextoid=43bd3f69e269f010VgnVCM200000c205a0aRCRD&vgnnextchannel=d33d9ad016e07010VgnVCM100000dc0ca8c0RCRD&idCapitulo=5572864.

42 This is due not only to differing numbers of immigrants drawn to each area, but also the political will of local authorities.

43 During part of the period (2004-12), access to training was also provided to irregular immigrants in some regions, such as the Basque country.

44 Esteban Sanromá, Raúl Ramos, and Hipólito Simón, "Immigrant Wages in the Spanish Labour Market: Does the Origin of Human Capital Matter?" (IZA Discussion Paper No. 4157, Institute for the Study of Labor, Bonn, 2009), <http://ftp.iza.org/dp4157.pdf>.

45 Raúl Ramos, Jordi Suriñach, and Manuel Artís, "Es necesario reformar las políticas activas de mercado de trabajo en España? Algunos elementos para la reflexión," *Papeles de Economía Española* 124 (2010): 281-300.

46 Active policies are those intended to equip unemployed or inactive individuals with the skills and knowledge needed to find work (such as job-skills training or vocational education). Passive policies include unemployment insurance and income support measures.

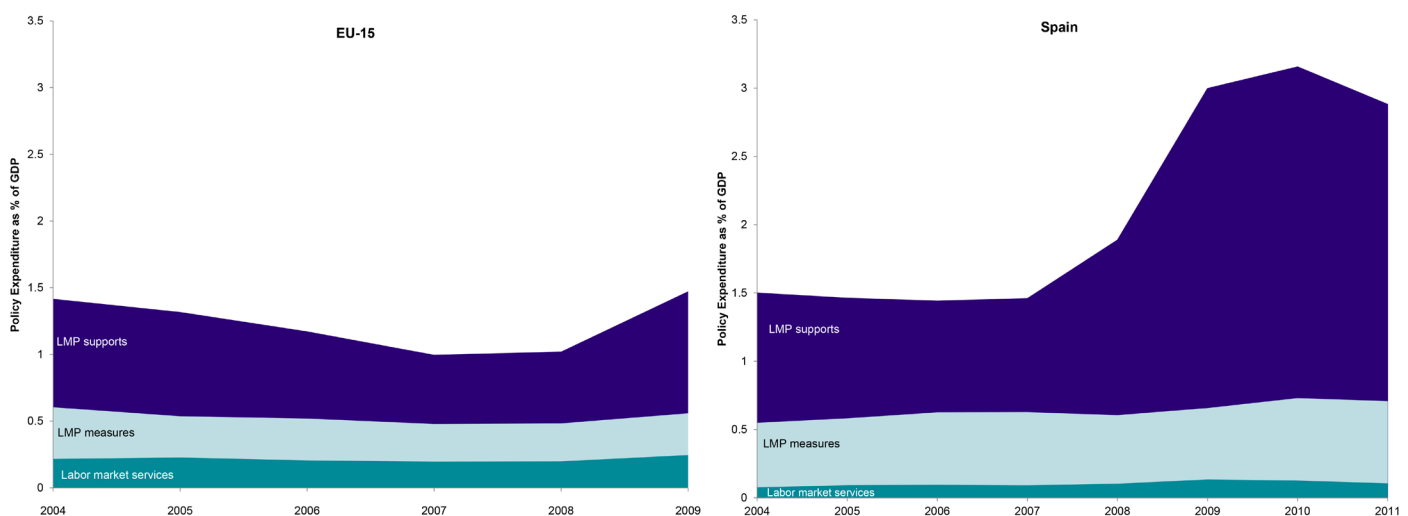
47 For instance, according to Eurostat, expenditure on labor market policies in Spain in 2011 represented 3.7 percent of GDP:



the capacity of the public system to provide effective career guidance and intermediation between the unemployed and firms seeking workers,⁴⁸ and has particularly affected the recruitment of new immigrants.⁴⁹ PES in Spain have typically had a very high client-to-staff ratio, particularly since the onset of the economic crisis; in 2011, for example, employment services saw over 250 jobseekers for every staff member (close to five times the client-service ratio in Germany and 12 times that in the United Kingdom).⁵⁰

Concerns have also been raised about mechanisms for allocating regional funds, and the lack of consistent evaluation of active labor market policies.⁵¹ As financing for placement and guidance services has historically been based on local unemployment rates, reducing the number of unemployed resulted in a financial penalty for regional governments.⁵² Recent reforms have sought to mitigate this potential disincentive by tying regional funding more closely to performance.

Figure 3. Labor Market Policy Expenditure, by Type of Action (% of GDP)



Notes: This figure relies on Eurostat's classification of labor market policies (LMPs); http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_OFFPUB/KS-GQ-13-002/EN/KS-GQ-13-002-EN.PDF. According to this classification, LMP services cover all services and activities of public employment services (PES), together with any other publicly funded services for jobseekers. Labor market measures include training, job rotation and job sharing, employment incentives, supported employment and rehabilitation, direct job creation, and start-up incentives. LMP supports cover financial assistance that aims to compensate individuals for loss of wages or salary and support them during job searches (i.e., mostly unemployment benefits) or which facilitates early retirement. Source: Author's elaboration on the Eurostat Labour Market Policy database; http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/labour_market/labour_market_policy/database.

2.9 percent of GDP was spent on passive policies (79 percent of total expenditure) and only 0.8 percent on active policies (21 percent). For the EU-15, total expenditure was 2.0 percent of GDP, with 0.5 percent and 1.5 percent of GDP on active (25 percent) and passive policies (75 percent), respectively.

48 See Anita Wöfl and Juan S. Mora-Sanguinetti, "Reforming the Labour Market in Spain" (Working Paper 845, OECD Economics Department, OECD Publishing, Paris, February 2011), www.oecd-ilibrary.org/economics/reforming-the-labour-market-in-spain_5kghtchh277h-en; International Institute for Labor Studies, *Spain: Quality Jobs for a New Economy* (Geneva: International Labor Organization, 2011), www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms_158537.pdf.

49 For instance, until the beginning of the crisis, regional employment services regularly published a list of unfilled vacancies for which there was no worker available in the Spanish labor market. This list was used to recruit immigrants in their origin countries, but now is no longer published in order to give priority to Spaniards or foreign-born citizens legally residing in Spain, and also due to the low rate of success in matching immigrant workers and Spanish firms.

50 OECD, "OECD Economic Surveys: Spain 2014."

51 OECD, "Improving the Matching of Workers to Jobs," in *OECD Economic Surveys: Spain 2008* (Washington, DC: OECD Publishing, 2008), http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/economics/oecd-economic-surveys-spain-2008/improving-the-matching-of-workers-to-jobs_eco_surveys-esp-2008-4-en.

52 Wöfl and Mora-Sanguinetti, "Reforming the Labour Market in Spain."



In an effort to mend the shortcomings exposed by the economic crisis, Spain's central government has undertaken significant changes to the functioning and structure of the public employment system, in conjunction with recent labor market reforms. In 2011 the Ministry of Labor introduced its first multiyear Spanish Employment Strategy, which was intended to serve as a framework for improved coordination between the central and regional governments on active employment policies. The Ministry of Labor further created Annual Employment Policy Plans to set specific yearly targets and policy goals in line with the multiyear employment strategy.⁵³ Priority areas of the 2012-14 strategy included increasing competition among service providers by expanding the participation of private agencies in training, job matching, and counseling; increasing communication and coordination among service providers by, for example, creating a single employment portal online for posting job vacancies nationally;⁵⁴ creating stronger links between the receipt of benefits and participation in activation programs; and improving monitoring and evaluation.⁵⁵ A second multiyear program, the Spanish Strategy for Employment Activation 2014-2016, was launched in 2014. The government has announced that the strategy will include, among other measures, a set of common minimum standards that must be met by service providers, and will tie funding for regional employment services to the prior year's performance—marking a significant expansion of the central government's oversight of regional services.⁵⁶ While these interventions are not specific to foreign-born workers, immigrants will also benefit from efforts to improve the quality and accessibility of employment services overall.

Although policies are still focused on providing orientation and training, the employment strategy and annual plans have also included a new focus on the promotion of self-employment and entrepreneurship among highly qualified immigrants (and native-born youth). Entrepreneurship is seen as an effective tool to promote both the long-term integration of immigrants and overall economic recovery. Despite this attention, there has been no systematic attempt to design programs with the unique needs of immigrant entrepreneurs in mind. For example, a major constraint (both in absolute and relative terms) for foreign-born entrepreneurs is a lack of access to finance, an issue that has not been directly addressed by policy measures—leaving a void for immigrant networks to play an important role.⁵⁷

In addition to service provision reforms, central and regional PES have also become interested in establishing stronger links with other European partners (i.e., through a greater role in the EURES network) in order to connect high- and medium-qualified unemployed workers in Spain (both native and foreign born) with job opportunities abroad.⁵⁸

The changes introduced by the new employment strategies and annual plans have yet to be fully implemented or evaluated, making it difficult to assess them. But previous empirical research on the effectiveness of active labor market policies has suggested that wage subsidies could be one of the more successful ways to increase the employment opportunities of immigrants. The effects of training, job-search assistance, and public-sector direct employment are less clear.⁵⁹ A recent report by OECD found that while

53 See Ministerio de la Presidencia, "Real Decreto 1542/2011, de 31 de octubre, por el que se aprueba la Estrategia Española de Empleo 2012-2014.," October 31, 2011, www.boe.es/buscar/doc.php?id=BOE-A-2011-18146.

54 Previously, each regional employment service maintained its own vacancy postings, making it difficult for jobseekers to obtain information about opportunities in other regions.

55 See Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, *Report Evaluating the Impact of the Labour Reform* (Madrid: Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, undated), www.empleo.gob.es/es/destacados/home/impacto_reforma_laboral/Report_evaluating_the_impact_of_the_Labour_Reform.pdf. Recent reforms have also aimed to prevent fraud after investigations revealed an alleged multi-million-euro fraud scheme involving a job-training course program funded by the Andalusia regional government; Esperanza Codina, "Police probe allegations of multi-million-euro fraud scheme in Málaga," *El País*, April 16, 2014, http://elpais.com/elpais/2014/04/15/inenglish/1397581080_725932.html.

56 Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, "El 40% de los fondos para políticas activas en 2014 se distribuyen en función de los resultados conseguidos," April 23, 2014, <http://prensa.empleo.gob.es/WebPrensa/noticias/ministro/detalle/2201>.

57 José Antonio Montilla Martos and José Luis Rodríguez Candela, "Las Normas Generales del Estado Sobre Inmigración en 2013," in *Anuario de la Inmigración en España 2013*, dir. Joaquín Arango, David Moya Malapeira, and Josep Oliver Alonso (Barcelona: CIDOB, 2013), 252–73.

58 Real Decreto-ley 4/2013, Estrategias de Emprendimiento y Empleo Joven.

59 Sebastian Butschek and Thomas Walter, "What Active Labour Market Programmes Work for Immigrants in Europe? A Meta-Analysis of the Evaluation Literature" (DP 13-056, Zentrum für Europäische Wirtschaftsforschung GmbH (ZEW), Mannheim, 2013), <http://ftp.zew.de/pub/zew-docs/dp/dp13056.pdf>.

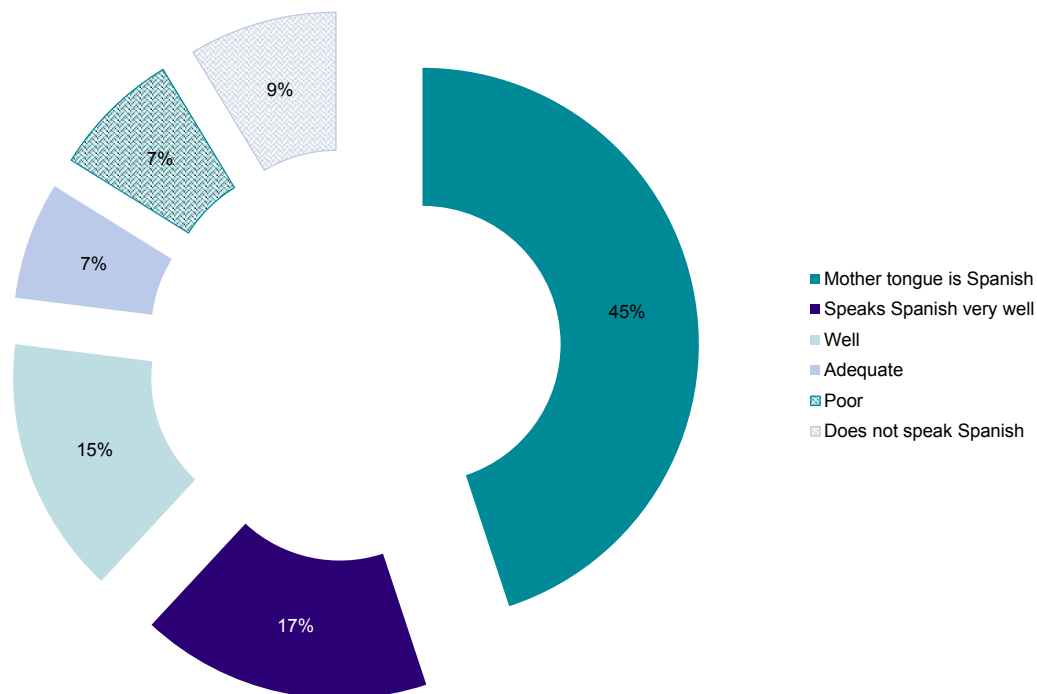


the reforms have made substantial improvements, more still needs to be done to improve the efficiency of public employment services and increase investment in active employment measures (spending in Spain was still skewed to passive policies as of 2012).⁶⁰

B. Language Training

Substantial immigration from Spanish-speaking Latin American countries has ensured that, in the past, language was not a major obstacle to immigrant integration in Spain. According to data from the 2007 National Immigrant Survey, 45 percent of foreign-born residents in Spain spoke Spanish as their mother tongue, while an additional 30 percent self-reported themselves as speaking Spanish well or very well (see Figure 4). Only around 15 percent of immigrants reported difficulty speaking Spanish. Among more recent immigrant groups (who are more likely to be nonnative Spanish speakers), this share was significantly higher and has continued to rise.⁶¹

Figure 4. Self-Reported Command of Spanish among Foreign Born, 2007



Source: Author's own elaboration on National Immigrant Survey 2007 microdata.

Prior to the recession, the widespread availability of low-skilled jobs (for which language proficiency was not necessarily a prerequisite), combined with the strong Spanish language skills of most immigrant groups, meant that the demand for—and, as a result, the supply of—publicly provided language training was relatively scarce.⁶² But language proficiency is necessary to access many higher-skilled positions, and

⁶⁰ OECD, "OECD Economic Surveys: Spain 2014."

⁶¹ By 2007 the percentage of new arrivals who reported not speaking Spanish at all (as a share of those without Spanish as a mother tongue) had risen to almost 70 percent. By contrast, this group made up just under 25 percent of new arrivals in 2005 (author's elaboration on National Immigrant Survey, 2007 microdata).

⁶² Laura García Juan, "Las medidas de integración de los inmigrantes en la Unión Europea: El modelo competencial y los diferentes enfoques territoriales en el sistema español" (Ph.D. dissertation, Universitat de Valencia, 2014), <http://roderic.uv.es/bitstream/handle/10550/35915/Tesis%20Doc.%20LGI.pdf?sequence=1>.

has even become important for low-skilled jobs as competition with natives has increased.⁶³ As a result of changing demographics and poor labor market conditions, publicly provided language training has become more common in most Spanish regions and towns, particularly in those areas attracting new immigrants from non-Spanish-speaking countries such as Bulgaria and Romania.

Language training is primarily coordinated at the local or regional level and provided by local authorities with the significant participation of civil society (i.e., through the voluntary participation of citizens as language assistants). The structure, quality, and availability of courses therefore vary significantly by region and locality. Employers are not usually involved, and language training in the workplace is uncommon.⁶⁴

The language diversity of some Spanish regions can complicate language training.

As a major recipient of new arrivals, the city of Barcelona has been one of the most active localities in providing for language education. Courses funded by the city are voluntary and open to any migrant, with no selection process. The courses close when they are full, and are free or have a minimal fee, as they are funded by regional and/or local authorities. Some adult schools or other providers offer special courses for individuals with low literacy levels. Most immigrants learn of the courses by word of mouth from friends and relatives, or through orientation services. The average duration of a course is around 70 hours. The first sessions usually focus on the vocabulary required for basic tasks such as municipal registration and obtaining health insurance or housing. The rest of the sessions focus on broadening vocabulary, learning new grammar structures, and undertaking more complex processes such as job searches. A recent evaluation of language services in Barcelona found most programs to be very effective in improving language knowledge as well as social integration.⁶⁵ However, the level of language training provided by municipal programs tends to be relatively basic. In Madrid, for example, classes are only offered through level B1.⁶⁶ (Intermediate level: Can understand the main points of clear standard input on familiar matters regularly encountered in work, school, leisure, etc. / Can deal with most situations likely to arise while traveling in an area where the language is spoken / Can produce simple connected text on topics that are familiar or of personal interest / Can describe experiences and events, dreams, hopes, and ambitions and briefly give reasons and explanations for opinions and plans) and do not include any vocational or occupation-specific courses.⁶⁷

The language diversity of some Spanish regions can complicate language training. According to data from the Spanish Census for 2011,⁶⁸ around 45 percent of the native born and 50 percent of immigrants live in regions where two official languages coexist, such as Catalonia, the Valencian Community, Balearic Islands, the Basque Country, and Navarra and Galicia. In these regions, and particularly in Catalonia, policies focused

63 Antonio Di Paolo, "Knowledge of Catalan, Public/Private Sector Choice and Earnings: Evidence from a Double Sample Selection Model," *Hacienda Pública Española* 197, no. 2 (2011): 9–35; Antonio Di Paolo and Josep Lluís Raymond, "Language Knowledge and Earnings in Catalonia," *Journal of Applied Economics* (May 2012): 89–118.

64 The provision of occupation-specific or vocational Spanish has also been scarce in the past. See Maite Hernández García and Félix Villalba Martínez, "La enseñanza de español con fines laborales para inmigrantes," *Glosas Didácticas* 15 (2005), www.um.es/glosasdidacticas/GD15/gd15-08.pdf.

65 Jubany, Güell, and Davis, "Study on the Local Implementation of Integration/Introduction Courses for Newcomers."

66 According to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages; see City of Madrid, "Clases de español para extranjeros," accessed October 19, 2014, www.madrid.es/portales/munimadrid/es/Inicio/Ayuntamiento/Servicios-Sociales/Inmigracion/Direcciones-y-telefonos/Clases-de-espanol-para-extranjeros?vgnextfmt=default&vgnextoid=38a165b5868a4310VgnVCM2000000c205a0aRCRD&vgnnextchannel=c071adb6fc3d8010VgnVCM100000dc0ca8c0RCRD&idioma=es&idiomaPrevio=es.

67 Language courses that include a vocational component have been shown to improve the retention and employability of immigration students; see for example, Margie McHugh and A. E. Challinor, *Improving Immigrants' Employment Prospects through Work-Focused Language Instruction* (Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute, 2011), www.migrationpolicy.org/research/improving-immigrants-employment-prospects-through-work-focused-language-instruction.

68 Instituto Nacional de Estadística, "Censos de Población y Viviendas 2011," www.ine.es/censos2011_datos/cen11_datos_inicio.htm.



on the linguistic integration of immigrants have been (and are) very important.⁶⁹ In Barcelona, for example, the municipality supports language offerings in both Catalan and Spanish.⁷⁰

A last issue to take into account is that skilled immigration to Spain may act as an additional source of language-related human capital. Data on the language proficiency of immigrants indicate that high-skilled immigrants have a comparative advantage in French, English, and German language skills that are positively valued in the labor market.⁷¹ Training to improve the foreign-language skills of immigrants, particularly the high skilled, may improve their job prospects, especially in service sectors, and would supply additional language skills to the Spanish labor market.

C. Vocational Training

Vocational education and training (VET) has a vital role to play in providing both immigrants and natives with the competences and qualifications that will permit them to respond to the rapidly evolving needs of the labor market—and avoid social exclusion. But the economic boom of the early and mid-2000s ensured that immigrants and native workers were able to find work easily, even without formal training or qualifications, and as a result, investing in vocational training was not a priority for the government or a perceived need for citizens. Therefore, interest and participation in initial VET among native-born students has typically been low.⁷²

Newcomers to the labor market generally access training through formal programs offered at training centers...rather than through employers.

While initial vocational training is part of the Spanish formal educational system,⁷³ continuing training and labor-market-oriented activities are supported and supervised by the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, but designed and implemented at the regional level. Since VET is decentralized, its quality and efficacy varies. Moreover, competences and qualifications have not always been portable across regional boundaries and new challenges remain. Current regulations establish three separate systems for accessing continuing training: employer-provided on-the-job training (referred to as demand-side training); formal courses and programs offered through training centers and accessible to both employed and unemployed workers (known as the supply-side system or training for employment); and the dual training system, which combines both theoretical training and apprenticeship components (still being implemented).⁷⁴

The unemployed or newcomers to the labor market generally access training through formal programs offered at training centers (the supply-side system), rather than through employers. Courses are provided by trade unions, business associations, and training centers run by regional governments or private organizations. Programs are financed through mechanisms for the distribution of subsidies from public funds, a part of which come from the social security contributions of workers and firms, and are therefore free to participants.

69 Silvio Rendon, "The Catalan Premium: Language and Employment in Catalonia," *Journal of Population Economics* 20, no. 3 (2007): 669–86; Di Paolo, "Knowledge of Catalan, Public/Private Sector Choice and Earnings;" Di Paolo and Raymond, "Language Knowledge and Earnings in Catalonia."

70 See the Barcelona Reception and Support Guide, 2013, www.bcn.cat/novaciudadania/arees/en/acollida/programes.html.

71 Ingo E. Isphording, "Returns to Foreign Language Skills of Immigrants in Spain," *Labour* 27 (2013): 443–61.

72 OECD, "Education at a Glance 2013: Spain," www.oecd.org/edu/Spain_EAG2013%20Country%20Note.pdf.

73 Catalina Cantero Talavera and Inés Sancha Gonzalo, eds., *Spain : VET in Europe*, Country Report, 2012, http://libserver.cedefop.europa.eu/vetelib/2012/2012_CR_ES.pdf.

74 For more details, see Oriol Homs, "Vocational Training in Spain: Toward the Knowledge Society," *La Caixa Social Studies Collection* 25 (2009), http://obrasocial.lacaixa.es/deployedfiles/obrasocial/Estaticos/pdf/laCaixaFoundation/vol25_en.pdf.

Some courses offered through training centers lead to formal professional certificates, while others develop a more limited set of skills.⁷⁵ Vocational certifications in Spain are governed by the National Catalogue of Professional Qualifications—a relatively recent certification system, in comparison with those of some European countries, that is still being fully developed and implemented. Professional certificates granted through continuing training are a different qualification than that offered through the initial VET system, although the two sets of certifications are intended to cover most of the same competencies and enable workers to move between the two.⁷⁶ Of particular relevance for immigrants, the national qualifications system does allow for the certification of past professional experience or nonformal learning, a process that can facilitate access to training for those groups without formal qualifications and grant them access to further training programs at higher levels. However, the certification and evaluation process is devolved and not yet well developed, and so far the number of accreditations granted has been relatively low.⁷⁷

Challenges and Recent Efforts at Reform

The lack of a systematic approach to education and labor market policies in Spain has been criticized for having a detrimental impact on the efficacy of the system as a whole.⁷⁸ The decentralization of training policies has made it difficult to collect data,⁷⁹ and few programs have been evaluated on a regular basis.⁸⁰ Concerns have also been raised regarding the quality of the training offered, disparities in services across regions, and the lack of substantial work or apprenticeship placements in both the continuing and initial training systems.⁸¹ Meanwhile, employers complain that they are unable to effectively evaluate the skills, experience, and knowledge of foreign-born workers entering the Spanish labor market.⁸²

The lack of a systematic approach to education and labor market policies in Spain has been criticized for having a detrimental impact on the efficacy of the system as a whole.

Moreover, competences and qualifications have not always been portable across regional boundaries. Though a new national qualifications system seeks to address this problem, the system is still being fully implemented, and challenges remain.⁸³ The fact that qualifications for initial and continuing vocational training are separate may pose difficulties both for immigrants (who lack other locally recognized qualifications) and for lower-educated natives looking to upskill. For example, employers may prefer one type of credential over the other, lowering the value of training for some groups.

75 Cantero and Sancha, *Spain : VET in Europe*.

76 Ibid.

77 In Spain recognition is coordinated at the national level through calls for recognition applications for certain professions, and evaluation procedures are managed at the regional level; see Noel Alonso, *European Inventory on Validation of Non-formal and Informal Learning 2010, Country Report: Spain* (Thessaloniki, Greece: CEDEFOP, 2011), <http://libserver.cedefop.europa.eu/vetelib/2011/77452.pdf>. Between 2010 and 2011, 41 calls for applications went out and 3,108 individuals received a professional certificate or partial accreditation through recognition procedures; Cantero and Sancha, *Spain : VET in Europe*.

78 For instance, inadequate vocational guidance can result in low enrollment or poor training matches (that is, too general or too specific); see Raúl Ramos, Jordi Suriñach, and Manuel Artís, “Es necesario reformar las políticas activas de mercado de trabajo en España?”

79 Homs, “Vocational Training in Spain.”

80 OECD, “Improving the Matching of Workers to Jobs,” *OECD Economic Surveys: Spain 2008* (Paris: OECD Publishing, 2008), www.oecd-ilibrary.org/economics/oecd-economic-surveys-spain-2008/improving-the-matching-of-workers-to-jobs_eco_surveys-esp-2008-4-en.

81 Homs, “Vocational Training in Spain;” OECD, “OECD Economic Surveys: Spain 2014.”

82 See, for instance, Josep Maria Rotger, Diego Herrera, and Oriol Homs, *Necessitats formatives dels treballadors i treballadores immigrants en el sector del servei domèstic, la construcció i l'hostaleria a Catalunya* (Barcelona, Fundació CIREM, 2008); Sanromá, Ramos, and Simón, “Immigrant Wages in the Spanish Labour Market.”

83 Homs, “Vocational Training in Spain.”



Box I. The Role of Employers, Trade Unions, and Civil Society in Supporting Upward Mobility

The representatives of employers and workers have an important role in addressing the challenge of immigrant integration and combating all forms of discrimination at the workplace.

Employers' associations and trade unions have traditionally played a very active part in setting training priorities and developing training programs. Through the Tripartite Foundation, which governs the use of public training funds, union and employer representatives develop sectoral training plans that determine funding priorities for supply-side training within their sector, and support the development of demand-side training activities. Some associations and unions are also training providers.

Trade unions have also been seen as key partners in the integration strategy in Spain. The fact that most relevant trade unions in Spain are not restricted to specific sectors has facilitated their involvement in immigration issues. In particular, trade unions have played an important role in fighting against in-work discrimination while also providing training. The early establishment of a working group—with the participation of the government, trade unions, and employer associations (e.g., the Tripartite Labor Commission)—has helped to keep social dialogue active in the field of immigrant integration. At the national level it is also worth mentioning the role played by social partners such as the Permanent Observatory for Immigration, a governmental body in charge of analyzing the evolution of migration, and the Forum for the Social Integration of Immigrants, a public-private partnership that encompasses civil society, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and immigrant associations. Both organizations help to design policies to promote immigrant integration. Moreover, trade unions, employer associations, and chambers of commerce have also taken a proactive role in providing training for new immigrants by sponsoring vocational training actions in line with the needs of firms both in Spain and in origin countries.

Public authorities have frequently worked with NGOs to deliver services to immigrants at the local level, particularly in those cases where immigrants did not have employment or residence permits (as stricter regulations on service provision to these groups have been adopted during the past years). The Spanish government has also increased its support to immigrant associations as part of a new strategy aimed at building the capacity of these organizations.

Sources: Foro para la Integración social de los Inmigrantes, “Presentación,” www.foroinmigracion.es/; Ministerio de Empleo y Seguridad Social, “Observatorio Permanente de la Inmigración,” <http://extranjeros.empleo.gob.es/es/ObservatorioPermanenteInmigracion/>; Giovanna Zincone, Rinus Penninx, and Maren Borkert, *Migration Policymaking in Europe: The Dynamics of Actors and Contexts in Past and Present* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press: 2011); CEDEFOP, “Sectoral training funds in Europe (Panorama series, CEDEFOP, Thessaloniki, Greece, 2008),” www.cedefop.europa.eu/en/Files/5189_EN.PDF. While there have been no systematic assessments of overarching immigrant integration policies at the national level, the Czech government's capacity to drive better integration outcomes is likely to improve as a result of several important data-collection activities.

After the economic recession drew further attention to the insufficiencies of the system, regional governments and local authorities (and also trade unions) devoted significant efforts over the past decade to make VET attractive both for nationals and newcomers.⁸⁴ Since, VET has become a key component of regional labor market activation policies.⁸⁵ At the national level, recent labor market reforms have also sought to improve the quality of and interest in VET.⁸⁶ These new measures have included additional activation policies (i.e., job-search assistance and monitoring, subsidized employment) to encourage voluntary participation in training. For certain groups, such as the long-term unemployed, receiving benefits

84 Claudia Finotelli, “Labour Migration Governance in Contemporary Europe. The Case of Spain” (LabMigGov Working Paper, Torino, 2012), www.labmiggov.eu/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/LABMIGOV_WP1_SPAIN_Final-report.pdf; Heather Connolly, Stefania Marino, and Miguel Martínez Lucio, “Trade Union Renewal and the Challenges of Representation: Strategies towards Migrant and Ethnic Minority Workers in the Netherlands, Spain and the United Kingdom,” *European Journal of Industrial Relations* 20, no. 1 (2014): 5–20.

85 Francisco Javier Mato Díaz, “La formación continua en España desde una perspectiva comparada: Balance y propuestas de mejora,” *Papeles de Economía Española* 124 (2010): 266–80.

86 See the 2012-14 Employment Strategy, for example; Ministerio de la Presidencia, “Real Decreto 1542/2011, de 31 de octubre, por el que se aprueba la Estrategia Española de Empleo 2012-2014.”



can now be made conditional on participating in training, although recent policies have given more priority to improve immigrants' training.^{87,88} Other initiatives have sought to improve training quality and strengthen evaluation measures by involving key stakeholders in the development and evaluation of specific programs and projects, and by creating mechanisms to share good practices across regions and towns.⁸⁹

V. Conclusions

Despite the high employment levels of foreign-born workers in Spain in the early 2000s, the onset of recession in 2008 revealed the risks and uncertainty faced by many immigrants (and vulnerable natives) in the Spanish labor market. While most new arrivals had experienced little difficulty finding work quickly, many faced significant occupational downgrading (relative to the last job held in their countries of origin) and a substantial wage gap with natives, and were overrepresented in temporary employment.

Inflows have significantly declined since the crisis, but those immigrants still in Spain are faced with a postcrisis labor market. Helping immigrants access jobs remains a top priority of integration policy, but in a context of high unemployment rates, finding a job is a hard task not only for immigrants but also for natives. And many of the challenges faced by immigrant workers—the segmented nature of the labor market and gaps in the provision of employment services and vocational training—are in fact the same difficulties confronted by native-born youth and adults with lower education levels. Therefore, the broader labor market reforms undertaken by the Spanish government in recent years to reduce labor market segmentation and enhance training and employment services will also be critical to improving immigrant workers' employment and prospects of upward mobility.

Some of the disadvantages experienced by the foreign born can also be attributed to the limited transferability of the human capital they have acquired in their home country, lower educational endowments, a lack of language skills, and other factors. Targeted integration policies to provide language education, improve the recognition of foreign credentials, or enable better access to employment services or vocational training may reduce some of these barriers. High employment rates prior to the crisis limited the need for and interest in labor-market-related interventions for immigrants, and many such services could therefore be strengthened. But while the recession has clarified the need to dedicate more resources to improving the situation of immigrants, financial limitations have reduced the capacity of central and regional governments to undertake substantial new programs or initiatives in the near future.

The need for such services is likely to remain, however, even as the economy improves. There is a widespread recognition that in the future Spain will need to import foreign labor to counter the effects of an aging population, low birth rates, and the prospect of a collapsing social security system. In the future, developing a more selective migration policy, as in other OECD countries,⁹⁰ could also help to attract higher-qualified workers who can be more easily integrated into Spanish society. But not all immigration flows can be selected, as the ongoing crisis in the Mediterranean has demonstrated. Measures to improve immigrants' employability and help workers into long-term, stable employment will continue to be needed.

87 Klaus F. Zimmermann, Costanza Biavaschi, Werner Eichhorst, Corrado Giulietti, Michael J. Kendzia, Alexander Muravyev, Janneke Pieters, Núria Rodríguez-Planas, and Ricarda Schmidl, "Youth Unemployment and Vocational Training," *Foundations and Trends in Microeconomics* 9, no. 1-2 (2013): 1–157.

88 Ana López-Sala, "Managing Uncertainty. Immigration Policies in Spain during Economic Recession (2008-2011)," *Migraciones Internacionales* 7 (2) (2013): 39–70.

89 One notable exception is the work carried out by Ivàlua for the Catalan case, which analyzed the impact of public employment plans during 2005–07; see Ivàlua, "Informe d'Avaluació dels Plans d'Ocupació del període 2005 – 2007," February 15, 2010, www.ivalua.cat/generic/static.aspx?id=783.

90 Zubaida Haque, *What Works With Integrating New Migrants? Lessons from International Best Practice* (London: Runnymede Perspectives, 2010).



Appendix

Table A1. Priority Areas of the Catalan Integration Plan, 2013-16

	I. Migratory policies and socioeconomic contexts	II. Identification-integration	III. Coexistence and social cohesion	IV. Child and youth	V. National transition
A. Migratory flows: regulation and access to labor market	1. Information and guidance	10. Family reunion			
	2. Introducing Catalan culture and history (<i>sensibilització</i>)	11. International protection			
	3. Monitoring				
	4. Creating linkages				
	5. Voluntary return				
	6. Managing flows				
	7. Development aid				
	8. Entrepreneurship and employability				
B. Adapting public services to a heterogeneous society	9. Promoting regular work				
		12. Reception services	15. Cooperation between different government levels and among professionals	18. Attention to child- and youth-specific needs	
		13. Managing religious diversity	16. Training migration-related professionals		
	14. Formal and informal training	17. Access to public services			
C. Integration into a common public culture		19. Language training	20. Creating links	25. Autonomy and youth participation	26. Information about Catalan culture and history (<i>sensibilització</i>) and the national transition towards an independent state
			21. Fighting against discrimination		
			22. Gender balance		
			23. Public participation		
			24. Information and communication		

Source: Adaptation from Appendix A of the Government of Catalonia, "Pla de Ciutadania i de les Migracions: Horitzó 2016," www20.gencat.cat/docs/bsf/03Ambits%20tematics/05Immigracio/03Politiquesplansactuacio/pla_ciutadania_immigracio/PCM_2013-2016.pdf.

Works Cited

- Alonso, Noel. 2011. *European Inventory on Validation of Non-formal and Informal Learning 2010, Country Report: Spain*. Thessaloniki, Greece: CEDEFOP. <http://libserver.cedefop.europa.eu/vetelib/2011/77452.pdf>.
- Amuedo, Catalina and Sara De la Rica. 2011. Complements or Substitutes? Task Specialization by Gender and Nativity in Spain. *Labour Economics* 18 (5): 697–707.
- Amuedo-Dorantes, Catalina, Miguel A. Malo, and Fernando Muñoz-Bullón. 2013. New Evidence on the Impact of Legal Status on Immigrant Labor Market Performance: The Spanish Case. *Labour* 27 (1): 93–113.
- Arango, Joaquín and Claudia Finotelli. 2009. Past and Future Challenges of a Southern European Migration Regime: The Spanish Case. IDEA Working Paper 8, Warsaw. www.idea6fp.uw.edu.pl/pliki/WP8_Spain.pdf.
- Ayuntamiento de Madrid. 2011. Servicios de información y orientación. www.madrid.es/portales/munimadrid/es/Inicio/Ayuntamiento/Servicios-Sociales/Inmigracion/Madrid-Convive?vgnextfmt=default&vgnextoid=43bd3f69e269f010VgnVCM2000000c205a0aRCRD&vgnnextchannel=d33d9ad016e07010VgnVCM100000dc0ca8c0RCRD&idCapitulo=5572864.
- Baldwin-Edwards, Martin. 2014. *Regularisations and Employment in Spain*. REGANE Assessment Report. Vienna: International Centre for Migration Policy Development. http://research.icmpd.org/fileadmin/Research-Website/Project_material/REGANE/REGANE_Assessment_Spain_Final_Sentout.pdf.
- Bentolila, Samuel, Juan J. Dolado, and Juan F. Jimeno. 2008. *Two-tier Employment Protection Reforms: The Spanish Experience*. CESifo DICE Report 4/2008. Munich. www.eco.uc3m.es/temp/juanjo/Two_tier_Reform_bdj_CESifo_DICE.pdf.
- Bentolila, Samuel, Pierre Cahuc, Juan J. Dolado, and Thomas Le Barbanchon. 2012. Two-Tier Labour Markets in the Great Recession: France Versus Spain. *The Economic Journal* 122 (562): F155–F187.
- Bosch, Nuria and José Maria Durán, eds. 2008. *Fiscal Federalism and Political Decentralization: Lessons from Spain, Germany and Canada*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd.
- Butschek, Sebastian and Thomas Walter. 2013. What Active Labour Market Programmes Work for Immigrants in Europe? A Meta-Analysis of the Evaluation Literature. DP 13-056, Zentrum für Europäische Wirtschaftsforschung GmbH (ZEW), Mannheim. <http://ftp.zew.de/pub/zew-docs/dp/dp13056.pdf>.
- Cebolla-Boado, Hector, Ruth Ferrero-Turrión, and Ana M. López-Sala. 2012. Spain. In *Labour Shortages and Migration Policy*, eds. Anna Platonova and Guiliiana Urso. Brussels: International Organization for Migration (IOM).
- Codina, Esperanza. 2014. Police probe allegations of multi-million-euro fraud scheme in Málaga, *El País*, April 16, 2014. http://elpais.com/elpais/2014/04/15/inenglish/1397581080_725932.html.
- Connolly, Heather, Stefania Marino, and Miguel Martinez Lucio. 2014. Trade Union Renewal and the Challenges of Representation: Strategies towards Migrant and Ethnic Minority Workers in the Netherlands, Spain and the United Kingdom. *European Journal of Industrial Relations* 20 (1): 5–20.
- Corcoran, Mary P. Local Responses to a New Issue: Integrating Immigrants in Spain. In *From Immigration to Integration: Local Solutions to a Global Challenge*. Paris: OECD Publishing.
- Di Paolo, Antonio. 2011. Knowledge of Catalan, Public/Private Sector Choice and Earnings: Evidence from a Double Sample Selection Model. *Hacienda Pública Española* 197(2): 9–35.
- Di Paolo, Antonio, and Josep Lluís Raymond. 2012. Language Knowledge and Earnings in Catalonia. *Journal of Applied Economics* (May): 89–118.
- Díaz, Francisco Javier Mato. 2010. La formación continua en España desde una perspectiva comparada: Balance y



- propuestas de mejora. *Papeles de Economía Española* 124: 266–80.
- Finotelli, Claudia. 2012. Labour Migration Governance in Contemporary Europe: The Case of Spain. LabMigGov Working Paper, Torino. www.labmiggov.eu/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/LABMIGOV_WP1_SPAIN_Final-report.pdf.
- Fokkema, Tineke and Hein de Haas. 2011. Pre- and Post-Migration Determinants of Socio-Cultural Integration of African Immigrants in Italy and Spain. *International Migration*, May 3, 2011.
- García Juan, Laura. 2014. Las medidas de integración de los inmigrantes en la Unión Europea. El modelo competencial y los diferentes enfoques territoriales en el sistema español. Ph.D. dissertation, Universitat de Valencia. <http://roderic.uv.es/bitstream/handle/10550/35915/Tesis%20Doc.%20LGI.pdf?sequence=1>.
- García, Maite Hernández and Félix Villalba Martínez. 2005. La enseñanza de español con fines laborales para inmigrantes. *Glosas Didácticas* 15. www.um.es/glosasdidacticas/GD15/gd15-08.pdf.
- González-Enríquez, Carmen. 2009. *Inmigración: Propuestas para un nuevo period.* Informes Elcano. Real Instituto Elcano, Madrid.
- _____. 2009. Spain, the Cheap Model: Irregularity and Regularisation as Immigration Management Policies. *European Journal of Migration and Law* 11: 139–57.
- Haque, Zubaida. 2010. *What Works With Integrating New Migrants? Lessons from International Best Practice.* Runnymede Perspectives. London.
- Hernández-Plaza, Sonia, Carmen Pozo Muñoz, and Enrique Alonso-Morillejo. 2004. The Role of Informal Social Support in Needs Assessment: Proposal and Application of a Model to Assess Immigrants' Needs in the South of Spain. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology* 14: 284–98.
- Homs, Oriol. 2009. Vocational Training in Spain: Toward the Knowledge Society. *La Caixa Social Studies Collection* 25. http://obrasocial.lacaixa.es/deployedfiles/obrasocial/Estaticos/pdf/laCaixaFoundation/vol25_en.pdf.
- Iglesias, Julio, ed. 2010. *Las Políticas de Integración de Inmigrantes en las Comunidades Autónomas Españolas.* Fundación BBVA. Bilbao.
- Instituto Nacional de Estadística. 2014. Encuesta de Población Activa: Variables de submuestra, Año 2013. www.ine.es/prensa/np841.pdf.
- International Institute for Labour Studies. 2011. *Spain: Quality Jobs for a New Economy.* Geneva: International Labour Organization. www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms_158537.pdf.
- Isphording, Ingo E. 2013. Returns to Foreign Language Skills of Immigrants in Spain. *Labour* 27: 443–61.
- Ivàlua. 2010. Informe d'Avaluació dels Plans d'Ocupació del període 2005 – 2007. www.ivalua.cat/generic/static.aspx?id=783.
- Jaumotte, Florence. 2011. The Spanish Labor Market in a Cross-Country Perspective. IMF WP/11/11, working paper, International Monetary Fund, Washington, DC. www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/wp/2011/wp1111.pdf.
- Jubany, Olga, Berta Güell, and Roisin Davis. 2011. *Study on the Local Implementation of Integration/Introduction Courses for Newcomers: Case Study Barcelona/Spain.* Promoting Sustainable Policies for Integration (PROSINT) case study report WP3. Vienna. http://research.icmpd.org/fileadmin/Research-Website/Project_material/PROSINT/Reports/ES_WP3_Final.pdf.
- López-Sala, Ana. 2013. Managing Uncertainty. Immigration Policies in Spain during Economic Recession (2008–2011). *Migraciones Internacionales* 7 (2): 39–70.
- López-Sala, Ana and Ruth Ferrero-Turrión. 2009. Economic Crisis and Migration Policies in Spain: The Big Dilema.

- Communication to the Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS) Annual Conference. September 21-22, 2009. University of Oxford. <http://digital.csic.es/bitstream/10261/36645/1/L%C3%B3pez-Sala,%20Ferrero%20%28COMPAS%29.pdf>.
- Mahia, Ramón, Rafael de Arce, and Eiko Thielemann. 2010. Immigration Policy and its Impact a Comparative Study with a Focus on Spain. Munich Personal RePEc Archive (MPRA) Paper No. 35742, Munich. www.uam.es/personal_pdi/economicas/rarce/pdf/CIEES-Immigration-Report.pdf.
- Martos, José Antonio Montilla and José Luis Rodríguez Candela. 2013. Las normas generales del Estado sobre inmigración en 2013. In *Anuario de la Inmigración en España 2013*, dir. Joaquín Arango, David Moya Malapeira, and Josep Oliver Alonso, 252–73. Barcelona: CIDOB.
- Margie McHugh and A. E. Challinor. 2011. *Improving Immigrants' Employment Prospects through Work-Focused Language Instruction*. Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute. www.migrationpolicy.org/research/improving-immigrants-employment-prospects-through-work-focused-language-instruction.
- Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs. 2014. El 40% de los fondos para políticas activas en 2014 se distribuyen en función de los resultados conseguidos. <http://prensa.empleo.gob.es/WebPrensa/noticias/ministro/detalle/2201>.
- _____. N.d. *Report Evaluating the Impact of the Labour Reform*. Madrid: Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs. www.empleo.gob.es/es/destacados/home/impacto_reforma_laboral/Report_evaluating_the_impact_of_the_Labour_Reform.pdf.
- Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). 2008. Improving the Matching of Workers to Jobs. In *OECD Economic Surveys: Spain 2008*. Paris: OECD Publishing. www.oecd-ilibrary.org/economics/oecd-economic-surveys-spain-2008/improving-the-matching-of-workers-to-jobs_eco_surveys-esp-2008-4-en.
- _____. 2009. *International Migration Outlook*. Annual Report 2009. Paris: OECD.
- _____. 2013. *The 2012 Labour Market Reform in Spain: A Preliminary Assessment*. Paris: OECD. www.oecd.org/employment/emp/spain-labourmarketreform.htm.
- _____. 2013. Education at a Glance 2013: Spain. Paris: OECD. www.oecd.org/edu/Spain_EAG2013%20Country%20Note.pdf.
- Peixoto Joao, Joaquin Arango, Corrado Bonifazi, Claudia Finotteli, Catarina Sabino, Salvatore Strozza, and Anna Triandafillydou. 2012. Immigrants, Markets and Policies in Southern Europe: The Making of an Immigration Model? In *European Immigrations: Trends, Structures and Policy Implications*, ed. Marek Okólski, 107–48. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Ramos, Raúl, Jordi Suriñach, and Manuel Artés. 2010. Es necesario reformar las políticas activas de mercado de trabajo en España? Algunos elementos para la reflexión. *Papeles de Economía Española* 124: 281–300.
- Reher, David-Sven, Luís Cortés Alcalá, Fernando González Quiñones, Miguel Requena, María Isabel Sánchez Domínguez, Alberto Sanz Gimeno, and Mikolaj Stanek. 2008. Informe Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes (ENI-07). INE, Documentos de Trabajo 2-08.
- Rendon, Silvio. 2007. The Catalan Premium: Language and Employment in Catalonia. *Journal of Population Economics* 20 (3): 669–86.
- Requena, Miguel and Maria Sánchez-Domínguez. 2011. Las familias inmigrantes en España. *Revista Internacional de Sociología* 69 (M1): 79–104.
- Rodríguez, Lorenzo Cachón. 2002. La Formación de la España Inmigrante: Mercado y Ciudadanía. *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas* 97: 95–126.



- Rodríguez-Planas, Núria and Natalia Nollenberger. 2014. *A Precarious Position: The Labor Market Integration of New Immigrants in Spain*. Washington, DC and Geneva: Migration Policy Institute and International Labour Office. <http://migrationpolicy.org/research/precarious-position-labor-market-integration-new-immigrants-spain>.
- Rotger, Josep Maria, Herrera, Diego, and Oriol Homs. 2008. *Necessitats formatives dels treballadors i treballadores immigrants en el sector del servei domèstic, la construcció i l'hostaleria a Catalunya*. Barcelona: Fundació CIREM.
- Ruiz, Antonio Caparrós. 2011. Contract Type, Wages and Immigrants in Spain. Paper presented at the XIV Applied Economics Meeting [Encuentro de Economía Aplicada], Gran Canaria, Spain, June 2-3, 2011. www.alde.es/encuentros/anteriores/xiveea/trabajos/c/pdf/093.pdf.
- Sanromá, Esteban, Raúl Ramos, and Hipólito Simón. 2009. Immigrant Wages in the Spanish Labour Market: Does the Origin of Human Capital Matter? IZA Discussion Paper No. 4157, Institute for the Study of Labor, Bonn. <http://ftp.iza.org/dp4157.pdf>.
- Simón, Hipólito, Raul Ramos, and Esteban Sanromá. 2014. Immigrant Occupational Mobility: Longitudinal Evidence from Spain. *European Journal of Population* 30 (2): 223–55.
- Talavera, Catalina Cantero and Inés Sancha Gonzalo, eds. 2012. *Spain : VET in Europe. Country Report*. Thessaloniki, Greece : CEDEFOP. http://libserver.cedefop.europa.eu/vetelib/2012/2012_CR_ES.pdf.
- Vinuela, Julio. 2000. Fiscal Decentralization in Spain. Paper presented at the Conference on Fiscal Decentralisation, IMF Fiscal Affairs Department, November 20-21, Washington, DC. www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/semi-nar/2000/fiscal/vinuela.pdf.
- Wöfl, Anita and Juan S. Mora-Sanguinetti. Reforming the Labour Market in Spain. Working Paper 845, OECD Economics Department, OECD Publishing, Paris, February 2011. http://oecd-ilibrary.org/economics/reforming-the-labour-market-in-spain_5kghtchh277h-en.
- Zapata-Barrero, Ricard. 2003. Spanish Challenges and European Dilemma: Socialising the Debate on the Integration of Immigrants. *Perspectives on European Politics and Society* 4 (2): 243–64.
- Zimmermann, Klaus F, Costanza Biavaschi, Werner Eichhorst, Corrado Giulietti, Michael J. Kendzia, Alexander Muravyev, Janneke Pieters, Núria Rodríguez-Planas, and Ricarda Schmidl. 2013. Youth Unemployment and Vocational Training. *Foundations and Trends in Microeconomics* 9 (1–2): 1–157.
- Zincone, Giovanna, Rinus Penninx, and Maren Borkert. 2011. *Migration Policymaking in Europe: The Dynamics of Actors and Contexts in Past and Present*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.



About the Author



Raúl Ramos is Assistant Professor in the Department of Econometrics, Statistics, and Spanish Economy of the University of Barcelona. His areas of expertise include the analysis of regional labor markets and, in particular, the analysis of human capital, wage differences, and immigrant integration.

Dr. Ramos is also Senior Researcher in the Grup d'Anàlisi Quantitativa Regional (AQR-IREA), an IZA Research Fellow since May 2007, and member of the editorial team of the *European Journal of Development Research* since 2012. He has also acted as consultant for the European Commission, the European Parliament, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, and UNESCO.

Dr. Ramos received his PhD in economics from the University of Barcelona in 1999.



The Migration Policy Institute is a nonprofit, nonpartisan think tank dedicated to the study of the movement of people worldwide. MPI provides analysis, development, and evaluation of migration and refugee policies at the local, national, and international levels. It aims to meet the rising demand for pragmatic and thoughtful responses to the challenges and opportunities that large-scale migration, whether voluntary or forced, presents to communities and institutions in an increasingly integrated world.

www.migrationpolicy.org

1400 16th Street NW
Suite 300
Washington, DC 20036

Tel: 001 202-266-1940
Fax: 001 202-266-1900

