

The Impacts of Restrictions and Entitlements on the Integration of Family Migrants



National
Report
Spain

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October 2013





IMPACIM Country Report:

Spain

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Project website: www.compas.ox.ac.uk/research/welfare/impacim

A report prepared as part of the IMPACIM project.

With financial support from the European Commission



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1. Executive Summary

The IMPACIM Spain research aimed to explore evidence, both from existing quantitative data and through generating original qualitative data, in order to understand family migrants' integration and specifically the impacts of restrictive conditions of stay on those processes. The work was divided into four work packages; the main findings are as follows:

1.1 State of the art

Due to its minor impact on migration flows in comparison with economic migration, relatively little attention has been paid to family migration. Following the general trends of migration in Spain, the first specific studies on the issue were published during the mid-nineties. Most of them adopted a legal, political or demographic perspective, whereas sociological, educational and psychological approaches have been less developed. There is considerable interest in the literature around the legal aspects of pre-entry and residence conditions of family migrants, and especially on legal aspects for family reunification.

1.2 Entitlements and restrictions

The regulation of family migration has usually been a marginal aspect of Spanish legislation, since the majority interest has focused on economic migration in relation to the needs of the labour market. In 2000, Spanish legislation recognized family reunification as a right. Thus, a distinction was established between family members of EU citizens and those of third country nationals (TCN). For any type of family migration, there is no reference to the rights and duties of family migrants (Organic Law 4/2000, 11th of January, on the rights of foreign citizens in Spain and their social integration, considering subsequent modifications). The rationale behind this lack of

conditions depends on the direct, and almost exclusive, link between migration policies and labour market needs in the Spanish context.

1.3 Quantitative findings

Statistical data on family migration and integration of family migrants is relatively scarce in Spain. There are no specific sources of data covering general aspects of family-related migration, so it is still challenging to make an empirical assessment of the overall phenomenon. Nevertheless, there are specific administrative records and some survey research that can provide at least a partial insight into some dimensions of family migration. In Spain, migrants' family members wishing to come to Spain have traditionally had strong incentives to enter the country on tourist visas and overstay illegally, especially if they were interested in working in Spain. In last few years of the last decade, the proportion of regular family migration in the total migratory stream has been growing. Regarding demographic composition, female family migrants outnumber the number of male family migrants in absolute and relative terms. In addition, analysis of age and gender shows that family migration is not only a feminized phenomenon but is also mostly linked to marriage strategies and reunification of spouses. It can be also observed that nationals from four countries (Morocco, Colombia, Ecuador and China) accounted for over 60% of all reunified migrants in 2011. Catalonia and Madrid are two regions where approximately half of reunified family migrants settled. On a general level, family migrants have exhibited relatively lower participation in the Spanish labour market compared to non-family migrants. A more detailed examination showed that this gap is particularly pronounced in the case of the youngest cohorts and the female population.

1.4 Qualitative findings

The impacts of policies on the situation of family migrants after their arrival in Spain can be observed at local and regional levels. Different perspectives on family migrants have developed and vary between local governments in Madrid and Barcelona. Whereas the perspective adopted in Madrid is universal with the focus on family (as a

unit), in Barcelona, a specific department was created to attend to needs related to family reunification, before and just after arrival. Due to budget restrictions, specific programmes have disappeared and the whole system that oversees social attention to migrants is threatened. Apart from the specific programmes addressing family migrants' needs following arrival, family migrants have access to broadly the same rights as other citizens living in Madrid and Barcelona, insofar as they have a resident's permit and they are included in the municipal register. Problems may occur if family migrants lose their resident's permit, in case they or the sponsor does not have access to the labour market through a regular job contract during the minimum period of time required to renew their resident's permit. Also, if the sponsor cannot evidence a minimum level of income through employment and welfare benefits to keep an independent resident's permit, family migrants may fall into irregularity. On the other hand, when family migrants are affected by discrimination or when informal practices restrict their access to the formal rights they are entitled to, their possibilities to protest are quite limited.

1.5 Conclusions

In Spain, family migrants have access to much the same rights as other migrants, as long as they have a resident's permit. Nevertheless, their access to formal rights might be more difficult in some cases. Within migrant families, teenagers, together with women who do not work, are placed in the most vulnerable situation. When informal practices restrict their access to the formal rights to which they are entitled, the possibilities for migrants and family migrants to protest are quite limited. Nevertheless, claims can be presented to one of the Forums for the Social Integration of Migrants, the Courts or the Ombudsman.

From 2007-2008, family migrants in particular have suffered the consequences of the economic crisis in a variety of ways. Budget cuts affecting integration programmes and a lack of income may place migrants and their families in a precarious situation. In some cases, this may bring them back to irregularity, while in others they may risk being evicted from their house if they have run up credit. Instead of family reunification, *family de-unification* is adopted by some families as a strategy, so some family members may stay in Spain while others will search for new opportunities in

another country. Notwithstanding these issues, initiatives by NGOs and migrant associations may be limiting the negative effects of the crisis. In addition to this support, experts assume that families and informal networks can bring important resources to migrants, such as social capital and psychological support that will alleviate the difficulties they face.

2. Introduction

The research aimed to explore evidence, both in existing quantitative data and through generating original qualitative data, to understand family migrants' integration and specifically the impacts of restrictive conditions of stay on their integration. The aim of this final report is to present the main findings related to the IMPACIM project in Spain, synthesizing several reports prepared throughout the course of the research (see <http://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/research/welfare/impacim/>). Thus, this national report is structured into different sections. The first section include the main results of the work packages: the state of the art includes the main results of the literature search, followed by a section on entitlements and restrictions. The quantitative and qualitative findings precede the conclusions, after which good practice by local administrations and recommendations are presented for local, regional and central governments.

3. State of the art

Due to its minor impact on migration flows, in comparison with economic migration, relatively little attention has been paid to family migration. Following the general trends of migration in Spain, the first specific studies on the issue were published during the mid-nineties. Most of them adopted a legal, political or demographic perspective, whereas sociological, educational and psychological approaches have been less developed.

There is considerable interest in legal aspects of pre-entry and residence conditions of family migrants, and especially on legal aspects for family reunification. This topic has been analysed in relation to international laws (Alvarez 2003; Canedo 2001; Gutiérrez 2003); human rights (Arrese 2004; Ezquerro 1997; Fernández 2002); family structure (Asín 2007); the application of EU directives (Alvarez 2004; Freire 2010; Gómez 2009); the Spanish Constitution; the impact on integration (Alvarez 2006), through the regularization of undocumented migrants; the evolution of Spanish law for migration and the integration of migrants (Collado 2003; Diago 2011); and the inequalities between EU and non-EU citizens (Blázquez 2003; Cortés 2012; Gómez 2004). Specific considerations have been developed on the reunification of migrants' parents (Alvarez 2005), the situation of women (Bedoya 2000) or children under 18 (Canedo 2006). Considering the specificities of some migrant groups, from a religious perspective, the difficulties for the recognition of Muslim marriage by Spanish legislation have been analysed (Giménez 2004).

The legal and institutional regulation of family reunification processes is also analysed in existing literature from a political perspective. In this case, the phenomenon is considered as part of the Spanish policy for the control of migratory flows as well as an instrument for the selection of specific types of migrants required in the Spanish labour market (Gil Araujo, 2011; Pedone and Gil Araujo, 2008). On the other hand, Spanish regulations have been analysed from the perspective of civic stratification (Gil Araujo, 2010).

Some literature has analysed how migrants develop strategies to facilitate the reunification of their partner and children (Gómez 1999). In some cases, the difficulties

in reunification are due to the socioeconomic vulnerability of migrants in Spain, especially in the case of women working in the domestic sector (Martínez Bruján 2011). Other scholars have considered how migration can impede reunification, as long-term geographic separation can break the relationship between partners.

Despite the growing significance of family migration, the social sciences have paid little attention to the general analysis of this phenomenon, which is relatively recent in Spain. From a demographic perspective, a growing body of empirical research explores the main characteristics of family migration. This literature attempts to establish the numbers and characteristics of family related migration as well as to describe some basic features (age, origin, household structure etc.). Analyses are carried out at the national level (Cebolla and González, 2008; Gil Araujo, 2010; González Ferrer, 2008) and at regional level (González, 2007; López Hernández and Montoro Gurich, 2012).

From a complementary perspective, over the past few years the interest in migrants' marriage patterns has increased considerably. Recent research focuses on the processes of marital endogamy and exogamy (i.e. marriage and intimate informal relationships inside/outside ethnic group). Several studies point out that ethnic endogamy within marriage and couple formation are, on a general level, the predominant patterns among migrants. Nevertheless, several differences across national origins and gender have been observed. Endogamy among migrants in Spain varies by country of origin and gender. Migrants from Africa (male and female), and Latin-American men, are the most endogamous. On the contrary, among Latin American women there is a very high rate of extra-ethnic marriage and couple formation (Cortina and Esteve, 2012; Esteve and Cortina, 2011; Rodríguez García, 2003; Sánchez Domínguez et al., 2011). Empirical research also analyses marriage strategies among specific immigrant categories. Sánchez-Domínguez et al. (Sánchez Domínguez et al., 2011) have pointed out the high number of Argentinean marriages taking place around the time of migration, which the authors link to a migration strategy whereby the couple undertakes the migration to Spain together. Other phenomena observed in Spanish research are patterns of family formation during which Spanish nationals or migrants with a resident permit get married while they are still living in the countries of origin, so they will come to Spain later through family reunification (Sánchez-Domínguez, 2011).

From a sociological perspective, the literature still mainly focuses on the candidates for family migration and their relation with their relatives in Spain (Peñaranda 2010). The impact of money transfers, women's empowerment through migration, or the relations between partners, and between parents and children, are the main topics to be analysed from this transnational perspective. The very few studies considering family migration sometimes pay attention to specific migrant groups, defined by religious or national criteria. For example, Cerón (1995) analyses the reunification processes of Dominican women. Other scholars have defined specific family migrant groups according to their relation with migrants. Most of them adopt a gender perspective or focus on the situation of children after reunification (Alcalde Campos 2009; Alcalde Campos 2010). On the contrary, no information has been found from the perspective of social sciences on the situation of migrants' parents.

Once in Spain, the situation of family migrants in relation to the following topics: employment and labour market; access to welfare benefits; health; housing; education; and civic participation has been mostly indirectly analysed.

Due to this institutional and legal context most analysis on entitlements and restrictions for non-EU migrants related to **labour market integration** does not consider family-related migrants (as understood in our project) as a separate analytical category. Nevertheless, in recent years several analyses of migrant workers' occupational integration have taken into account family status. For example, Bernardi et al. analysed assimilation processes, comparing foreign and native workers (Bernardi et al., 2011). They observed that family composition among non-EU migrants in Spain (distinguishing between married or cohabiting persons without children, married or cohabiting persons with children and single parents) does not have a significant effect on the probability of being employed. Nevertheless, Veira et al. observe that having family in Spain reduces the risk of working in low-paid niches such as agricultural or domestic work (Veira et al., 2011). The positive impact of family on occupational mobility has been confirmed in other Spanish studies (Alcobendas and Rodríguez-Planas, 2009; Fernández and Ortega, 2008; Izquierdo et al., 2009; Sanromá et al., 2008). On the other hand, considerable differences have been observed regarding labour market attainment in relation to gender (Vidal et al., 2009).

The relationship between immigration and **the welfare state** is an area that has not been extensively studied in Spain. It has been also observed that migrant households receive fewer welfare benefits than natives. Nevertheless, in case of unemployment benefits, the difference between migrants and non-migrants is reduced when time spent in Spain is taken into account. Thus, the lower unemployment benefits among recent migrants can be explained by the lower contributions into the social programmes (Munoz de Bustillo and Anton, 2009). It must also be mentioned that the family plays the central role in all areas of social protection and especially in the sphere of social services. Traditionally, the central responsibility of families has been a part of social policy in Spain. Family (mainly women) provide care to children, the elderly, the sick and disabled (Esping Andersen, 2004; Moreno and Bruquetas, 2011). In this context it has been pointed out that the weakness of the social protection is a principal obstacle for migrant integration because of the weakness of their family and social networks (Cachón and Laparra, 2009; Carrasco Carpio et al., 2003).

Research on migration and **health** includes two main topics: the health conditions of migrants, and their access to health services. In relation to the first topic, some studies have analysed the health conditions of recently born children of migrants, in comparison with recently born children of non-migrants (Alonso 2004; Bernis 2005; Puig et al. 2008). In relation to the second topic, some scholars have focused on the impact of lifestyle migration, and the use of health services by retired EU nationals (Cahill y Betty 1998; Márquez y Quesada 2005). Very few studies refer to family migrants, and even here attention is indirect, by paying special attention to women or children.

The literature on migration and **housing** includes three main topics: housing conditions, residential concentration or segregation, and household structures. In the case of housing, no specific literature was found in relation to family migration, women or children of migrants. The literature on migration and **education** includes four main topics, related to the achievement of migrants' children; the role of families; the participation of newly arrived children in specific educational programmes for migrants at school (*aulas de enlace*); and the learning of Spanish language or some regional languages. The literature on migration and **civic participation** includes three main topics, covering social and political participation, belonging feelings and identities, and

access to Spanish nationality. A few works are dedicated to family migrants, paying attention to the children of migrants.

4. Entitlements and restrictions

The regulation of family migration has usually been a marginal aspect of Spanish legislation, since the main interest has focused on economic migration in relation to the needs of the labour market. With regards to migration, the main legal instrument is the Organic Law 4/2000, 11th January, on the rights of foreign citizens in Spain and their social integration, then modified by the Organic Law 8/2000, 22nd December, the Organic Law 11/2003, 29th September, the Organic Law 14/2003, 20th November, and the Organic Law 2/2009, 11th December.

In 2000, Spanish legislation recognized family reunification as a right. Thus, a distinction was established between the family members of EU-citizens and those of third country nationals (TCN). Whereas the first group can directly obtain a long-term resident permit for EU citizens, the second category of family migrants depend on the specific conditions of family reunification. Other family migration can be the simultaneous migration of dependent family members with an independent or primary migrant although this second type of family migration is very limited to a few situations (such as non-lucrative stay of high income migrants¹, researchers or high-skilled workers with an EU blue card²). Since 2011 Spanish law recognizes the right for family members who reside in Spain to regularize their legal status without an authorization on the basis of family settlement³. Together with the social and professional situation, family ties define the third type of settlement programmes for migrants who are irregularly staying in Spain.

¹ The non-lucrative stay is considered as a specific type of legal instrument to regulate the stay of foreign citizens who are willing to stay in Spain without working (Organic Law 4/2000, 11th January, on the rights of foreign citizens in Spain and their social integration (articles 30 bis and 31); Regulation of the Organic Law 4/2000, adopted through the Royal Decree 557/2011, 20th April (articles 45 to 49)).

² Directive 2003/109/EC of 25th November 2003 concerning the status of third-country nationals who are long-term residents; Directive 2005/71/EC of 12th October 2005 on a specific procedure for admitting third-country nationals for the purposes of scientific research; Directive 2009/50/EC of 25th May 2009 on the conditions of entry and residence of third-country nationals for the purposes of highly qualified employment; Organic Law 4/2000, 11th January, on the rights of foreign citizens in Spain and their social integration (articles 16 to 19); Regulation of the Organic Law 4/2000, adopted through the Royal Decree 557/2011, 20th April (articles 52 to 58, 83 and 94).

³ Organic Law 4/2000, 11th January, on the rights of foreign citizens in Spain and their social integration (articles 31.3); Regulation of the Organic Law 4/2000, adopted through the Royal Decree 557/2011, 20th April (articles 123 to 130); Instruction DGI/SGRJ/10/2008 on the authorizations for the temporary stay under exceptional circumstances, of children whose father or mother were originally Spanish.

For any type of family migration, there is no reference to the rights and duties of family migrants (Organic Law 4/2000, 11th January, on the rights of foreign citizens in Spain and their social integration, considering subsequent modifications). The rationale behind this lack of conditions depends on the direct, and almost exclusive, link between migration policies and labour market needs in the Spanish context. The access to rights mainly depends on the administrative situation of migrants and its regularization at the national level, through the resident or work permit, or/and at the local level, through registration in the municipal register (*padron municipal*). No differences can be observed depending on the nationality of migrants, except in relation to access to Spanish citizenship and the right to vote in local elections. All migrants with a temporary or permanent resident permit, including family migrants, can circulate within the country, work and participate in local elections (in case of reciprocal agreement). They also have access to welfare benefits, health services (in 2012 this right was partly limited for irregular migrants), public housing or specific benefits depending on local and regional administrations. In those specific cases, access may depend on the number of years during which migrants have been registered in the municipal register. Their registration in the municipal register will give some extra rights to both regular and irregular migrants, in the field of social participation and education. For children between six and sixteen years old, education is compulsory. Even if they do not have a resident permit and they are not registered in the municipal register, all migrants have the right to receive identity documents, medical care in case of emergency, social orientation, effective judicial protection and free legal orientation if they need it.

Before 2009, TCN family migrants could not have access to the Spanish **labour market** during the first year of their stay in Spain. This restriction was not applicable to the family members of EU citizens. In December 2009, the government introduced some changes in Spanish Migration Law to grant access to the labour market for the partners and children (sixteen years old and above) of migrants who had benefitted from family reunification.

In Spain, the equality of rights for all foreign citizens who are regularly staying in the country is recognized by the Migration Law. Specifically, Article 14.1 4 entitles foreigners who are regularly staying in Spain to access to basic and specialized **social services or benefits** under the same conditions as Spanish citizens. With regards to some specific non-contributory benefits, the length of the regular stay is taken into consideration, so there are some differences between migrants with temporary and permanent resident permits.

In Spain, the general **health system**, which is publicly funded, includes three main areas, which are primary medical care, special medical care and emergency. Through Article 12 on rights in the field of health, Spanish Migration Law refers to the general legislation in charge of this area (Organic Law 4/2000, 11th January, on the rights of foreign citizens in Spain and their social integration, considering subsequent modifications). In April 2012, the central government, led by the conservative party (PP), introduced some changes to this legislation, so that from September 2012 only migrants who regularly stay in Spain (including family migrants) have access to all services, while irregular migrants only have access to emergency services.

Through Article 13 on rights in the field of **housing**, Spanish Migration Law establishes that foreigners with permanent resident permits (that can be obtained after five years of continuous legal residence) will benefit from the same rights as Spanish citizens (Organic Law 4/2000, 11th January, on the rights of foreign citizens in Spain and their social integration, considering subsequent modifications). In the case of foreigners with temporary resident permits, the rights will depend on the public administrations responsible for this area, which are municipalities and regions.

Through Article 9, Spanish Migration Law establishes the conditions for the access to rights in the field of **education** (Organic Law 4/2000, 11th January, on the rights of foreign citizens in Spain and their social integration, considering subsequent modifications). For children under six years old, access to pre-school education depends on the regional legislation. In general terms, the main criteria are the income together with the address where the parents live or work. The public centres are

⁴ This report considers Part 1 of Article 14, as it refers to the non-contributory sector controlled by the central government and regulated through the Social Security Law, while Parts 2 and 3 of Article 14 refers to the non-contribute benefits depending on the autonomous communities.

subsidized. For students above six years old, the main distinction depends on the age until which education is compulsory, which is sixteen years old in the case of Spain.

In 2000, through some changes regarding the Spanish Migration Law (Organic Law 4/2000, 11th January, on the rights of foreign citizens in Spain and their **social integration**, considering subsequent modifications), the conservative party (PP) proposed to include some restrictions to the right of meeting, demonstration, association, unionization and strike, for irregular migrants. All measures were declared non-constitutional by the Constitutional Court in 2007 and those rights were officially re-introduced to the Spanish migratory Law in 2009. At the moment, local democratic participation, party and NGOs membership are not limited by any formal restrictions. At the moment, the right to vote and to stand for elections is possible for some migrants at the municipal level⁵.

⁵ For further information, please refer to Work Package 3 on Spain.

5. Quantitative findings

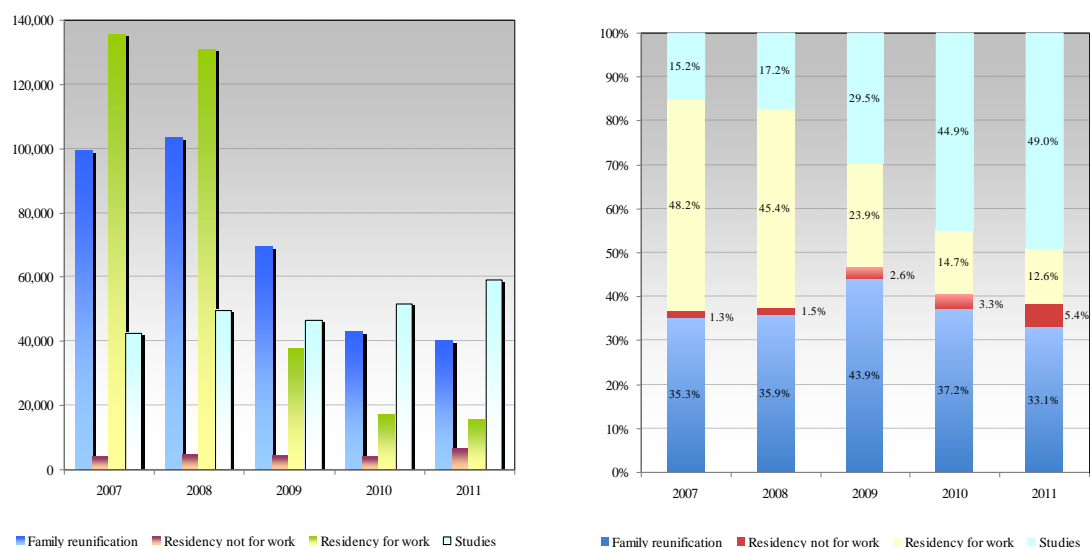
Statistical data on family migration and integration of family migrants is relatively scarce in Spain. There are no specific sources of data covering general aspects of family related migration, so it is challenging to make an empirical assessment of the overall phenomenon. To the best of our knowledge no research based on survey methodology has yet been carried out on family migration in Spain. Nevertheless, there are administrative records and some other general survey research that can provide at least a partial insight into some dimensions of family migration. As far as the general characteristics of family migrants are concerned this report relies on statistical data provided by the Spanish administration. In the analysis of the integration outcomes we combine three main statistical data sources: (I) National Immigrant Survey (INS-2007); (II) Immigrant Citizens Survey ICS-2011; (III) Spanish Labour Force Survey - Module on the situation of immigrants and their children in the labour market - SLFS-2008.

In Spain, migrants' family members wishing to come to Spain traditionally had strong incentives to enter the country on tourist visas and overstay illegally, especially if they were interested in working in Spain. Firstly, this channel of entering Spain allowed them to join their spouses much sooner than the legal procedure of family reunification. Secondly, until the 2009 reform of the Migration Law the legal employment opportunities of family members who overstayed their tourist visas and those regularly reunified were not much different upon arrival, as the latter could not apply for a work permit until they had resided in Spain for one year. In this context, regular family migration traditionally represented a small proportion of the migratory flow to Spain (González Ferrer 2011).

In the last few years of the last decade, the proportion of regular family migration in the total migratory stream has been growing. The reasons for this change were twofold: first, a progressive stabilisation of the foreign population as an effect of gradual social and economic integration of primary migrants who decide to reunify with their family members who initially stayed in the country of origin. Second, as already mentioned in previous IMPACIM documents, several restrictions on family

reunification (such as access to the labour market) have been removed. This change is reflected in the proportion of visas obtained by non-EU nationals for family reunification (see figures 3.2a and 3.2b). The available data show that the share of visas issued for this purpose increased almost by nearly 10 percentage points from 35% in 2007 to approximately 45% in 2009. This evolution in the composition of the regular migration flow to Spain reflects the effects of the changes in the family reunification rules introduced in 2009 (see IMPACIM WP3-2012).

Figures 1 and 2: Visas issued to TCN 2007-2011 by type



Source: Ministry of Labour and Social Security

Since 2010 the proportion of family reunification visas has been decreasing. Family migrants accounted for 37% and 33% of all migrants who received long duration stay visas in 2010 and 2011, respectively. This change is mainly related to the already mentioned decrease in migration flow as a result of the economic downturn and the corresponding dramatic increase in unemployment and budget cuts. The deterioration in the living conditions of a considerable part of the population along with a sharp decrease in labour force demand have been two main causes of the substantive decrease in the number of new arrivals. Interestingly, despite changes in the composition and magnitude of family migration, no considerable changes have been observed in terms of stock.

According to the Spanish government's statistics, in 2011 36% of reunified family migrants were under 16 years old, 62% were between 16 and 64 years old and 2% were above 64 years old. These three categories reflect possible activity at each stage: students following compulsory education, potential workers, and retired persons. Distribution by age is very similar between regions, except in the autonomous city of Ceuta, where reunified family migrants who are under 16 years old are as numerous as family migrants who are between 16 and 64 years old (49% in both cases). The gender composition varies from one age group to another. Among family migrants under 16 years old, women represent 46%, whereas they represent two-thirds of the family migrants above this age. Out of the whole population of family migrants, women represent 59%. In Spain, family reunification is a feminized phenomenon, more linked to marriage strategies and reunification of spouses than the reunification of children.

Table 1: Distribution by age and gender among reunified family migrants in Spain (2011)

	Total	Men	Women	% Women
Under 16 years old	81,166	43,438	37,728	46.0%
From 16 to 64 years old	139,047	46,442	92,605	67.0%
Above 64 years old	4,810	1,581	3,229	67.0%
Total	225,023	91,461	133,562	59.0%

Source: Ministry of Labour and Social Security

Among reunified family migrants, ten national groups represent up to 85% of the total population. The age composition is different between them. Among Moroccans, Chinese, Ukrainian and Indian, the proportion of reunified children (between 29% and 32%) is lower than the average for reunified family migrants. Conversely, the proportion of reunified children is higher among Pakistanis, Dominicans and

Ecuadorians (between 41% and 46%). Among Bolivians, in 2011 they represented nearly 58% of the reunified family migrants.

These patterns may have an impact on the need to access different benefits in terms of the varying personal needs between each group. The concentration of family migrants among adults between 16 and 64 years old may create some needs in terms of professional training and their integration into the labour market. Reunified children may have special needs to access the educational system, which is compulsory until they reach sixteen years old. Among adult women, special needs may concern pregnancy and the care of young children. Older family migrants may express special needs in terms of welfare benefits; meanwhile medical needs will be different for men and women. On the other hand, language will not have any impact upon reunified migrants from Latin America, whereas family migrants from Asia, Africa or Eastern Europe may experience more difficulties. The impact may be different dependent on region, since the distribution of national groups and their family migrants is not homogeneous among Spanish regions.

Family migrants have, on average, level lower levels of education. This educational gap may be related to some extent to the fact that a significant proportion of family migrants are still of school age and have not finished their educational cycle. Our analysis shows also that differences between nationalities are more important than those related to migratory status. Regarding Spanish language knowledge, differences are relatively small. However, when gender is considered, female family migrants seem to have significantly lower levels of linguistic competence compared not only with male family migrants but also with non-family female migrants.

Regarding the acquisition of host country-specific skills and education we observe that, compared to non-family migrants, a significantly higher proportion of family migrants reached their highest educational level or validated their diploma in Spain. On the one hand, this phenomenon can be explained as a result of the proportion of children and youngsters. On the other, we consider that those differences may reflect family migrants' life strategies.

On a general level, family migrants have lower participation levels in the Spanish labour market relative to non-family migrants. A more detailed examination showed that this

gap is particularly pronounced in the case of the youngest cohorts and the female population. We consider that these inequalities due, at least to some extent, to:

- (a) restrictions in access to the labour market for reunified family migrants that were in force at the time of the survey,
- (b) the increased likelihood that children and women are involved in non-economic activities (studying, housework) relating to household strategies
- (c) these groups are at higher risk, finding themselves out of the labour market as a consequence of the lack of an institutional solution to the problem of family-work reconciliation in Spain.

Regarding labour market attainment, as far as the level of position is concerned no significant differences have been found. Both family and non-family migrant workers are concentrated mostly in lower skilled, lower paid occupations. Furthermore, the data analysis reveals that the proportion of women in unskilled positions is considerably higher when compared to men regardless of their family or non-family status. The results of our exploration of labour market attainments seem to be more conclusive when income is taken into account. Non-family migrants have significantly higher income than family migrants. However, those differences arise mainly from the income gap between family and non-family male migrants. Interestingly, educational level does not have an impact on labour market attainment, neither in terms of the level of position held nor in terms of income. The only exceptions to this are family migrants with tertiary education whose chances of obtaining highly skilled jobs in Spain are lower in comparison to their non-family counterparts. The country of origin plays a limited role in differentiating family and non-family migrants' labour market attainment. However, non-EU European non-family migrants seem to be more successful in the Spanish labour market than their family counterparts.

Our analysis of the institutional and non-institutional channels of access to the labour market shows that migrants rely mainly on their social networks, regardless of their family or non-family status. The proportion of migrants who received any kind of assistance in order to find a job is very similar when family and non-family migrant categories are compared.

Analysis shows a relatively low level of involvement among both categories of migrants in civic activities (broadly understood), such as voting in local elections or participation in civic society groups and organisations. However, non-family migrants seem to be slightly less involved in civic activities.

We observed interesting differences in patterns of access to housing between family and non-family migrants. The proportion of homeowners is slightly higher among family migrants. In addition, family migrants are more likely to live in a dwelling provided free of charge (e.g. by other family members). These differences are most pronounced among male migrants. Finally, we observe that access to rented housing through public institutions is extremely low (less than 1%) for both categories, which confirms that the involvement of the Spanish public institutions in covering migrants' housing needs is very limited.

6. Qualitative findings

The impacts of policies on the situation of family migrants after their arrival in Spain can be observed mainly at local and regional levels, as municipal and regional governments are responsible for administering their access to rights. Different perspectives towards family migrants have developed and vary between local governments in Madrid and Barcelona. Whereas the perspective adopted in Madrid is universal, with the focus on family (as a unit), in Barcelona a specific department was created to attend to needs related to family reunification, before and just after arrival.

In Madrid, the local administration is responsible for the coordination of municipal programmes, whereas NGOs and private entities are responsible for their implementation. Thus the municipal services are dominated by private actors. The municipal service in charge of overseeing migrants recognizes Sub-Saharan migrants and migrants under 18 years old who are staying in Spain by themselves as vulnerable groups, but otherwise family migrants are not considered as a specific target of policies. This is explained by the fact that specific needs were not identified among family migrants, and family reunification is conceived as a part of broader migration policies, which depend on the central government. This may be also explained by the fact that services are delegated to NGOs and private entities. Nevertheless, some specific initiatives have been implemented, especially in relation to the legal orientation of sponsors, welcoming of family migrants, and mediation within families. In Barcelona, although some services are also delegated to associations through allocation of a specific budget, a service was created to attend to the needs linked to family reunification, before and after migration takes place. In 2013, thirteen professionals were working together in the *Programme for New Families in Barcelona: Attention to Family Reunification*. Activities are implemented before and after the reunification process takes place.

Due to the budget restrictions, specific programmes have disappeared and the whole system that oversees social attention to migrants is threatened. In Spain, before the beginning of the economic crisis, the central government ran a dedicated Fund for the Integration of Immigrants, whose aims were to improve the social inclusion of

migrants, through universal and specific programmes (such as language courses and legal orientation, for example, to which family migrants had access), and to fight against xenophobia and racism. The budget was first distributed to the regional administrations, and then a second distribution was made from the regional to the local governments, depending on the number of non-Spanish nationals registered in the municipal registers. In 2013, the budget dedicated to this Fund was completely cancelled. In times of economic recession, this decision from the central government had some impact on the initiatives implemented by regional and local administrations. Regional and local administrations had on occasion previously decided to limit the attention paid specifically to migrants. In Madrid, for example, the Social Intercultural Mediation Service (SEMSI) and the workshops for the legal orientation of migrants on family reunification were cancelled from 2009-2010. Meanwhile, universal services in relation to professional orientation, welfare policies, public education, and public health have also been affected by budget cuts and, while not targeted at migrants, nor specifically family migrants, they are among those affected.

Apart from the specific programmes addressing family migrants' needs following arrival, family migrants have access to broadly the same rights as other citizens living in Madrid and Barcelona, insofar as they have a resident permit and they are included in the municipal register. Sometimes, access to certain rights also depends on having been included on the register for a certain number of years, but this depends on the local context and the dimension of the policies. Once family migrants have arrived in Spain, the possibility of following their integration process in the country is extremely limited, as no statistics are available on their situations. In this section, the impact of entitlements and restrictions will be analysed from the perspective of policy makers, civil servants and stakeholders, in relation to the labour market, welfare benefits, health, housing, education and political participation. In general terms, we found that family migrants are perceived as a privileged group, especially if compared to irregular/undocumented migrants, as they obtain a resident permit as soon as they arrive in Spain.

Nevertheless, problems may occur if family migrants lose their resident permit, which would happen if they or the sponsor does not have a regular employment contract during the minimum period of time required to renew their resident permit. Also, if

the sponsor cannot evidence a minimum level of income through employment and welfare benefits to keep an independent resident permit, family migrants may fall into irregularity. On the other hand, when family migrants are affected by discrimination or when informal practices restrict their access to formal rights they are entitled to, their possibilities to protest are quite limited.

In Spain, access to the **labour market** through a regular job contract is the key issue. For those who do not have this guarantee, even though they can have access to basic income through welfare benefits or through the informal labour market, they are running the risk of losing their resident permit and falling into irregularity. It is difficult to say whether this situation is threatening family migrants more than other groups, but family migrants who have not secured their own income are certainly in a more precarious situation than other migrants, as they depend on the situation of their sponsor.

From the beginning of the crisis, social organizations and municipal services working with migrants have noted that a new profile of users is seeking **welfare benefits**. Before the economic crisis, the public and private services had to attend to newly arrived migrants, mostly single adults, living by themselves, but nowadays social organizations and municipal services have to attend the needs of families who have been living in Spain for several years. In most cases they are in a precarious situation, as they do not have any income and they may have been expelled from the house they had bought if they are unable to pay their mortgage. For this reason, some NGOs, such as Caritas, have decided to give priority to universal programmes to help families facing social exclusion, so migrant families have access to the same services as non-migrant families.

As mentioned above, budget cuts concern not only public administrations, but they also have important impacts on the initiatives led by NGOs and migrant associations. In Spain, many welfare services are delegated to social and private entities. What is sometimes defined as a parallel network or system for attention to the needs of the population (*red paralela de atención*), receives a budget from the public administrations through periodical calls, instead of regular contracts. This means that the continuity of the projects depends on the budget allocated by each call, although the commitment of the professionals involved in NGOs and migrant associations is

very high. Such welfare recalibration is taking place for both economic and ideological reasons. And this situation has an important impact on some sectors of the population, especially those in a more precarious situation, so inequalities have increased among the resident population. When the situation of families becomes too difficult, social organizations may offer to assist them so they can return to their home country. Nonetheless, not all migrants have the will or the ability to return to their home countries. For those who have established themselves in Spain, through access to a mortgage or through family reunification, the decision to leave is harder than for migrants who are staying by themselves and who are only renting a house. For these migrants, the negative effects of the crisis can be alleviated by the support that migrants may receive from NGOs and from their families.

Even though family migrants have a resident permit, they have to wait several years before they can apply for **social housing**; up to ten years in Madrid, for example. In the city of Parla, social housing depending on the regional government has been distributed mainly to migrant families from Morocco, since these families were in the most precarious situation. Most families try to find a solution through the private housing market, as the social housing market is very limited in Spain. Refugees and their families receive a small payment from the government in order to rent a house. If family migrants lose their resident permit or if they no longer have an income, in some cases, depending on the city where they live they may have access to specific housing programmes.

For family migrants, access to the **health system** depends on the sponsor, as long as the dependent migrant does not obtain independent income from a regular work contract (CEAR, Madrid). As noted earlier, if the sponsor falls into irregularity, and family migrants do not benefit from an independent resident permit, all family members may likewise fall into irregularity. From September 2011, following new restrictions to access health services, irregular migrants only have access to emergency services. Only those irregular migrants who are minors or pregnant women have access to the full health service. This restriction has created a lot of confusion among migrants and medical professionals.

In the case of family migrants who are adults, no restrictions to **education** exist as long as they have a resident permit. In this case, they have access to professional

training courses or to university. In the case of professional training, the problem is that the demand has significantly increased in times of economic crisis, as training is considered as a strategy to learn new capacities; the municipal and regional services cannot meet such demand, as happens in Parla, for example. Again, no data are available on the situation of family migrants in relation to those issues. With regards to compulsory education (until children are sixteen years old), one issue for family migrants is that children sometimes arrive in Spain in the middle of the academic year. In Madrid and Barcelona, two different programmes have been implemented in order to cater for the specific needs of family migrants who are children.

In the cases of Madrid and Parla, there are no specific associations for family migrants, as they have access to other **social organizations** with no restriction, and they do not express particular needs in comparison with other groups of migrants. The situation is different with regards to political participation. Apart from EU citizens, political participation at the local level is only possible for migrants from Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, Cape Verde, Iceland, Norway and New Zealand, who have been in Spain for at least five years and who have registered themselves in the electoral census. This means that family migrants cannot participate in the political life of their receiving country during the five first years of their stay or if they come from a country whose government has not signed a reciprocal agreement with Spain on voting at the local level. Even when they have been in Spain for more than five years, they may find it difficult to register in the electoral census.

7. Conclusions

In Spain, family migrants have access to the same rights as other migrants and other Spanish citizens, as long as they have a resident permit. Nevertheless, their access to formal rights might be more difficult in some cases. Within migrant families, teenagers and women who do not work are in the most vulnerable situation. These groups do not always have complete information on their rights and they sometimes arrive in Spain after they have been separated from their sponsor for several years, so family ties have changed and they need to adapt to the new situation. Even if they are aware of the support available, some migrants are not used to receiving help and support from public administrations, so they might feel reluctant to access public services. Finally, civil servants are not always informed and aware of the access to rights for different migrant groups, so they might make the decision to restrict some rights when in law they are open to family migrants. When informal practices restrict their access to the formal rights they are entitled to, the possibilities for migrants and family migrants to protest are quite limited. Nevertheless, claims can be presented to one of the Forums for the Social Integration of Migrants, the Courts or the Ombudsman.

Since 2007-2008, family migrants have suffered the consequences of the economic crisis in a variety of ways. Budget cuts and a lack of income may place migrants and their families in a precarious situation. In some cases, this may bring them back to irregularity, while in others they may risk being evicted from their house if they have run up credit. Instead of family reunification, *family de-unification* is adopted by some families as a strategy to find new incomes or to limit the costs of the family living together in Spain, so some family members may stay in Spain while others will search for new opportunities in another country. Notwithstanding these issues, initiatives by NGOs and migrant associations may be limiting the negative effects of the crisis. In addition to this support, experts assume that families and informal networks can bring important resources to migrants, such as social capital and psychological support that will alleviate the difficulties they face. Although some public services have disappeared, public administrations usually express their will to maintain either the universal or specific attention to (family) migrants. Good practice includes the specific programme for family migrants created in 2009 by the City Council of Barcelona, together with the

collaboration of the City Council of Madrid with the Bar Association of Madrid, for the legal orientation of migrants, including information on family reunification procedures and discriminatory situations.

8. Good practice by public administrations

- Existence of consultative bodies with the capacity to publish **independent reports on the evaluation of policies**, considering the possible tensions between the definition of legislation and the application of policies. At the level of the central and the local governments, examples include the reports on family reunification published by the Observatory on Migration of the City of Madrid in 2002, and by the Forum for the Social Integration of Immigrants in 2008.
- **Collaboration between public administrations and universities** for the implementation and the evaluation of policies. At the local level, examples include the collaboration between the City Council of Madrid and the Autonomous University of Madrid, for the implementation of the Social and Intercultural Mediation Service (1997-2009), and the evaluation of the specific department in charge of family migration implemented by the City Council of Barcelona by an external expert, such as Claudia Pedone.
- Collaboration between **the City Council of Madrid and the Bar Association**, for the legal orientation of migrants, including information on family reunification procedures.
- Creation of a **specific department by the City Council of Barcelona**, for the legal and psychological orientation of sponsors during the reunification procedures, and to pay attention of family migrants when they arrive from the sending country.

9. Recommendations for public administrations and researchers

1.6 Recommendations for migration policies on family reunification

- Public administrations should provide migrants with **free access to updated information** on family reunification, through workshops and the training of civil servants, in collaboration with Bar Associations and legal orientation services from NGOs, so the duplication of services is limited.
- In order to limit the delays and to improve the uniformity of administrative practices and criteria, **official protocols** should be provided by the central government to its delegations, for the reception and the evaluation of the applications for family reunification. Also, official protocols should be provided by the regional or the central government to the local governments, for the reception and the evaluation of the reports on the living conditions of the sponsor.
- In order to ensure that objective criteria are used, and that the tension between the definition of the legislation and the application of policies is reduced to a minimum, reports including **detailed information on the negative resolutions** should be published by all the institutions involved, such as government delegations, local and regional administrations. This should also concern consulates, especially since they sometimes establish new controls.
- In order to limit the economic costs for migrants, apart from the free access to updated information an **official register or professional association** should be established for legal advisors who are specialized in family reunification and other migration procedures. They could be asked to pass an exam before they are included in the list, then the prices for every procedure should be defined according to the official register or professional association. If migrants decide to receive support from advisors, then public administrations should only

accept their applications if the legal advisor is included in the official register or professional association.

1.7 Recommendations for integration policies for migrants and their family members

- Family migration should be recognized as a process including particular needs for sponsors and their family members, **before and after the reunification process**. This means that public administrations not only play a role with regards to migration policies, but also integration policies, especially considering local and regional governments. In this context, coordination between public administrations and social actors should be maintained and reinforced.
- If statistics on the number of applications and the positive resolutions for family reunification were published, local and regional administrations could better **plan social integration** when migrants and their family members are living together in Spain.
- With regards to the **situation of migrant families as a unit**, special attention should be paid to potential conflicts between family members, especially since they may have lived apart from each other for a long period of time. In the case of partners, the worst situation would include domestic violence that could only be detected after the reunification process. In the case of parents and children, intergenerational conflicts could be exacerbated, especially when the reunification process takes place when the child is between 11 and 18 years old.
- **In times of economic crisis**, integration policies should not be considered only as a public waste, but also as a way to promote employment and consumption. In Spain, one of the consequences of austerity and budget cuts is the increase in socioeconomic inequalities, while public investment in social policies could have long-term benefits, such as better living conditions for social groups in a more precarious situation.

1.8 Recommendations for future research

- More research could be conducted on the **negative resolutions on family reunification**, considering the role played by the public institutions involved, such as government delegations, local and regional administrations, together with consulates.
- More research could be conducted on the **role played by legal advisors**, considering that they may help migrants to overcome the delays established by the legislation but sometimes at a high economic cost.
- More research could be developed on the **situation of migrants and their families**, through interviews and focus groups conducted directly with them.

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