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Immigration - Favored, Faced or Feared?

A study of the shaping of Spanish immigration policies

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Abstract

This is a study of Spanish immigration policies, the changes they have gone through over the past years, and more importantly, why. Three theoretical approaches are central to this thesis, namely: *economic calculations*, *to do the right thing*, and *politics of insecurity*. Through these approaches, different events and considerations that affect policy-shaping are highlighted and analysed. This study also examines the influence asserted by the EU on Spanish immigration policies. It is a qualitative case study, based primarily on second hand material. The findings of this thesis are that Spanish quota systems, regularization processes, and third country agreements, have been strongly influenced by economic considerations of labor demand, and by the wish to do the right thing, with consideration to norms, democratic values and identity. Restrictive border controls and repatriation measures can be explained by pressure from the EU, but also largely by a presence of politics of insecurity, affected by the event in El Ejido, 9/11, the attack in Madrid 2004, and irregular immigration in Ceuta, Melilla, and the Canary Islands. Spanish media has also shown to have had a prominent role, although indirectly, in the shaping of the political climate regarding immigration, and thus in policy-shaping.

Key words: Immigration Policy, Politics of Insecurity, Spain, European Union, immigration

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1   Introduction

Immigration to Southern Europe is an increasing phenomenon and immigration politics are influenced, and characterized, by numerous different elements, such as ideas and believes, economic factors, problems of integration and insecurity, a social and humanitarian perspective, and more and more by standards and demands from EU community level.

Globalisation and international cooperation and interdependence have brought with it increased migration, and have turned the immigration phenomenon into an issue of substantial international concern. The ever closer economic cooperation in Europe, with the four freedoms, is opening internal borders, and closing external ones.

The immigration policies of southern European countries seem to be guided more by needs and demands of EU states and citizens then with regards to immigrants needs, and with a larger focus on border control than preventive measures in third countries, or social integration projects.

Immigration policies have generally to a large extent been guided by economic concerns and consideration to norms, humanitarian values and identity. Entering the 21st century, global politics has been characterized much by politics of insecurity, as we have moved into an age of a global war on terror, with fear of religious and cultural fundamentalism. The terrorist attacks on World Trade Centre in New York, the bombings in subways in Madrid (March 11, 2004) and London (July 7, 2005), and the Iraqi invasion, have been amongst the events that have had a major impact on many political areas, including immigration politics. Media has also had an important role in shaping public and political debate on immigration, such as coverage of irregular immigrant tying to enter the Spanish territories of Ceuta and Melilla and lately the Canary Islands, but also the public debates on integration problems and immigrants criminality.

This paper will not focus on reasons for migration but on the shaping of immigration policies, especially those regarding third country nationals[1]. This thesis focuses on the case of Spain, which according to me, is particularly interesting, as it is a recent country of immigration and the national immigration policies have, almost exclusively, be formed and shaped during the past seven years. The time span at focus in this thesis is 2000-2007, and I will examine the development of Spanish immigration policies and the changes that have taken place, to possibly identify the events or shifting ideologies that have influenced these changes.

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[1] Third country here refers to countries outside the European Union

1.1   Statement of Purpose

This paper aims to analyze Spanish immigration policies, the changes they have gone through over the past years, and why.

The overarching question guiding this thesis is:

What has influenced the shaping of Spanish immigration policies?

I will analyse what has influenced the development and shaping of migration policies in Spain, with the help of three theoretical approaches. The following three approaches will be used: *economic calculations* –a rational choice perspective, *to do the right thing*, and *politics of insecurity*. These theoretical approaches will help highlight and analyse different events and considerations that affect policy-shaping. These approaches have different logics of argumentation, and the extent of consideration given to each of these may also be important in the making of policies.

To compliment the analysis I will also look at a fourth influence, namely the influence of EU regulations, policies, and unofficial pressure, over Spanish immigration policies. EU policies are, in turn, shaped by the logics of argumentation mentioned above, and I have hence found it important to shortly include this aspect in my thesis, for a deeper understanding of the complexity of Spanish immigration policies.

This paper aims to give a better understanding of how different elements, both events, and consideration given to arguments based in theoretical approaches, influence immigration policies. I also wish to provide an understanding of the relationship between these elements, in the beginning the 21st century.

1.2   Methodological Considerations

This section is a presentation of my methodological considerations, where I will address the design of my research, its delimitations and the possible generalization of my results. I will not conduct a large discussion on my ontological and epistemological standpoint, but I can shortly say that social constructions, such as different perceptions of reality, social categorizations, and the influence of ideas and identities, play an important role in my thesis analysis, which is further clarified in the presentation of my theoretical framework.

1.2.1 Research Design

This is a qualitative research, as opposed to a quantitative research. Conducting qualitative research implies selection and interpretation of information (Esaiasson

et al. 2003:233-235). The qualitative method can be criticized for being too subjective, and it is therefore of great importance to pursue the criteria of transparency. I will therefore provide continuous information about how the research is planned and carried out, and the different sections will be accompanied with explanations of what will be presented. I also aim to be clear and transparent with my conclusions.

I will to some extent use discourse analysis, since I will be looking at the importance of policy and media discourse on immigration. In discourse analysis ideas and arguments are categorized and analysed, and conflicts of ideas in a society are brought into light. The language is here seen as helping construct reality. (Esaiasson *et al.* 2003:234-236)

Validity is another important methodological aspect, which requires congruency between theoretical definitions and operational indicators, the absence of systematic errors, and that the research examines what it claims to examine (Esaiasson *et al.* 2003:61). This will be taken into consideration throughout my research. In the presentation of my theoretical framework I will shortly try and operationalize the theoretical concepts.

This is a case study, as I focus on a specific case, in a specific context and timeframe. It's not a theory testing thesis, which aims to falsify or fortify a theory, but rather theory consuming, as I will use different theories to explain a case (Esaiasson *et al.* 2003:41). There are however, some comparative elements to this thesis, as I, to a certain extent, compare the importance of the influence of arguments based in different theoretical approaches.

1.2.2 Delimitations

I would shortly like to like to mention a few delimitations to this thesis.

There are innumerous sides to immigration policy and though many aspects will be considered in this thesis, it has not been possible to include all. Moreover, I would like to add that the ramifications of certain events or ideas are hard to measure perfectly, and my conclusions will therefore to a certain extent be based on speculation. In my presentation and analysis of EU policies I mainly refer to the unofficial pressure asserted by the EU on Spain, which might be difficult to support with empirical evidence.

My analysis is also limited to a timeframe, namely 2000-2007, since this is the period of highest relevance in the construction and shaping of Spanish immigration policies, as Spain is a recent country of immigration. It is also the time period where politics of insecurity has entered as a prominent element in immigration politics.

1.2.3 Generalization of Results

I am modest in my claim of the generalization of the results generated by this thesis. This is a case study of Spanish immigration policies, from which no

general conclusions can be drawn on what factors shape immigration policies in Europe today.

I however hope to have contributed with a deeper understanding of the shaping of immigration policies in Spain particularly, but also to have highlighted some important factors and theories in immigration politics in Europe today, which could be applied to studies of other countries or communities.

My information and analysis of EU immigration policy and its influence over Spanish policies could help understand how EU regulations on immigration affect national immigration policies generally, though this paper presents an exclusive focus on its influence in Spain.

1.3   Material

This thesis is based mainly on secondary material, such as published research, but also first hand material in the form of official policy documents. The material used in this study is books, newspaper articles, scientific research and publications, official websites, and official documents and regulations.

Books, research papers and articles are written by numerous authors and I have tried to include a variety of sources to avoid a biased or predetermined discussion and analysis. The material used is written by persons with different nationalities and professions, and to a certain extent, by people with different political ideologies.

Regarding existing literature and earlier research on immigration it must be said to be very diverse. Migration is a wide and complex topic, and a phenomenon that exists all over the world and at all times in history. But since migration is an ever changing phenomenon, there are constantly new situations and aspects to explore. There is excessive research on immigration whilst the research on immigration and Spain is somewhat restrained, due to the fact that immigration in Spain is a rather recent phenomenon. Official documents on immigration policies are however quite easily accessible.

The material, on which my theoretical framework is based, is rational choice theory and a sociological approach found in political science literature, such as Tallberg and Hay, and Jef Huysmans *politics of insecurity*.

It could have been interesting to have based my thesis on primarily first hand material, for example through interviews with Spanish and European government officials, as well as actors in NGOs, working with immigration and asylum. This was unfortunately not possible, due to a lack of time and because of geographical distance. Neither am I sure that it would have been desirable, since media coverage and scientific articles are important for my analysis, where changing perceptions and public discourses are significant contributors for a thorough, transparent, and interpretive understanding of the policy shaping.

I have however, carefully and critically analysed the second hand material to make my analysis as objective and transparent as possible.

1.4 Structure of the Study

I will now present the structure of this study to give you a clear overview of how the thesis will be conducted.

The next section, chapter 2, presents the theoretical framework for my analysis, and is divided into three parts, separately introducing the theoretical approaches guiding the analysis.

Chapter 3 sets the empirical background, thus explaining Spanish, and shortly EU, immigration policies, to provide a deeper understanding of the policies and their changing character, subsequently subjected to analysis. I however start this chapter with a shorter discussion on immigration policy in general, and immigration in Spain. This is followed by an introduction of the development of Spanish immigration policy, and a shorter description of EU immigration policy.

Chapter 4 constitutes the largest chapter of this thesis and is an analytical discussion on Spanish immigration policy. The analysis is guided by the underlying question of what influences Spanish immigration policy. It is structured into separate sections by theoretical approach and finally addresses the European Union. EU policies, their shaping, and most importantly their influence on Spanish policy-making will be put under scrutiny here.

In the last chapter, my conclusion, I discuss and summarize my findings, and more explicitly answer the question posed in the introduction: *What has influenced Spanish immigration policies?*

2   Theoretical Framework

In this section I will present the theoretical framework guiding the analysis of this thesis. Three theoretical approaches will be separately presented and shortly related to the topic of immigration.

I will not be using migration theories as the base of my thesis, as they primarily focus on explaining reasons for, and definitions of, migration, and the situation for migrants, whilst my focus will be on immigration politics and policies. I have hence chosen three theoretical approaches that are important in the European political climate today. I have chosen these three theoretical approaches because together they provide an embracing view of the wide spectrum of arguments influencing immigration policy.

2.1   Economic Calculations-A Rational Choice Approach

The role of economic calculations in the shaping of immigration policy will be analysed with a rational choice perspective. Rational choice is interest-based, and interest can largely be defined as based in economic calculations. Rational choice theory is based on the assumption that individuals are rational and try and maximize their material self-interest, based on cost-benefit analysis. Political actors are, accordingly, self-serving utility-maximisers. (Hay, 2002:8)

Economic calculations are very important in the EU today, and in most of the EUs policies consideration for economic growth is prominent. Economic calculations have had an essential influence on the creation of an open internal market with free movement, and thus on the closing of external borders.

I will shortly introduce Rational Choice's relation to immigration. Through a rational choice perspective, aspects of immigration taken into consideration are mainly related to the labour market and economic growth. Positive aspects could be that immigration makes up for a low birth rate, making sure the workforce can support the retirees. Another example is that immigrants perform job tasks that national inhabitants are reluctant to do and that immigration therefore is needed in certain sectors, such as agriculture. More generally, migration can contribute to economic growth, through both skilled and unskilled work.

Rational Choice arguments against immigration are for example that immigrants are beneficiaries of the social system, that immigrant workers 'steel' jobs from the Spaniards and cause increased competition in the workforce, leading to decreased salaries. Another important issue is the illegal job sectors, in which many immigrants are involved, which undermines the government's authority,

and where tax-paying is avoided (Öjeklint, 2006:10). The irregular immigrant workforce is also seen to result in wage dumps and as worsening working conditions (Resmann, 2006:14) The illegal job sector has however also been claimed to promote economic growth.

Numerous analysts writing within an international political economy tradition make the assumption that policy-making in migration reflects a state's interest in permitting or restricting immigration as an international flow factor, rather than reflecting considerations for demography or social aspects (Cornelius and Rosenblum, 2004). Some argue that long term economical considerations are rare since it is quite difficult to measure the long term impact of immigration on the economy, and that the considerations are mostly short-term economic, or political (Resmann, 2006:9).

Immigration policy measures based in economic considerations are measures regarding labour immigration, such as quota systems, and tourist visas etc. Regularization processes can also be seen as a policy measure to come to terms with some of the economic problems of irregular immigration.

2.2 To Do the Right Thing

To do the right thing is based in a sociological approach, where the social context, identity and values are important. Universal humanitarian values are of significance as they have served as paradigm on what is right and wrong in certain contexts. The past centuries ever growing internationalization has subjected decision-makers to a wider audience and put political actions under international scrutiny. The influence of the United Nations and the signing of international treaties on human rights, have promoted universal values, such as democracy and peace. Globalization has helped promote the idea of free movement.

To do the right thing is based in the *logic of appropriateness*, where the pursuit of objectives are not linked to fixed interests as in a rational approach, but rather to identities. References to identities and meanings are made in order to explain behavior. An actor tries to do the right thing within a given context and thus tries to make choices that are appropriate or virtuous. (Elgström, 2003:10) Certain identities are associated to certain situations and people are expected to follow social rules.

Turning to *to do the right thing* in relation to immigration, important considerations are given to aspect such as human rights, social and political rights, the right to asylum, and the integration of immigrants. To do the right thing is thus an approach where identity is central. The concept of oneself, and the perception of what is right are essential. Due to the international norms, political leaders can find themselves pressured or influenced to make immigration policies that correspond to these norms. NGOs, such as Human Right organizations, can also work as a social conscience, by bringing in humanitarian values into the public debate, and to policy-makers, by lobbying.

In an approach where identity is important, one has to take into regard that with the formation of one's identity, comes the social construction of the *other*, which might lead to the protection of cultural traditions, or to wanting to help the *other* out of pity. The liberal, universalistic international asylum and refugee system has for example been questioned by those who emphasize the ability of states and communities to regulate access to their territory. (Geddes, 2003:18) To do the right thing is thus an approach that doesn't necessarily present only pro-immigrant arguments.

2.3   Politics of Insecurity

The world is changing, and though the concept of insecurity has been important in world politics for as long as we can remember, through conflicts and wars etc, its character has changed. Now, in an era of globalization, the perception of insecurity is no longer as state-based as it formerly was, and frontiers are harder to control, as infrastructure, both geographical and social, has developed greatly, leading to increased migration. The new grave presence of the threat of terrorism has also proven have an impact on the concept of security and on immigration debate.

The concept of politics of insecurity is based in Jef Huysmans book with the same name; *Politics of Insecurity: Fear, migration and asylum in the EU.*

Jef Huysmans has examined what it means to politicize and regulate migration and asylum within a security framework. Security is a socially and politically constructed phenomenon, and the practices and policies developed are strongly related to how one defines the situation of immigration (Huysmans, 2006:2). Insecurity refers to threats or dangers to someone, and can be organized into different security sectors, depending on the nature of the threat, such as threat to identity or threat to sovereignty. Relevant questions are also if the threat is perceived or real, and what priority the security problem deserves in relation to other policy objectives. Security objectives are sometimes incompatible with non-security policy objectives and can also compete with each other. The asylum is such an area, where there is strong contradiction to be found between human security and national security claims. (2006:3) Asylum is an issue that is not obviously or automatically interpreted as a threat to security, but can, and has been, rendered a security question by being institutionally and discursively integrated in policy frameworks of security (2006:3-4).

Migration and asylum policy has been more closely linked with security concerns since the attack on September 11 2001. There has been an increased politicization of immigration, a criminalization of immigration, and a growing fear of religious and cultural fundamentalism.

Politics of insecurity can thus affect immigration policies in a restrictive manner, leading to stricter border controls and harsher procedures regarding the return of immigrants to their country of origin. It can also influence the policy

documents in the way migrants are defined and categorized, and influence public discourse.

3 Immigration Policies

This section will provide the empirical background on immigration policies in Spain, and to a shorter extent at EU community level. But first I will start with a general introduction of immigration policies, to highlight different aspect of immigration policy, and emphasize why these policies are important. I will also shortly present immigration in Spain.

"Migration is considered one of the defining global issues of the early twenty-first century, as more people are on the move today than at any other point of human history."

International Organization for Migration

3.1 Introducing Some Aspects of Immigration Policy

3.1.1 Do Policies Matter?

Different countries have very different approaches to immigration. Some refer to push and pull factors in migration as of greatest importance for determining migration patterns. Some argue that immigration policies to control immigration are merely symbolic. Are then the shapes and content of immigration policies of any importance? Cornelius and Rosenblum argue that policies remain important for at least two reasons. Firstly, migrants tend to calculate expected benefits and costs of migrating, and it could therefore be possible for states to design policies that reduce unwanted flows, by raising the expense of migration. The second, and more important reason, is that policy choices define the conditions for migrants in a very strong way. (Cornelius and Rosenblum, 2004)

The classification of immigrants is a very important part in the argumentation that policies do matter, as it divides immigrants in to different categories, which implies different rights and restrictions. The access to healthcare and insurance can be regulated, as well as political rights, and also wage conditions. The policies are also of importance in determining where the costs and benefits from immigration are located. (Cornelius and Rosenblum, 2004) Another dimension worth mentioning is that one state's policy decision, on for example the restrictiveness of it's asylum regime, will create externalities for other states, and can thus affect relationships between states (Thielemann, 2004:3).

3.1.2 What Are the Elements of Immigration Policies?

A country that wish to control or limit immigration can chose between a variety of measures and strategies. There are different considerations to be made, such as long-term, short-term, economical, humanitarian, cultural, and consideration for the public opinion. Immigration management has different aspects to it; such as controlling borders, through visa regulations, border surveillance etc, asylum procedures, labour immigration quotas, and integration programs. Preventive measures are also taken, through cooperation with emigration countries, and by addressing reasons for emigration through financial aid, development projects or trade policies.

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) argues that in order to manage the migration phenomenon effectively, policy-makers need to develop a comprehensive and cooperative understanding and approach. Policies need to include both the aspect of facilitating migration and regulating it, and programs for migration and development. IOM also argues that the management of international migration can not be handled unilaterally. (IOM)

3.1.3 Why All the Fuss about Irregular Immigration?

It is important to take into consideration that irregular immigration does not only take place through illegal entry, but through visa overstays by "temporary" workers or tourists, and that it is important to differentiate between temporary workers, refugees, or illegal immigrants without prospects of the right to asylum.

Irregular immigration is problematic as it undermines the government's authority and to some extent the effect of legal immigration programs (Öjeklint, 2006:10). It is perceived problematic that irregular immigrants are outside the tax system, but still sometimes profit from the welfare state services. Bureaucratic problems can be considered contributing to the scope of illegal immigrants, as it is often slow and complicated to receive legal papers, and bureaucratic procedures can thus work against satisfying the demand for migrant workers. (Geddes, 2003:154)

Further, irregular immigrants face the risks of being pushed into sectors of the economy where pay and working conditions are poor. They also run a higher risk of falling into the hands of traffickers, who abuse, control and exploit the demand for admission. Another aspect is that illegal entry is often highly risky. (Geddes, 2003: 154)

3.2 Introduction of Spanish Immigration

The first Spanish immigration law was enacted in 1985, as a precondition for EC membership. Before this, Spain had neither an immigration policy nor an immigration law. Spain was at this time still an emigration country, but has over

the past two centuries changed into a country of immigration. (Pinyol, 2007:51(1))

The evolution of migration in Spain went from emigration, to "waiting rooms" for migrants on their way to central or northern European countries, and finally to becoming both a transit and a receiving country. This change took place because of stricter border controls and policies in for example Germany and France, and the political evolution from authoritarian to democratic regime in Spain. (Ortega Pérez, 2003)

The historical colonial role of Spain also plays a role in immigration, shown by the large number of Latin-American immigrants, as does Spain's geographical closeness to Africa and its long cost line, as well as Spain's economic development over the past decades. The structure of Spain's economy is of importance as well, as many economic sectors are seasonal, such as fish and agriculture, which have created a dependency on a flexible workforce. This workforce is by large constituted by immigrant workers. According to Andrew Geddes, irregular immigration to Spain can be linked with the economic informality in this region, which creates economic and social spaces for immigration (Geddes, 2003:19). The fact that Spain has one of the lowest birthrates in Europe is also of relevance. (Öjeklint, 2006:24).

Something to keep in mind is that a large part of foreigners living in Spain are Europeans. The trend however is an increase of North African and Latin-American migration flows (Ortega Pérez, 2003). The main characteristics of the increasing immigration to Spain in the 90's were the speed of growth and diversity of origin. The immigration to Spain however, has not been big in comparison to immigration to other European countries. (Pinyol: 2007: 51-52(1)) In the year 2002, the immigrants in Spain represented 2% of the population, which indicates that Spain was one of the European countries with the lowest percentage of immigrants (Agrela: 2002:2).

Spanish territories, famous for being recipients of countless irregular immigrants, are the Spanish enclaves Ceuta and Melilla (Masiosare, 2002). Since 2006, there is a new consolidated migration route to Spain, from Sub-Saharan Africa to the Canary Islands (Pinyol, 2007(2)).

3.3   Spanish Immigration Policies

My presentation of the development of Spanish immigration policies will focus on the period between the year 2000 and until today. This is when immigration became an essential issue Spanish political debate and policy-making, and this period represents the timeframe relevant for my analysis.

From the year 2000 and on, the Spanish government and public began to perceive Spain as a country of immigration. Immigration was given an increasing importance in the political debate, it entered into the political agenda, and a certain activism began to take form. (Pinyol, 2007:53(1), Ortega Pérez, 2003)

In 2000, the perception of immigration changed from being of a quite technical and administrative nature, to engaging political debates. Both the laws 4/2000 and 8/2000, which I will go into detail on further down, contributed to a politicisation of immigration. In 2000, the government reorganized or created the majority of administrative structures and public policy tools. (Zapata-Barrero: 2003:1) During this year, there was also a strengthening of the government's role as the principal stakeholder in immigration policy making, giving it a monopoly on decision-making powers (2003:16).

According to Ortega Pérez, the 4/2000 law, that took force on January 12, 2000 (law on the rights and freedoms of foreigners in Spain), marked the transition from policies focused on controlling immigration flows, to policies that had a wider interpretation of immigration and integration, as it recognized the permanent dimension of immigration (Ortega Pérez, 2003). This legislation gave undocumented immigrants access to health and education and some political rights, such as union membership (Geddes, 2003:164-165). These advantages were criticized for encouraging illegal immigration, and when the centre-right Partido Popular won absolute majority in the 2000 election, they reformed the law into 8/2000 and made it more restrictive, through removing the rights of irregular immigrants to join demonstrations, strikes, and their right to associate. The new law also increased the number of expulsions, and the government started planning a quota system based on labor market needs, to manage future immigration. (Geddes, 2003:164-165) In 2000, the government also developed the Plan Greco, a multiyear initiative for 2001-2004, on different aspect of immigration management. The Plan Greco acknowledged the important role of regional governments in the integration of immigrants. (Ortega Pérez, 2003)

The new immigration policies, though including dimensions such as integration, mainly focused on border protection, management of irregular immigrants, and the participation of immigrants in the Spanish labor market. As the immigration policies became more developed, bilateral agreements were signed with third countries, and labor quotas were introduced. For a stricter control of Spain's southern borders, SIVE (Sistema Integrado de Vigilancia Exterior) was launched in 2002. (Pinyol, 2007:52(1)) SIVE is an integrated system for controlling Spain's southern borders, established to protect Spain and the EU from irregular immigrants and narco-traffickers (Guardia Civil).

Between January 2000 and November 2004, the immigration law was changed four times and four regularization processes were established (Pinyol, 2007:52(1)). The ruling party since 2004, the PSOE, has not introduced a new immigration law, but has developed new measures and plans to deal with immigration (Pinyol, 2007(2)). An administrative change in the immigration policy area, by the Zapatero government when was elected, right after the bombings in Madrid in March 2004, was a transferring of the responsibility for immigration policy, from the Ministry of Interior to the new Secretariat of State for Immigration and Emigration (City to City, 2007). One of the first engagements of the Zapatero government was to reform the immigration policy. A first measure taken was a regularization/normalization process. This process gave those affected by it the right to healthcare education etc. A family reunification process was also

put in place. (Riduán, 05/2004) Over the past few years the government has also invested increasingly in measures for integration, immigration forums, and in anti-discrimination projects (Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales).

The immigration policies however still mainly focus on managing irregular flows of immigrants, and on immigrant's participation in the labour market. Border controls and regularisation processes have been the main ways in Spain of addressing irregular immigration. Another aspect of growing importance has been improving cooperation with third countries, signing agreements of labour flows and readmission. (Pinyol, 2007(2)) The Spanish Government is emphasizing that Spain's Atlantic and Mediterranean borders are also the EU borders, and that there is a need for further development of EU instruments to address this matter. The Spanish government has also been an important diplomatic actor in the Euro-African Conference and has presented an 'Africa plan' in 2006. (Pinyol, 2007(2))

Another issue, high on the immigration policy agenda, is the problem of the continuing large scale migration to the Canary Island from Sub-Sahara, showing no sign of decreasing. In response, the Spanish government has decided to toughen up their measures, the EU is getting increasingly involved, and local authorities have even appealed to the United Nations for help. (Tarvainen, 2006)

3.4   EU Immigration Policies

There are four main aspects in the politics of immigration in Europe; free movement, EU citizenship, immigration and asylum policy, and anti-discrimination laws (Geddes, 2003:126).

The treaty of Amsterdam (1997) empowered the EU institutions in the field of migration. And a new debate within the union emerged on the role of immigration regarding economic and demographic imbalances. (Zapata-Barrero, 2003) The EU's migration and asylum policies have been put in place progressively via the Amsterdam Treaty and the European councils in Tampere and Hague (European Comission). The Amsterdam treaty created the legal base for policy and asylum at community level, which further developed through successive European councils, driven by concerns of setting up a coherent approach to migration through a common regime on asylum, partnerships with third-countries and equitable treatment of third-country migrants. In relation to third countries, the Hague program also stated refugee protection, security issues, enhanced border control, and the management of the problem of return. In 2004, the Aneas programme was adopted, assisting third countries in the management of migratory flows. (COM (2006) 26 final) In the European Council in December 2005, a document was presented that confirms the need for a global approach on migration and where both Africa and the Mediterranean are recognized as priority regions (Pinyol, 2007(2)). In 2007, the commission introduced a new thematic program on migration and asylum, integrating migration issues into regional and country strategy paper, to replace the Aeneas program (European Commission).

Over the past years, the European Union has moved towards an approach where the relationship between immigration and development is to be taken into full consideration, and the EU has stated an intention to make migration a positive factor for development (United Nations High level dialogue on International Migration and development, 2006).

The common migration policy that the EU has developed over the years is based on a number of orientations, such as supporting member states develop integration policies for third-country nationals, preventing illegal immigration through cooperation in reinforcing the borders of the EU, establishing a common asylum system, encouraging legal migration channels, and strengthening partnership with countries of origin and transit.

4 Analysis

This analysis will be structured into different sections, where I will start by analyzing the shaping of Spanish immigration policy by theoretical approach. I will then move over to analyzing EU immigration policy and its influence over Spanish immigration policies and measures. A discussion on my findings and explicit conclusions will be presented in the concluding chapter.

"...immigration has not only become an important topic, both as a real fact and as a political issue, but also this question cuts across all these dimensions of contemporary Spanish society."

Belén Agrela
CCIS (2002)

4.1 Analyzing the Shaping of Spanish Immigration Policies Using Three Theoretical Approaches

4.1.1 The Influence of Economic Calculations

Economic calculations have generally had an important influence on immigration policy-making, especially considerations given to labour demands and economic growth. A climate of trade and investment has sustained the flow of migrants and the global labour migration has been set in motion because of labour demand in developed countries and supply in underdeveloped economies. Migrant workers are being hired as a part of industries cost minimization strategies. Many European service industries are advocating liberal policies for labour movements, and faced with labour shortages, many industries in developed countries are in favour of flexible mechanism. (IOM)

A group in Spanish society that has a positive attitude towards immigrants is employers, who constantly notify the government that they need migrant workers (Zapata-Barrero, 2003:2). The most common approach to explaining immigration policy making, according to Cornelius and Rosenblum, focus on domestic interest groups, where lobbying by business and labour groups are pointed out (Cornelius and Rosenblum, 2004). Spanish industrial lobbying is thus to some extent influential in the shaping of immigration policies, in pressing the need for immigrant workers as necessary for the Spanish economy. Immigrants also help by performing job tasks that national inhabitants are reluctant to, which is clearly

shown in Spain, in such areas as agriculture. The quota systems in Spain have largely been developed as a response to economic concerns. Spain has experimented with several different quota systems, to respond to shortages in the labour market generally, and in different sectors or regions specifically. The character of the quota system has also changed a number of times, and in 2002, it became stricter and was closer linked to bilateral agreements, as to prevent illegal immigrants from profiting the quota system. The 2002 quota system however had to be changed the next year as labour unions complained that it did not satisfy labour needs. (Ortega Pérez, 2003)

As mentioned earlier, the illegal job sectors, in which many immigrants are involved, undermine the government's authority, and avoid paying taxes. The regularization processes that the Spanish government has arranged over the past seven years can thus be seen as means to address these problems. The economic calculation of increased state income, through turning illegal workers into regular tax payers, may thus have influenced this policy decision. The 2005 regularisation program was defended by the socialist government, referring to Spain's need of immigrant workers and increased tax income (Resmann, 2006:16). Geddes confirms these conclusions to a certain extent, as he argues that the regularization processes have a great deal to with the existing informality of the Spanish economy (Geddes, 2003:150). Many argue that regularizations encourage further immigration, and one could speculate on if these measures could perhaps be seen as a means to accommodate the economic need of immigrant workers, which the complicated and time consuming quota and visa procedures can not satisfactorily achieve.

The maintaining of good international relations and efforts to enhance commercial opportunities abroad has caused an internal contradiction to Spanish immigration policy. Spain has been trying to attain a high profile in international organizations, not least with countries in Latin America, and the restrictive policies have been problematic to these relations. (Encarnación, 2004) The consideration for the economic importance of international relations could thus been seen as influential in policy making on immigration. This can be detected in Spain's relations to countries in Latin America on immigration quotas. Spain has for example signed bilateral agreements with Ecuador and Colombia, regulating labour quotas, communicating employment offers, and offering special provisions for seasonal workers etc (Ortega Peréz, 2003).

Furthermore, Spain has one of the lowest birth-rates in Europe, which immigration help counterbalance. Zapata-Barrero argues that immigration help maintain the Spanish welfare system in general, and the pension system in particular. (Zapata-Barrero, 2003:4) This is a heavy argument for political decision-makers to see immigration as potentially beneficial with regards to economic calculations.

Interest-based arguments against immigration are for example that immigrants are beneficiaries of the welfare-state, and that immigrant workers compete with Spaniards over jobs and cause wage dumps. These concerns have had an influence of the public opinion and it is clear that the policy-makers are faced with contradictive pressures and concerns.

Pinyol argues that the participation of immigrants in the economic and social development of Spain has been acknowledged by the central government only quite recently, through positive remarks. She further argues that the social debate on immigration has lately developed into a more integrative approach, where immigrant's role in Spanish economic growth is being strongly emphasized. (Pinyol, 2007:53(1))

4.1.2 The Influence of To Do the Right Thing

To do the right thing is based in the logic of appropriateness. Considerations for human rights, social and political rights, the right to asylum and the integration of immigrants, and identity, are important. After Spain's democratization, Spain has referred to liberal values as a base for its governance, and Spain is thus concerned with acting in accordance to these values, which affects its policy-making. The political culture consolidated in the post-Franco era, rejects political extremism and has been important in preventing right-wing, anti-immigrant rhetoric in the political arena. The nationalistic and authoritarian Spain was replaced by a view of Spain as a democratic, multicultural, and modern society. Spain is also a country that emphasizes multiple nationalities and linguistic and ethnic traditions within its territory. (Encarnación, 2004)

There has been mobilisation in favour of further immigration, which could be linked with civic associational culture, related to Spain's transition to a liberal democracy, characterized by universalistic and progressive values. NGOs and trade unions have articulated these values in their pro-immigrants advocacies. (Geddes, 2003:164). International organizations and international treaties are also important in advocating the concern for social and human rights in relation to Spanish immigration. These forces have mainly indirect influence over the shaping of immigration policies. Many NGOs fight against the way immigration and crime is linked in public debates (Zapata-Barrero, 2003:12). Some NGOs also protest against the violation of immigrants rights. The Spanish government has been criticized for the detainment of immigrants at the old airport facilities, especially with regards to the treatment of children and teenagers. (2003:13) Other structural problems, apart from detention centres, are expulsions, immigration offices, stowaways and minors in the streets (2003:15). These critiques and advocacies, brought into the public debate, have pressures the Spanish government into trying to redeem these problems in policies and policy practicing. Due to international norms, Spanish political leaders can find themselves pressured or influenced to make immigration policies that correspond to these norms. Some examples are the measures taken by the Zapatero government over the past years, with the regularization process, providing social and political rights to many irregular immigrants, the family reunification process, in line with concern for humanitarian values, and increased measures for integration, and anti-discrimination projects.

An aspect also mentioned in the previous section is the maintaining of good international relations, causing an internal contradiction to Spanish immigration policy. Spain has been trying to attain a profile in international organizations, not least with countries in Latin America (Encarnación, 2004) The consideration to these relations has influenced policies, through extra diplomatic efforts, such as Spain's engagement in migration forums and bilateral agreements with for example Morocco, Ecuador and Colombia. As mentioned earlier, these agreements focus on labour quotas, but also on the enhancement of social rights and work conditions for immigrant workers (Ortega Pérez, 2003). These measures can be seen as diplomatic amendments for the quite restrictive measures on immigration taken by the government due to other concerns, such as security. Spain has also acquired an important diplomatic role in the Euro-African conference, which can be understood as a gesture for better cooperation with third countries, whilst also strengthening the external dimension of immigration policies (Pinyol, 2007).

I will shortly address the potential influences on policy-making of anti-immigrant sentiments based in the concept of identity, central to this approach. In 2002, Agrela presented a discursive analysis of how immigration is defined in Spanish media, and by the Spanish government in their policies. She argues that public policies are based on contradictory discourses in relation to immigration. She presents the following discourses: "…'the necessity of prevention towards those who are seen as problematic, as transmitters of a 'contaminated culture''; the solidarity of paternalism towards those considered inferior, less developed or defenceless; the obligation of the 'despotic assimilation' towards those evaluated as dysfunctional or maladjusted; or the intolerance of the cultural relativism towards those considered as inalterable and delimited in their differentiation" (Agrela, 2002:16)

In policymaking, there is a regard for public opinion, and the formation and shape of public opinion is an important aspect in analyzing the shaping of immigration policies. Many events may affect policy-makers indirectly, through media coverage, public debates and policy discourses. The media coverage of 'immigration problems', influence what decision-makers consider as the right thing to do. Some restrictive elements in Spanish immigration policies can thus also in a sense be attributed to identity, and to a way of trying to do the right thing, by preventing problems in Spanish society linked to irregular immigration. This way of arguing may however have more to do with politics of insecurity, addressed in the following chapter.

4.1.3 The Influence of Politics of Insecurity

As mentioned earlier, Jef Huysmans argues that migration and asylum policy has been more prominently linked with security concerns in the European Union, since the terrorist attack on 9/11 2001 (Huysmans, 2006:1).

Roberto Bergalli[2] held a speech in 2005 about how the Spanish legislation had changed after the terrorist attacks in the US and in Spain, shown by the adopting of around thirteen reforms of Criminal Law and Penitentiary Regulations, and in rendering immigration laws tougher. He further stated that the linkage between security and immigration exacerbated in the aftermath of 9/11. Bergalli argues that the fight against terrorism added more stigmatization of the foreigners in Spain than existed before the terrorist attacks. (Bergalli, 2005) There are however, others that perceive the influence of September 11 differently. Zapata-Barrero argues that 9/11 did not have direct implication on the foundation of Spanish immigration policies, but that it however added a range of new issues to the immigration policy agenda, where security became of prioritized character (Zapata-Barrero: 2003).

There is a public discourse in Spain, where immigration is often portrayed in terms of illegal immigrants. Illegal is then associated with criminality, and criminality, in turn, with insecurity. (Agrela, 2002:6) 'Immigrant criminality' has been an important issue, which is linked to the 'immigrant-irregular-marginal-criminal' construction (Geddes, 2003:170). Belén Agrela, in a working paper for the Centre for Comparative Immigration Studies, described the Spanish immigration policies in 2002 as follows: "…the 'spirit of the immigration' policy is based on the following obsession: mistrusting settled immigrants and rejecting those trying to enter, because immigration is considered as a 'problem' and also as a 'threat'." (Agrela, 2002:5) The sensational manner in which the Spanish media covers the issue of immigration has been brought to attention. Almost daily the Spanish television reports images of immigrants trying to enter the country illegally, and national newspapers have a section on 'the immigration problem'. The way immigrants are defined as "the cultural others" by public policies has a substantial impact on social practices of integration. (Encarnación, 2004) An example is the Aznar government's measures for stricter border controls, which Agrela argues had to do with two factors, where one was the political pressure from the EU, and the other factor had to do with the symbolic idea of an invasion threat, and also with 'efecto llamada, which assumes that immigration to Spain has increased because of Spain's regularization processes (Agrela:2002:14).

There is a differentiation in the perception of immigrants, according to their country of origin. The Moroccans and Algerians are the ones most likely to meet resistance and negative attitudes in Spain. This is because of a traditional hostility towards North Africans rooted in a fear of the mores (los moros), and today they are associated with Islamic fundamentalism (Agrela, 2002:6). The fear amongst Spaniards of 'Africanazation' and 'Islamization' is rooted in eight hundred years of Muslim control of the south of Spain (Encarnación, 2004). Politics influenced by certain perceptions of insecurity is thus not a new phenomenon, but it has changed character and become more prominent in the past seven years. An example of what effects these perceptions of immigrant insecurity might have in

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policy-making and policy implications is discussed in an article by Agrela. She makes some interesting remarks on how the quota system in Spain can be used to determine from what regions to accept immigrants, and which professional profiles that are desirable. This may lead to hiring immigrants in accordance with certain stereotypes, with regard taken to gender and nationality, skin colour, and culture, which reproduces stereotypes and categorizations, and is unfavourable to Moroccan immigrants who are perceived as lazy. (Agrela, 2002:8-9)

A few examples of what might have generated a greater presence of politics of insecurity in Spanish political debate and policy-making over the past seven years, are both media coverage of problems of irregular immigrants, in for example the Canary Island, politics related to the global war on terror, and immigrant criminality. The event that took place in the town of El Ejido in the year 2000, where a 26 year old woman was murdered by a Moroccan man, caused strong anti-immigration sentiments (Geddes, 2003:164). In the town of El Ejido, immigration reunion centres were burned or destroyed and immigrants were hurt, in revenge actions by some of the locals. (Masiosare, 2002) The event in El Ejido had a major impact on how immigration was perceived and defined in Spain. Immigration was starting to be defined as a problem of many aspects; of culture, human rights, socio-economics, law, and control of flows. The immigrant's rights were debated, but there was also a criminalization of immigration, which could be seen in debates on law and order, and identity. (Zapata-Barrero, 2003:2)

The explosion in March 2004, which caused 191 deaths in Madrid, happened just prior to the Spanish elections. It is worth mentioning that the attack might have influenced in the decision by the new elected Zapatero government to transfer the responsibility for immigration policy to the new Secretariat of State for Immigration and Emigration. This mirrors an increased importance of immigration in state politics. Lukor presents numbers indicating that in 2004, Spain was the country in Europe with the highest number of forced expulsions of irregular immigrants (Lukor, 01/09/2005). This could also possibly be attributed to a higher presence of politics of insecurity, due to the Madrid bombings. The attack in Madrid was announced to be in the name of Al Quaida. Over the past years there has been a number of announced threats against Spain, for its support of the US, through its involvement in Iraq and its troops in Afghanistan, but also because of Spain's 'occupation' of Ceuta and Melilla, comparing it with occupations of other 'Muslim' territories (MinutoDigital, 20/09/2007).

The public debate on external and internal insecurity have influenced immigration policies, and have made it easier for policy-makers to justify stricter external measures, such as the electronic fence-building, and boats and airplanes patrolling Spanish borders. Zapata Barrero even argues that the Spanish Government (in 2003) could be seen as responsible for the criminalisation of immigrants, as a means to justify restrictive policies (Zapata-Barrero: 2003:2)

The dramatic images in 2005, of people trying to cross the borders in the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla, together with the 'cayucos'[3] crises in

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[3] Cayucos is used to describe the arrival of sub-Saharan immigrants on the Canary Islands

2006, exerted a pressure on the Spanish government for a need to further reinforce the external dimension of Spanish immigration policy (Pinyol, 2007 (2)). This did lead to increased measures for border controls in these regions in 2006.

The development of policies in Spain indicates links between migration and foreign policy. The perception of insecurity has been altered and immigration has entered into the realm of 'high politics' in Spain. (Geddes, 2003:165) The development of restrictive immigration policies in Spain can to a certain extent be explained by a greater presence of politics of insecurity. The excessive highlighting by the Spanish media, of many events of irregular or illegal immigrants entering the country, shows that the public debate has been substantially tainted by a climate of politics of insecurity. The politics of insecurity are present in EU immigration debate as well.

4.2 Analyzing EU Immigration Policy

This section will shortly analyze the shaping of EU immigration policies, with consideration to the same theoretical framework used in the analysis of Spanish immigration policies above. It will also address and analyze the influence of the EU on national policies, in this case Spanish immigration policy.

4.2.1 Analyzing the Shaping of EU Immigration Policies

Immigration has become an important issue in Europe. Fears about illegal and unregulated immigration have been very present in media over the past years. There is however, evidence showing that migration can be a positive factor for economic growth in The European Union, if managed carefully. (European Commission)

The European immigration and asylum cooperation has been shaped mainly by intergovernmental influences, as there has been reluctance to transferring powers to EU supranational institutions. European integration can be seen as challenging to post-national universalism, in the sense that it builds rigid boundaries around Europe and creates a European membership and belonging (Geddes, 2003:146).

The immigration issue is linked both to the European economic integration, and to the changing ideas about security issues (Geddes, 2003: 147). Economic calculations have been a main driving force in EU integration, and in the shaping of EU policies. The creation of the four freedoms has been based in a consideration for economic growth, and has led to the creation Shengen, and the protecting of external borders. From a sociological approach however, EU actors are identity driven, and the notion of how they should act is more important than cost benefit calculations. (Elgström, 2003:10-11) Peace and stability is, according to many, a strong driving force in European integration, and regulations on immigration could thus be explained as a way providing stability within the

Union, in line with the logic of appropriateness. Since the attack on 9/11, it however seems that EU advocacies for external border controls are highly linked with politics of insecurity.

The political and institutional framing of policy issues in 'domains of insecurity' can be seen in the EU, in the presence of asylum and immigration in the Schengen Agreements, which has a strong emphasis on internal security and policing borders. In 2002 some events took place in Europe that put the immigration issues high upon the EU agenda. Human trafficking networks were identified in Syria, Turkey and Lebanon, the Italian government had great difficulties with an abundance of illegal immigrants arriving at its southern coastlines, and the Netherlands had difficulties with Islamic fundamentalist organizations. (Geddes, 2003: 2) Other events have taken place in Europe over the past years, related to the topic of immigration, which have had a great impact on the immigration debate and have led to an even stronger perception of immigration as problematic. The debate on, and later banning of, headscarves and other religious symbols, in France in 2004, inspired public debates in many other European countries, Spain being one of them. The bombing of a London bus and three underground trains on July 7 2005, and the deaths of two French teenagers of North African descent, on October 27th 2005, in the Parisian suburb Clichy-sous-bois, have been amongst the events that have highlighted the presence of millions of Muslims in Europe and spurred the debate on whether Christians and Muslims can co-exist. (Migration Information Source, 2005)

EU measures on immigration and asylum are rigorous and multifaceted. The EU has worked to establish a common asylum system, encourage legal migration channels, emphasize the relationship between immigration and development, and worked hard to prevent illegal immigration through cooperation in reinforcing the borders of the EU. These measures show an essential concern for the security aspect of irregular immigration, in line with politics of insecurity. It however also mirrors economic calculations, and some consideration for acting along norms and values on juste treatment of persons, according to the logic of appropriateness.

Is seems however as though the securing of internal free movement within the EU has been the main driving force behind the development of EU immigration policies. There is a conflict between the restrictive policies and the demands of immigration in Europe. The European Union will need millions of labour immigrants in a few years to maintain the economic standard of today's Europe (Öjeklint, 2006:1).

4.2.2 Analyzing the Influence of the EU on Spanish Immigration Policy

The fact that Spain is a member of the European Union has substantial implications on policymaking in Spain, including consequences for the shaping of immigration policies. The EU has not only asserted pressure on policy-making,

but has provided ideas and practices for immigration policy shaping in newer immigration states, such as Spain (Geddes, 2003:146).

As mentioned in the introduction to immigration in Spain, Spain enacted its first immigration law as a precondition for EC membership (Pinyol, 2006:51). Some argue that immigration policy in Spain arose almost entirely as a result of pressure from the EU. The requirement of the adherence to Shengen and the normative expectations in the EU to restrict unwanted immigration, have been influential (Geddes, 2003:156).

Agrela argues that for a full understanding of Spanish immigration policies it is important to look at the European dictates and the consequences of the ideology of the construction of the *Fortress Europe*. Spain has become the southern gate of this fortress, and this role has, according to Agrela in an article published in 2002, been used politically for stricter border controls, in terms of closing the doors to the fortress, which have not been justified by the real level of immigration (Agrela, 2002:3). Agrela argues that the Aznar government's measures for stricter border controls had to do with two factors, where one was the 'efecto llamada', discussed earlier, and the other factor was the political pressure from the EU. The Spanish government used this role as the gate keeper of southern borders, to invest largely in controlling borders, with the argument of preventing immigrants from entering into the European Union. (Agrela, 2002:14) An explicit example is the way Partido Popular reformed the law 4/2000 into the more restrictive 8/2000, arguing that the 4/200 law was too permissive in regards to the more restrictive lines sought after by the EU (Ortega Pérez, 2003). The Spanish police's development of an 'electronic wall', in the beginning of the 21st century, to cover 350 miles of Spanish cost line, with the purpose of detecting and intercepting migrant boats, was done with an EU financial support of 150 million US dollars (Geddes, 2003:150).

The Tampere Treaty, has according to Agrela (2002) been important in the justification of the SIVA, which is a very complex and expensive radar system to control the southern borders. The former Spanish President Aznar, together with former British Prime Minister Tony Blair, had a proposal before the EU conference in Seville, to strengthen the protecting of borders by using ships and airplanes of war. (Agrela, 2002:14)

Since the 1980's, the cooperation in the EU concerning immigration has gone in the direction of restricting 'unwanted' immigration. The word unwanted has to a quite large extent been left to domestic interpretation, and the EU has thus provided a venue for pursuing domestic policy objectives. (Geddes, 2003:146) This has led to interpretation of guidelines regarding asylum, where the member states are symbolically committed to the right to asylum, whilst there is a lack of control and accountability (Geddes, 2003:145).

It is of some interest to look at the events in Ceuta and Melilla and the consolidation of the Sub-Saharan route to the Canary Islands, since they further opened the eyes of the EU to the problems of immigration to Spain, and thus put more pressure on Spain to prevent and deal with this immigration. The EU has since, had direct effect on immigration policies in regards to these regions, as the EU has provided Spain with large sum of money and assistance destined for this.

An example is how the EU offered help setting up naval and air patrols around the Canary Islands (Deutsche Welle, 24/05/2006).

Spain has largely brought its immigration and asylum legislation into line with that of other EU member states, and thus in accordance with the pre-disposition to restrict immigration. The EU frame has tended to focus on external borders, rather than on internal measures and state-society relations, which is somewhat reflected in Spanish immigration policy. (Geddes, 2003:163)

The Spanish regularization processes however, have more to with the existing informality of the economy, with regards to migrant workers, than with EU regulations. The regularization processes is seen to be determined largely by domestic factors, and if it is as some argues that regularizations encourage further immigration, then this policy instrument runs counter to the EU policy frame. (Geddes, 2003:150)

5   Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis was to analyse the development and character of Spanish immigration policies, to try and identify what considerations or events that have been influential in the policy shaping. The immigration policies in Spain have shown to be influenced by many different factors, which my three theoretical approaches have helped me highlight. Consideration for arguments based in economic calculations, to do the right thing, and politics of insecurity, have all been influential in shaping Spanish immigration policies. I have however come to the conclusion that their influences can not be clearly separated, though they, to a certain extent, have played different parts, and emphasized different considerations. The overarching question posed in the introduction was: *What has influenced the shaping of Spanish immigration Policies?*

I will try and answer this question thoroughly and explicitly by addressing the different influences individually, and finally discuss their relation.

Economic concerns that have influenced immigration policies are mainly the demand for immigrant labour, advocacies from industries and labour unions, but also calculations of tax income, the low birth rate, and regard to commercial benefits of good relations with third countries. These economic considerations can be traced in both quota systems, in trying to direct immigration to regions and economic sectors with the greatest labour demand, and in cooperation with for example Morocco and a number of Latin-American countries on facilitating legal migration. It can also be mirrored in regularization processes, in regards to increasing the number of tax-paying immigrants, and as a shortcut to accommodating the need of immigrant workers.

Turning to *to do the right thing*, in accordance with the logic of appropriateness, concerns for acting in accordance with post-Franco democratic and multicultural values in Spain, international humanitarian and liberal norms, domestic NGO's advocacies of human rights, and the wish to attain a good profile in international relations, are pointed out. The regularization processes mirror a concern for the right thing to do, as it provides irregular immigrants with social and political rights. The influence of *to do the right thing* can further be shown in agreements with third countries, in improving conditions for immigrants, integration projects, and family reunification programs.

Events that have shown to be influential in the increased presence of politics of insecurity, are the events in El Ejido in 2000, 9/11 2001, the bombings in Madrid in 2004, the attention given to irregular immigrants in Ceuta and Melilla, and the consolidation of a new migration route from Sub-Saharan Africa to the Canary Islands. The excessive highlighting by the Spanish media of many events of irregular or illegal immigrants entering the country, shows that the public debate has been substantially tainted by a climate of politics of insecurity. There

has been a social construction of the immigrant situation, strongly discursively linked to problems and insecurity, which has led to a criminalization of immigration. The development of restrictive immigration policies in Spain can to a certain extent be explained by a greater presence of politics of insecurity. This can be mirrored in the change of law 4/200 into 8/200, the creation of SIVA, large investments in boats and planes controlling borders, and the general focus on external measures in Spanish immigration policy.

The EU has also been strongly influenced by both economic calculations and politics of insecurity, the later due to many events over the past seven years, which have linked crimes, cultural crashes, and general insecurity with immigration in public and political debate. Spanish immigration policy has been substantially influenced by EU politics, and has largely brought its immigration legislation into line with that of other EU member states, and thus in accordance with the pre-disposition to restrict immigration. The EU has thus affected Spanish policies, in pressing for increased border controls and repatriations.

It is clear that considerations to the line of argumentation in all three approaches, and the EU, have been important in influencing Spanish immigration policies. They have emphasized different measures, and pushed or pulled in different directions, which has resulted in the current character and balance of Spanish immigration policy. It however seems as though the EU and politics of insecurity are gaining territory in Spanish political climate. As a concluding remark I would like to mention that it has become quite clear in my analytical discussion, that Spanish media has had a prominent role, although indirectly, in the shaping of the political climate regarding immigration, and subsequently in influencing immigration policy-shaping.

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